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Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894): A Victorian Musician in
Dublin

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Abbreviations

<i>ARD</i>	<i>Almanack Registry Directory</i>
<i>BMB</i>	<i>British Musical Biography</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Cork Examiner</i>
<i>CUC</i>	<i>Cambridge University Calendar</i>
<i>DE</i>	<i>(Dublin) Daily Express</i>
<i>DEM</i>	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
<i>DHR</i>	<i>Dublin Historical Record</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DUC</i>	<i>Dublin University Calendar</i>
<i>DUM</i>	<i>Dublin University Magazine</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMIR</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland</i>
<i>FJ</i>	<i>Freeman's Journal</i>
<i>GMO</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Irish Builder</i>
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Irish Musical Studies</i>
<i>IT</i>	<i>Irish Times</i>
<i>MGG</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Maynooth Musicology</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>Monthly Musical Record</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>Musical Times</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>Musical World</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980)
<i>NG II</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OMO</i>	<i>Oxford Music Online</i>
<i>OUC</i>	<i>Oxford University Calendar</i>
<i>PMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Musical Association</i>
<i>QMMR</i>	<i>Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review</i>
<i>RIAM</i>	<i>Royal Irish Academy of Music</i>
<i>RUIC</i>	<i>Royal University of Ireland Calendar</i>
<i>SN</i>	<i>Saunders's News-Letter</i>
<i>TD</i>	<i>Thom's Directory</i>
<i>TCD</i>	<i>Trinity College Dublin</i>
<i>UDCS</i>	<i>University of Dublin Choral Society</i>
<i>WIT</i>	<i>Weekly Irish Times</i>

Preface

A white marble statue situated on Leinster Lawn, on the grounds of Ireland's government buildings in Dublin, dates back one hundred and ten years. The monument represents a man in the academic robes of a doctor of music resting his right hand on a harp and holding a sheet of music in his left. Dedicated to Sir Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894), composer, conductor, organist, pedagogue and music professor, this 'national memorial' was unveiled on 15 March 1898 by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Cadogan.¹ According to James Culwick the unveiling of this statue in commemoration of Stewart was the first occasion that the people of Ireland had 'recognized a musician's worth, or the possible value of his public work' and had 'deemed him worthy of so great an honour'.² So why was Stewart accorded this honour by the musical citizens of Dublin and what were the merits that he displayed as a musician to warrant such a memorial?

Like so many other Victorian composers, Stewart enjoyed a career of considerable popularity but fell out of public favour after his death. Stewart's professional appointments were substantial and represented the diversity of activities undertaken by a professional Victorian musician in the second half of the nineteenth century. He was associated with all of the main musical establishments in Dublin including the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick's, Trinity College Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy of Music. As organist at the two Dublin cathedrals and the chapel of Trinity College and as Ireland's only university music professor,

¹ 'Sir Robert Stewart Memorial', *IT*, 16 March 1898, p. 5.

² James Culwick, *Fifty Years in the Life of a Great Irish Musician* (Derby: Chadfield and Son, 1903), p. 15.

Stewart attained the most prominent musical appointments in the country. Tenures with music societies including the University of Dublin Choral Society, the Dublin Philharmonic Society, the Bray Philharmonic Society, and the Belfast Vocal Union and Philharmonic Societies brought him into contact with all of the leading vocalists and instrumentalists active in Dublin and Belfast and there were very few prominent musical events that Stewart was not involved with in the capacity of a conductor, composer, performer or accompanist. The diversity of Stewart's musical talents ensured that his name was widely-recognized in the musical circles of the city and although it can be argued that he was a composer of limited ability, his involvement in Dublin's musical life cannot be underestimated and only serves to prove that he was indeed an exceptional musical talent in nineteenth-century Ireland and is worthy of further consideration.

The preface of biographies or monographs on Victorian composers including William Sterndale Bennett, Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley and John Stainer in particular demonstrate the similarity between their multifaceted careers and that of Stewart's.³ Stewart and Stainer both came from humble beginnings and were successful in ascending the social ladder until they attained positions of the highest respectability as composers, organists and educators, although Stewart did not undertake the writing of educational texts on harmony, counterpoint or music history. Likewise these contemporaries of Stewart, who were also his counterparts in the chairs of music at Oxford and Cambridge, lectured and undertook to introduce

³ See J.R. Sterndale Bennett, *Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907); David Bland, *Ouseley and his Angels: The Life of St Michael's College, Tenbury and its Founder* (Eton: David Bland, 2000); F.W. Joyce, *The Life of Rev Sir F.A.G. Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896); Peter Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbot/Devon: David & Charles, 1984) and Jeremy Dibble, *John Stainer: A Life in Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

changes to the music syllabus to ensure a heightened respect for the study of music at university and the pursuit of music as a professional career.

The articles on Stewart in the 1980 and 2001 editions of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* emphasise the various appointments that Stewart was elected to throughout his career and list a handful of his (mostly vocal) compositions including the *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141) of 1892. Interestingly, Stewart's contributions to the music degree requirements at Trinity College Dublin, and his propagation of information on art and traditional music by means of his professorial lectures in Dublin, mentioned in the first edition of Grove's dictionary, are completely ignored in these articles, giving an incomplete assessment of his career as a musician.

An inclusive study of Stewart's life and music is hindered to a large extent by the complete lack of surviving personal papers, diaries and letters, and regrettably it has not been possible to trace any living relatives. The majority of the letters to and from Stewart that were available to his biographer, Olinthus Vignoles, several years after his death have unfortunately been discarded along the way. A portion of these letters appear in Vignoles's *Memoir of Sir Robert P. Stewart* (1898) although it has been suggested by James Culwick that the book did not include the more interesting and informative letters available in Stewart's correspondence collection. Vignoles's *Memoir* is the only biography of Stewart to have been written but other sources of information on the Irish musician include two papers by the same author published in the *Musical Times* entitled 'Reminiscences of Sir Robert Prescott Stewart' (1894) and 'Brief Sketch of the Career of Sir Robert P. Stewart' (1898). In 1896 John

Skelton Bumpus compiled a pamphlet containing information on Stewart, John Andrew Stevenson and Richard Woodward, entitled 'Irish Cathedral School of Music'. The pamphlet was distributed at the restoration of monuments to Woodward and Stevenson and the unveiling of a memorial to Stewart at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin on 23 December 1896. Bumpus also delivered a paper to the Musical Association in 1898 on 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals' that included a short discourse on Stewart. Culwick contributed two papers to conferences of the Incorporated Society of Musicians in Yorkshire and Dublin respectively and these were published as: *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of his Life and Work* (1900) and *Fifty Years in the Life of a Great Irish Musician* (1903). His catalogue of Stewart's compositions and literary works, although not definitive, was published in 1902. Stewart's acquaintance with these three authors was substantial: Vignoles met Stewart when he commenced his degree at Trinity College Dublin in 1847, Culwick met Stewart in the 1870s and Bumpus, although he only met Stewart in 1885, was known to have accompanied him on visits to churches and cathedrals in England.⁴ The hagiographical accounts of Stewart produced by Vignoles, Bumpus and Culwick, while valuable in terms of the information portrayed and useful as starting points in a discussion of Stewart, must also be recognised as sources of high subjectivity that display at times a sense of idolatry for their deceased subject. The fact that Stewart was survived by his wife and three daughters may have contributed to the difficulty for the three authors in producing accounts of Stewart that were critical and objective in nature.

⁴ Reminiscences of J.S. Bumpus cited in Olinthus Vignoles, *Memoir of Sir Robert P. Stewart* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1898), p. 196.

The methodology adopted in this dissertation requires some clarification in relation to the following points: the utilization of Bumpus, Culwick and Vignoles as primary sources, the transcription and presentation of musical examples, the numbering system employed in relation to Stewart's compositions and the various locations of Stewart's compositions. Due to the extremely favourable light in which Stewart is portrayed by Bumpus, Culwick and Vignoles, an attempt was made to corroborate their accounts of Stewart with other contemporary sources, although this was not always possible. As a result I have treated these sources with a certain degree of objectivity. Quotations from primary texts follow the spelling and punctuation as stated in the original source, but I have standardized the employment of [*sic*] and [...]. All sources except anonymous articles from the *Musical Times* and newspapers are listed in the bibliography and this thesis also follows the guidelines in the second edition of the *MHRA Style Guide*.⁵ The caption preceding each illustration and musical example in chapter three indicates whether the source was the full or vocal score of the music, and harmonic reductions are also indicated when employed.

Stewart's extant compositions are not contained within one specific library and his music is located in the British Library, the National Library of Ireland, the Library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and the Library and Manuscripts Room of Trinity College Dublin. The first time in each chapter that a composition of Stewart is referenced in the text it is followed by the initials 'RS' and a number, *i.e.* *Inauguration Ode* (RS18). This numbering system is based on the chronological

⁵ *MHRA Style Guide*, 2nd edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008).

listing of Stewart's compositions contained in Appendix VIIa and the 'RS' reference is also contained in the listing of Stewart's compositions by genre in Appendix VIIb.

Not a decade has passed since Stewart's death in 1894 that a book, journal or dictionary has not made at least passing reference to him. Stewart's biography appeared in Brown and Stratton's *British Musical Biography* (1897), the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1898) and Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1894). Charles Villiers Stanford, Stewart's former organ student, also included concise reminiscences of Stewart in his *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (1914) and *Interludes Records and Reflections* (1922). What is immediately apparent from reading the majority of these various sources up to the 1970s is the heavy reliance on Vignoles, Culwick and Stanford in particular, demonstrating that little or no fresh research had been undertaken on Stewart since these sources were published. Laurence O'Dea's 1962 article on Stewart published in the *Dublin Historical Record*, for example, is merely a summation of the writings of Vignoles and Culwick. John O'Donovan's *Shaw and the Charlatan Genius* (1963) was the main exception to this rule, however, through his assessment of Stewart's rivalry with the conductor George Vandeleur Lee in the early 1870s. The completion of W.H. Grindle's *Irish Cathedral Music* (1989) and Joseph Ryan's doctoral dissertation 'Nationalism and Music in Ireland' (1991) demonstrate a sea change in terms of the move towards a modern reappraisal of Stewart as a multiple-occupation Victorian musician that extends beyond the mere quotation of the secondary sources listed above. Andrew Johnstone's article on 'Incongruous Organ Music in an Irish Cathedral' (*Irish Musical Studies* ii, 1993) and Ita Beausang's article on 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900' (*Irish Musical Studies* v, 1996) also exhibit original

research into aspects of Stewart's career. Two important books that discuss Ireland's musical history were published in 1998: Harry White's *The Keeper's Recital* and *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848–1998* edited by Richard Pine and Charles Acton. These publications continued the modern re-evaluation of Stewart as a composer and organist, and his association with Christ Church Cathedral was further evaluated by Barra Boydell in his chapters on music in *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History* (2000) and *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (2004). My own minor dissertation entitled 'Robert Prescott Stewart: An Assessment of his Compositions and Contribution to Musical Life in Dublin' was completed in 2000 as part of a Master of Arts degree in Music (Historical Studies) at NUI Maynooth and provides the foundation for this dissertation. Since 2000 both the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* have revised their articles on Stewart although the only difference between the original and contemporary articles in the former is the smaller word count, and the omission of details pertaining both to Stewart's contribution to the music degree requirements at Trinity College Dublin and to his eminence as a lecturer and writer of repute. Reference is made to Stewart in the biographies of Stanford by Jeremy Dibble and Paul Rodmell, he was included in the 2003 *Encyclopaedia of Ireland* and he is discussed in an article entitled "'This most crabb'd of all earthly music": the performance and reception of Bach's vocal music in Dublin in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' by Barra Boydell (*Irish Musical Studies* viii, 2004).

By utilizing these sources as a starting point, this dissertation will, in an attempt to provide as complete a picture of the Dublin musician as possible, assess

the various facets of Stewart's profession including his legacy as a conductor, organist and instrumental pedagogue working in Dublin. It will also engage with the reasons why Stewart was elected to the various musical positions that he attained. Some of the other professional musicians who earned a career in Dublin during the latter half of the nineteenth century including Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner, John William Glover, Richard Michael Levey and Joseph and Francis Robinson will also be assessed briefly in an attempt to put Stewart's career into perspective. His compositional style and the prevailing public opinion of his output in Dublin and England will also be discussed. Ultimately this thesis will demonstrate that the principal emphasis of Stewart's legacy should not rest on his reputation as a composer of music of 'transient popularity',⁶ but instead should focus on his importance as an educator and promoter of music in Dublin's musical sphere.

This thesis conforms to the house style of the Department of Music, National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

⁶ W.H. Husk/Joseph J. Ryan, 'Stewart, Sir Robert', *GMO, OMO* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26743>> [accessed 11 August 2008].

Chapter 1

Introduction

Robert Prescott Stewart was born on 16 December 1825 and was the second son of Charles Frederick Stewart. The Stewart family originated in Scotland and Robert's grandfather is reported to have moved from County Monaghan to Dublin in the 1780s.¹ Charles Frederick Stewart was born c1794, he received what Vignoles termed a 'good liberal education' and he was appointed assistant librarian to the Society of King's Inns, Henrietta Street, in Dublin on 22 May 1841.² He died at the age of fifty-five and was buried at Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin on 7 February 1850.³

Stewart's mother, of whom very little is known, came from an Anglo-Irish family and was a piano pupil of the German pianist Johann Bernard Logier.⁴ His mother attained 'considerable proficiency' on the piano and she was the primary musical influence during the young boy's early years.⁵ According to Vignoles, Robert was not his mother's favourite child and her demeanour was 'hard and unsympathetic' towards him.⁶ This may account for the fact that there is absolutely no mention of Stewart's mother by name in any of the writings on the composer by

¹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 3. The loss of many genealogical records from the Irish Public Record Office in 1922 may account for the dearth of information in relation to the birth, death and burial records of Stewart's family.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3. Benchers Meeting, 14 June 1841, Minute Books of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, B1/6/5. I am grateful to Jonathan Armstrong for providing me with the information cited in this chapter relating to the minute books of the Honorable Society of King's Inns.

³ Mount Jerome Cemetery Burial Records, 1850, book no. 3.

⁴ Logier (1777–1846) was resident in Dublin from 1809 until his death in 1846. 'Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D.', *DUM*, 85 (1875), p. 266.

⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Vignoles, Culwick or Bumpus. The lack of any reference to Mrs Stewart's death in these contemporary sources may indicate that she died before her husband. Vignoles described the Stewart family as 'poor' and this comment is reinforced by the fact that Charles Stewart was not buried in a family burial plot, but instead was buried in an unmarked mass grave in Mount Jerome Cemetery.⁷ Charles's salary was £70 per annum when he was appointed to King's Inns and this was increased to £105 per annum from the first day of Trinity term 1843.⁸ Although we do not know his occupation before 1841, by 1833 Charles was certainly earning an income sufficient enough to allow him to pay rent for a dwelling located off one of the city's main commercial streets.

W.H. Grattan Flood records that Robert Prescott Stewart was born at number 6 Pitt Street, Dublin,⁹ but this remains an uncertainty, not just because of Grattan Flood's unreliability as a scholar, but because Charles Stewart does not appear at all in the Dublin directories until 1833 when he is first listed at this address.¹⁰ The composer Michael William Balfe was born at number 10 Pitt Street in 1808 and the street was renamed in his honour in 1917. All of the city's amenities were easily accessible from Pitt Street because it was situated off Grafton Street, one of the city's

⁷ Olinthus Vignoles, 'Brief Sketch of the Career of Sir Robert P. Stewart', *PMA*, 24th session (1898), p. 97.

⁸ Benchers Meeting, 14 June 1843, Minute Books of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, B1/6/5. According to Cormac Ó Gráda a farm labourer's annual wage was £10 or less around the time of the famine. Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Savings banks as an institutional import: the case of nineteenth-century Ireland', *Financial History Review*, 10 (2003), p. 38. By comparison, the annual wage of the professor of Divinity at Trinity College Dublin was approximately £200 in the 1830s and 1840s. R.B. McDowell and D.A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 160.

⁹ W.H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, 2nd edn (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1906), p. 331.

¹⁰ 'Street Directory', *ARD* (1833), p. 234.

busiest retail streets.¹¹ The Institution for the Diseases of Children, founded in 1821, was located at numbers 8 and 9 Pitt Street.¹²

Pitt Street residents were first included in the Dublin street listings of the *Almanack Registry Directory* in 1803, so Charles's first appearance as an occupant in the 1833 directory would lead us to believe that either the Stewart family had not lived at this address before 1833 or that the family had decided not to be included in the directory for some reason. The 1834 *Almanack Registry Directory* indicates that the Stewart family were not the only residents of number 6 Pitt Street. There were at least three other residents living at the same abode: Anthony Bolger a tailor, Richard Haskett a carpenter and Mrs Bate a dress maker, and it is possible that these tenants also had their own families living with them in segregated units within the house.¹³ Charles Stewart is no longer listed at this address from 1840 and the 1844 and 1846 Dublin street listings state that Charles Stewart was resident at 3 Phibsborough Road and at 1 Foster Terrace respectively.¹⁴ Charles continued to appear in error up to nine years after his death in the merchant and trader listings and in the Dublin street listing (at Henrietta Street, the address of the King's Inns Library) of *Thom's Directory* until 1859.

¹¹ Grafton Street was among the 'highest ranking retail streets' along with Dawson Street, Dame Street, Bachelor's Walk, Eden Quay and Abbey Street Lower according to William Wilde's Special Sanitary Report upon the City of Dublin, 1841/1851, see Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 40–45.

¹² See Ian Jeffries, 'The National Children's Hospital of Dublin, Ireland', *International Pediatrics*, 14 (1999), p. 55 and P.M. Dunn, 'Drs Richard Evanson (1800–1871) and Henry Maunsell (1806–1879) of Dublin and their paediatric text', *Archives of Diseases in Childhood, Fetal and Neonatal Edition*, 91 (2006), p. 461.

¹³ 'Street Directory', *ARD* (1834), p. 113.

¹⁴ 'Street Directory', *ARD* (1840), p. 700. *ARD* (1844), p. 362; *TD* (1846), p. 862. Charles Stewart does not appear at all in *Griffith's Valuation* (1847–64) and he died one year before the 1851 Dublin City Census. Robert does appear in this source as an occupier at 68 Baggot Street Lower, but because the 'printing date' on Robert's record is 16 February 1854, this implies that the assessment of this portion of Baggot Street had not taken place until this date. The Origins Network, 'Griffith's Valuation', <<http://www.originsnetwork.com/IrishOrigins/Search/Census/Griffiths/IOShowRecordsGriffiths.aspx>> [accessed 24 February 2008].

Stewart's older brother (also called Charles), is reputed to have joined the clergy and died two or three years before Robert.¹⁵ An anomaly presents itself in the information extracted from the Benchers and Library Committee Minutes Books of the Honorable Society of King's Inns and in the relevant years of *Thom's Directory*. A Library Committee meeting held on 19 January 1850 at King's Inns noted that Charles Frederick Stewart (Robert's father) was ill and was not attending the library.¹⁶ A meeting held almost one month later, on 14 February 1850, stated that Francis Robert Stewart was appointed as assistant librarian 'in the room of his father, the late Charles Frederick Stewart'.¹⁷ Francis Robert Stewart went on to become the principal librarian at King's Inns in 1862 but we do not know if Francis Robert Stewart was a third son of Charles Stewart or whether he was Robert's elder brother mentioned in Vignoles's *Memoir* as 'Charles'.¹⁸ The only address that seems to appear for Francis Robert Stewart in *Thom's Directory* was his work address, *i.e.* Henrietta Street, which makes it extremely difficult to trace him. *Thom's Directory* lists Francis Robert Stewart as assistant librarian at King's Inns from 1851 to 1861 inclusive and the lack of any clear parish association makes it difficult to find a resolution to the queries above.¹⁹

Robert Prescott Stewart married Maryanne Emily Browne (c1827–1887), a daughter of Peter Browne of Rahins, Co Sligo on 19 August 1846.²⁰ She died suddenly from a heart aneurism on 7 August 1887 and one year later, on 9 August

¹⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 138.

¹⁶ Library Committee Meeting, 19 January 1850, Minute Books of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, B2/6/1.

¹⁷ Library Committee Meeting, 14 February 1850, Minute Books of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, B2/6/1.

¹⁸ Benchers Meeting, 27 May 1862, Minute Books of The Honorable Society of King's Inns, B1/6/8.

¹⁹ 'List of Benchers, Honorable Society of King's Inns', *TD* (1851–61).

²⁰ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 'Marriage Records, Robert Stewart', <http://www.familysearch.org/eng/search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=/eng/search/ancestorsearchresults.asp> [accessed 23 February 2008].

1888, Stewart married his second wife, Marie Wheeler (c1841–1906) at the church of All Saints Ryde, on the Isle of Wight.²¹ Marie was the second daughter of Joseph Wheeler from Westlands, Queenstown in Cork and she died on 4 November 1906. Stewart described Marie as ‘a most sympathetic companion for Art of all kind, pictures, and also operas’ and he was impressed with her ability to speak German and French.²²

Four daughters were born to Robert and Maryanne. Frances Adelaide (Fanny) was born on 13 August 1847 but she died suddenly from an illness in February 1858 at the age of ten.²³ Their second daughter Charlotte Helen was born on 8 August 1848.²⁴ The birth dates of Madeline Emily Melesina and Ida Maud (Maria) Beatrice are unknown; the ‘Family Search’ website lists a Maud Stewart who was born in 1875,²⁵ but this would have meant that Maryanne was in her late forties or early fifties when Maud was born, which is improbable. Madeline and Ida are the only two sisters known to have married. Madeline married C.F. Pennefather on 23 April 1886 and Ida married Matthew Stephen D’Arcy on 29 October 1891.²⁶ Ida gave birth to a daughter, Ida Cecil on 24 September 1892 and it is reasonable to conjecture that this granddaughter is the one referred to by John O’Donovan in his *Irish Times* article on Stewart entitled ‘Big Fish in a Little Pond’.²⁷

²¹ ‘Deaths’, *IT*, 9 August 1887, p. 1. ‘Marriages’, *IT*, 11 August 1888, p. 1.

²² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Revd Edward Seymour, 14 November 1888, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 135.

²³ Raymond Refaüssé and Colm Lennon, eds, *A History of Christ Church, Dublin: The Registers of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 131.

²⁴ Refaüssé and Lennon, eds, *A History of Christ Church, Dublin*, p. 131.

²⁵ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, ‘Birth Records, Maud Stewart’, <http://www.familysearch.org/eng/search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=/eng/search/ancestorsearchresults.asp> [accessed 23 February 2008].

²⁶ ‘Marriages’, *IT*, 29 April 1886, p. 1 and 30 October 1891, p. 1.

²⁷ John O’Donovan, ‘Big Fish in a Little Pond’, *IT*, 19 December 1962, p. 10.

Stewart first appears in the Dublin directories in 1845 and is listed in the *Almanack Registry Directory* as living at 7 Cobourg Place.²⁸ He is recorded at various Dublin locations throughout his career including Baggot Street, Pembroke Street, Waterloo Road, Merrion Street and Bray. From 1889 to 1893 one of his three postal addresses was the Pantheon Club, Piccadilly, London, indicating that he spent time in England's capital city throughout the year and during the summer months. The inclusion of a London address in the Dublin directories suggests that Stewart was viewed and indeed probably attempted to portray himself as a figure of high social standing at this time in his career. Between 1884 and 1888 one of the addresses recorded for Stewart in *Thom's Directory* was an address at Eglinton, Bray, Co. Dublin and from entries on a 'Miss Stewart' resident at Eglinton, Bray between 1893 and 1906 in the Dublin Directories, we can surmise that this reference is to his daughter, Charlotte Helen Stewart.²⁹ As Stewart's second wife died in 1906, the house at Eglinton may have been sold or indeed inherited by some surviving members of the Wheeler family and this might be the reason that 'Miss Stewart' no longer appears in *Thom's Directory* after 1906. Charlotte Helen may have married and moved away from the Stewart family home or she may have died around this time. Stewart's daughters recalled that he was an affectionate father who found it very difficult to deny their childhood requests, and Charlotte penned a letter describing her father to Vignoles:

His kindness to us all was unfailing, and he never refused us anything that was in his power to bestow. But he never deceived us, nor ever told an untruth to make things *seem* pleasant. If we at any time found it difficult to take his word, his appeal was always: 'Children, did I ever deceive you?' and our hearts as well as our tongues immediately answered 'No!' His way of reconciling us to the never-welcome bedtime was to sit at our bedside and tell us stories; sometimes out of operas, as *Der Freischutz* [*sic*]; or some of Crofton Croker's Irish tales and legends; or fairy tales without end which his marvellous memory easily retained. His voice was beautiful,

²⁸ *ARD* (1845), p. 580.

²⁹ *TD* (1893–1906).

and we to this day can easily remember many of these funny or plaintive stories, and all their fanciful surroundings.³⁰

Despite early piano lessons from their father, none of Stewart's daughters pursued a career in music.

Information on Stewart's education is scarce and is principally confined to details recorded by Vignoles and Culwick. Stewart joined the Christ Church Cathedral choir school as a chorister in 1833 and he remained a devout Protestant throughout his life. As a chorister Stewart came under the care and tutelage of Revd John Finlayson and the Master of the Boys, Richard Beatty.³¹ Reading, writing, grammar, geography, history, Greek, Latin, mathematics and English were all taught at the choir school of Christ Church Cathedral.³² Stewart learned to play the piano and composed small-scale 'juvenile' piano pieces during his time as a chorister.³³

Benjamin Mullen, a senior vicar-choral at Christ Church Cathedral, remembered the young Robert Stewart at Christ Church in the 1830s:

As a boy he was exceptionally clever and brilliant, but of a restless disposition, and he would strongly resent offence, or opposition to his wishes. His devotion to music, and love for organ-playing were early developed, and I well remember that by the

³⁰ Letter from Charlotte Stewart to Vignoles cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 13–14.

³¹ John Finlayson held the position of master of the choir school at Christ Church Cathedral and became precentor's assistant in November 1865. See Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), p. 155–58 and Barra Boydell, 'Music in the Nineteenth-Century Cathedral, 1800–70', *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, ed. Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 339–52. Richard Beatty was appointed Master of the Boys at Christ Church Cathedral in February 1830 and resigned in February 1873. Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 194. At a University of Dublin Choral Society Committee Meeting on Tuesday 26 March 1851, it was resolved that 'Rev. John Finlayson and R.W. Beatty Esq. be especially invited to the performances [of Stewart's MusB and MusD exercises] as having been Mr. Stewart's teachers.' University of Dublin Choral Society Minute Books, 1848–53, IRL-Dtc Mun/Soc/Choral/1/3.

³² Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 158 and Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 6–7.

³³ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 7.

time the Cathedral School would be opened, young Stewart would have had at least two hours of organ practice over.³⁴

Mullen also recorded that Stewart wrote a ‘beautiful hand’ with rapidity and earned some pocket-money by copying music into the cathedral choir books.³⁵

During his time as a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral Stewart was often employed by the University of Dublin Choral Society as a boy soprano because women members were not permitted to attend concerts held at Trinity College Dublin.³⁶ FitzGibbon records that eight boy choristers were required to attend the ordinary meetings of the choral society ‘for a fee of £1 per season’ and that a car was provided ‘at a cost of 3/- (15p) per night to take them from and to their homes’.³⁷ Stewart probably received his earliest lessons on the organ and piano at Christ Church Cathedral where the rules stipulated that the music master had to be present before a boy could carry out his practise on the cathedral organ.³⁸ Stanford believed that apart from these early years as a chorister at the cathedral Stewart was ‘wholly self-taught in music’:

He evolved his own organ-playing, his own knowledge of orchestration in particular and composition in general, his own general familiarity with the literature of European countries. How he did it is a mystery to me, for his grasp of every detail of contemporary progress was unmistakable, and he certainly had no one to teach him at home.³⁹

Dr. Humphrey Minchin, a lifelong friend of Stewart, and professor of botany at the Royal College of Surgeons, discussed how Stewart transposed a previously unseen

³⁴ Reminiscences of Benjamin Mullen cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁶ Women were instead restricted to attending the ‘Ladies’ Concerts’ that took place in a venue not on university grounds. See Gerald FitzGibbon, ‘“College Choral”, 1837–1987,’ *Hermathena*, 144 (1988), p. 41.

³⁷ FitzGibbon, ‘College Choral’, p. 56.

³⁸ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 159.

³⁹ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p. 45.

song a semi-tone higher at the piano when he was about eight or nine years old demonstrating his early versatility as a musician. Minchin also recorded that the young Stewart was a ‘constant student, reading every subject most carefully’ and filled his books with marginal remarks ‘indexed in such a manner that he could at once find any paragraph he wanted’.⁴⁰ His scores of Handel’s works were a particular favourite, and during Christmas holidays each year Stewart examined them, ‘making notes of any peculiarity he discovered in their harmonic treatment, and the like; while to examine the “scores” of the great masters was an unending pleasure to him at all times’.⁴¹ Stewart in later years frequently spoke to Bumpus about his ‘excellent foundation in Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, Purcell, Croft, Greene, and Boyce’, and the music of these composers would have been taught as part of the cathedral choir repertoire at Christ Church and St Patrick’s Cathedrals.⁴² Vignoles also records that it was not unusual for the young Stewart to deputise for a sick organist at a moment’s notice from the age of thirteen and his phenomenal musical memory has also been referred to on many occasions.⁴³

Stewart’s first composition at the age of eleven was a *Te Deum* from a Service in B flat (RS01) which was criticized for the consecutive fifths contained within the first two bars.⁴⁴ This did not dissuade the young boy however, and two years later he won third place in an anthem competition organized by the Antient Concerts Society in Dublin.⁴⁵ Stewart also enjoyed success in glee-writing

⁴⁰ Reminiscences of Humphrey Minchin cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 9–10.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

⁴² Reminiscences of John Skelton Bumpus, May 1896, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 196.

⁴³ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ Thomas Attwood Walmisley, music professor at Cambridge won the first prize and John Smith, music professor at Dublin won the second prize. Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 7–8.

competitions: his glee ‘O, Nightingale’ (RS09) won the St Germain’s prize in 1848,⁴⁶ and in 1851 his glees ‘The Dream’ (RS12) and ‘The Haymaker’s Song’ (RS13) won prizes offered by the Novello publishing firm.⁴⁷ Stewart took first and second prize in the 1856 Ashton Glee Club competition which received seventy-three compositions in total.⁴⁸ In 1865, Stewart’s song entitled ‘The Reefer Song’ (RS57) took first place in the London ‘Orchestra Prize’, and in 1869 his glee ‘The Song of the Fairies in the Ruins of Heidelberg’ (RS66) won a prize offered by the Hibernian Catch Club in Dublin.⁴⁹ Although not hugely significant prizes, they did assist Stewart in building his reputation as a composer. ‘The Dream’ and ‘The Haymaker’s Song’ were published by Novello and their availability in England would have contributed (at least in part) to Stewart’s acclaim outside of Dublin. Stewart’s compositions are listed in Appendices VIIa (in chronological order) and VIIb (by genre).

Upon the death of John Robinson in 1844, Stewart was appointed, at the age of nineteen, to the position of organist at the chapel of Trinity College Dublin and at Christ Church Cathedral. Joseph Robinson’s resignation from the conductorship of the University of Dublin Choral Society in 1846 created an attractive vacancy and Stewart was swiftly and efficiently elected in his place the day after Robinson resigned.⁵⁰ In February 1847 two concerts of Handel’s *Israel in Egypt* (HWV54),

⁴⁶ ‘University of Dublin’, *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Programme note to a University of Dublin Choral Society Concert held on 22 April 1851, IRL-Dn, IR780 p104/23; ‘Music’, *The Evening Mail*, 20 January 1851, located in UDCS Minute Books, 1844–51, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2.

⁴⁸ Vignoles, ‘Brief Sketch of the Career of Sir Robert P. Stewart’, p. 98.

⁴⁹ ‘Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D.’, p. 270.

⁵⁰ *University of Dublin Choral Society Fiftieth Season, List of Officers and Works Performed since the Foundation of the Society in 1887* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, Ponsonby and Weldrick, 1887), p. 13. According to this publication, Robinson resigned on 13 October 1846 and Stewart commenced his conductorship on 14 October 1846. Stewart conducted the University of Dublin Choral Society for almost fifty years.

performed by two hundred and fifty vocalists and instrumentalists to raise funds for the relief of the poor of Dublin city, were conducted by Stewart, who was then only twenty-one years of age. In the following June the University of Dublin Choral Society performed the first of Stewart's vocal compositions, a cantata with the opening words: 'Hence melancholy with thy dreary train' (RS05). The society performed the Irish première of Mendelssohn's *Athalie* (op.74) in April 1849. Stewart's career as an organist and conductor will be examined in further detail in chapter two and chapter three will discuss aspects of his sacred and secular compositions.

The year 1851 proved to be a memorable one for Stewart because on 22 February at the request of the University Choral Society, the Board of Trinity College Dublin resolved that Stewart was to be granted the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Music.⁵¹ This decision facilitated preparations for an extremely important occasion in the university both in terms of recognising and heightening the academic merit of the music degree at Trinity College and as a social event within the wider university community. All doctors, masters, fellows and professors on the college books, six friends of each of the senior fellows, four friends of each of the junior fellows and many of the Provost's friends were invited to the event by the board. The remaining seats in the hall were allocated to the choral society and to guests of Stewart.⁵²

The performance of Stewart's 'acts' for the award of MusB and MusD on 9 April 1851 in the Examination Hall of Trinity College was quite a ceremonious

⁵¹ Board Meeting, 22 February 1851, Trinity College Dublin Board Books, 1847–51, IRL-Dtc, Mun/v/5/9, p. 343.

⁵² 'University of Dublin', *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

occasion and proved an attraction to all faculties of the university.⁵³ A Service in E flat (RS15) and a setting of Psalm 107 (RS17), both for double choir and orchestra, were submitted by Stewart to satisfy the Bachelor and Doctor of Music regulations respectively. The performance was preceded by a short ceremony in the Commons Hall where the academic dress of Doctor of Music was bestowed upon the current music professor at Trinity College, John Smith.⁵⁴ According to the *Saunders's News-Letter*, the 'correct' attire of doctor of music was never seen in Ireland before this date and the design was obtained from the principal of St Edmond's College, Oxford.⁵⁵ Smith was acknowledged at this event because of his role in the revival of the music professorship at Trinity College and as a tribute to his promotion of the cultivation of music within the university. With Smith occupying the chair of music, the 'anomaly of granting degrees in music without a professor' had now passed, according to the newspaper, and 'propriety and accuracy' had been restored.⁵⁶

Both of Stewart's degrees were conferred without monetary charge as the university remitted all of the necessary expenses which amounted to just over £33.⁵⁷ The choral society defrayed the expenses of the college dues, stamp duties, cost of the academic robe and 'certain expenses' that Stewart incurred 'incidental to the performance' (all expenses amounting to approximately £50) as an acknowledgement of his contribution to Trinity College as chapel organist and

⁵³ The tenor solo in the sixth movement of Brian Boydell's cantata *Under no Circumstances* is based on the account of the performance of Stewart's MusB and MusD exercises that appeared in *The Evening Post*.

⁵⁴ The academic robes presented to John Smith and to Robert Prescott Stewart consisted of a 'rich white figured damask silk gown, lined and faced with crimson satin. The sleeves, wide and open, turned up with crimson satin; a double hood of white damask silk lined with crimson satin, and a black velvet round cap.' 'University of Dublin', *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵⁷ The fee for the Bachelor of Music degree was £11.15.0 and the fee for the Doctor of Music Degree was £22. *DUC* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith; London: Whittaker and Co., 1851), p. 8.

conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society.⁵⁸ These generous gestures on the part of the choral society and the university body exhibit the extent to which Stewart was recognised at this early stage of his career as a musician of considerable ability and merit. These qualities were also emphasised in the citation of the Lord Chief Justice Blackburne (chancellor of the university):

Independently of the services you have rendered our society as conductor [...] you have proved yourself well entitled to receive such an honor from the board, by the production of musical compositions of acknowledged ability. In the most important branch of the science—ecclesiastical music—your church services have shown you to be a master; and the superiority of your compositions in other styles is attested by the prizes which have been recently adjudged to them. In more than one instance they have been the subject of successful competition with the talent, not merely of these kingdoms, but of Germany; while the Exercise which you have written expressly for performance to-day would of itself place your name very high in the list of composers. [...] Whatever success has been enjoyed by the University Choral Society since we lost the assistance of our former eminent and distinguished conductor, is mainly attributable to you. The unwearied assiduity and zeal which you have uniformly exhibited, sparing neither time or trouble in advancing the interest of the society, and devoting your talents to its service, in a manner beyond what the duties of the office demanded, it is superfluous to do more than allude to on the present occasion. [...] In conclusion we beg your acceptance of the accompanying academical dress of Doctor in Music, as a token of our gratitude for the services you have rendered the society, and in testimony of our sense of the genius you have displayed as a composer.⁵⁹

In his reply to the Lord Chief Justice Stewart thanked the university representatives for the honour bestowed upon him and gave his assurance that he would take a ‘real and sincere interest’ in the ‘prosperity and success’ of the university choral society.⁶⁰ Stewart was then invested with the academic robes of a Doctor of Music.

Following Stewart’s address to the Lord Chief Justice, a procession, formed by the choirboys of the Christ Church Cathedral Choir, members of the University of Dublin Choral Society, the Lord Chief Justice and the Dean of St Patrick’s Cathedral,

⁵⁸ UDCS Minute Books, 1850–51, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2. ‘University of Dublin’, *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

⁵⁹ ‘University of Dublin’, *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

walked to the Examination Hall where Stewart's exercises were performed with an orchestral accompaniment of one hundred and twenty performers.⁶¹ This ceremonial event caused quite a stir within the university community as Trinity College had not witnessed an occasion of this kind in connection with the granting of degrees in music before.⁶² The significance of this event lies in the fact that it was most unusual for such a celebration at the awarding of music degrees at Trinity College and it highlights the honour with which the then twenty-six year old Stewart was held by the choral society and the board of the university. Although Stewart received his doctoral robes at the performance of his degree compositions on 9 April, he did not actually matriculate at Trinity College until 8 May, and he was 'officially' awarded his MusB and MusD at the commencements on 1 July 1851 according to the *Dublin University Calendar*.⁶³

Stewart's career as an organist and composer continued to expand in the 1850s. In 1852 he succeeded William Henry White as organist at St Patrick's Cathedral and this appointment ensured that Stewart held the three most prominent and prestigious positions available to an Anglican organist in nineteenth-century Dublin. An attempt on Stewart's part to form an amateur instrumental band during the period 1851 to 1852 did not come to fruition due to the 'irregular and unpunctual attendance at the practices'.⁶⁴ Several of Stewart's secular vocal compositions were composed between 1852 and 1860 and these included his *Inauguration Ode* for the Cork Exhibition (RS18, 1852), and his cantatas *A Winter Night's Wake* (RS33, 1858)

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁶² Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 33–34.

⁶³ George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir eds, *Alumni Dublinenses: a Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593–1860)* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1935, new edn with supplement), supplement, p. 113. *DUC* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith; London: Whittaker, 1852), pp. 49–50.

⁶⁴ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 31.

and *The Eve of St John* (RS39, 1860).⁶⁵ Little did Stewart realise that in the following year his career would diversify further, into the sphere of music education.

The professor of music at Trinity College Dublin, John Smith, died on 12 November 1861 and Stewart was elected music professor at his *alma mater* in March 1862 (Appendix VI lists the music graduates at Trinity College Dublin between 1847 and 1894). Throughout his thirty-two year professorship Stewart constantly attempted to raise the status of the music degree. An ongoing battle to alter a widespread perception found both amongst the members of the university community and externally, that a degree in music was not worthy of recognition as an award of academic excellence and rigour, occupied the Dublin professor but it was not an unfamiliar situation to his counterparts in Oxford and Cambridge. The status of university music degrees in the second half of the nineteenth century and Stewart's contribution to the chair of music at Trinity College Dublin will be discussed in detail in chapter five. The 1874 music degree examinations at Trinity College Dublin are located in Appendix III.

The 1860s and 1870s saw Stewart's engagement as conductor of the Bray Philharmonic Society (c1866–73), the Belfast Vocal Union (1867), the Dublin Philharmonic Society (1873–77), the Belfast Philharmonic Society (1877–81) and he was also involved with the Dublin Glee and Madrigal Union from 1865.⁶⁶ Stewart was offered the position of professor of harmony and composition, and the position of professor of piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in September 1869.

⁶⁵ See chapter three for a discussion of these compositions.

⁶⁶ See Ita Beausang, 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900', *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, IMS v, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 169–78.

Stewart's *Installation Ode* (RS50, 1863), his ode for the Dublin Exhibition (RS56, 1864) and the majority of his anthems, including *If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments* (RS48, 1863), *Thou O God Art Praised in Zion* (RS53, 1863) and *In the Lord Put I My Trust* (RS49, 1863) date from this period. Notable compositions from the following decade include his *Ode to Shakespeare* (RS72, 1870), his *Comic Cantata* (RS86, 1873), his cantata entitled *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* (RS85, 1873) and his ode of welcome to the American rifle team (RS88, 1875). He became the organ professor at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1879 and taught chamber music there from 1880 until 1888. The roles of vice-president and board member were also held by Stewart at this institution.⁶⁷ Appendix II contains a selection of the examination papers from the Royal Irish Academy of Music between 1873 and 1888 and Appendix V contains the biographical information of some of the former pupils of Stewart.

Stewart's first public lecture was delivered in 1862 and he continued to lecture until 1894. He contributed articles on Irish Music, Turlogh O'Carolan, Thomas Moore, Joseph Augustine Wade and William Vincent Wallace to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and entries on Bach, Berlioz and Sterndale Bennett to *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary*.⁶⁸ He also penned articles in various Irish journals and newspapers and programme notes for the 1886 Chamber Music Recitals at the Royal Dublin Society. Stewart's lectures are listed in Appendix VIII and a selection of these lectures will be examined in detail in chapter six.

⁶⁷ Richard Pine and Charles Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848–1998* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), pp. 517, 518, 525–28.

⁶⁸ *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary Containing Original Memoirs of the Most Eminent Men and Women of All Ages and Countries* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1867–69).

Another event of importance in Stewart's career was the bestowal of a knighthood upon him on 28 February 1872 in the Throne Room of Dublin Castle by the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Spencer.⁶⁹ The *Irish Times* remarked how no Irish doctor of music had received a knighthood since John Andrew Stevenson in 1803.⁷⁰ Stevenson and Stewart received the accolade of 'Knights Bachelor', which is in fact the lowest form of knighthood awarded, coming after Knights Commanders of St Michael and St George, on the 'scale of precedence'.⁷¹ Paying tribute to Stewart's 'marvellous command of the organ', and the 'incomparable taste and gracefulness' which featured in his compositions, the *Irish Times* commended his organ fantasia, composed for the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick (RS65), as an 'unrivalled' composition.⁷² The *Daily Express* in its coverage of the event focused on the merits of the knighthood recipient that justified his recognition in such a manner:

The compliment which Sir Robert Stewart has received will be regarded by the public as a just and graceful recognition of artistic genius and attainments of the first order, and by his musical brethren as a tribute paid to their profession in the person of one who so worthily represents them. He has long held, by the universal suffrages of the musical world and with the applause of his *confreres* [*sic*], the highest professional rank, alike distinguished as a composer, performer, and a teacher of the divine art.⁷³

⁶⁹ William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England ... Incorporating a Complete List of Knights Bachelors Dubbed in Ireland Compiled by G.D. Burtchaell*, ii (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1906), p. 363. Stewart received numerous letters of congratulations following his knighthood, some of which are printed in Vignoles's *Memoir*. Contemporaries of Stewart who passed on their good wishes included Edwin George Monk, organist of York Minster; Herbert Oakeley, music professor at Edinburgh; George Alexander Macfarren, music professor at Cambridge; his former pupil Charles Villiers Stanford and A.J. Hipkins, the chief manager of the Broadwood piano manufacturing firm. Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 97–100.

⁷⁰ *IT*, 29 February 1872, p. 5; A composer and a vicar-choral at the Dublin cathedrals of St Patrick's and Christ Church, Stevenson (c1761–1833) was appointed organist of the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle in 1814. He received a knighthood on 27 April 1803 but is probably best-known for his accompaniments to Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*. His sacred compositions consist of eight services and twenty-six anthems. See Lisa Parker, 'Stevenson, John Andrew', *EMIR*, gen eds. Barra Boydell and Harry White, forthcoming and W.H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1989), p. 49.

⁷¹ See Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage of the British Empire*, 12th edn (London: Saunders and Otley, 1843), p. 23. I am grateful to Pat O'Connell for drawing this book to my attention.

⁷² *IT*, 29 February 1872, p. 5.

⁷³ 'Sir Robert Prescott Stewart', *DE*, 29 February 1872, p. 2.

In a similar vein to the *Daily Express*, the *Musical Times* also focused on Stewart's attributes:

Stewart [...] holds a reputation which fully entitles him to the position he has attained. He has long been known as one of the most accomplished musicians of the day; and in Dublin he not only takes high rank as a composer, but since his appointment as University Professor, his public lectures have amply attested his deep study of the art to which he has devoted his life [...] In the active pursuit of his profession, therefore, there can be little doubt that time will but deepen our sense of his worthiness to hold the distinctive title with which he has been invested.⁷⁴

Other newspapers including the *Dublin Evening Mail* and the *Saunders's News-Letter* summarised Stewart's musical career and discussed his days as a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral, his prize-winning glees, his notable compositions for the Cork and Dublin exhibitions and his lectures on Irish musicians delivered to raise funds to a memorial to John Stevenson in St Patrick's Cathedral.⁷⁵

The knighthood celebrations were to continue, and almost one year later, a large number of Stewart's friends from the cathedral choirs, the Hibernian Catch Club, the Philharmonic Society, the University Choral Society, the Bray Philharmonic Society and the Royal Irish Academy of Music organized a presentation for him on 18 January 1873 in the Dining Room of the Antient Concert Rooms.⁷⁶ At this occasion Stewart was presented with a 'large and handsome salver, a tea and coffee service of solid silver, a splendid centre piece and plateaux, and a set of corner dishes' from Messrs Waterhouse.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Henry C. Lunn, 'Distant Music', *MT*, 15 (1872), p. 433.

⁷⁵ 'Sir Robert Stewart, Mus. Doc.', *DEM*, 29 February 1872, p. 3, 'Knighthood of Professor Stewart of Dublin', *SN*, 19 March 1872, p. 1.

⁷⁶ 'Presentation to Sir Robert Stewart', *DE*, 20 January 1873, p. 3.

⁷⁷ 'Presentation to Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.Doc.', *IT*, 20 January 1873, p. 2.

Five months later a ‘Sonnet on the knighthood of Sir Robert P. Stewart, Mus.Doc., T.C.D.’ written by Revd William McIlwaine was published in the *Dublin University Magazine*:

Not always is it that the voice of *Fame*,
In court, or camp, or ‘midst the festive scene,
Is guided by distinction due, I ween,
When heralding on high, with loud acclaim,
In boastful wise, some known and vaunted name:
Nor ever is it that the laurel crown,
From Honour’s uplift hand alighting down,
Adorns the head that most deserves the same.
But see! Our STEWART, how he wears his bays,
High on the mount where Music loves to dwell
With her twin sister, *Poësie!* The rays
Which gild his honoured brow, all cloudless, tell
That Envy’s self dares not to dark the praise
Thus due and dealt to him, earned, too, so well.⁷⁸

Stewart was duly elected to positions on committees and boards throughout his career. He acted as an Irish representative on the council of musicians assembled for the National Music Meetings that took place at the Crystal Palace between 27 June and 6 July 1872 and was one of seven directors of Henry Bussell’s music business in 1873.⁷⁹ He was listed under the ‘patrons and subscribers’ section of the Dublin Operatic Society in 1876 and from 1883 to 1889 Stewart and Joseph Smith were the first music examiners appointed to the Royal University of Ireland (see Appendix IV for the 1887 and 1889 music degree examinations at the Royal University of Ireland). A further honour was to greet Stewart in 1885 when to his surprise and delight he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Music.⁸⁰ He sent several of his own possessions to the Musical Loan Collection at South Kensington in 1885 including Joseph Haydn’s breastpin, his gilded and stone

⁷⁸ Revd William McIlwaine, ‘Sonnet on the knighthood of Sir Robert P. Stewart, Mus.Doc., T.C.D.’, *DUM*, 487 (1873), p. 50.

⁷⁹ ‘National Music Meetings at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham’, *IT*, 2 March 1872, p. 4. ‘Bussell and Company Limited’, *FJ*, 3 June 1873, p. 4.

⁸⁰ ‘Operatic Society 1876’, *IT*, 21 February 1876, p. 6. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Revd Dr George Bell, 12 May 1885, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 158–59.

ornamented baton (presented to him in 1848), a selection of photographs from his travels to Salzburg and other places and an Indian wood harmonicon.⁸¹ In the following year Stewart was chosen as vice-president for the Edinburgh Musical Society and in 1888 Stewart was invited to become a member of the committee of the Irish Exhibition at Olympia in London (along with Joseph Robinson) to offer advice on the recitals of Irish music and Irish musicians who could be engaged to perform at the event.⁸² Stewart also organized the contribution of original musical scores, harps and bagpipes to the exhibition.⁸³ For the Tercentenary celebrations at Trinity College in July 1892 Stewart was commissioned to compose the music to the text of the *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141) written by the poet George Francis Savage-Armstrong, and Stewart conducted its première on 5 July 1892.⁸⁴ This was Stewart's last large-scale composition.⁸⁵ He helped to facilitate a visit from some representatives of the Incorporated Society of Musicians to Dublin in 1893 which resulted in the establishment of the Leinster Section of the society and Stewart was elected to the council of the Leinster Section in November of that year.⁸⁶ Stewart was

⁸¹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 12 May 1885, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 159.

⁸² *WIT*, 11 February 1886, p. 2. 'Irish Industrial Exhibition, Olympia', *IT*, 21 April 1888, p. 6. Stewart and Robinson contacted Charles Villiers Stanford who inspected the recital room at Olympia and he reported 'most favourably' on the 'acoustic properties' of the room. 'Irish Exhibition in London', *IT*, 12 May 1888, p. 3.

⁸³ 'The Irish Exhibition in London', *IT*, 31 May 1888, p. 5.

⁸⁴ George Francis Savage-Armstrong (1845–1906) was born at Rathfarnham, Dublin and graduated with a BA from Trinity College Dublin in 1869. He received an honorary MA from Trinity College in 1872 and in 1891 he received the honorary degree of DLitt from Queen's College Cork where he was professor of English and History. His works include *Stories of Wicklow* (1886), *Queen-Empress and Empire* (1897) and *The Crowning of the King* (1902). D.J. O'Donoghue, rev. Deirdre Toomey, 'Armstrong, George Francis Savage- (1845–1906)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35962>> [accessed 24 June 2008].

⁸⁵ Chapters two and three contain further information on the Tercentenary Festival and Stewart's *Tercentenary Ode* written for the occasion.

⁸⁶ Account from W.H. Cummings cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 208–09. 'Incorporated Society of Musicians', *IT*, 29 November 1893, p. 6.

expected to take up the presidency of the Union of Graduates in Music in 1894 but he died before the commencement of his tenure as president.⁸⁷

Positioned on the periphery of a musically thriving Europe, geographical isolation and insularity hampered the Irish composer and hindered the extent to which contact with mainstream Europe was possible. Stewart's awareness of these restrictive circumstances prompted his decision to travel abroad for the first time in 1851 to the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London.⁸⁸ As Culwick surmises, Stewart recognised the danger of a limited experience to an artist resident in Ireland when he wrote: 'nothing is so narrowing, contracting, hardening as always to be moving in the same groove, with no thought beyond what we immediately see and hear close around us'.⁸⁹ In a letter to a Trinity College Dublin music graduate, Arthur Froggatt, written towards the end of his career, Stewart explained how he tried to visit London as often as possible: 'even I generally contrive to visit the big city once or twice a year, just to keep my ears and mind from starving'.⁹⁰ In 1855 and 1870 Stewart attended the Birmingham Music Festival and in July 1857, following a visit to the Manchester Exhibition, he travelled to France and Germany.

In 1862 Stewart and another companion, J.C. Fitzgerald, sailed to London for the Handel Festival at Sydenham. Stewart and several other Dublin vocalists, including Benjamin and Joe Mullen and John Dunne were to participate in the chorus

⁸⁷ *Roll of the Union of Graduates in Music and Kalendar for 1895* (London: C. Jacques and Son; Cambridge: Deighton Bell, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, Durham: Andrews, 1895), p. 40.

⁸⁸ Unfortunately the accounts written by Vignoles and Culwick relating to Stewart's travels to Europe only specify a small number of festivals that he attended.

⁸⁹ James Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of his Life and Works* (Derby: Chadfield, 1900), p. 9.

⁹⁰ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Arthur Froggatt, [c1892], cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 188.

for the performance of *Messiah* (HWV56) for the ‘usual modest remuneration’.⁹¹ A diary entry by Stewart, recorded in Vignoles’s *Memoir*, described the rehearsal of approximately 3,000 singers at Exeter Hall under the direction of Michael Costa:⁹²

The arrangements were admirable, everything managed without confusion. The chorus was very good, taking all in all, but in any chromatic passage many of the tenors sang much out of tune. Costa pulled the choir up when anything flagrant occurred, but he spoke so quickly that none of us who were far off could hear what he said. Mr. Bowley (who addressed them once or twice) spoke out in a clear telling voice, begging the singers to keep their feet still, and not to be impatient, &c! [...] Costa’s *beat* was very wild and erratic, quite unlike the way Arditì, or Sterndale Bennett, or Henry Leslie use the baton. Costa beat up and across and down in all parts of the bar, which made it very difficult for a singer who had lost his place to pick it up again at the right point. But Costa was energetic enough where energy was required; and if the *tempo* was often dismally slow, this may fairly be put down to the unwieldy ass with which he had to deal.⁹³

Acis and Galatea (HWV49a), *Israel in Egypt*, and selections from *Samson* (HWV57) and *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV63) were all performed at the 1862 festival, and, not surprisingly, Stewart also found the time to visit the Great Exhibition at South Kensington. Three years later he attended the Triennial Handel Festival in London and made the following comparisons with the previous festival in 1862:

The chorus-singing was not nearly so steady as in 1862, nor the choir so attentive. *Bolts* were frequent, and points were missed by dozens of men around me. In 1862 I was only one of many steady hands, but this time I often led off alone. I had not been at the rehearsal, and no one seemed to know what chorus was to come next [this refers to the *Selection* concert on June 26th], the music being wrongly stitched together; and more than once no one at all led off. The beating of Costa did not convey his meaning, except to those who knew it before; so to the country members he was even less intelligible than in 1862. Even the bass trombones and the euphoniums, who were as steady as rocks at the last Festival, now blundered repeatedly in the *Israel* (28th June): this was apparent to one of Costa’s admirers, who sat next me, and who was obliged to laugh at the mistakes in spite of himself. The only solution of the inferiority of these performances to those of the former Festival is that lower terms (to members of the orchestra and choir) were given to those who would accept them. This accounts for a worse chorus, worse trombones, &c., and also for the absence of Tietjens, who is understood to have asked a higher remuneration than Bowley would give.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Diary entry 20 June 1862, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 61.

⁹² Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 42.

⁹³ Diary entry 20 June 1862, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 62–63.

⁹⁴ Diary entry, 26 June 1865, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 82–83. Therese Tietjens was a soprano soloist born in Hamburg in 1831. She made her début in 1849 in Donizetti’s *Lucrezia Borgia*. She also took the role of Leonore in Beethoven’s *Fidelio*, Iphigenia in Gluck’s *Iphigénie en Tauride* and

In 1871 Stewart travelled to Bonn for the Beethoven Festival and in the following year he attended the Schumann Festival. He visited the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester and the Norwich Festival in 1873, and in 1876 he made the first of five visits to Bayreuth to attend the first performance of Wagner's *Ring* (op.86).⁹⁵ His tour of Bavaria, Austria and Germany began in September of that year and a return visit to Bayreuth in 1884 saw his attendance at the production of Wagner's *Parsifal* (op.111). Stewart met Franz Liszt at this performance of *Parsifal*, and enjoyed a 'long talk' with him.⁹⁶ In his 1875 lectures he recounted that he stood beside Liszt in 1841, when the Hungarian performed a piano transcription of Rossini's *William Tell* (LWA54) during a visit to Dublin.⁹⁷ His fourth and fifth visits to Bayreuth took place in 1891 and 1892, and his final visit to London was undertaken in 1893. It was not unusual for Stewart to spend portions of the summer months in London with his wife and he continued to do this until the year before he died.

The extent of Stewart's travels did not go unnoticed by his peers. According to Hercules MacDonnell,⁹⁸ Stewart's 'liberality in appreciating different schools was developed by the enthusiasm with which he went to distant places at great expense to hear remarkable performances'. This is all the more noteworthy when MacDonnell

Ortrud in Wagner's *Lohengrin*. She was a well-known opera and oratorio performer in London and Dublin. Elizabeth Forbes, 'Tietjens, Therese', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy

<<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.27950>> [accessed 15 April 2008] and R. H. Legge, 'Tietjens, (Johanna) Therese Carolina (1831–1877)', rev. John Rosselli, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2748>> [accessed 15 April 2008]. Robert Bowley (1813–1870) was the general manager of the Crystal Palace from 1858. W. B. Squire, rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Bowley, Robert Kanzow (1813–1870)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3074>> [accessed 15 April 2008].

⁹⁵ Edward Seymour, precentor of Christ Church Cathedral Dublin accompanied Stewart to the Worcester and Norwich Festivals. Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 38.

⁹⁶ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 15.

⁹⁷ See chapter six for a discussion of Stewart's lectures on stringed-keyed instruments delivered in 1875.

⁹⁸ MacDonnell was a founding member of the University of Dublin Choral Society and was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin. He was called to the bar in 1842 and was the author of *A Book of Dates, Operatic, Dramatic, and Musical Compiled for the Strollers* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1878). Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 58–59; FitzGibbon, 'College Choral', p. 35.

explained that the other professional musicians in Dublin hardly ever pursued this course, and thus ‘failed to develop the broad taste which Sir Robert cultivated’.⁹⁹ The *Musical World* made the following comments about Stewart’s tendency to travel to Europe during the summer months:

In the first week of July the wanderlust seizes him, and plants him in some Continental City, or in an English Cathedral town, studying architecture (a favourite hobby), listening to music, or shaking the dust off some medieval volume.¹⁰⁰

The acquaintances and associates that Stewart met as a result of his travels included organists, composers, conductors and performers. His counterparts at Oxford, (Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley), Cambridge (William Sterndale Bennett and George Alexander Macfarren) and Edinburgh (Herbert Oakeley), William Thomas Best, Aristide Cavallé-Col, Michael Costa, George Grove, Ferdinand Hiller, William Henry Husk, Louis Lefébure-Wély, Edwin George Monk, Christine Nilsson, George Osborne, Ernst Pauer, Walter Parratt, Hans Richter, Charles Salaman, Giovanni Sgambati, William Spark and Alexander Thayer are just some of the musical figures that Stewart met on his trips to England and the Continent. Some of the associates that Stewart encountered were very welcoming towards their visitor and often invited him to join them for a meal in their family homes. Stewart met John Goss in June 1862 while on a visit to London for the Handel Festival and subsequently met with him on several occasions. Stewart’s diary entry for 29 June 1862, reproduced in Vignoles’s *Memoir*, describes such a meeting at Goss’s residence:

We spent our evening inspecting Attwood’s MSS., including the papers wherein Mozart conveyed his instructions to his favourite English pupil. I carried home with me a copy of Goss’s anthem (*The Wilderness*) which I afterwards introduced into

⁹⁹ Hercules MacDonnell cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 209.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’, *IT*, 4 September 1893, p. 6. According to the *IT*, this article was taken from an article on Robert Prescott Stewart that appeared in the September issue of the *MW*.

Christ Church, Dublin. I liked Goss very much, he was so friendly, and more like the Irish, without the stiffness of most Englishmen.¹⁰¹

While the majority of the musicians, composers, conductors and organists listed above were to remain as mere acquaintances of Stewart, several of them, including William Sterndale Bennett, George Alexander Macfarren, Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley and George Grove did keep in contact with him by letter and met with Stewart during his visits to England.

The high reputation attained by Stewart since his first appointment at Christ Church Cathedral in 1844 is illustrated by his association with all of the main musical centres and institutions in Dublin. Following his appointment to the chair of music at Trinity College Dublin in particular, his services as a pedagogue, conductor, composer and lecturer in Dublin were in constant demand. He exhibited a broad range of activities and responsibilities and consequently he was viewed as one of the essential all-round musical figures in Dublin both by contemporary Irish society and his counterparts in England. The practical and theoretical elements of music were equally important to Stewart and the following chapter will explore his contribution to musical life in Dublin as an organist and conductor.

¹⁰¹ Diary Entry, 29 June 1862, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 69.

Part 1: The Practical Victorian Musician

Chapter 2

The Organist and Conductor

Robert Prescott Stewart's musical activities epitomise the model of the Victorian musician working under the multiple-occupations of organist, conductor, composer, instrumental pedagogue and educator. The extent of his interaction with Dublin's musical establishments and its vocalists and instrumentalists as a performer and conductor will be examined in this chapter along with an assessment of the different types of concert that he participated in and the contributions that he introduced to the sphere of organ technique in Ireland.

Stewart received his earliest lessons on the piano and organ at Christ Church Cathedral when he joined the choir school at the age of eight, although it is not known when he received his first lessons or indeed the length of time that he received lessons for. Contemporary accounts relating to the musical prowess exhibited by the young boy recall the time when Stewart played the organ at his first Sunday service at the age of thirteen. The organist John Robinson could not attend the Sunday service due to illness so the choir members were preparing to perform the service unaccompanied when the teenager offered to play the organ, and 'without missing a note played the prescribed service from beginning to end'.¹ Given the talent that Stewart exhibited at Christ Church, it is not surprising that by the time he reached the age of sixteen he was regarded as the best organist in Dublin after John

¹ Humphrey Minchin cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 9.

Robinson and was made his deputy-organist at the cathedral two years later. According to Benjamin Mullen, Stewart was quite popular at social occasions in his late teens and early twenties because of his 'retentive memory', and his 'ready facility in playing music for their entertainment made him almost indispensable'.²

John Robinson's death in 1844 left an opening for the positions of organist at Christ Church Cathedral and the chapel of Trinity College, appointments to which Stewart was duly elected. In 1852 the twenty-seven year old succeeded William Henry White as organist at St Patrick's Cathedral.³ The three most distinguished organ positions in Dublin were now occupied by Stewart and he fulfilled all the duties incident to these 'triple thrones' with 'unabated zeal and acknowledged distinction'.⁴ The position of organist at Christ Church Cathedral was retained by Stewart for almost fifty years although he resigned the organistship at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1861 to take up a position as vicar-choral. Stewart's Sundays were completely dedicated to his performance at the weekly services: he attended the chapel of Trinity College in the morning for the 11.15am service, in the early afternoon he was present at the organ in Christ Church Cathedral, and he was to be found at St Patrick's Cathedral at three o'clock, where, although after 1861 no longer

² Benjamin Mullen cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 10.

³ Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 424. Stewart held the organistship concurrently with William Murphy from 1852 to 1861. From 1861, Stewart, now holding the position of vicars-choral at St Patrick's Cathedral, continued to play at the Sunday afternoon service while Murphy played at the morning service. For this reason certain members of the public believed (in error) that Stewart was the full-time organist at St Patrick's Cathedral. See 'Baptie's "Biography of Musicians"', *MT*, 24 (1883), pp. 559, 684; 'Baptie's "Biography of Musicians"', *MT*, 25 (1884), pp. 40, 100, 167; Annie Patterson, 'Eminent Dublin Musicians: Mr. Charles Marchant', *WIT*, 18 August 1900, p. 3 and St Patrick's Cathedral, 'The Succession of Organists in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin', <<http://www.stpatrickscathedral.ie>> [accessed 09 June 2008].

⁴ Olinthus Vignoles, 'Reminiscences of Sir Robert P. Stewart', *MT*, 35 (1894), p. 318.

formally the cathedral organist, ‘large congregations never failed to assemble to hear the greatest organist [...] of the day’.⁵

Stewart appears to have been extremely conscientious of his duties and responsibilities as the organist at Christ Church Cathedral in his early years. He would often take a ‘quiet rehearsal’ with the choir to ensure that the Sunday service was well-practised, using a roll of music manuscript as a baton.⁶ William Stillman’s account of Stewart’s capacity for keeping the choir members at St Patrick’s in tune and his ability to transpose the music at a moment’s notice is a testament to Stewart’s innate musical skill:

Should a nervous treble by chance start off the lead in an anthem or service in a wrong key, Sir Robert was quite ready for him; should a tenor suddenly find himself, on account of a bad throat, in difficulties as to his top notes, a hasty message would be sent to Sir Robert at the organ, and he would put the whole anthem half a tone down without further inconvenience.⁷

The diligent and assiduous approach displayed by Stewart in the early years of his tenure as organist does not seem to have lasted throughout his career, however. Barra Boydell points out that his absence during weekday services at Christ Church was covered by senior choirboys who acted as temporary assistants and the choir rehearsals themselves, under the direction of Richard Beatty, were ‘more often than not confined to a haphazard ten minutes at the piano while the surplices were being put on’.⁸ This demonstrates an overall lapsed sense of duty at the cathedral where the weekday services were concerned. The situation at St Patrick’s was of a similar nature to that at Christ Church as Stillman’s account illustrates:

⁵ Charles H. Kitson, ‘Sir Robert Prescott Stewart 1825–1894’, *MT*, 67 (1926), p. 240. ‘Sir Robert Stewart’, *IT*, 26 March 1894, p. 5.

⁶ Benjamin Mullen cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 6.

⁷ William Stillman, succentor of St Patrick’s Cathedral from 1885 to 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 182–83.

⁸ Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 159 and Boydell, ‘Music in the Nineteenth-Century Cathedral, 1800–70’, p. 349.

Sir Robert rarely attended rehearsals at the cathedral; but on occasions, when some important or unfamiliar composition was to be tried, he would appear, and, in that genial fashion which was peculiarly his own, would conduct the practice. Now and then, of course, things did not go quite smoothly; perhaps the choir did not rise to the occasion or the junior members were inattentive, or the trebles got out of tune. Then the *Maestro* would leave his desk and sarcastically enquire whether they hadn't better sing through something easy, say the *Old Hundredth*, and go home! There would be an awkward pause, and Hemsley or some other vicar-choral, would assure him that everything would go right the next time. So, after a few moments, the conductor, in a voice of tragic despair, would suggest that they 'might try it over just once again.' After a few terrific minutes all the difficulties would be vanquished: smiles would return to Sir Robert's face; irony would be succeeded by praise; and kind words to all the singers would bring the rehearsal to a peaceful close.⁹

Thomas Drury recollects that Stewart and some of his acquaintances were known to exhibit 'bad behaviour' and share jokes of the 'smoke-room' variety at the Sunday afternoon service at St Patrick's Cathedral.¹⁰ They also allegedly kept up 'an almost incessant conversation during Divine Service' except when Stewart was actually engaged in playing the organ.¹¹ Stewart was popular with the staff of the viceroy, Lord Londonderry, between 1886 and 1889, as noted by Stillman in the following excerpt:

a large party from the Castle would come down to the cathedral on some week-day morning or afternoon to hear Sir Robert Stewart give an organ recital, [and] I used to take up request after request from Lady Londonderry, or her guests, to the organ, for different favourite pieces to be played, and Sir Robert never failed to furnish them at once with what they asked for.¹²

Stewart's positions at the Anglican Cathedrals supplied him with a steady and constant source of income throughout his career.

⁹ Recollections of William Stillman cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 183–84.

¹⁰ The Revd Canon Thomas William Ernest Drury (1872–1960) was appointed to the positions of treasurer and precentor at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1924 and 1935 respectively. He was professor of pastoral theology at Trinity College Dublin from 1921 to 1926. 'Obituary: Canon T.W.E. Drury, M.A.', *IT*, 8 February 1960, p. 5. T.W.E. Drury, *Unforgotten* (Dublin: Association for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1951), p. 119.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹² William Stillman cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 182.

The Industrial Exhibitions held in Dublin and Cork provided a public forum for organ recitals during the latter half of the nineteenth century and Stewart was no stranger to these events. In 1851 he travelled to the Great Exhibition in London and performed some of Bach's fugues on the Hill organ in the gallery of the Crystal Palace. He also found time to visit the collection of organs and other instruments on display at Hyde Park. For the Cork Exhibition of 1852 Stewart resided at the Telford organ for the performance of his *Inauguration Ode* (RS18), while Joseph Robinson conducted the two hundred musicians consisting of members of the Antient Concerts, Philharmonic, and Royal Choral Societies of Dublin.¹³ It was discovered at the last minute that the Telford organ completed for the 1853 Dublin Exhibition was a semitone too low in pitch but Stewart successfully transposed the organ part a semitone higher, 'an extraordinary feat carried out to perfection to the delight and enthusiastic admiration of all present'.¹⁴ He played the 'Great Telford Organ' for the opening and closing ceremonies of the exhibition and he was employed by the committee to give daily performances upon the different organs in the exhibition.¹⁵ According to an observer at some of Stewart's performances, '[his] peculiarly happy and graceful touch was in every way calculated to familiarize the Irish ear to the softest and most beautiful harmony of ancient and modern times', and the audience departed with a sense of admiration for the Irish organist.¹⁶

¹³ John Francis Maguire, *The Industrial Movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852* (Cork: John O'Brien, 1853), p. 445.

¹⁴ Edward Seymour cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 39.

¹⁵ Joseph Robinson conducted one thousand performers at the inaugural concert of the Exhibition. 'The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853', *FJ*, 13 May 1853, p. 3 and 'Closing of the Exhibition', *DEM*, 2 November 1853, p. 3. The Telford organ was exhibited in the west end of the main hall, the organ manufactured by Bevington and Sons was placed in the east end, and the organ produced by White was located in the Furniture Court. *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853* (Dublin: Falconer, 1853), pp. 130–131. See *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853*, ed. John Sproule (Dublin: James McGlashan; London: William S. Orr, 1854), pp. 245–48 for a brief description of the Telford, Bevington and White organs on display.

¹⁶ *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853*, p. 133.

At the 1865 Dublin International Exhibition Stewart presided at the organ for the evening concerts and he attended the 1883 Industrial Exhibition held in Cork between 3 July and 13 October.¹⁷ The type of concert that Stewart participated in as an organist was not limited to industrial exhibition recitals. He also performed at concerts organized to raise funds for charitable causes and those given by amateur music or choral societies. Stewart was one of a number of choir members from Christ Church Cathedral who performed at a concert to raise funds for the restoration of the organ in St Michan's parish church in 1863, and he played for the official launch of new organs at St Patrick's Cathedral and the churches of St Andrew's and St Matthias' in 1865, 1872 and 1893 respectively.¹⁸ The programme for the latter, which was possibly Stewart's last public organ performance, consisted of an unidentified fugue by J.S. Bach, *Fantasia on a theme* by Ascher, a fugue in the style of Bach by Hesse, an extempore on an air to be announced at the service, *Consolation* by Dussek and an arrangement of the overture to Handel's *Samson* (HWV57). The congregation listened 'with delight' to Stewart's playing which held them 'spell-bound' for the duration of his performance.¹⁹ An organ recital by Stewart also formed part of the music programme performed at the Grand Fete Day in Dublin on 1 July 1880.²⁰

Stewart did not undertake any organ recital tours of Ireland or elsewhere (due to his other work commitments) and despite the proficiency which he is reported to

¹⁷ *IT*, 10 August 1865, p. 1.

¹⁸ Stewart played one of Handel's organ concertos at the 1863 concert in St Michan's Church and other singers from Christ Church in attendance included Francis Robinson, Edward Peele, Samuel Dobbin and Benjamin Mullen. 'Concert in St Michan's Schoolhouse', *IT*, 24 April 1863, p. 3. 'St Andrew's Church—Opening of a New Organ', *IT*, 6 April 1872, p. 6. At the end of this sermon a collection was made towards the £100 still to be raised to pay for the organ. 'St Matthias' Church Jubilee', *IT*, 21 November 1893, p. 5.

¹⁹ 'St Matthias' Church Jubilee', *IT*, 21 November 1893, p. 5.

²⁰ 'Grand Fete Day', *IT*, 28 June 1880, p. 2.

have demonstrated, there is relatively little information pertaining to his repertoire for the organ. We do have a record of one of Stewart's recitals from March 1848 when he demonstrated the Telford organ built for Radley College in the Telford workshop and the programme consisted of the following:

Part One

Recitative, overture and chorus 'Help Lord' from *Elijah* – Mendelssohn

Selections from the 'Pastoral' Symphony – J.S. Bach

Voluntary in B flat – C.H. Rinck

Melody from the opera of *Faust* – Spohr

Finale from Sonata I – Mendelssohn

Part Two

'Hear ye Israel' from *Elijah*

Sonata II – Mendelssohn

Trio in A minor – Hesse

Grand Fugue in C minor – Hesse

Overture from *Samson* – Handel.²¹

The organ music performed by Stewart reflects what Jeremy Dibble describes as 'the overwhelming predilection at that time for performing transcriptions of operatic, orchestral, chamber, and song repertoires where original compositions for the organ were in the minority'.²² Organ transcriptions of choral works were extremely popular during the nineteenth century, in particular those of Mendelssohn's *Athalie* (op.74) and *Elijah* (op.70), and Handel's *Samson* (HWV57), *Judas Maccabaeus* (HWV63) and *Julius Caesar* (HWV17). Stewart included music by Adolf Hesse, Louis Spohr and the 'St Anne' prelude and fugue of Bach (BWV552) in his organ recitals, and he was well-known for his transcriptions for organ of orchestral, operatic and oratorio music. His arrangement of the finale to Mendelssohn's Third Symphony (op.56) was published c1889 and performed by some of his organ pupils at the Royal Irish

²¹ Anne Leahy, 'William Telford: Organ Builder' (unpublished MA diss., St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1987), p. 4.

²² Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 52.

Academy of Music.²³ The subjects for Stewart's organ voluntaries that were performed during the collection at St Patrick's Cathedral often included a movement from one of Mendelssohn's organ sonatas, while his opening voluntaries often consisted of phrases found in the opening of Mendelssohn's *Hear My Prayer* and *Hymn of Praise*, again demonstrating that Mendelssohn was certainly one of Stewart's organ 'Masters'.²⁴

There are several accounts by contemporaries of Stewart that refer to his performance of Mendelssohn's organ music, particularly the organ sonatas op.65 published in 1845.²⁵ Humphrey Minchin commented that Stewart was 'fascinated' with these new organ sonatas:

He went straight away to Christ Church Cathedral, and, locking himself in with the blower, he worked at these sonatas day by day till he knew them by heart. On the Sunday following, after he had played No. 1 of this set, his friends came rushing up to the organ loft to ask what he had been playing, and great was their astonishment when they saw no music on the desk. He [...] refused to give them any information, and teased them about their ignorance in not knowing such classical works!²⁶

George William Torrance, a former chorister at Christ Church Cathedral and later an organist and composer of some church music, remembered how the choir boys were allowed to go into the cathedral and play marbles and spin their tops while Stewart was 'locked in the organ loft day after day, practising Mendelssohn's Organ Sonatas' (op.65).²⁷ His performance of the finale from the first organ sonata and the entire second sonata of Mendelssohn were among the first public performances of this

²³ Stewart's transcription was performed by a 'Miss Browne' at the annual pupils' concert on 6 June 1889 and at an afternoon concert by a 'Miss Kirkpatrick' on 27 November 1890. Royal Irish Academy of Music Minute Books, 1889 and 1890, Irish National Archives, NA 1120/1/10 and 1120/4/8.

²⁴ Drury, *Unforgotten*, pp. 131–32.

²⁵ Gerard Gillen, 'William Telford and the Victorian Organ', *Music and the Church*, IMS ii, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 118.

²⁶ Humphrey Minchin cited in Vignoles, *Brief Sketch*, p. 101.

²⁷ William Torrance cited in Vignoles, *Brief Sketch*, p. 107.

music in Ireland.²⁸ Stewart also undertook the responsibility of performing on the organ at honorary conferring ceremonies at Trinity College Dublin and at the commencements of the Royal University of Ireland.²⁹

From Stewart's diary entries reproduced in Vignoles's *Memoir*, it is clear that he attempted to visit as many organs, organists and organ-builders as he could during his travels, and he frequently took notes on the condition of each organ he inspected, also noting the standard and technique of his fellow European counterparts. In July 1857 Stewart attended the Art-Treasures Exhibition at Manchester and gave two recitals at the exhibition. He also met with the organ-builder Frederick Jardine and inspected one of his organs at St Peter's Church.³⁰ From Manchester, Stewart travelled to France and met with the French organ-builder Aristide Cavallé-Col and the organists Louis Lefébure-Wély and Auguste Durand.³¹ Joseph Robinson remarked that Stewart's style of organ-playing seemed quite different when he returned from France and indicates that Stewart may have developed his technique from the French organists that he came into contact with:

The brilliant French school had attracted Dr. Stewart very much, and so clever was he that he was able to adopt anything novel which had captivated his fancy. On the first Sunday after his return I could almost imagine that it was Wély of the 'Madeleine' that was at the instrument, so complete was the change from Stewart's former style of organ-playing.³²

A trip to London in 1862 included a visit to the Hill organ factory and a visit to William Spark, a former music degree recipient at Trinity College Dublin and

²⁸ Gillen, 'William Telford and the Victorian Organ', p. 118.

²⁹ It was usual practice at the Royal University of Ireland commencements that a recital was given before and after the ceremony and selected pieces, including the national anthem and compositions by Bach and Mendelssohn, formed the repertoire.

³⁰ Extract from diary Robert Prescott Stewart cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 46.

³¹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 47–52.

³² Joseph Robinson cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 57.

organist at the town hall of Leeds.³³ Stewart also inspected the organs at St Paul's and St Andrew's, Wells Street, London on this visit and met with fellow organists John Goss and W.H. Cummings.³⁴ His visit to Germany and Austria in 1876 saw similar organ inspections, particularly of the organ of the Protestant Church in Regensburg and at St Florian's Church near Enns in Austria.³⁵ Even into his sixties, Stewart was still taking every opportunity to view and examine organs as a letter to Bumpus illustrates:

Lady Stewart and I made a pilgrimage to Little Stanmore Church, and by a manoeuvre we made the servant open unto us, and knocked up the parson, one Rev. Mr. Norma, who was most civil and enthusiastic. He broke in a door with his shoulder that we might get in and see the organ, with its old-fashioned case, and with its two eighteenth century towers, all *secundum artem!* He also blew the bellows for me to play for a half-hour.³⁶

Stewart and his wife invited Bumpus to accompany them on a visit to Greenstead Church in Essex in 1892, and he remarked that Stewart's trips to these 'nooks and corners of old England' helped to encourage his interest in musical antiquarianism and architecture, two of his favourite hobbies.³⁷

In September 1878 Stewart was engaged to play on the recently completed Cavallé-Col organ in the Manchester Town Hall. The *Manchester Courier* recorded Stewart's 'perfect control' over his instrument and paid tribute to his 'brilliant execution, taste and judgment' as well as pointing out that Stewart played the programme from memory.³⁸ Stewart gave two recitals at the town hall on 23

³³ Extracts from diary of Robert Prescott Stewart cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 70.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 112–16.

³⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to J.S. Bumpus, 13 January 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 170.

³⁷ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to J.S. Bumpus, 18 July 1892. I am grateful to Axel Klein for providing me with a copy of this letter. Reminiscences of J.S. Bumpus, May 1896, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 198.

³⁸ Extract from the *Manchester Courier*, September 1878, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 120–21.

September; the programme for the first concert included: *Fantasia in C minor* by Johann Schneider, overture to *Julius Caesar* by Handel, *Fugue in A minor* by Bach, Aria from *Faust* by Louis Spohr, *Prelude and Fugue in C minor* and the overture to *Athalie* by Mendelssohn while a march by Handel, Trio in A major and a Prelude and Fugue in C minor by Adolf Hesse formed part of the items performed in the second concert.³⁹

The expeditions to the Continent undertaken by Stewart greatly enhanced his organ technique; he kept in touch with every detail of contemporary progress, and was introduced to some of the most noted and esteemed European organists of his day. Stewart, in his reception of the European style of technique, further improved his own organ-playing, winning the respect and admiration of his contemporaries wherever he played. He even won the praise of John Stainer, professor of music at Oxford and an eminent organist, scholar and composer. Stainer remarked: ‘His skill, grafted on a rich flow of spontaneous melody, made it a treat to listen to him’.⁴⁰

Stewart’s more-than-average proficiency as an organist and extemporizer has been described and discussed at length by several of his contemporaries including Vignoles, Culwick, Bumpus, Stanford and Drury. The opinions expressed by these writers, all acquaintances of Stewart, are quite subjective and are permeated with a fondness and admiration for their subject. Drury is the only source that presents a more balanced overview of Stewart and does not shy away from pointing out some of his shortcomings in terms of his abilities as a conductor.⁴¹ The overall impression to be gleaned from these sources is that Stewart was known for his ‘ease and

³⁹ Extract from the *Manchester Courier*, September 1878, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 120.

⁴⁰ John Stainer cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 213.

⁴¹ Drury, *Unforgotten*, p. 134.

spontaneity' when performing, his gift as an extemporizer was 'amazing', and his memory was of a remarkable standard.⁴²

In terms of Stewart's contributions to organ-playing in Ireland, he was the first organist to 'cultivate pedal technique and a genuinely virtuosic style', and should be recognised today as a substantial contributor to his field.⁴³ He was reported to have applied the same method of phrasing to his organ music that the violinist Joseph Joachim incorporated into his performances. Stewart's 'staccato pedal' was described as remarkable by Torrance: 'at times his feet seemed to glide over the notes with a lightness and softness which can only be described as a touch of velvet; and in rapid passages the pedals were *manipulated* with all the delicacy and dexterity of practised fingers'.⁴⁴ Charles Marchant, Stewart's successor to the post of organist at Trinity College Dublin, recorded the following anecdote in relation to his memories of Stewart's technique as an organist:

In my younger days [...] I, and a fellow student of mine, named James Polden [...] were never taught the art of heeling and toeing, but merely toeing with the left foot, and having the right foot glued to the swell pedal. It was a revelation to us to see Sir Robert Stewart using both feet alternatively. It looked so graceful that we set ourselves the task of learning to play Higgins' Chant in F that way. It was hard work to undo the old method, but having become expert in performing 'Higgins' and in the right way, we felt ourselves to be the best organists in Dublin—with the exception, of course, of Sir Robert Stewart.⁴⁵

Stewart excelled in the reproduction of orchestral effects in his organ-playing, and was renowned for his clever adaptations when accompanying great choral works. In fact, he taught this effect to his pupil Charles Villiers Stanford so efficiently that later, when organist of Trinity College Cambridge, Stanford also became famous for

⁴² Vignoles, 'Reminiscences of Sir Robert P. Stewart', p. 318 and Drury, *Unforgotten*, p. 129.

⁴³ Andrew Johnstone, 'Incongruous Organ Music in an Irish Cathedral', *Music and the Church*, IMS ii, ed. Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 150.

⁴⁴ George William Torrance cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 41.

⁴⁵ Annie Patterson, 'Eminent Dublin Musicians: Mr. Charles Marchant Mus.Bac.', *WIT*, 18 August 1900, p. 3.

his brilliant transcriptions.⁴⁶ At the January 1887 concert of the University of Dublin Choral Society the programme included Haydn's *Imperial Service* (Hob IXX:11), Handel's *Zadok the Priest* (HWV258), and Liszt's *Jesu, give thy servants*. The *Dublin Evening Mail* review of the concert paid tribute to Stewart's 'simply magnificent' orchestral imitations on the organ which proved to be 'perhaps the most attractive feature' of the concert.⁴⁷ It is most likely that Stewart relied more on his own arrangements of orchestral works for organ than on those keyboard transcriptions produced by the various publishing houses, and he often played keyboard arrangements directly from the full score.⁴⁸

Stewart's extempore playing was of an unsurpassed standard in Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ In most cases the subject of the improvisation was suggested at a moment's notice and Stewart could produce a composition of endless variety. Joseph Robinson paid tribute to his improvisatory skills in the following substantial commendation:

It was to me the greatest treat to hear Stewart extemporise: his playing was always marked by order and symmetry, yet fresh, and full of variety. Since Mendelssohn, I do not think we have had so great an improviser on the organ. Indeed, it seems to me it is a lost art.⁵⁰

There are several accounts of Stewart's impressive ability to accompany the choir with his left-hand and to write a brief note to the dean with his right-hand, all apparently with little effort on the part of the performer. John Francis Waller and

⁴⁶ Harry Plunkett Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Edward Arnold, 1935), p. 35.

⁴⁷ *DEM*, 30 January 1887, in Scrap Letter Book 1887, Mun/Soc/Choral/5/2.

⁴⁸ Johnstone, 'Incongruous Organ Music in an Irish Cathedral', p. 150.

⁴⁹ It is worth reiterating the fact that most of the excessive praise for Stewart's talent as an organist comes from his admirers and is most likely exaggerated in parts. It cannot be doubted, however, that Stewart was a very exceptional figure in the musical life of Dublin in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁰ Joseph Robinson cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 44.

some friends followed Stewart from Trinity College Chapel to the two cathedrals almost every Sunday where they:

Plied him with questions, asked him his opinion of [their] own attempts, [and] got him to write or alter chants, which he would pencil with his right hand, his left using the manuals and his feet putting in the bass part.⁵¹

His exceptional memory ensured that Stewart would often read through the lists of chants and services, put it away, and accompany the entire sermon without the aid of any music.

As the organist of Trinity College Dublin it fell under Stewart's remit to ensure the maintenance of the organs in the chapel and the examination hall so requests presented to the Board of Trinity College relating to the repair of these organs originated with Stewart in the first instance. In February 1883 £17.10.0 was spent on repairing the organ in the examination hall so that it could be played upon at the commencement ceremonies and one month later Stewart and James William Barlow, a member of the Board, were appointed to examine the organ in the chapel and to report on its 'present condition'.⁵² Following the submission of this report, a sum not exceeding £250 was allocated to repair the organ.⁵³ In 1886 it was noted at a meeting that the Board 'was not satisfied with the work which the Messrs Telford had put into the College Organ' [most probably the organ in the examination hall]

⁵¹ Vignoles, 'Reminiscences of Sir Robert P. Stewart', p. 318.

⁵² James William Barlow was professor of history and a fellow at Trinity College Dublin. See Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, pp. 241, 300–01, 358, 385, 388, 390, 412. Board Meeting, 20 February 1883, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 271 and Board Meeting, 17 March 1883, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 280.

⁵³ Board Meeting, 10 May 1884, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 344.

and as a result the board ordered ‘an addition’ made by Messrs Hill of London.⁵⁴ Further repairs were carried out on the examination hall organ in 1892 and 1894.⁵⁵

Stewart’s references to the organ at Wolverhampton indicate his attempts to draw the shortcomings of the Christ Church Cathedral organ to the attention of the relevant authorities:

I am sure I wish *we* had that old organ instead of our ‘saw sharpener.’ It has three nice diapasons, and its one pedal stop is as good as our three! The choir organ is mild, but it does not stagger at every full chord (as Christ Church organ does) for lack of wind. I intend to try and get a few (four or five) of the Chapter up to see and perceive the faults in the Christ Church organ. Willis would be a safe man to get to examine the organ, as you dislike Foster and Andrews. I don’t care for one more than another but I despise and detest our own organ daily more and more.⁵⁶

Writing to Torrance in 1879, Stewart described the Christ Church Cathedral Organ as ‘vile, harsh, and everywhere gasping for wind!’⁵⁷

Within Dublin in particular, Stewart’s reputation as an organist was equally matched by his reputation as a pianist. According to Vignoles his piano playing was ‘faultlessly accurate’, ‘never showy’ and ‘marked by a smooth and subtle charm’.⁵⁸ The author of an article on Stewart for the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1875 described his ‘graceful’ and ‘elastic’ touch upon the piano.⁵⁹ Torrance recalls Stewart’s technique at the piano when accompanying the boy sopranos who sang with the University of Dublin Choral Society:

⁵⁴ Board Meeting, 16 October 1886, TCD Board Books, 1885–90, Mun/v/5/15, p. 54.

⁵⁵ Board Meeting, 23 April 1892, TCD Board Books, 1891–98, Mun/v/5/16, p. 114 and Board Meeting, 27 October 1894, TCD Board Books, Mun/v/5/16, p. 302.

⁵⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Edward Seymour, 26 September 1881, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 130. The organ at Wolverhampton was the Renatus Harris/Cuville organ that had formerly been at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin and was sent to St John’s, Wolverhampton after Christ Church received its new organ in 1752. Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 116.

⁵⁷ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to George William Torrance, 2 November 1879, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 122.

⁵⁸ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 16–17.

⁵⁹ ‘Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D.’, pp. 271–72.

To this day I can vividly see and hear our conductor, as he sat at the piano and wove in, delicately and skilfully, the different orchestral effects, always accentuating the voice-parts to help an amateur choir. Often indeed must we have tried his patience in many ways.⁶⁰

Likewise, George Francis Savage-Armstrong recalled the last time that he visited Stewart in 1893 whereupon Stewart performed upon the piano after dinner:

He sat down to the pianoforte and played on delightfully, until it grew so late that I had to rush off abruptly to catch a train. I could not, if I would, have interrupted him; and so I bade good-night to Lady Stewart, and, without shaking hands with him, stole away. I shall always remember that night; and the picture that will live before my mind will be that of the brilliant, enthusiastic musician, sitting at his instrument [...]⁶¹

A reputation as an experienced keyboard player ensured that Stewart was in high demand as a performer and accompanist during his career. There was a substantial interaction between vocalists, conductors and organists in Dublin throughout the nineteenth century, for example Joseph Robinson was conductor of the Antient Concerts Society and also a regular vocal performer with societies such as the University of Dublin Choral Society and the Dublin Philharmonic Society. Likewise, if a society did not have the means to employ a full orchestra for a concert performance, Stewart and a small number of keyboard players were available to provide the organ or piano accompaniment for the occasion. This interdependency meant that it was a small core of musicians who contributed to the functioning of the Dublin music scene and these figures were often involved with performances given by a number of different music societies. Stewart was very often involved with benefit concerts, farewell concerts, and fund-raising concerts whereby the events were organized by his fellow teachers at the Academy or by his former pupils. Just over a month after Mendelssohn's death, Joseph Robinson and the Antient Concerts

⁶⁰ Reminiscences of George William Torrance cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Recollections of George Francis Savage-Armstrong cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 204.

Society performed the Irish première of *Elijah* in December 1847 and Stewart played Mendelssohn's Sonata in F on the organ (from op.65).⁶² Stewart resided at the organ at the performance of *Messiah* (HWV56) at Christ Church Cathedral in aid of the Dublin Parochial Association in 1861 and the poor of all denominations in 1863, and he played the organ at a performance of selections from the same work at a fundraiser concert in aid of Mercer's Hospital and the Irish Musical Fund in 1867.⁶³ Stewart was a regular participant at Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner's benefit concerts in the 1860s and 1870s, he performed at soprano soloist Bessie Craig's farewell concert in 1877, and he was one of the many performers involved in the Irish Harp Revival Festival in May 1879.⁶⁴ It was also common practice for Stewart to provide piano accompaniments for students at concerts of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. Stewart presided at the organ at the re-opening of Christ Church Cathedral on 1 May 1878.⁶⁵

Stewart's technique, talent for extemporization, and in-depth knowledge of the organ and its repertoire earned him the status of the leading Irish organist of the latter half of the nineteenth century and his impressive performance style on the piano ensured that he was always in demand as an organist, pianist or accompanist.

As we have seen, the twenty-year old Stewart embarked upon his career as a conductor when he succeeded Joseph Robinson as conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society in 1846. Conductorships of the Belfast Vocal Union, the

⁶² This concert took place on 9 December 1847, 'Antient Concerts', *FJ*, 10 December 1847, p. 2.

⁶³ 'The Oratorios at Christ Church', *IT*, 22 February 1861, p. 2 and 'Choral Festival', *SN*, 18 December 1863, p. 2. 'Concert for Mercer's Hospital and Musical Fund', *IT*, 15 April 1876, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Benefit concerts were organized in order to raise money for a particular musician or singer and were not produced to raise funds for charities. *IT*, 14 April 1864, p. 1; *IT*, 16 June 1873, p. 2; *IT*, 28 May 1875, p.1; *IT*, 7 April 1877, p. 4; *IT*, 14 May 1878, p. 2; *IT*, 26 May 1879, p. 2; 'Irish Harp Revival Festival', *IT*, 3 May 1879, p. 2 and 7 May 1879, p. 4,

⁶⁵ 'Christ Church Cathedral', *IT*, 2 May 1878, p. 5.

Belfast Philharmonic Society, the Bray Philharmonic Society, the Dublin Philharmonic Society and the new Philharmonic Society were attained by Stewart, although his terms at most of these societies, with the exception of the University of Dublin Choral Society, usually lasted no longer than a couple of years. He also conducted charity and military concerts, concerts of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and ceremonious occasions such as the 1887 jubilee and 1892 tercentenary concerts at Trinity College Dublin.

Forty years before the jubilee of Trinity College Dublin some of Dublin's amateur musical minds organized a large-scale charity concert to raise funds for the relief of the poor of the city of Dublin in 1847. A number of prominent Dublin figures formed the committee including the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Leinster and the Provost of Trinity College Dublin. Two performances of Handel's oratorio *Israel in Egypt* (HWV54) were organized for 5 and 12 February 1847 under the baton of the then twenty-one year old Robert Stewart. A total of two hundred and fifty performers participated in the concert including members from a range of Dublin musical societies such as the Hibernian Catch Club, the Anacreontic Society, the University Choral Society, the Orpheus Society, the Amateur Harmonic Society, the Amateur Melophonic Society, the Society of Antient Concerts, the Ladies' Choral Society, the Dublin Madrigal Society, and the Philharmonic Society.⁶⁶ The soloists for the occasion who provided their services free of charge were Miss Searle, Mr Hill, Mr Blanchard and brothers Joseph and Francis Robinson and the organ was donated by the Telford organ-building firm for the events.

⁶⁶ *SN*, 5 February 1847, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 18. 'Grand Musical Performances for the Relief of the Poor of the City of Dublin', *SN*, 8 March 1847, p. 3.

Despite any skeptics who may have doubted Stewart's ability to direct the concert, the event proved a huge success. The *Saunders's News-Letter* recorded Stewart's achievement with the following attribute: 'the host of amateurs selected from these ten societies were brought [...] to a state of perfection in the execution of this most difficult masterpiece'.⁶⁷ According to Vignoles the concert raised funds in the region of £582 but figures produced by the committee indicate that the net profit after the two concerts was £270.12.3. This money was distributed to the Mendicity Association, the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers' Society, the Society for the Relief of Distressed Musicians, St Patrick's Deanery and various other churches throughout Dublin.⁶⁸

Stewart continued to be involved in a large number of charity concerts throughout his career both as a performer and a conductor. He directed concerts in February 1869 and May 1882 in aid of the City of Dublin Hospital; a grand amateur concert organized in 1871 under the patronage of Countess Spencer to raise funds for the French peasantry (victims of the Franco-Prussian war); and an amateur concert advertised under the patronage of Duchess Marlborough in 1877 for the Indian Famine Relief Fund.⁶⁹ Stewart also conducted a concert with T.R.G. Jozé to raise funds for the Dublin Dental Hospital in 1890.⁷⁰ On 18 March 1868 Stewart conducted a 'Grand Military Concert' at the Exhibition Palace in Dublin to raise funds for the maintenance of the Drummond Institute for the orphan daughters of soldiers, when no less than ten military bands, eight from the Dublin garrison and

⁶⁷ *SN*, 5 February 1847, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ 'Grand Musical Performances for the Relief of the Poor of the City of Dublin', *SN*, 8 March 1847, p. 3.

⁶⁹ 'Grand Concert', *IT*, 15 February 1869, p. 1. Stewart conducted this concert with Joseph Robinson; 'Grand Amateur Concert', *IT*, 16 February 1871, p. 1; 'Amateur Concert', *IT*, 5 October 1877, p. 2; 'Grand Amateur Concert', *IT*, 27 May 1882, p. 2.

⁷⁰ 'Grand Venetian Fete and Carnival', *IT*, 10 February 1890, p. 4.

two from the Curragh camp, performed at the occasion under his baton.⁷¹ Military bands often participated in public occasion concerts and individual members of military bands were used to augment orchestras for performances in Dublin and the provinces.⁷² Stewart conducted further concerts in aid of the Drummond Institute on 25 February 1870 and 16 March 1871.⁷³ At the latter concert, he once again directed an enormous gathering of musicians: two hundred singers and one hundred selected wind instrumentalists assisted by a string band. The performance took place at the Concert Hall Exhibition Palace with the Lord-Lieutenant and Countess Spencer among the audience. The programme of primarily instrumental music included Beethoven's 'Turkish March' from *Die Ruinen von Athen* (op.113), Rossini's *Semiramide* Overture and Ferdinand Herold's *Zampa* Overture. Talented instrumentalists from the different regiments performed works such as 'The Minstrel Boy' for solo harp, and the brilliant flute variations on 'Di Tanti Palpiti' (from Rossini's *Tancredi*) by Louis Drouet. As well as fulfilling his role as conductor of the concert, Stewart also provided organ-accompaniments when they were required. Vocal works performed at the concert included 'God Save the Queen', the choral hymn 'Hark! The Vesper Hymn Is Stealing' by Thomas Moore and 'The Hunter's Farewell', a vocal quartet by Mendelssohn.⁷⁴

Not restricting himself to positions in Dublin city, Stewart's first performance with the Belfast Vocal Union was on 18 December 1862 when he played the organ at the society's performance of Haydn's *Creation* (Hob HXXI:2) in the Ulster Hall

⁷¹ 'Great Military Concert', *IT*, 10 March 1868, p. 4.

⁷² Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music and Society 1850–1921', *Ireland under the Act of Union 1870–1921*, A New History of Ireland vi, ed. W.E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 505.

⁷³ 'Grand Military Concert at the Exhibition Palace', *IT*, 26 February 1870, p. 5, 'Concert in Aid of the Drummond Institute', *IT*, 17 March 1871, p. 2.

⁷⁴ 'Concert in Aid of the Drummond Institution', *IT*, 17 March 1871, p. 2.

under the conductor Edmund Thomas Chipp. At the society's performance of *Elijah* in 1865 Stewart also provided the organ accompaniment. When Chipp left the society in 1866 Stewart was appointed to fill his position.⁷⁵ He attended a practice each week in Belfast, stayed overnight, and sometimes gave lessons in the morning of the following day before returning back to Dublin in the afternoon.⁷⁶ For the performances of Mendelssohn's *Athalie* (February 1867), and Handel's *Samson* (April 1867) and *Messiah* (May 1867) Stewart played the organ accompaniments instead of conducting as the Vocal Union had no orchestra. Joseph Robinson travelled to Belfast from Dublin to conduct these concerts. At first Stewart did not mind the lengthy journey to and from Belfast and wrote 'I long continued to experience at the hands of my northern musical friends the kindest treatment, and was so happy amongst them that the run of 100 miles northwards [...] seemed as nothing'.⁷⁷ However, when Stewart was 'taken ill' after the performance of *Messiah* it seems that he used the opportunity to suspend his visits to Belfast until 1877 when he resumed his northward journey to conduct another society, this time the Belfast Philharmonic Society. The production of three or four concerts per season by the Belfast Philharmonic Society meant that Stewart had to travel up to Belfast on quite a regular basis. The repertoire performed by the society during Stewart's tenure included selections from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (K.527), (1877), Gade's *Crusader* (op.50), (1879), Handel's *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* (HWV76), (1880) and Smart's *The Bride of Dunkerron* (1880). Coincidentally, the Belfast Philharmonic Society and the Belfast Choral Union both performed Mendelssohn's *Elijah* with a different band, chorus, set of soloists and conductor at the Ulster Hall within the space of two

⁷⁵ 'Brief Summary of Country News, Belfast', *MT*, 12 (1866), p. 249.

⁷⁶ The railway line between Dublin and Belfast opened in 1855.

⁷⁷ Extract from diary of Robert Prescott Stewart cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 79.

and a half weeks in 1878.⁷⁸ The soloists for the Belfast Philharmonic Society's performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* were Anna Williams, Madame [Ernestine] Enriquez, William Shakespeare, and George Henschel and these singers were professional vocalists based in England. Williams studied in Naples while Shakespeare and Henschel studied in Germany.⁷⁹ Stewart was delighted with the proceedings of the performance and commented how 'the work went off splendidly'.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, no doubt once again tiring from his regular visits to Belfast, and deciding to stick to positions in Dublin, Stewart relinquished the conductorship and was succeeded by Adolf Beyschlag as conductor of the society in 1881.

It is not clear when Stewart was awarded the conductorship of the Bray Philharmonic Society but he was certainly acknowledged as the conductor in the Dublin newspapers from 1866 until 1873.⁸¹ Stewart took great interest in its members and the weekly practices always took place on Friday evenings at his house on the Bray Esplanade known as 'Holyrood.' According to Miss Hamilton, a society member, its repertoire included Handel's *Acis and Galatea* (HWV49a), Mendelssohn's music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (op.21) and his unfinished

⁷⁸ Stewart and the Belfast Philharmonic Society performed *Elijah* on 5 October 1878 and Walter Newport directed a performance of the work on 24 October 1878. 'Belfast Musical Festival', *IT*, 5 October 1878, p. 6.

⁷⁹ 'Williams, Anna', *BMB*, James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, eds, (Birmingham: S. Stratton, 1897), p. 447; Steven Ledbetter, 'Henschel, George', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, *GMO*, *OMO*,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O005132>> [accessed 18 February 2009]; 'Shakespeare, William', *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd edn, rev. ed. Michael Kennedy, *OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e9346>> [accessed 18 February 2009]; 'Shakespeare, William', *BMB*, p. 367.

⁸⁰ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 80. On the train journey back to Dublin the following morning Stewart was mistakenly taken for James Stephens, the leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and almost arrested, but a first-class season ticket on the Bray Railway convinced the detective of his true identity. The officer departed, disappointed that he could not claim the £2,000 reward for the capture of Stephens.

⁸¹ 'Amateur Philharmonic Society of Bray', *IT*, 20 April 1866, p. 3.

opera *Lorelei* (op.98), Locke's music to *Macbeth*, and Stewart's own cantata *The Eve of St John* (RS39).⁸²

Competitiveness and rivalry amongst the conductors in Dublin were natural by-products of an environment populated by a relatively small number of musicians and Stewart was no less competitive than his conducting peers, including Joseph Robinson, Henry Bussell and Jozé. However, one conductor in particular, George Vandaleur Lee, was to suffer the chastisement and public humiliation of Stewart in events that would demonstrate that the latter was indeed a force to be taken seriously.⁸³ Lee directed two Dublin societies, the Amateur Musical Society and the New Philharmonic Society, and organized the music for the Dublin Exhibition of 1872. Undoubtedly it was becoming increasingly apparent to Stewart that Lee's considerable involvement in Dublin's musical activities no longer represented that of an enthusiastic amateur, and as far as Stewart was concerned Lee was operating out of his league and participating in activities 'proper only to academically qualified professionals like himself'.⁸⁴ According to John O'Donovan, Stewart's copy of *Annals of the Theatre Royal, Dublin* contained the following handwritten note by Stewart that made his opinion of Lee abundantly clear:

An impostor, who traded successfully on the vanity of amateur singers: he had a few aliases; now Mr. Geo. Lee: again Mr. Geo J. Lee: and also J. [*sic*] Vandeleur Lee; at last he was Vandeleur Lee simply.⁸⁵

⁸² Reminiscences of Miss Hamilton cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 89. Chapter three discusses *The Eve of St John* in further detail.

⁸³ Samuel Sebastian Wesley also experienced rivalry during his time in Essex in the form of musicians Kellow J. Pye, Henry Haycraft and Robert Senior Burton. See Peter Horton, 'Outside the Cathedral: Samuel Sebastian Wesley, Local Music-Making, and the Provincial Organist in Mid-Nineteenth-century England', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1940*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 255–268 for details of the rivalry experienced by Samuel Sebastian Wesley.

⁸⁴ John O'Donovan, *G.B. Shaw* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983), p. 41.

⁸⁵ John O'Donovan, *Shaw and the Charlatan Genius* (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, 1965), pp. 71–2. O'Donovan stated that Stewart's copy of *Annals of the Theatre Royal, Dublin* was located in the City

The rivalry between Stewart and Lee was quite obviously demonstrated at the Dublin Exhibition of 1872. Lee's contribution to the inaugural concert included 'God save the Queen', Mendelssohn's 'Wedding' March, the march from Gounod's *Faust*, and the 'prayer' from Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*.⁸⁶ Stewart managed to 'hijack' the opening ceremony of the exhibition by conducting (in his academic robes) five hundred performers, and full orchestra in a performance of his *Inauguration Ode*, composed for the Cork Exhibition of 1852. O'Donovan asserts that if Lee had presented any reservations about Stewart conducting his ode to the exhibition committee, his grievance may have fallen on deaf ears as the committee was populated by friends and colleagues of Stewart.⁸⁷ According to Ita Beausang, Lee retaliated a week later by conducting five hundred performers in a concert consisting of 'selections from the opening ceremony', but without Stewart's inaugural ode on the programme.⁸⁸ Stewart's chance to usurp this amateur 'imposter' apparently arrived at the rehearsals for the 1873 Dublin exhibition, of which Lee again had assumed complete control. O'Donovan informs us that Lee had made so many technical errors as conductor that Stewart openly corrected him, and undermined his authority with his own society. Lee proceeded to conduct the opening of the exhibition on 14 May (which, not surprisingly, did not include any compositions written by Stewart), but the public humiliation that he was subjected to on Stewart's part forced him to reconsider his position in Dublin, and within a few weeks he fled for London leaving behind his newly established National Institute of Music and his

of Dublin Public Library, Pearse Street but the book currently available for reference in the library does not contain any handwritten notes whatsoever.

⁸⁶ 'Inauguration of the Dublin Exhibition by the Duke of Edinburgh', *IT*, 6 June 1872, p. 3.

⁸⁷ O'Donovan, *Shaw and the Charlatan Genius*, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Beausang, 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900', p. 177.

tonic-solfa classes.⁸⁹ Stewart was then left in charge of the remaining exhibition concerts and composed his ode for the closing of the exhibition at the request of the members of the New Philharmonic Society. Stewart accepted the conductorship of the society at the final concert of the exhibition, but suggested that it might be prudent to change the name so that it would not cause any ‘unnecessary antagonism with the older society’, known as the Philharmonic Society and founded by Henry Bussell.⁹⁰ The society was renamed the Dublin Choral Society but its concerts seem to have been terminated shortly after the first performance in December 1873.⁹¹ Given the alleged series of events that occurred between Stewart and Lee, it is reasonable to conjecture that Stewart was referring to Lee when he wrote to Joseph Robinson: ‘I did in my time one good work in Dublin. I unmasked one arrant imposter and drove him away’.⁹² This statement exhibits a degree of arrogance on Stewart’s part and a dogged determination to continue with his vendetta until Lee had been completely and utterly humiliated. His lack of any sense of guilt over driving Lee out of Dublin indicates that he believed that his actions had benefitted the musical society in Dublin as a whole in a positive manner.

In 1874 Stewart was appointed conductor of the [old] Philharmonic Society, originally founded by Henry Bussell, and remained with the society until 1877, after which time the baton was taken over by R.M. Levey.⁹³ In 1876 Bussell, who

⁸⁹ O’Donovan, *Shaw and the Charlatan Genius*, p. 78. O’Donovan claims that Stewart was the anonymous reporter for the articles on the opening and closing of the exhibition that appeared in the *DE* but I have not located any other sources to corroborate these claims.

⁹⁰ ‘Closing of the Exhibition’, *DEM*, 24 November 1873, p. 4 and O’Donovan, *Shaw and the Charlatan Genius*, p. 83.

⁹¹ ‘Philharmonic Society’, *SN*, 23 December 1873, p. 2.

⁹² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Joseph Robinson, 1 December 1876, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 118.

⁹³ Beausang, ‘Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900’, p. 174. The society came to an end in 1878, Fleischmann, ‘Music and Society, 1850–1921’, p. 510.

remained with the society as its secretary, approached Stewart suggesting a possible amalgamation between the Philharmonic Society and Joseph Robinson's Dublin Musical Society (founded in 1873). Stewart wrote of Bussell's proposition to Robinson indicating that he would be happy to pass the mantle of responsibility of any such merger to Robinson:

Now, on reflection I think one good society could be made out of the *two*, and I shall be glad to make way for one so competent as you to do it. I have less hesitation in doing so because I never sought for the office, it was pressed upon me. You know also, how, when you and I sat with our legs dangling over the river at Cologne, I urged you to take up the Philharmonic, and I offered to work in any capacity you should ask me, to promote your operations. (Had you asked me, and not left it to others to ask, I would not have declined this at any time). There is a good backbone of Philharmonic subscribers still, and I should feel a real satisfaction to see you at the head of one good organisation such as now could be set on foot by you and Bussell. Between ourselves, I fancy in my soul Bussell has a great liking for you, and if you can get rid of his meddling and muddling as secretary you will do famously.⁹⁴

Despite Bussell's proposition and Stewart's willingness to resign the conductorship of the Philharmonic in favour of Robinson the societies never merged and the Philharmonic concerts eventually ceased in 1878.⁹⁵

The performance of Stewart's glees by the Dublin Glee and Madrigal Union indicates a close involvement with the society between the years 1865 and 1875. Stewart often attended the concerts of this society and provided the piano accompaniments to his own glees on several occasions. This was unusual in itself because the glee was an unaccompanied vocal composition. While it is possible that Stewart was merely attempting to keep the performers in tune by providing a piano accompaniment to his glees, the *Irish Times* recognized this unusual treatment of the performance of the glee and remarked: 'Dr Stewart accompanied his own glee on the

⁹⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Joseph Robinson, 1 December 1876, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 118.

⁹⁵ Beausang, 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900', p. 174.

piano—which, bye-the-bye, was the only one during the night that received any instrumental aid’, indicating that the other glees performed by the society were performed in the usual style and were unaccompanied.⁹⁶ Annie Patterson (see Appendix V) recorded that Stewart composed his part-song settings of ‘The Bells of St Michael’s Tower’ (RS68 and 69), ‘The Wine Cup is Circling in Almhin’s Hall’ (RS74), and ‘The Cruiskeen Lawn’ (RS70) for this society, while ‘When the world-worn wand’rer slumbers’ (RS58), ‘Descend ye muses nine’ (RS75), ‘The Haymaker’s Song’ (RS13) and ‘Summer’(RS29) were also performed at gatherings of the society.⁹⁷

The music society with which Stewart was most closely connected was undoubtedly the University of Dublin Choral Society and despite the conductorships that he attained in Belfast and Dublin during his career, the choral society of his *alma mater* was the most important to him. The University of Dublin Choral Society was founded on 18 November 1837 by some of the fellows and scholars of Trinity College Dublin who formed a choral union for members of the university for the ‘cultivation of choral music in general’.⁹⁸ The society was not the only university choral society in existence during the first half of the nineteenth century: William Crotch founded the Oxford Choral Society in 1819 and the Cambridge University Musical Society was founded in 1843 by William Thomson of Peterhouse.⁹⁹ Joseph Robinson was the first conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society, taking up his position in January 1838 with an annual salary of £21. When Robinson

⁹⁶ ‘The Dublin Glee and Madrigal Union’, *IT*, 1 April 1870, p. 5.

⁹⁷ Annie Patterson, ‘Eminent Dublin Musicians: Mrs Scott-Ffennell’, *WIT*, 13 November 1900, p. 3.

⁹⁸ FitzGibbon, ‘College Choral’, p. 35.

⁹⁹ Susan Wollenberg, ‘Oxford’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy

<<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.20620>> [accessed 09 March 2006], Charles Cudworth and Richard M. Andrewes, *GMO*, *OMO*,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04642>> [accessed 25 February 2009].

resigned due to a dispute over his salary he recommended Stewart to the committee of the choral society in these favourable terms: ‘Gentlemen, I commend to your acceptance as your new conductor my young friend, who is already the organist of this University. He is the most accomplished musician in Ireland, and I will add, not excepting myself’.¹⁰⁰ Stewart was appointed conductor of the society on 13 October 1846 and received £31.50 for his first year as conductor. His income had risen to £60 by the 1860s.¹⁰¹

During Stewart’s term of office with the University of Dublin Choral Society, FitzGibbon states that it transformed from a ‘type of glee club’ made up of male members only, who performed songs, part-songs, glees and selections from opera and oratorio, ‘into a true choral society’ that performed one or two large works such as an oratorio or cantata, and saw the inclusion of women singers at its concerts.¹⁰² This was not an atypical origin of a choral society because as Russell remarked, choral societies ‘emerged from all manner of backgrounds’.¹⁰³ From the 1870s it was a regular occurrence for one work (or two smaller works) to be performed at the society concerts and this transition highlights how the earlier concerts that required a keyboard accompaniment were gradually displaced in favour of the production of large vocal works such as Verdi’s *Requiem* or Dvořák’s *Stabat Mater* (op.58) that required the services of a full orchestra.¹⁰⁴ Dublin audiences enjoyed the first complete Irish performances of approximately eighteen choral works under Stewart’s baton and these works and the year of their performance are listed as follows: Bach’s

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Robinson cited in Vignoles, ‘Reminiscences’, pp. 318–19.

¹⁰¹ University of Dublin Choral Society Account Books, 1860–66, Mun/Soc/Choral/2/12.

¹⁰² FitzGibbon, ‘College Choral’, pp. 62–63.

¹⁰³ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Worcester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 200.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

St John Passion (BWV245), (1878), Balfe's *Mazeppa* (1865), Carissimi's *Jonas* (1883), Costa's *Eli* (1856), Dvořák's *Stabat Mater* (1884) and *The Spectre's Bride* (op.69), (1886), Gade's *Psyke* (op.60), (1883), Handel's *Esther* (HWV50a/50b), (1851), *Joshua* (HWV63), (1851), and *Theodora* (HWV68), (1875), Mendelssohn's *Athalie* (1849), Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* (1889) and *Stabat Mater* (1891), Romberg's *Lay of the Bell* (1847), Smart's *The Bride of Dunkerron* (1876), Van Bree's *St Cecilia's Day* (1861) and Verdi's *Requiem* (1876). Selections from other popular works also occurred frequently in the repertoire of the choral society, including Weber's *Der Freischütz*, *Preciosa* and *Oberon*; Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (K.620) and *Don Giovanni* and Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens* (op.113) and *Fidelio* (op.72). The overall repertoire of the society exhibits an unsurprising pro-German bias that was typical of choral societies active in Ireland and England during the nineteenth century. An Italian flavour was also present in the repertoire, with the inclusion of operatic selections from the music of Bellini, Cherubini, Donizetti, Rossini, and Verdi. The inclusion of Palestrina's music in the list of first Irish performances was unusual for the time. Unfortunately all of the choral society concert programmes are not extant, but from the surviving information, the society performed a quartet entitled 'Alla Trinita Beata', which they attributed to Palestrina, in April 1853, although his larger works do not seem to have appeared in the repertoire again until the first Irish performance of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* in 1889. The performance of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* under Stewart's direction was most likely the first complete, public performance of the work in Ireland because an *Irish Times* article recorded that Palestrina's 'famous "Missa Marcellina"' was in rehearsal at St Paul's Church in Dublin in 1877, and the 'Kyrie' and 'Credo' from

the mass were performed in the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin in 1882.¹⁰⁵ The *Musical Times* remarked that it was known to some extent in Dublin for twelve years previous to its University of Dublin Choral Society performance:

for some twelve years past, a considerable section of the Dublin musical public has been to some extent familiarised with the Masses and Motets of Palestrina through the valuable efforts of the Society of St. Cecilia, and the ‘Missa Papae Marcelli’ is a household word in several churches here [in Dublin].¹⁰⁶

The *Musical Times* reported that the Bach Choir, conducted by Otto Goldschmidt, provided what was said to have been ‘the first performance of the work [*Missa Papae Marcelli*] in a London concert-room’ in 1882, although this was corrected by an avid reader who claimed that twenty years before Goldschmidt’s 1882 performance, the work was performed by the Motett Choir of the Ecclesiological Society, under the direction of Revd Thomas Helmore.¹⁰⁷ The University of Dublin Choral Society performed Palestrina’s *Requiem* in 1890 and the first Irish performance of the *Stabat Mater* and some of the composer’s motets (‘O be joyful’, ‘I will give thanks’, ‘Be Thou not far’ and ‘Why do the heathen so furiously rage’) in the following year.¹⁰⁸ In England, the *Stabat Mater* was performed at the Gloucester Music Festival in 1880 and 1883 and by the Bach Choir in 1887.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Stewart attended one of these events and realised the possibility of performing the work in Dublin.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Irish Society of St Cecilia’, *IT*, 23 November 1882, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Music in Dublin Churches’, *IT*, 1 September 1877, p. 2. I have been unable to find confirmation that this work was indeed performed by the choir of St Paul’s. ‘Music in Dublin’, *MT*, 32 (1891), p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ ‘The Bach Society’, *MT*, 23 (1882), p. 141; ‘Palestrina’s “Missa Papae Marcelli”’, *MT*, 23 (1882), pp. 223–24.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Music in Dublin’, *MT*, 32, p. 227.

¹⁰⁹ ‘The Gloucester Music Festival’, *Times*, 10 September 1880, p. 8; ‘The Gloucester Musical Festival’, *MT*, 24 (1883), p. 542; ‘The Bach Choir’, *Times*, 21 December 1887, p. 10.

From the list of first Irish performances given by the society, it is clear that Stewart not only employed the music of his fellow countrymen, but he also included, where possible, the works of his contemporary composers in England, Italy, Bohemia and Denmark. In the majority of cases, at least three to five years elapsed between the première of these works and the University of Dublin Choral Society performances, so it is not possible to claim that Stewart directed the works contemporaneously with their international or London premières. Verdi's *Requiem*, Dvořák's *The Spectre's Bride* and Costa's *Eli* were all performed in Dublin within two years of their completion. *Requiem* was performed in Dublin two years after its Italian première and one year after its London première. Likewise, *The Spectre's Bride* was performed one year after its first performance in Pizeň (1885). Costa's *Eli* was composed in 1855, first performed in Birmingham of that year, and performed in Dublin in 1856. Balfe's *Mazeppa* was directed by Stewart three years after its completion and London première, both of which took place in the same year, 1862. Four years were to pass between the première of Dvořák's *Stabat Mater* in Prague in 1880 and its first performance in Ireland, while the work was first performed in England in 1883. It took twelve years for the society to present Smart's *Bride of Dunkerron* which was first performed at the Birmingham Festival in 1864. Other works performed by the society such as Mendelssohn's *Antigone*, Macfarren's *The Sleeper Awakened*, Sullivan's *Festival Te Deum*, Cowen's *The Corsair* and Gadsby's *Lord of the Isles* were all performed in Dublin within one to five years of their first performances.

Handel and Mendelssohn were the most frequently performed composers under Stewart's conductorship and this reflects both the popularity of these

composers during the nineteenth century and Stewart's own admiration of their music. Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* (op.60) was performed in March 1848 using the English version by Bartholomew. Despite the considerable expense of the production the work proved so popular that the overture alone was performed twice within the space of four years and the work was performed three times in its entirety. Selections from *Antigone* and *Elijah* also proved very popular, with anthems, psalms and hymns also featuring occasionally in the University of Dublin Choral Society concerts. Handel's music remained a reliable and regular feature of the society's concerts with performances of his dramatic oratorios *Acis and Galatea*, *Alexander's Feast* (HWV75) and *Messiah* being particularly popular.¹¹⁰

The society produced the first Irish performances of the 'Crucifixus' from Bach's Mass in B minor (BWV232) in May 1867 and his *Magnificat* in D (BWV243) in 1882.¹¹¹ The first performance of the *St John Passion* by the society in 1878 followed six years after its first British performance under the direction of Joseph Barnby on 22 March 1872.¹¹² As well as the *Missa Papae Marcelli* and *Stabat Mater* of Palestrina, the society also performed the music of other Renaissance composers such as Thomas Morley and Hubert Waelrent featured in the programmes on an intermittent basis. Henry Purcell and composers such as Gregor Joseph Werner, Matthew Locke, John Blow, William Hayes, Richard Stevens and Thomas Attwood featured to a lesser extent in the repertoire, but their music would have been quite familiar to Stewart because of his choir-school background. Irish

¹¹⁰ *Messiah* was revered and respected by Stewart and his contemporaries and he discussed it in his 1874 lectures on Handel. See chapter six, pp. 239–40.

¹¹¹ For a detailed discussion of the University of Dublin Choral Society's performance of Bach's vocal music see Barra Boydell, "'This most crabbed of all earthly music": the performance and reception of Bach's vocal music in Dublin in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Bach Studies from Dublin*, IMS viii, ed. Anne Leahy and Yo Tomita (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), pp. 229–46.

¹¹² Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944*, i, p. 74; 'Miscellaneous', *MT*, 15 (1872), p. 414.

composers were not neglected in the repertoire of the society and Lord Mornington, John Andrew Stevenson, Thomas Moore, Michael William Balfe and William Vincent Wallace appeared in concert programmes primarily in the 1850s and 1860s.¹¹³

A repertoire that exhibited a German emphasis was also reflected in the repertoire of another Irish music society, the Antient Concerts Society (1834–64), conducted by Joseph Robinson. This society performed selections of Handel's *Acis and Galatea*, *Zadok the Priest*, *Jephtha* (HWV70), *Solomon* (HWV67) and *Samson*, and Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*, *Antigone* (op.55), and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. It was responsible for the first Irish performance of *Elijah* and *St Paul* (op.36) in 1847 and 1849 respectively.¹¹⁴ Handel and Mendelssohn continued to feature in the repertoire of another of Robinson's musical ventures, the Dublin Musical Society (1875 to 1891), with the inclusion of selections from *Messiah*, *Acis and Galatea*, *Samson*, *Israel in Egypt*, and *St Paul*, *Athalie*, *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* and *Hymn of Praise*. Other works included in the concerts of the Dublin Musical Society included Félicien David's *Le Désert*, and Gounod's *The Redemption*.¹¹⁵ London's Sacred Harmonic Society, as its name

¹¹³ John Andrew Stevenson was represented by his glee 'The Fairy', and his songs 'See our oars with feathered spray' and 'Come, follow, follow me' were performed in 1855, 1857, and 1859. Lord Mornington's glees and his popular madrigal 'As it fell upon a day' also featured in the programmes of the society. Small-scale vocal compositions by Balfe included 'Lo the early beam of morning' and 'The two locks of hair', and those by William Vincent Wallace included 'The winds that waft my sails to thee', 'Our farewell song before we part' and 'Peace to the memory' from *Lurline*. In 1867 the society conducted a song and chorus entitled *Heroes and Chieftains*, a composition by Charles Villiers Stanford, a former pupil of Stewart, UDCS Minute Books, 1844–1944, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2–10, and UDCS Concert Practices and Scrap Book, 1883–87, Mun/Soc/Choral/5/1–2.

¹¹⁴ See Paul Rodmell, 'The Society of Antient Concerts', Dublin, 1834–64', *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 211–233.

¹¹⁵ 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 18 December 1876, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 15 March 1877, p. 4, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 21 April 1877, p. 4, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 18 December 1877, p. 4, 'Musical and Dramatic Gossip', *IT*, 20 March 1878, p. 7, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 19 May 1879, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 27 April 1880, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical

implies, focused primarily on the performance of the oratorios of Handel and Mendelssohn, and compositions including Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, Beethoven's Mass in C (op.86) and mass settings by Haydn and Mozart, but the repertoire of the University of Dublin Choral Society demonstrated more variety due to the secular music that it featured in its programmes.¹¹⁶ The Cambridge University Musical Society (founded in 1843) concentrated on Spohr and Mendelssohn up to the 1870s, while Haydn, Mozart and Handel appeared in concert programmes of the 1840s.¹¹⁷ Verdi arias and music by Beethoven, Sterndale Bennett and Macfarren appear in the 1850s while one difference between the Cambridge and Dublin choral societies is the apparent absence of Wagner's music in the Dublin concerts. At Cambridge, Wagner's Finale to Act I of *Tannhäuser*, the *Siegfried Idyll* (op.103) and the Prelude to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (op.96) were performed in the late 1870s and 1880s.¹¹⁸ Another difference between the Dublin and Cambridge societies was that Dublin did not perform symphonies, concertos or chamber music at their concerts, whereas in the 1880s Cambridge performed instrumental music such as quartets, quintets, symphonies and concertos by composers such as Beethoven, Brahms, Schubert, Schumann and Parry.¹¹⁹

Society', *IT*, 4 January 1883, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 15 February 1883, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 6 March 1884, p. 2, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 26 February 1890, p. 4, 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 4 December 1890, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1844); *Twelfth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1845); *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1846); *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1847); *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1848); *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell & Son, 1849). Percy A. Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, (London: Novello and Oxford University Press, 1947), i, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ Frida Knight, *Cambridge Music from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 72.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 23 (1882), 204–211; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 27 (1886), p. 405.

¹¹⁹ 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 18 (1877), 279–80; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 21 (1880), p. 28; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 21 (1880), 288; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 22 (1881), 304–05; 'Cambridge University Musical

The University of Dublin Choral Society provided a perfect vehicle through which Stewart could promote his own music and ensure it was widely disseminated throughout Dublin. Stewart composed the majority of his vocal works and songs for the society including: *The Eve of St John, A Winter Night's Wake* (RS33), the 'Comic' or 'Committee' Cantata (RS86), and the *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141). 'The Dream' (RS12), 'The Haymaker's Song', 'The Dawn of the Day is far away' (RS23), 'In the heat of Summer noon' (RS30), 'From Visions Sad Awakening' (RS76) and 'My Ladye Fayre' (RS16) are some of his glees and part-songs performed on more than one occasion by the society. The society concerts also presented him with a second opportunity to perform the compositions that he penned for specific commemorative occasions, such as his ode for the opening of the 1852 Cork Exhibition, his 1863 *Installation Ode* (RS50) and his ode for the closing of the 1873 Dublin Exhibition (RS85).¹²⁰

The diverse repertoire introduced to the Dublin audiences under the baton of Stewart was reflective of his extensive knowledge of both contemporary and pre-nineteenth-century music. This valuable characteristic was recognised and appreciated by the committee of the University of Dublin Choral Society, and in the committee report for the end of the 1863/1864 season, a printed list of the works performed during the season was produced.¹²¹ That the members and associates of the society 'had the advantage of studying and hearing vast varieties of styles in the

Society', *MT*, 23 (1882), 204–211; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 24 (1883), p. 19; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 24 (1883), p. 383; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 26 (1885), 207–08; 'Cambridge University Musical Society', *MT*, 26 (1885), p. 403.

¹²⁰ For a discussion of Stewart's vocal compositions see chapter three.

¹²¹ This list included the compositions of Allen, Ardit, Attwood, Barnett, Bishop, Cimarosa, Donizetti, Gounod, Leslie, Macfarren, Massé, Mozart, Servais, Schondoff, Stevens, Stevenson, Stewart, Verdi, Vieuxtemps, Wallace and Weber. Committee Report for the Season 1863–64, UDCS Minute Books, 1852–65, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/5.

music of so many different composers' was illustrated by the variety and collection of composers and works printed on this list.¹²²

The year 1887 marked Queen Victoria's jubilee and that of the establishment of the University of Dublin Choral Society which was founded in 1837.¹²³ At a Trinity College Dublin board meeting on 4 May 1887, Samuel Haughton, senior fellow, gave notice that he would authorize the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*, on George Alexander Macfarren, Herbert Oakeley, and Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, the occupants of the chairs of music at Cambridge, Edinburgh and Oxford respectively.¹²⁴ The board books do not record the source that originally proposed the awarding of these degrees so it is possible that the initial idea was suggested by Stewart or the college precentor, John Pentland Mahaffy, in an attempt to promote music and the choral society at Trinity College and to draw as wide an audience as possible to the event by inviting distinguished guests as honorary degree recipients.

Macfarren, Oakeley and Ouseley were invited to attend a concert at Trinity College organized for 29 June whereby they would each conduct some of their own compositions but Macfarren could not attend due to ill health.¹²⁵ According to the arrangements in place the music professors would receive their honorary doctorates on 30 June. The timing of the concert coincided with a visit to Ireland of two of the Queen's grandsons, Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, and they

¹²² Committee Report for the Season 1863–64, UDCS Minute Books, 1852–65, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/5.

¹²³ FitzGibbon, 'College Choral', p. 35.

¹²⁴ Board Meeting, 4 May 1887, TCD Board Books, 1885–90, Mun/v/5/15, p. 106.

¹²⁵ Ouseley suffered with rheumatism so he did not conduct his own compositions at this concert and at this time he no longer conducted concerts in England. Letter from Frederick Ouseley to Robert Prescott Stewart, 30 April 1887, Mun/Soc/Choral/5/2.

attended the concert which took place in the Examination Hall at Trinity College as honored guests.¹²⁶ Stewart in particular received a special ovation and conducted the overture to *The Eve of St John* and his jubilee anthem *The King Shall Rejoice* (RS123), which he had arranged especially for orchestra for the occasion. Selections from Ouseley's oratorio *St Polycarp* and a ballad entitled 'Old Bells' were performed, and Oakeley's contributions to the concert included a song 'Ad Amore', an anthem entitled 'Who is this that cometh from Edom?' and his 'Edinburgh' march (op.22) composed for the Liverpool Musical Festival of 1874. Despite the absence of Macfarren his music was performed at the concert under Stewart's direction, including selections from his cantata *The Sleeper Awakened* and the orchestral overture to *St John the Baptist*.¹²⁷

The reviews of the concert were very positive and the *Irish Times* praised the event for its 'pleasant and diversified' programme that 'charmed every hearer'.¹²⁸ The *Freeman's Journal* referred to the event as 'probably the most brilliant gathering that has ever been held under the auspices of the University Choral Society' and described the 'knights' concert' as a 'happy and appropriate Jubilee celebration for the Choral Society to adopt'.¹²⁹

Delegates and guests from Europe, Africa, America, Australia, India and New Zealand were invited to attend the tercentenary celebrations at Trinity College

¹²⁶ 'The Royal Visit to Ireland', *Times*, 28 June 1887, p. 8.

¹²⁷ The University Choral Society performed Macfarren's *The Sleeper Awakened* in April 1854 and *St John the Baptist* in February 1877. FitzGibbon, 'College Choral', p. 63. The soloists at the concert were Mary Russell, Elizabeth Scott-Fennell, Walter Bapty and Edmond Oldham. The concert commenced at nine o'clock upon the arrival of the Royal Party and lasted for two hours. It was concluded with a supper to entertain Oakeley and Ouseley and was attended by the provost and chancellor of Trinity College, members of the choral society and other academics. 'The University Choral Society's Jubilee', *DEM*, 30 June 1887, p. 4.

¹²⁸ *IT*, 30 June 1887, p. 4.

¹²⁹ 'The University Choral Concert', *FJ*, 30 June 1887, p. 6.

Dublin which lasted from 5 to 8 July 1892.¹³⁰ The schedule for the three days included a commemoration service in St Patrick's Cathedral, the conferring of honorary degrees, a cricket match and several garden parties.¹³¹ As the music professor and organist of Trinity College Dublin, and conductor of the choral society, Stewart was heavily involved with the musical preparations for the tercentenary celebrations. Stewart and Charles Marchant compiled the music for the commemoration ceremony and performed on the organ throughout the service.¹³² Stewart's *Chant in D* and the *Te Deum Laudamus* from his Service in E flat were performed along with an anthem by John Blow, *I beheld and lo!*¹³³ The University of Dublin Choral Society performed a number of part songs and other vocal music at the garden party in the Fellows' Garden held on the first day of the celebrations and the programme included the following songs: 'Come fairest nymph' by Mornington and 'My Ladye Fayre' and 'The Dawn of the Day is Far Away/The Fairest Flower' by Stewart.¹³⁴ Selections of music were also provided by the bands of the 10th Royal Hussars and of the Royal Irish Constabulary and visitors also had the opportunity to attend full evensong in the college chapel each evening at six o'clock.¹³⁵ The *Musical Times* records that John Stainer, C.H.H. Parry, John Pentland Mahaffy, Jozé, Joseph Smith, William Henry Gater (see Appendix V) and Stanford represented the doctors of music in attendance at the Fellows' Garden Party while the bachelors of

¹³⁰ 'The procession to St. Patrick's Cathedral', *IT*, 9 July 1892, p. 4.

¹³¹ 'University of Dublin, Trinity College', *IT*, 21 June 1892, p. 5.

¹³² *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of Dublin University 1892* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis; London: Longmans, Green, 1892), p. 79.

¹³³ Leaflet for the Dublin University Tercentenary Commemoration Service located in *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of Dublin University 1892*.

¹³⁴ *IT*, 8 June 1892, p. 14; 'Music in Dublin, Tercentenary of Dublin University', *MT*, 33 (1892), p. 490.

¹³⁵ Peter Fox, ed., *Trinity College Dublin Quatercentenary: 1592–1992* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1991), p. 26; 'University of Dublin, Trinity College', *IT*, 21 June 1892, p. 5.

music were represented by Marchant, William Hodgson Telford and Joseph Seymour.¹³⁶

By far the most important musical event of the celebrations was the performance of Stewart's *Tercentenary Ode* at 9pm on Tuesday 5 July 1892 at Leinster Hall.¹³⁷ The work was the result of the combined output of George Francis Savage-Armstrong and Stewart and had been eagerly anticipated for several months before the tercentenary celebrations. It was performed by over two hundred and fifty vocalists and instrumentalists to an audience of approximately four thousand.¹³⁸ The three soloists employed for the occasion included Mrs Hutchinson and Barton McGuckin, well-known vocalists in Ireland, and David Bispham, who enjoyed success in England and the United States.¹³⁹ Theodore Werner was leader of the orchestra and Culwick played the harpsichord and glockenspiel.¹⁴⁰ At the end of the concert, Stewart was presented with a gold-mounted baton by the members of the University of Dublin Choral Society.¹⁴¹ On 6 July a number of honorary doctorates were conferred on distinguished guests, and the degree of Doctor of Music was awarded to Parry.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ 'Music in Dublin, Tercentenary of Dublin University', *MT*, 33 (1892), p. 490. No other sources confirm the attendance of Stanford at this event although he was invited to attend the Tercentenary Celebrations.

¹³⁷ See chapter three for a discussion of Stewart's *Tercentenary Ode*.

¹³⁸ *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of Dublin University 1892*, p. 98.

¹³⁹ 'Mr. David Bispham', *IT*, 3 October 1921, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Leaflet printed for the concert entitled: 'University of Dublin Tercentenary Celebrations, Concert of the University of Dublin Choral Society'.

¹⁴¹ *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of Dublin University 1892*, p. 100 and 'Music in Dublin, Tercentenary of Dublin University', *MT*, 33 (1892), p. 490.

¹⁴² The TCD Board Books do not discuss the reason(s) as to why Parry was chosen as a recipient of an honorary doctorate of music. Parry had already received honorary doctorates from Cambridge and Oxford in 1883 and 1884 respectively. Graduates and other academics of Trinity College had volunteered to act as 'hosts' to the university guests and Stewart was host to C.H.H. Parry. *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of Dublin University 1892*, p. 62.

Stewart's ability as a conductor was recognised and encouraged from his earliest days with the University of Dublin Choral Society. A *Saunders's News-Letter* review of the 1848 annual concert acknowledged the aptitude and skill displayed by Stewart in his capacity as conductor: 'To Mr. Stewart, whose manner of wielding the baton of conductor at once indicates a man who knows what he has to do and does it'.¹⁴³ He was very popular, it seems, with the society's members, always good-tempered, and disciplined only in a humorous and inoffensive way. Under Stewart, the fame of the University of Dublin Choral Society began to grow and the concerts given were a 'marked feature in the social history of the day', probably because Stewart would only surround himself with the 'most ardent musicians' available in Dublin.¹⁴⁴ Stewart also confessed that the choral society was 'dearest to him' of all the many associations with which he was connected. Commenting on the 1884 performance of Dvořák's *Stabat Mater*, Stewart remarked: 'but for this active yet courteous organization of amateurs and students we should never hear in Ireland any modern musical works of merit [...] The instrumental band is the best to be found in Dublin, numbering all the talents of wood and catgut and of parchment and of the sonorous metal of which Corinth was once famous'.¹⁴⁵ Not even 'an admirable conductor', 'accomplished musician', or 'a great wizard of the baton' can always prevent a choir from falling in pitch in an unaccompanied piece of music.¹⁴⁶ So it was for the performance of the song 'The Flax-Spinner' by Henry Leslie. The piece of music was well sung and even encored, 'although the vocalists [...] did, of course, slip down an entire note, and were only held up by Dr. Stewart grasping at the piano,

¹⁴³ *SN*, 6 June 1848 in UDCS Minute Books, 1844–52, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2.

¹⁴⁴ 'Sir Robert Stewart', *IT*, 26 March 1894, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ FitzGibbon, 'College Choral', p. 58.

¹⁴⁶ *Dublin Evening Post*, 21 January 1851 and *SN*, 2 February 1850 from UDCS Minute Books, 1844–52, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2.

the chords of which nearly brought them up to tune'.¹⁴⁷ The reference to Stewart from the *Lady's Pictorial* provides an amusing if honest portrayal of his conducting skills: 'Sir Robert Stewart conducted a very nice programme of music, and glared gloriously at the company whenever anybody talked. It was very hard – but he did it, all the same'.¹⁴⁸ Under the able conductorship of Stewart, the University of Dublin Choral Society was more than a pass-time or hobby for music amateurs, it was defined as 'an association for real artistic study and improvement', and reflected the thinking during the nineteenth century that music was a respectable and positive experience that could enhance the lives of those who participated in it.¹⁴⁹

As a conductor Stewart's legacy is one of innovation in terms of his choice of modern repertoire for the University of Dublin Choral Society in particular. His good humour and amiable personality ensured that the various choral society members respected and admired him, and he achieved the fullest potential from each society with which he worked. To retain the position of conductor with the University of Dublin Choral Society for almost half a century was certainly a remarkable achievement and indicates that the authorities at Trinity College were extremely pleased with Stewart in his role as conductor and recognized him as an indispensable asset. It is, therefore, surprising that Stewart does not seem to have been recognized outside of Ireland for his contributions as conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society and instead his international reputation appears to rest with his performing abilities at the keyboard.

¹⁴⁷ *SN*, 11 January 1862, UDCS Minute Books, 1852–65, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/5.

¹⁴⁸ Cutting from *Lady's Pictorial*, 21 May 1887, in UDCS Minute Books, Mun/Soc/Choral/5/2.

¹⁴⁹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 20. See Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History*, pp. 199–221 and pp. 231–33 of this dissertation for a further discussion of these opinions.

Stewart enjoyed an impressive reputation as an organist and accompanist in Ireland; his gift for extemporization was unique and ensured that he won the admiration and esteem of his most notable contemporaries.¹⁵⁰ His omnipresence as a performer and conductor in Dublin demonstrates his multi-faceted versatility as a musician and the association of his name with concerts acted as a type of seal of approval that would guarantee a respectable attendance at the event advertised. The generous application of his time and talent to charitable concerts was also an important factor in Stewart's character. When his contribution to music making in Dublin as an organist, accompanist and conductor is assessed, it is evident that his involvement was quite remarkable and along with figures such as Joseph Robinson, R.M. Levey and Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner, he was one of the coterie of musicians who proved themselves indispensable assets to Dublin's musical life.

¹⁵⁰ I have been unable to ascertain the level of interaction between Stewart and visiting musicians and singers although it is likely that Stewart would have met some of these visitors, including Ernest Pauer, Franz Liszt and Anton Rubinstein when he travelled to music festivals in England and on the Continent.

Chapter 3

The Composer

Secular Vocal Compositions

The multi-faceted career of a Victorian musician very often included the element of composition and this is certainly the case with Stewart. However, composition was not his primary function and although his output is a considerable one, Stewart was not a composer first and foremost. Instead, his compositional productivity stemmed from the musical positions that he attained over a lengthy career: the cathedral organist, music professor, conductor and instrumental teacher. Stewart's compositions were functional: his large-scale vocal compositions accompanied noteworthy occasions at Trinity College Dublin or they opened or closed industrial exhibitions.¹ Likewise his piano and organ pieces were useful studies for his pupils and his sacred output was composed for performance at the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick's and the chapel of Trinity College. The majority of his songs, part-songs and glees were penned specifically for the University of Dublin Choral Society. For Stewart, composition was not a luxury that he could embark upon because of burdening time constraints, and it could be argued that this prevented him from composing music for music's sake, *i.e.* compositions that did not need a reason or occasion for their creation. Stewart did not compose in the symphony, sonata or concerto forms and this reflects the absence of a resident tradition of symphonic music in Dublin during the second half of the nineteenth century. Instead, he felt

¹ See John Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland', *DHR*, 35 (1981–82), 2–13 and 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland, Part II', *DHR*, 35 (1982), 42–51; F.E. Dixon, 'Dublin Exhibitions, Part I', *DHR*, 26 (1973), 93–100 and 'Dublin Exhibitions, Part II', *DHR*, 26 (1973), 137–46; A. Jamie Saris, 'Imagining Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1853', *Ireland in the Nineteenth-Century: Regional Identity*, ed. Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 66–86.

most comfortable when writing vocal music and his compositions attest to his predominantly vocal environment, commencing when he entered Christ Church Cathedral as a chorister at the age of eight, and continuing throughout his career as an organist, composer and conductor.

Music-making in Ireland in the nineteenth century was primarily vocally-dominated and this was sustained by the increasing number of amateur music societies that created a constant and steady demand for vocal compositions of a moderate standard. Stewart's earliest composition was a service in B flat composed at the age of eleven (RS01) and this was followed by an anthem in 1838 (RS02), but unfortunately neither works are extant today.² His compositional output spans a period of over four decades and includes eight cantatas, seven odes, an orchestral fantasia, approximately eighty songs,³ fifteen anthems, services, sacred songs and hymn tunes. A small number of piano, organ and violin pieces and several arrangements for piano, harmonium, organ or orchestra of well-known compositions by Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Chopin also contribute to his output.⁴ Despite the various sources mentioned in the preface that refer to Stewart, none of the authors or dictionary entries include a detailed analysis of his compositions and only Barra Boydell and W.H. Grindle make brief references to the harmonic or structural features of interest in his anthems and services.⁵ The comprehensive analysis of Stewart's compositions contained in this chapter is an expansion of the research that I undertook for my Master of Arts degree in Music (Historical Studies)

² Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1902), p. 3.

³ Some of Stewart's songs included 'The Saving of the Colours/Isandula' (RS94) (1879), 'The Question' (RS98) and 'The Answer' (RS99) (1881) and 'All the world around' (RS148) ([n.d.]).

⁴ See Appendix VIIa and VIIb for a full list of Stewart's compositions.

⁵ See Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, pp. 164–66 and W.H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music*, pp. 199–202.

and it represents a large section of the original research contained within this thesis (along with the information contained in chapters five and six). This chapter will focus on a selection of the secular and sacred vocal compositions of Stewart and will assess some of the characteristics of his compositional style and technique. His methods of orchestration will also be evaluated along with the reception of his vocal compositions.

Stewart's large-scale secular vocal compositions are written in two of the most popular genres of the nineteenth century, the cantata and ode. These terms became loosely interchangeable during this particular century because there was little generic difference between them, both being 'substantial works' for soloists, chorus and orchestra on a secular and usually 'elevated theme'.⁶ Composed for specific occasions, they owed their inception to birthdays, festivals, feast days, exhibitions, inaugurations and visitations.

The composition of odes or cantatas to accompany university events came within the remit of the nineteenth-century university music professor. At Trinity College Dublin, this tradition of celebratory odes can be traced back to the centenary celebrations in 1694,⁷ when Purcell was commissioned to write an ode entitled *Great parent, hail* (Z327), and Lord Mornington composed his music for the installation of John Russell, the Duke of Bedford, as chancellor of the university in 1768.⁸ The custom of composing music for the university commencements or graduation

⁶ Malcolm Boyd, 'Ode', *NG*, xiii, p. 500.

⁷ This ode was performed at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. See Malcolm Boyd, 'Ode' *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.50067.3.4>> [accessed 28 January 2008].

⁸ Mornington was music professor at Trinity College Dublin from 1764 to 1774. His composition *March as performed at the Installation of his Grace the Duke of Bedford* is located in the National Library of Ireland although it is not certain that this piece was actually played at the installation ceremony. IRL-Dn, JM 4148.

ceremonies did not last into the nineteenth century, but the Oxford and Cambridge music professors did continue to compose odes for the installation of university chancellors and cantatas for music festivals.⁹ Music degree recipients of Trinity College Dublin and other musicians resident in Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century also composed within the ode and cantata genre and these included Cyril William Bowdler, John Dunne, Robert Henry Earnshaw, Thomas Gick, William Henry Gater (see Appendix V), Frederick William Haydock, T.R.G. Jozé, Samuel McBurney, Thomas Osborne Marks, Joseph Smith, Duncan Thackeray, William Spark and Samuel Weekes.¹⁰

The eight cantatas of Stewart consist of a cantata beginning with the words ‘Hence melancholy, with thy dreary train’ (RS05, 1847), *Who Shall Raise the Bell?* or the *Belfry Cantata* (RS24, 1854), *The Hawthorn Tree* (RS27, 1856), *A Winter*

⁹ D.A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 142; Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). William Crotch composed an Ode for the installation of Lord Granville as Chancellor of the University of Oxford (1810) and an installation ode for the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University entitled *When these days of old* (1834); Thomas Attwood Walmisley produced three installation odes for the Marquis of Camden (1835), the Duke of Northumberland (1842) and Prince Albert (1847); and William Sterndale Bennett composed an Ode for the installation of the Duke of Devonshire as chancellor of the university (op.41, 1862) and an Ode for the opening of the Industrial Exhibition (op.40, 1862). Nicholas Temperley and Simon Heighes, ‘Crotch, William’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.06886.5>> [accessed 28 January 2008]; Nicholas Temperley, ‘Walmisley, Thomas Attwood’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.29852.2>> [accessed 28 January 2008]; Nicholas Temperley and Rosemary Williamson, ‘Bennett, Sir William Sterndale’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.42930.4>> [accessed 28 January 2008].

¹⁰ Brown and Stratton, ‘Bowdler, Cyril William’, *BMB*, p. 55; Maggie Humphreys and Robert Evans, ‘Dunne, Dr. John’, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell, 1997), p. 97; ‘Earnshaw, Robert Henry’, *BMB*, p. 134; ‘Gick, Thomas’, *BMB*, p. 161 and ‘Gick, Thomas’, *Roll of the Union of Graduates in Music and Kalendar for 1895*, p. 110; ‘Gater, Dr. William Henry’, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 125 and Appendix V; ‘Haydock, Frederick W.’, *BMB*, p. 191; ‘Jozé, Dr. Thomas Richard Gonzalvez’, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 193; ‘McBurney, S.’, *BMB*, pp. 257–58; ‘Marks, T.O.’, *Roll of the Union of Graduates in Music and Kalendar for 1895*, p. 124; ‘Smith, Joseph’, *Roll of the Union of Graduates in Music and Kalendar for 1895*, p. 141; ‘Thackeray, Duncan’, *BMB*, p. 408; ‘Spark, Dr. William’, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 315; ‘Weekes, Samuel’, *BMB*, p. 438.

Night's Wake (RS33, 1858), *The Hawthorn in Berry* (RS36, 1859), *The Eve of St John* (RS39, 1860), *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* (RS85, 1873), and the *Comic or Committee Cantata* (RS86, 1874). His seven odes are titled as follows: *Inauguration Ode* (RS18, 1852), *Installation Ode* (RS50, 1863), *Ode for the Inauguration of Lord O'Neill's Music Hall at Shane's Castle* (RS52, 1863), *Ode for the Opening of the Royal Dublin Society's Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures* (RS56, 1864), *Ode to Shakespeare* (RS72, 1870), *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team* (RS88, 1875) and the *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141, 1892).

Regrettably, only a small number of Stewart's cantatas and odes have managed to avoid loss or intentional damage and are extant today. Stewart often felt it necessary to destroy his compositions (at least four vocal works in the cantata and ode genre were destroyed by him) and this was perhaps the result of a certain level of insecurity and a lack of confidence in his music which is discussed further in chapter eight. The partially extant compositions include *A Winter Night's Wake*, the *Installation Ode* and *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* Both *The Eve of St John* and the *Tercentenary Ode* exist in full score autographs and as printed vocal scores, and are located in the Library and Manuscripts Room of Trinity College Dublin respectively.¹¹ Composed for specific occasions at Trinity College Dublin and for external exhibitions and festivals, Stewart's compositions provide useful examples of the style and standard of music that he produced for these significant occasions. These works also indicate the type of music that was well-received by the audience in attendance at events of importance in Dublin's social circles.

¹¹ The full score of *The Eve of St John* is located at IRL-Dtc, Mun/Soc/Choral/3/6 and that of the *Tercentenary Ode* at Mun/Soc/Choral/3/7. The vocal scores are located at IRL-Dtc, M94-178 and M8-78-498 respectively.

Stewart collaborated with the poet John Francis Waller in five cantatas and four odes and there are three types of text-subject in these compositions.¹² The first deals predominantly with industry, science and the arts; the second deals with events at Trinity College Dublin, including the honouring of specific individuals, the tercentenary celebrations and the humorous portrayal of events and characters relating to the University of Dublin Choral Society; and the final text type deals with love and medieval chivalry and the supernatural elements of fairies and magic.

The *Inauguration Ode*, the Dublin Exhibition Ode, the *Ode to Shakespeare* and *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* fall within the first category of text discussed above. Describing man's achievements in science, engineering and the arts, Waller's texts for the Cork and Dublin exhibitions have a similar theme and conclude with a section in praise of God. The first industrial exhibition that Stewart composed music for was the National Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Materials that took place in Cork in 1852. His *Inauguration Ode* was performed at the opening ceremony on 10 June 1852.¹³ The chorus and instrumentalists at the performance numbered two hundred and included members of the Ancient Concerts, Philharmonic and Royal Choral Societies of Dublin and the Ancient Concerts Society of Cork.¹⁴ When we consider that Stewart had only received his MusB and MusD degrees the year before the Cork Exhibition, it was an important and impressive event for the twenty-seven year old to be associated with. The *Daily Express* recorded that the work was written

¹² John Francis Waller (1809–1894) was editor of the *Dublin University Magazine* and often wrote under his pseudonym, Jonathan Freke Slingsby. He received an honorary LLD from Trinity College Dublin in 1852, he was vice-president of the Royal Irish Academy and honorary secretary of the Royal Dublin Society. See 'Our Portrait Gallery. Second Series, No. 2, John Francis Waller, 312', *DUM*, 83 (1874), 312–16 and Katherine Mullin, 'Waller, John Francis (c.1809–1894)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28559>> [accessed 28 September 2007].

¹³ A lithograph vocal score of the ode was presented by Waller to the Royal Dublin Society and is located in the National Library of Ireland, IRL-Dn, IR780942 W2.

¹⁴ Fleischmann, 'Music and Society, 1850–1920', p. 503.

and composed in less than two days and the ode was performed at a University of Dublin Choral Society concert in June 1853.¹⁵ Nineteen years later it featured in the opening ceremony of the 1872 Dublin Exhibition, this time with a chorus and band of five hundred performers, some of whom were from the New Philharmonic Society.¹⁶

Waller commenced the *Inauguration Ode* by calling man to ‘arise’ and begin his labour. The elements are summoned to assist man in his scientific and artistic creations and God is praised in the final section of the ode as the ‘spirit of wisdom, potency and love’. Written in a chorale-like fashion, the six-bar adagio section that brings the work to a close represents ‘creation’s jubilant hymn to God’ in the key of C major.

The Dublin Exhibition ode was performed on 25 May 1864 at the Royal Dublin Society but the work is not extant today. Scored for soprano, tenor, countertenor and bass soloists, chorus, and orchestra, the ode was performed by a band and chorus of about two hundred members.¹⁷ Preceded by an instrumental ‘symphony’, the work commenced with the words:

Come, let us chant our labour-song
A song of praise:
Let the deep organ pour along
Its tide of music, full and strong
While the hymn we raise.¹⁸

The ode describes how man was cursed with the penalty of labour as a punishment for his disobedience in the Garden of Eden. While man despairs about his burden a

¹⁵ ‘Opening of the National Exhibition’, *DE*, 11 June 1852, p. 3.

¹⁶ Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, p. 5; ‘Opening of the Exhibition’, *DE*, 6 June 1872, p. 4.

¹⁷ ‘Ireland’, *Times*, 27 May 1864, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Orchestra*, 1 (1864), pp. 558–59.

celestial voice intervenes to explain that the drudgery of constant labour can be turned into a positive blessing. The invention of the steam engine and other manufacturing feats are also referenced in this ode which ultimately had ‘national advancement by means of self-reliant energy’ as its object.¹⁹

The cantata *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* was composed at the request of the members of the New Philharmonic Society for the closing concert of the 1873 Dublin Exhibition. According to the newspapers, Waller wrote the words in a few hours and it took Stewart only two days and three hours to finish the vocal and instrumental music.²⁰ The four-movement cantata pays tribute to the work of scientists and artists displayed at the exhibition.

Stewart’s *Ode to Shakespeare* was one of five works composed expressly for the 1870 Birmingham Music Festival and it was performed on 1 September of that year.²¹ No doubt aware of the settings of music that were based on Shakespeare’s writings up to that time (including Mendelssohn’s incidental music to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (op.21), Verdi’s opera *Macbeth* and Sullivan’s incidental music to *The Tempest*), Stewart was attracted to the idea of writing the ode in an attempt to join the list of composers who were now inextricably linked to the revered name of Shakespeare. Stewart was fully aware that he himself would never have been able to produce a work that could equal the music of Mendelssohn or Verdi and he recognized that the Birmingham Festival was his only chance to associate one of his

¹⁹ ‘The Exhibition of Irish Manufacturers’, *DE*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

²⁰ ‘The Exhibition Palace’, *DE*, 24 November 1873, p. 3, Culwick, *Sir Robert Prescott Stewart: With Reminiscences of his Life and Works*, p. 10.

²¹ The other works composed for the 1870 Birmingham Music Festival included *St Peter* by Julius Benedict, *Paradise and the Peri* by John Francis Barnett, *Overture di Ballo* by Arthur Sullivan and *Nala and Damayanti* by Ferdinand Hiller. *Times*, 25 August 1870, p. 1.

compositions with this most famous of bards. He undoubtedly viewed the composition of his *Ode to Shakespeare* as a chance to launch his reputation as a composer in England at a time when he was still relatively unknown.²² A successful reception of his ode at Birmingham could provide Stewart with the accolade that would ensure his acceptance as a composer of eminence in the same realm as Julius Benedict, John Francis Barnett, Arthur Sullivan and Ferdinand Hiller, also in attendance at the festival. Unfortunately, however, the poor literary quality of the text set by Stewart for the ode would lead to its receiving damning reviews.²³

The *Belfry Cantata*, the *Installation Ode*, the *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team* and the *Tercentenary Ode* were all written for occasions at Trinity College Dublin. The *Comic* or *Committee Cantata* was a parody of members of the University of Dublin Choral Society and all of these compositions represent the second division of text-subject attributed to Stewart's cantatas and odes. The University of Dublin Choral Society organized a concert for Saturday 30 June 1855 to mark the completion of the new campanile in the front quadrangle of the university which was completed towards the end of 1854.²⁴ Stewart and Waller collaborated in a piece entitled *Who Shall Raise the Bell?*, also known as the *Belfry Cantata*, for soloists, chorus and orchestra which they presented to the board of Trinity College in March 1855.²⁵ The cantata lasted approximately forty minutes in performance and formed the second part of the June concert.²⁶ The innovative feat of

²² For information on the Birmingham Music Festival see J. Sutcliffe Smith, *The Story of Music in Birmingham* (Birmingham: Cornish Brother Limited, 1945). The Birmingham Festival also prompted Stewart to perform Costa's *Eli* and Dvořák's *The Spectre's Bride* in Dublin one year after they were performed in Birmingham in 1855 and 1885 respectively.

²³ See pp. 310–11.

²⁴ This new construction cost £3,000 and was financed by the Primate of Ireland and Chancellor of the University, Lord J.G. Beresford. 'Brief chronicle of the last fortnight', *MT*, 7 (1855), p. 77.

²⁵ Board Meeting, 17 March 1855, TCD Board Books, 1851–56, Mun/v/5/10, p. 394.

²⁶ 'Brief chronicle of the last fortnight', *MT*, 7 (1855), p. 77.

the work presented itself in the employment of the bell throughout the composition and at the following lines the bell was tolled eight times:

To Jehovah's praise,
Be the first notes rung,
From its iron tongue.²⁷

The structure of *Who Shall Raise the Bell?* consisted of an instrumental introduction, tenor and soprano solos, and solos with chorus, and it concluded with a fugue. Culwick's catalogue of Stewart's compositions recorded that the score of the cantata existed as an autograph but regrettably its location is unknown today.²⁸

The *Installation Ode* was composed for the installation ceremony of the Earl of Rosse, William Parsons, as chancellor of the University of Dublin on 17 February 1863. A letter written by Stewart in October 1862 to James Henthorn Todd, a senior fellow at Trinity College Dublin, demonstrates that the possibility of providing a musical composition for the occasion had occupied Stewart's mind at least four months before the ceremony was scheduled to take place. This contrasts with the composition of the *Inauguration Ode, How Shall We Close Our Gates?* and the *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team* as these works were all completed within much shorter periods of time. In his letter to Todd, Stewart requested permission to contribute the music of an installation ode for the ceremony and stated that Waller would 'gladly furnish the words'.²⁹ Stewart's application was approved and from the dates at the end of the clarinet, horn and viola parts of the work, it is clear that

²⁷ This sounding of the bell was made possible by an electric 'apparatus' placed in the orchestra 'and connected with wires of some hundred yards in length, which were carried across two of the quadrangles, the windows of the hall being opened to admit of the sounds being heard'. Mr Noble, a member of the society attached to the Engineering School is credited with wiring the equipment used in the performance. See 'Brief chronicle of the last fortnight', *MT*, 7 (1855), p. 77 and FitzGibbon, 'College Choral', p. 64.

²⁸ Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, p. 6.

²⁹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Dr James Henthorn Todd, 31 October [1862], IRL-Dtc, MS Mun/P/2/2007.

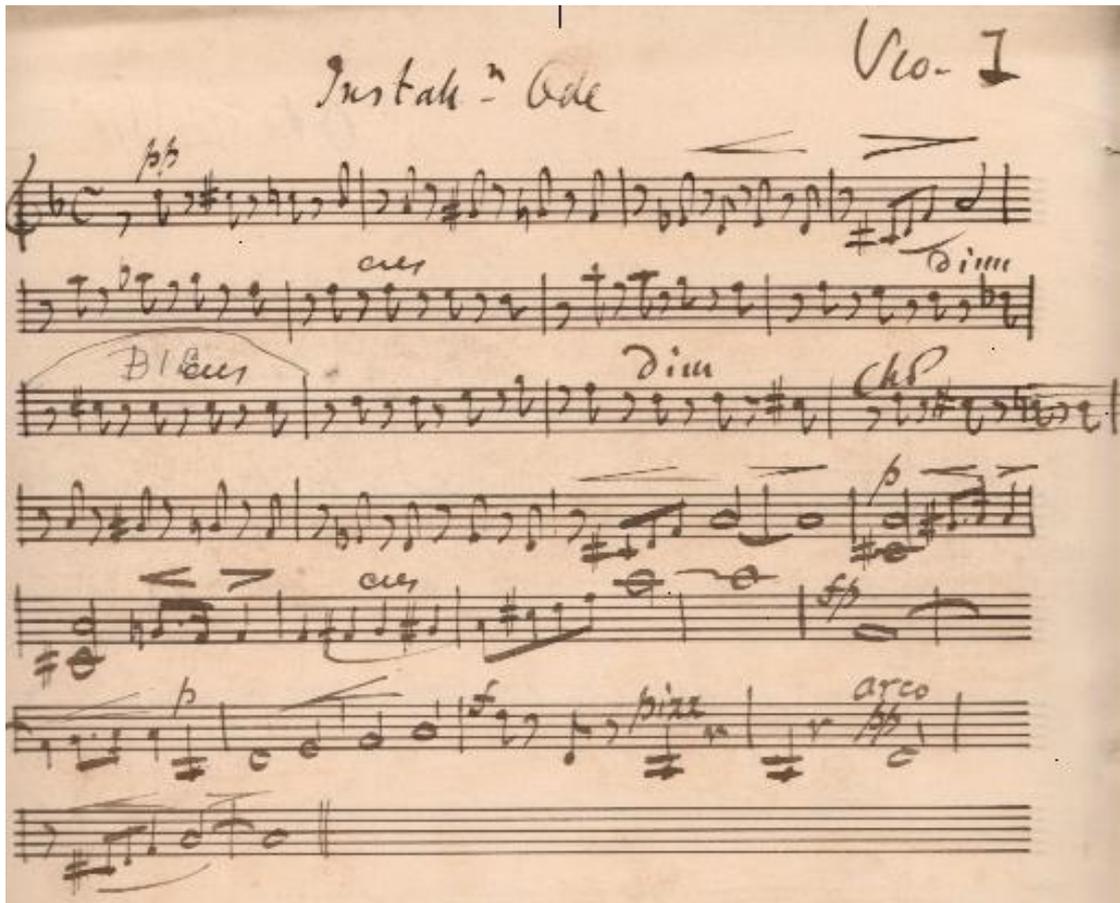
Stewart was working on the composition and copying of these parts up to 30 January 1863. The individual score parts also indicate that Stewart wrote an extended second version of the opening symphony and alto recitative sections of the first movement. In some instrumental parts, including the flute, clarinet and bassoon the second version of the music has been glued over the original music but in the string parts, the original music has been scribbled out with a pencil and a new page with the updated version has been added at the front of the instrumental part. The original music is still legible behind the pencil scribble and it demonstrates that Stewart had not re-written the musical ideas, but had merely elongated the symphony section by adding an extra twenty bars which included a modulation to the relative major. Bars 5 and 8 of the original music in the violin I part have the word 'speaking' written under the clef but this does not appear in the second version, although newspaper reports refer to a spoken element in the symphony section.³⁰ The original violin I part of the symphony appears in Illustration 1 and the extended second version appears in Illustration 2.

³⁰ 'Installation of the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosse', *IT*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

Illustration 1. Stewart, *Installation Ode*. Original eight bars of the symphony, violin I, autograph, page 2, bars 1–9



Illustration 2. Stewart, *Installation Ode*. Second version of the symphony, violin I, autograph, page 1, bars 1–29



The symphony and alto recitative sections of the *Installation Ode* portray the slow movement of a funeral procession as man is brought to his final resting place.³¹ The alto solo, ‘For he hath entered into saintly rest’, tells of the actions of the ‘good and just’ men who have gone to their final resting place. The duet ‘As the light dispels the darkness’ from the second movement tells of the triumph of light over darkness and the jubilant key of D major reflects this victory. The third movement of the ode pays homage to the eminent graduates of Trinity College Dublin and the distinguished names of former chancellors of the university are included in the text. ‘When Gloriana bid arise’ from the fourth movement refers to the university

³¹ See pp. 90–91 for the overall structure of the *Installation Ode*.

foundress, Queen Elizabeth and the fifth movement of the ode refers to an account of the casting of Lord Rosse's famous telescope located in the grounds of Birr Castle:

Oh! Marvellous sight
Of solemnizing grandeur! Lo, the night
Is deep and still, and conscious stars look out,
And the broad moon shines bright.
Forth on the air the furnace-chimneys spout
Columns of yellow flame, and the red light
From glowing crucible with quivering beam
Plays, like a fiery fountain-stream
On ivied walls, castle towers,
And deep, umbrageous greenwood bowers.
Then, hurrying to and fro,
Swart metallurgists go,
Pouring the liquid fire into the mould-
Metal more precious far than virgin gold-
And thus, while men hold in their breath for awe,
The giant Speculum at last
With matchless skill is cast,
Safe without fleck or flaw!³²

Written in a chorale-like manner for four soprano voices, the sixth movement contrasts strongly with its preceding movement. The sopranos sing of 'boundless space', 'comets' and 'stellar fires' and the movement concludes in praise of God. The seventh movement deals with the superiority of science over the destructive nature of war and praises the astronomer Galileo in the following strain:

So Galileo erst from Pisa's tower,
At the still, midnight hour,
Scaling with optic tube the empyreal heights,
Saw Jupiter with all his Satellites;
And, reverently bold, heaven's mazes trod,
To hold high converse with Creative God.³³

The attention of the ode then reverts back to the chancellor and the final section 'Mother, thy sons with grateful voice', concludes with the appointing of William Parsons as the university 'councillor and guide'.³⁴

³² 'Installation of the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosse', *IT*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The next composition of Stewart's to fall into the category of a text written for an event at Trinity College Dublin was the *Tercentenary Ode*. This work was commenced by Stewart in October 1891 and completed on 13 January 1892. The ode was premièred on 5 July 1892 in Leinster Hall as part of the scheduled events organized for the Tercentenary celebrations at Trinity College Dublin.³⁵ The text was written by the professor of English and History at Queen's College Cork, George Francis Savage-Armstrong,³⁶ and deals with the evolution of learning and education in Ireland. Commencing with St Patrick, the centres of learning established by the early Irish monks and the founding of the University of Dublin under the reign of Queen Elizabeth in 1592 are also portrayed in the text. The great men 'produced' by the university are described, as are the notable achievements of the university as a centre of educational excellence. The triumphant conclusion of the work recognises 'the battle of Intellect with Darkness, waged and still to be waged' and ends with an outlook of 'unconquerable hope'.³⁷

Purge the fair world of Ill through all its fields;
 Uplift the Race in wisdom more and more;
 With breath undaunted boldly range
 The ever-widening ways of ceaseless Change;
 Thwart not the powers that roll
 Freedom's chariot thundering to the goal;
 Nor fly the Spirit's pain; nor crave
 The crutch of creeds foredone; nor fear
 The New upon the Old to rear;
 But Nature's nobler life from bondage save;
 Till, to flawless beauty moulded, All her wealth of good unfolded
 'Mid the beams of Liberty,
 Earth into Eden break and bloom from sea to sea!³⁸

³⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁵ Chapter two contains a brief commentary on the Tercentenary festival at Trinity College Dublin.

³⁶ See D.J. O'Donoghue, rev. Deirdre Toomey, 'Armstrong, George Francis Savage- (1845–1906)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35962>> [accessed 24 June 2008].

³⁷ 'Analysis of the Ode', *Tercentenary Ode* vocal score (London: Novello, Ewer, 1892), p. vi.

³⁸ Vocal score of the *Tercentenary Ode* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1892), p. v.

The *Comic or Committee Cantata* depicts the comical and amusing events in the history of the University of Dublin Choral Society. The work was first performed on 22 January 1875 but it did not feature in a concert again until almost fifteen years later.³⁹ The humorous libretto by Waller tells of the troubles, worries, labours and triumphs of the various officers of the choral society, including the secretary and treasurer, and the composition even included a short recitative for the conductor to perform. According to the reports in the *Daily Express* that accompanied its second performance in 1889, several of the principal parts of the cantata were lost since 1875 and had to be rewritten by Stewart for the second performance.⁴⁰ The recitatives and choruses in the work were concluded with a fugue in praise of the provost and fellows of the university which was described by the *Daily Express* as ‘Handelesque in its massive concord’.⁴¹ The first three bars of the fugal subject, ‘Vivant Praepositus, Socii Seniores!’, are demonstrated in Example 1.⁴²

³⁹ Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, p. 12.

⁴⁰ ‘University Choral Society’, *DE*, 13 June 1889, p. 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2. In 1987 the society once again became the subject of a composition by Brian Boydell. His cantata *Under No Circumstances* was commissioned to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the University of Dublin Choral Society. The work parodies the events that are recorded in the minute books of the University of Dublin Choral Society between the years 1837 and 1887 and the libretto quotes *verbatim* from the society’s records and contemporary newspaper reports. Boydell himself noted that the humour contained within the work was ‘kindly and never malicious’ and Stewart is the feature of the sixth movement for tenor solo, which describes the press review which appeared in *The Evening Post* following the performance of his MusB and MusD compositions in 1851. The soprano solo that follows the tenor solo was taken directly from Stewart’s setting of *Psalms 107*, which he submitted for his MusD requirements. Brian Boydell, ‘Composer’s Note’ and Kyle Leyden, ‘Notes’, *Under No Circumstances: An Historical Entertainment*, CD Sleeve Notes, University of Dublin Choral Society Choir, directed by Bernie Sherlock (UDCSCD001, 2002).

⁴² Unfortunately this is the only excerpt of music from the *Comic Cantata* to come to light.

Example 1. Stewart, *Comic Cantata*, fugue subject ‘Vivant Praepositus, Socii Seniores!’ taken from Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 160



The final category of text subject apparent in Stewart’s vocal compositions incorporates the romantic and supernatural features of *A Winter Night’s Wake* and *The Eve of St John*. *A Winter Night’s Wake* was composed by Stewart in 1858 and is based on Waller’s ‘masque for music’ of the same name printed in the *Dublin University Magazine* in March 1857.⁴³ The work was first performed on 9 April 1858 by the University of Dublin Choral Society, selections from the work were performed on 18 April 1864, and complete performances were produced on 2 June 1882 and 12 March 1892.⁴⁴ *The Eve of St John* was completed by Stewart on 27 October 1860 and received its première on 12 April 1861. This cantata was undoubtedly one of the most popular of Stewart’s compositions and it received a favourable number of performances throughout his lifetime.⁴⁵ The entire work was performed twice in England: Stanford sought to provide some publicity for his former teacher when he conducted a performance in 1872 in Cambridge, and in April 1894 the London Stock Exchange Orchestra performed the work under the baton of George Kitchin.⁴⁶ The overture of the work was performed on 27 October 1883 at the Crystal Palace, London under the direction of August Manns when it was described

⁴³ Jonathan Freke Slingsby (pseudonym of J.F. Waller), ‘A Winter Night’s Wake’, *DUM*, 49 (1857), 285–99.

⁴⁴ The 1882 performance of *A Winter Night’s Wake* was organized to raise funds for the City of Dublin Hospital. ‘City of Dublin Hospital’, *IT*, 27 May 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁵ *The Eve of St John* was dedicated by Stewart to Marmaduke F. Purcell, a friend of the composer and member of the University of Dublin Choral Society.

⁴⁶ Stewart was to conduct this performance himself but unfortunately died several weeks before the concert. Kitchin conducted the performance as an *In Memoriam* and provided a eulogy of the deceased professor of music in the programme notes. Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 219.

by the *Times* as being ‘without striking individual features of any kind’.⁴⁷ The overture also featured in the programme of the second Feis Ceoil concert held in Dublin on 19 May 1897.⁴⁸ The cantata was printed as a vocal score by Blockley of London in June 1884, much to the disbelief of the composer who had commented in 1879: ‘I wish I had *The Eve of St John* in print [...] that however will never happen’.⁴⁹

A Winter Night's Wake is set in the fourteenth century, is reminiscent of the era of Robin Hood and Friar Tuck, and tells of the love of a Saxon lord, Olaf, for a servant girl Marian. The various characters in the libretto are forced to seek refuge in a farmhouse during a snowstorm where the hours are passed away in comic storytelling and song:

The action passes in the farm-house of [Olaf's] reeve, or bailiff where Marian has taken refuge as one of the attendants [...] The horrors of an inclement snowy night bring several guests to the farmstead, including Friar Augustin and the forester and the hours are supposed to pass away in song and story, and in the recounting of his perils by Dickon, whose feats bear a marvellous resemblance to those of Tam-O'-Shanter. While the auditory are hushed into chilling fear, Olaf, the noble knocks at the cottage, and excites alarm under the passing belief that he must be a visitant from another world. The door is ultimately opened. He stays disguised for a time, hears the friar sing his roundelay and Marian her mournful address to the cypress tree and churchyard yew, and finally reveals himself, and rewards her attachment by making her his bride.⁵⁰

The supernatural element of the work is presented by Dickon, one of the farm servants, in his recollection of a story about a miller returning home one winter's evening who encounters the ghost of a woman and her child.⁵¹ *The Eve of St John* describes the story of a knight, Sir Hugo, who returns from the Crusades on St John's Eve to rejoin his maiden, Lucy. He encounters peasants lighting fires and performing

⁴⁷ ‘Crystal Palace’, *Times*, 30 October 1883, p. 8.

⁴⁸ ‘Irish Musical Festival’, *IT*, 20 May 1897, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Letter from Stewart to Revd Dr Torrance, 2 November 1879, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 122.

⁵⁰ ‘University Choral Society’, *SN*, 10 April 1858, p. 2.

⁵¹ Jonathan Freke Slingsby [J.F. Waller], ‘A Winter Night's Wake’, *DUM*, 49 (1857), pp.289–290.

rituals to protect themselves from the evil spirits that were free to roam the earth on that night and the following is an extract from Waller's summary of the plot:

Among the various superstitions which in the middle ages prevailed throughout Christendom, few were more widely spread than those connected with the festival of St. John the Baptist [...] The origin of the custom of lighting fires on the eve of the saint's day is doubtful. But it is probably to some extent a remnant of heathenism. In England the observances connected with this custom were these. Early in the morning herbs were culled that were noted for their odoriferous properties and medicinal virtues. Pyres of wood were placed upon hill-tops at the crossing of roads, or at other public places: and at nightfall the people went thither, the young wearing garlands of vervain and motherwort, and bearing bunches of violets and other flowers, the aged carrying lighted brands. The pile was then set on fire in honour of the saint [...] and also to drive away 'dragons and evil spirits', who were supposed to have special power over mankind on that night. When the fire was thoroughly kindled, the people danced round it, then they threw in the herbs, praying Heaven that as they were consumed in the fire, so might all evil influences be destroyed, and that through the rest of the year they might be saved from agues, murrains, blights and injury from the elements. When the fire sank low the ashes were flung in the air to scare the evil spirits supposed to be hovering about, and the brands that were still unconsumed were borne away to be placed in the house as a protection against spiritual assaults.⁵²

This legend of mischievous fairies and guardian angels is fanciful and bizarre, and reflects a movement which was characteristic within musical romanticism in the nineteenth century. In literature, music and the arts there was a turning away from the rational and logical to the mystical and supernatural. This was accompanied by a fascination with the past, and a renewed interest in the age of medieval chivalry and legends in particular. The beliefs and superstitions held by Irish peasants in the first half of the nineteenth century contrast strongly with the middle-class interest in the fantastical world of magic, rituals and fairies as a means of entertainment and James H. Murphy asserts that:

Popular culture was characterized by a belief in magic and rituals. People did not move into new houses on a Friday, and the first day of the week, month or year was the best on which to begin a new task. Animal blood was smeared on homes and people on St Martin's feast, 11 November. Bonfires were lit on May Eve and on St John's Eve (23 June).⁵³

⁵²'University Choral Society', *IT*, 13 April 1861, p. 2.

⁵³ James H. Murphy, *Ireland: A Social, Cultural and Literary History, 1791–1891* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), p. 30.

Mendelssohn's *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* (op.60) and a *Midsummer Night's Dream* can be proposed as influences on Stewart's decision to set the music to *A Winter Night's Wake* and *The Eve of St John* because of the incorporation of fantastical and supernatural elements in all four compositions. R. Larry Todd suggests that it may have been the 'musical fairyland' of Mendelssohn's incidental music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that helped to 'stimulate the vogue of Victorian fairy paintings and illustrations that began to take hold in the 1840s and endured until the early twentieth century'.⁵⁴ *A Winter Night's Wake* and *The Eve of St John* are similar to *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* in that they are secular cantatas preceded by an instrumental overture that is synoptic in character. *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* was performed by Stewart and the University Choral Society four times between 1848 and 1851 and met with characteristically positive if not particularly informative newspaper reviews as this extract from the *Saunders's News-letter* in 1848 illustrates:

The overture, full of effects and beauties, could not have been better executed even under the direction of the great wizard of the baton. While we have such artistes and conductor, foreign competition need not be dreaded.⁵⁵

Stewart's familiarity with *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* and his admiration for Mendelssohn as a composer are certainly represented in his music for *A Winter Night's Wake* and *The Eve of St John*.

The scoring of Stewart's odes and cantatas for a combination of soloists, chorus and orchestra does not vary immensely from composition to composition. Only two odes, those composed for the inauguration of Lord O'Neill's music room

⁵⁴ R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xxiv.

⁵⁵ *SN*, 6 June 1848, in UDCS Minute Books, 1844–52, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2.

and the ode to welcome the American rifle team, were not scored for orchestra. These works were written for soloists, chorus and organ and piano accompaniment respectively instead.

In terms of structure, Stewart's odes and cantatas vary quite substantially depending on the occasion for which the composition was intended. The shortest ode, that penned for the American rifle team, consists of three songs that follow a verse and chorus structure, whereas the longer works, including *A Winter Night's Wake*, *The Eve of St John* and the *Tercentenary Ode* contain between seventeen and twenty-four movements.⁵⁶

The Eve of St John opens with an introductory overture and is seventeen movements in length. The overture imitates Weber's overtures to *Der Freischütz*, *Oberon* and *Euryanthe* in that it features every main theme that reappears later on in the drama. Stewart's synoptic, programmatic overture is in five sections: the first represents the angels' hymn, the second, Sir Hugo and his squire Ralph on their return journey from the crusades, the third, Lucy who mourns the absence of her lover, the fourth, the mischievous elves and the fifth, the reunion of Hugo and Lucy, ending the work with a joyful conclusion. Each of the five sections portrays a different mood, achievable through the use of contrasting time signatures, tempi, keys and themes. Stewart adheres quite closely to the conventional formal structures of the time within each particular movement of *The Eve of St John*. For the shorter movements of the work, including the movements 'Daughter, why thus', 'How slow the laggard hours' and 'Round the sleeping maid entwining' Stewart employs the

⁵⁶ According to Culwick, *A Winter Night's Wake* was twenty-four movements in length. Culwick cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 58.

method of through-composition. The ballads of Sir Hugo: ‘Far away from thee my love’, and Bertha: ‘At dead of night’ are both strophic in form.

The *Tercentenary Ode* contains seventeen movements and includes a small-scale ‘symphony’ in movement ten, thus representing the only extant work written late in Stewart’s career that is comparable to *The Eve of St John*. Stewart’s ‘symphony’ refers to the baroque meaning of an instrumental movement in an opera, oratorio, suite or cantata and has the same purpose as that employed by Handel in his *Messiah* in that it functions as a short orchestral interlude (sixty-six bars). It is absolute music and is through-composed in form. Stewart uses binary and ternary forms and through-composition for the different movements in the *Tercentenary Ode*. ‘In the Earth’s exultant hour’, ‘Whence evermore with armed Night’ and ‘Foreward! Let the venturous mind’ are through-composed in form, while ‘Guardian of Light’ is in ternary form.

Both the *Inauguration Ode* and *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* contain four movements (each divisible into subsections) and the *Installation Ode* is written in eight movements. Contemporary newspaper reports referred to a short instrumental ‘symphony’ that introduced both the *Belfry Cantata* and the 1864 Dublin exhibition ode, while the four-movement *Inauguration Ode* was scored for SATB chorus and wind, string and possibly brass band and the work is reported to have lasted approximately fifteen minutes in performance.⁵⁷ The four movements in this ode contain three sections and the structure of each movement is derived from the text

⁵⁷ ‘University Choral Society’, *SN*, 2 July 1855 in UDCS Minute Books, 1852–65, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/5, and ‘The Exhibition of Irish Manufactures: Inaugural Ceremony’, *DE*, 26 May 1864, p. 3. ‘Opening of the Exhibition’, *DE*, 6 June 1872, p. 4.

which is divided into three parts: strophe, antistrophe and epode. The individual movements are through-composed.

The movements of the *Installation Ode* and *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* are also predominantly in a through-composed format, with the exception of 'Thro' endless time' from the former work which is in the form of *ABA'B'*, and the concluding movements of both works which are fugal in texture. The eight-movement *Installation Ode* is introduced by a short instrumental 'symphony' and the work is scored for chorus, soprano, alto, tenor and bass soloists and orchestra. Unfortunately, only the solo vocal and orchestral parts have come to light despite the inclusion of the chorus in the first, third, fourth, fifth and eighth movements.⁵⁸ The format of the *Installation Ode* is as follows:

- I Symphony (with speaking voice).
'Toll, toll the bell'. Alto recitative.
'For he hath entered into saintly rest'. Tenor recitative.
Chant: 'Beati morti dicuntur'. Chorus.
- II 'As the light dispels the darkness'. Duet soprano and baritone.
- III 'Mother beneficent'. Tenor recitative.
'Well may thy sons with grateful voice'. Tenor solo, chorus (in unison).
'To sit where calm wise Burleigh sate'. Tenor recitative.
- IV 'Ring out, o brave old bell'. Soprano solo.
'When Gloriana bade arise'. Soprano solo.
'In council grave, in battle brave', soprano solo, chorus.
- V 'Oh! Marvellous sight'. Chorus.
- VI 'Thro' endless time, through boundless space'. Four soprano voices.
- VII 'More glorious than the monarch on this throne'. Tenor solo.

⁵⁸ From the information presented in newspaper reports and the extant instrumental parts, it is apparent that the chorus, singing in unison in 'Well may thy sons with grateful voice', repeated the music of the tenor voice, and by assigning the music of the four woodwind instruments employed in the soprano solo section 'In council grave, in battle brave' to SATB voices it is possible to reconstruct the choral section and complete the movement. The strings in the final movement 'Mother, thy sons with grateful voice' also provide the SATB choral parts for the concluding fugal section of the movement only.

‘So Galileo erst from Pisa’s tower’. Tenor recitative.

‘So Rosse the power is thine’. Soprano recitative.

VIII ‘Mother, thy sons with grateful voice’. Chorus, fugue.

How Shall We Close Our Gates? is scored for soprano, tenor and baritone solo, chorus and orchestra but only the instrumental parts survive today. The cantata’s structure is demonstrated below.

I ‘How shall we close our gates to-day’. Chorus.

II ‘As the sun reposes in the burning west’. Soprano.

III ‘How beautiful the feet of those who tread the path that Science shows’. Chorus.

IV ‘Fairest Ierne! Tho’ dark thy long night’. Soprano.

‘Faint is the twilight at dawning of day’. Chorus and fugue.

Yet one strain more, a nobler song of praise’. Soprano Recitative.

‘Not unto us, but unto Thee O Lord be all the glory given’. Chorus.

Stewart adheres to the conventional formal structures of the day in his compositions and this is evident in his employment of fugue in the final movements of the *Installation Ode*, *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* and in four movements of the *Tercentenary Ode*. Chancellors, lord lieutenants, academics, scholars, and other prestigious members of society attended the ceremonious occasions at which Stewart’s music was performed and to his mind, the fugue was a particularly suitable composition for these events. The homophonic texture of the *Inauguration Ode* is interspersed with imitative writing in the sections entitled ‘The fast foundations of the beauteous world’ and ‘Then all the sons of God in loud acclaim’, where the tenor voices are imitated by the sopranos, basses and altos in turn at the words ‘And to the farthest bounds of space’. A forty-seven-bar fugue concludes the final movement of the *Installation Ode* in D major while the fugue in *How Shall We Close Our Gates?*, built on the first four bars of ‘Eileen Aroon’, was combined with the tune of the

‘100th Psalm’. It received a particularly good review from the *Dublin Evening Mail* as the excerpt below demonstrates:

Those who love a good fugue will like it on any theme, though the elaboration of counterpoint which has found their development in the most advanced period of music may be thought by some to be slightly remote from the extreme simplicity of an Irish melody, yet on the other hand there was something very effective in the sad strain of the melody, taken up by many voices and in many parts, and echoed by many instruments so as to stamp upon the whole a new character of joyousness and hope. The theme of the ‘Old Hundredth’ forms an admirable closing movement to the cantata.⁵⁹

The 100th Psalm was played by the flute and cornet in dotted minim values while false entries of the fugal subject, written in crotchet and dotted crotchet/quaver timing, were passed between the string instruments as Example 2 illustrates.

⁵⁹ ‘Closing of the Exhibition’, *DEM*, 24 November 1873, p. 4.

Example 2. Stewart, *How Shall We Close Our Gates?*, IV, full score, bars 60–71

Allegro One Hundredth Psalm

Flute

Bassoon

Cornet in Bb

Timpani

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II *Eileen Aroon*

Viola

Violoncello

sf sf sf sf

Fl.

Bsn.

Cnt.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Fugal movements in the *Tercentenary Ode* include: ‘Here to her lasting home’, ‘Guardian of Light’, ‘Aurora of the conquering sun’ and ‘Our triumph is the Victory of Thought’. With the exception of ‘Here to her lasting home’, all of these movements remain in a contrapuntal manner for a short time only and are then altered into choral homophony. They are not ‘strict’ fugues in their construction; very often Stewart does not adhere to real or tonal answers, and false entries recur frequently. In the *Tercentenary Ode* all fugal subjects begin with the bass voices. Fugal writing also concludes Stewart’s anthems *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion* (RS53) and *The King Shall Rejoice* (RS123).

Chorales or chorale-like movements are not unusual in Stewart’s vocal compositions. They can be traced to his training in the cathedral tradition which sought to emulate Bach and Mendelssohn as worthy exemplars. His Service in E flat (RS15, 1851) contains the chorale ‘Von Himmel Hoch’, and the chorale ‘Blessed

Jesus, here we stand' is employed in the fourth of his seven organ pieces entitled *A Little Organ School* (RS117). In the *Inauguration Ode*, two instances of chorale-like sections for full chorus occur in the fourth movement. The first instance occurs in the second section of the movement, *moderato religioso*, where the text refers to 'Spirit adorable, whose will doth move all life to be thy ministrant'. The concluding five-bar *Adagio* section of the ode provides the second instance at the words:

And to the farthest bounds
Of space, in thunder sounds,
Creation's jubilant hymn to God did roll!

The setting of the sixth movement of the *Installation Ode* for four unaccompanied soprano voices is also reminiscent of a chorale tune. This section entitled 'Thro' endless time' is thirty-five bars in length and the libretto of the movement refers to God's creation of man.⁶⁰ From Stewart's portrayal of the 'sublime' in music, we now turn to the music of the traditional, folk and national song types that he incorporated into his compositions.

Several of Stewart's compositions, including the *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team*, the 1864 Dublin Exhibition Ode, *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* and the orchestral fantasia include Irish traditional tunes or national melodies and anthems.⁶¹ The utilization and combination of traditional airs and national anthems and tunes represents a popular trend employed by composers active in Ireland including Joseph Robinson, Jozé, Culwick and Charles Wood. The inclusion of autochthonous music in Stewart's compositions illustrates his ability to incorporate songs from the folk music tradition into the sphere of art music. The

⁶⁰ 'Installation of the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosse', *IT*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

⁶¹ Stewart did not make a distinction between traditional Irish airs such as 'Kate Kearney' or 'The Coulin' and tunes arranged by Thomas Moore including 'The Wine Cup is Circling in Almhin's Hall', 'The Cruiskeen Lawn', and 'Go where glory waits thee' and this was not unusual practice at the time.

purpose of this trend or fashion was to demonstrate the technical and musical skill of the composer through the competent assimilation and incorporation of folk melodies into the work. Jeremy Dibble remarked that this technique was becoming ‘nothing short of a mannerism’ towards the end of Stewart’s career in the 1890s.⁶²

In his 1864 Dublin Exhibition ode, an interesting attribute was employed by Stewart in the chorus ‘When, some young maid the cottage door beside’. In this chorus the clarinet introduced the Irish traditional tune ‘Gramachree’ or ‘The Harp that once through Tara’s halls’ and according to the *Orchestra*, the clarinet’s tune did not interfere with the ‘dignity which should belong to the class of work on which the composer was employed’.⁶³ The report of the performance by the same publication recorded that this compositional trait employed by Stewart had a ‘pleasing sensation’ with the audience but despite the positive reviews that the ode received in the *Dublin Evening Mail* and the *Daily Express*, Stewart destroyed all traces of the work.⁶⁴

Vignoles recorded that Stewart was encouraged to visit Boston as the conductor of a band of musicians chosen to represent Ireland in 1872.⁶⁵ Stewart was not, however, prepared to travel to Boston for the Peace Festival and offered an *Orchestral Fantasia* in E flat (RS80) for choir, organ and large orchestra instead. The work incorporated Irish airs throughout including ‘The Minstrel Boy’, ‘The Cruiskeen Lawn’, ‘’Twas one of those dreams’ for cornet solo, ‘Sing, sweet harp’ for violins and ‘Let Erin remember’. He combined ‘Yankee Doodle’ with ‘Let Erin

⁶² Jeremy Dibble, ‘The Composer in the Academy (1) 1850–1940’, *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848–1998*, ed. Richard Pine and Charles Acton (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), p. 409.

⁶³ *Orchestra*, 1 (1864), p. 559.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 559, Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 100.

Remember' in this fantasia, a blend which was similar to his combination of these tunes in his ode for the American rifle team composed three years later. Regrettably the work seems to have been destroyed by the composer.

The visit of the American Rifle Team to Ireland in 1875 caused great excitement in the newspapers and the members of the team themselves were greeted with a celebrity status throughout their tour.⁶⁶ They arrived in Cork on 14 June and the primary purpose of the team's visit to Ireland was the international rifle match which took place on 29 June at Dollymount, Dublin against the Irish rifle team. Subjected to a heavy social schedule, the team's appointments included attendance at a Royal Irish Academy of Music concert at the Exhibition Palace (conducted by Joseph Robinson), and a large banquet held in their honour at Trinity College Dublin on 28 June.⁶⁷ The three songs that comprise Stewart's *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team* were interspersed between the various toasts proposed during the banquet. 'The Land of the West' was performed first, followed by 'Two thousand miles of ocean wave', and finally 'Welcome brother from the West'.⁶⁸ According to the *Saunders's News-Letter*, the work was performed by several gentlemen, 'distinguished in the musical world' and Stewart himself provided the piano accompaniment.⁶⁹ The ode was also performed at the Exhibition Palace on 1 July when Signor Gassner transcribed the music for military band.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ 'The American Rifle Team', *Ireland's Eye: A Weekly Glance at Men and Events*, 73 ([1875]), p. 220. Some of the members of the team were caricatured in *Ireland's Eye*, a publication similar to England's *Vanity Fair*.

⁶⁷ The banquet was hosted by the provost and senior fellows of Trinity College and other prominent guests in attendance included the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Lord Chief Justice. 'Exhibition Palace', *IT*, 25 June 1875, p. 1, 'The American Team', *IT*, 28 June 1875, p. 2.

⁶⁸ 'The American Team', *IT*, 28 June 1875, p. 2. In the vocal score the order of songs is as follows: 'Two thousand miles of ocean wave', 'The Land of the West' and 'Welcome, brothers from the West'.

⁶⁹ 'Grand Banquet at Trinity College to the Rifle Team', *SN*, 28 June 1875, p. 2.

⁷⁰ 'Exhibition Palace', *IT*, 23 June 1875, p. 1.

The only extant version of the American rifle team ode appears to be a vocal score in the composer's handwriting⁷¹ and the libretto was contributed by Waller. The first song, 'Two thousand miles of ocean wave' is scored for TTBB and tenor solo and 'The Land of the West' and 'Welcome, brothers from the West' for tenor solo and male chorus (in unison). In the opening of 'Two thousand miles' the bass voices invite their tenor counterparts to join with them as they 'raise from East to West a song of praise'. Irish and American tunes permeate each of the three songs and the inclusion of 'Yankee Doodle' and 'Hail Columbia' in the music comes as no surprise. When the American team visited the Curragh a week before the Trinity banquet the constabulary band of the Royal Hibernian Military School played those tunes as part of their performance.⁷² The first four bars of 'Let Erin Remember' are utilized as a four-bar introduction to 'Two thousand miles' and the tune, in the treble clef, is supported chordally in the left hand. At the eight-bar postlude of the song, the rhythmic values of 'Let Erin Remember' are doubled and the tune, in the treble clef, is merged with 'Yankee Doodle' played in quavers in the bass line of the accompaniment as shown in Example 3. Neither of these tunes are incorporated into the chorus or tenor melody of this song but serve to illustrate the 'clever' adaptation of the composer in combining these two melodies. In 'The Land of the West' and 'Welcome, brothers from the West' Waller simply set different words to 'The Star-spangled banner' and 'Hail Columbia' respectively and Stewart added a basic harmonic chordal accompaniment.

⁷¹ The vocal score is located in IRL-Dtc, M8-77-342.

⁷² 'The American Rifle Team', *IT*, 19 June 1875, p. 2.

Example 3. Stewart, *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team*, ‘Two thousand miles’, vocal score, bars /36–43

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It is titled 'Alla Marcia' and features two distinct melodic lines. The upper line is labeled 'Let Erin Remember' and the lower line is labeled 'Yankee Doodle'. The score is written in a grand staff with a treble clef on the left and a bass clef on the right. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The piece begins with a forte (ff) dynamic marking. The 'Let Erin Remember' melody is characterized by a series of chords and a few moving notes, while the 'Yankee Doodle' melody is a more active, rhythmic line. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Stewart’s *Tercentenary Ode* (1892) makes use of both Irish and English melodies. The Irish tunes represent Trinity College Dublin as a university situated in Ireland, and the English tunes contained therein reflect both the founding of the university by Queen Elizabeth and the British establishment represented by Trinity College Dublin. In the fourth section of ‘Behold, the men are with us still’ Stewart simultaneously combines the airs of ‘The Coulin’ and ‘Sios agus sios liom’ in the orchestral writing. ‘The Coulin’ is scored for the flute, first violin and harp, while the alto or tenor trombone simultaneously plays the melody of ‘Sios agus sios liom’. The low strings repeat the rhythm for the entire section, and the voices serve to contribute a chordal support. Stewart has managed to combine these melodies in a skillful and effective way, as Example 4 demonstrates.

Example 4. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, 'Behold, the men are with us still', vocal score, bars 123–134

Andante con moto

SOPRANO
And he who sang of E - rin's

ALTO
And he who sang of E - rin's

TENOR
And he who sang of E - rin's

BASS
And he who sang of E - rin's

PIANO
Andante con moto
Coolin
Sios agus sios liom

S.
wrong, he who

A.
wrong, he who

T.
wrong, he who

B.
wrong, he who

PNO.

S.
sang of E - rin's wrong

A.
sang of E - rin's wrong

T.
sang of E - rin's wrong

B.
sang of E - rin's wrong

PNO.
sang of E - rin's wrong

The libretto at this point in the *Tercentenary Ode* indicates why Stewart chose to employ Irish airs. It refers to the past students of Trinity College Dublin who established reputations as ‘great men’ including the dramatists Congreve and Farquhar; the poet, writer and satirist Swift, and the philosopher Berkeley. Seven men are actually named in the verse, but the text refers to eight. ‘And he who sang of Erin’s wrong in lays that listening Time entrance’ refers to Thomas Moore, who became a student at Trinity College in 1794. Moore and Stevenson included arrangements of ‘The Coulin’ to the words ‘Tho’ the last glimpse of Erin’, and ‘Sios agus sios liom’ to the words ‘Oh where’s the slave’ in their *Irish Melodies*, as well as a setting of both airs for two trebles, tenor and bass. It is doubtful that the omission of Moore’s name is meant in a derogatory sense: the popularity enjoyed by Moore’s *Melodies* in the second half of the nineteenth century meant that when ‘The Coulin’ and ‘Sios agus sios liom’ were quoted by the orchestra, the audience would have

known that Moore arranged these tunes, and that it was he who ‘sang of Erin’s wrong.’

The choral section of the tenth movement of the *Tercentenary Ode* quotes three well-known English tunes and one Irish melody. Once again Stewart employs the tunes in his orchestral writing and the voices provide a harmonic support. The first of the characteristically English tunes is ‘Rule, Britannia’ which Stewart conducted in February 1850 with the Dublin University Choral Society. Stewart is quite liberal in his employment of the theme and the first bar of the tune is the only one that is cited exactly. Instead of quoting the theme in its entirety Stewart repeats the first bar of the tune as a small sequence a semitone higher each time it is quoted. The trumpet introduces the tune, followed by violin I, and the oboes and clarinets and the example below is taken from the vocal score (Example 5).

Example 5. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, ‘Mother since the Lion Queen’, vocal score, bars /148–151

The musical score for Example 5 is a vocal score for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, with a Piano accompaniment. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time, marked *Allegro*. The lyrics for all parts are: "And tem - pered em - pire with a soft - er". The piano part features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, with the title "Rule Britannia" written above the first few notes. Dynamics include *f* (forte) and *dim* (diminuendo). The tempo marking *Allegro* is placed above the piano part.

S. ray; Or, strong in bat - tle,

A. ray; Or, strong in bat - tle,

T. ray; Or, strong in bat - tle,

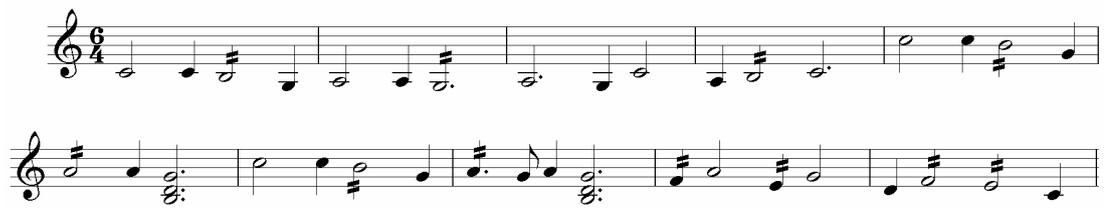
B. ray; Or, strong in bat - tle,

PNO. *f*

The text of the tenth movement of the ode, ‘Mother, since the Lion Queen’ (for symphony and tenor solo), refers to the establishment of Trinity College in 1592 under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the notable accomplishments achieved by the university since its foundation. In recognition of the Renaissance period in which the university was established Stewart introduces the melody ‘The Carman’s Whistle’ at bar 21 of the symphony section, when the ‘cellos and bassoons state the theme against a series of broken chords in the strings and an *ad lib* section for the keyboard player.⁷³ The theme is then passed to the horns (bar 29), the flutes (bar 41), the horns again (bar 43) and finally the trumpets (bar 46). The tune of ‘The Carman’s Whistle’ is demonstrated in Example 6a while Stewart’s treatment of the theme is shown in Example 6b.

⁷³ ‘The Carman’s Whistle’ is located in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and was set to keyboard variations by William Byrd. Stewart performed this tune on a spinet at his second lecture on ‘stringed-keyed instruments’. ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lectures on Keyed Instruments’, *DE*, 22 March 1875, p. 3;

Example 6a. William Byrd, 'The Carman's Whistle', keyboard score, bars 1–10



Example 6b. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, 'Symphony', vocal score, bars 21–28



For the next English reference in the tenth movement of the same work, Stewart utilizes the regimental march of the 'British Grenadiers' which dates from c1740. This military tune is played by the flutes and piccolos (bars 152–154), and a change of time signature to 3/4 introduces the English national anthem, 'God save the Queen'.⁷⁴ Stewart only scores the first two bars of the anthem which he allocates to the string section. This leads the music directly into the statement of another Irish traditional tune called 'Garry Owen' or 'Garyone', which Stewart refers to as a 'rollicking, soldierly air'.⁷⁵ Stewart's brief and liberal use of the English airs, 'Rule Britannia', 'The British Grenadiers' and 'God save the Queen' contrasts markedly with his full citation of 'Garry Owen', which is proudly taken by the trumpet. 'Garry Owen' is written in 9/8 time while the voices and orchestral accompaniment remain in 3/4 time. The low strings have a dotted rhythm accompaniment, and the violins and violas have a semiquaver accompaniment. This complicates the texture and

⁷⁴ 'God Save the Queen' was also employed in the compositions of Beethoven, Weber, Donizetti and Brahms. Michael Kennedy, 'God save the Queen', *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 260.

⁷⁵ *Tercentenary Ode* full Score, p. 59, IRL-Dtc, Mun/Soc/Choral 3/7.

creates a cross-rhythm between the upper strings with three groups of four semiquavers per bar, and the trumpet solo with three groups of three quavers per bar (Example 7).

Example 7. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, ‘Symphony and Tenor Solo with Chorus’, vocal score, bars 164–176

The musical score for Example 7 is presented in three systems. The first system shows the Trumpet in D and Piano parts. The Trumpet part is in G major and 6/8 time, marked 'Doppio tempo' with a tempo of 132. The Piano part is in G major and 3/4 time, also marked 'Doppio tempo' with a tempo of 132. The second system shows the D Trumpet and Piano parts. The D Trumpet part is in G major and 6/8 time, and the Piano part is in G major and 3/4 time. The third system shows the D Trumpet and Piano parts, with 'etc' markings indicating the continuation of the music.

An overview of the scoring of *The Eve of St John*, the *Installation Ode*, *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* and the *Tercentenary Ode* shows that there was little at variance in the orchestration of the three works. Stewart’s orchestration can be viewed as a reflection of the instrumental players and resources that were available to him in Dublin throughout his compositional career. *The Eve of St John* was scored

for woodwind (flutes/piccolo, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, double bassoons), brass (horns, trumpets, trombones), percussion (timpani, bass drum and cymbals), strings and harp. The *Installation Ode* and *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* were scored for an almost identical orchestra except that both works contained parts for the cornet instead of the trumpet, the double bassoon is not used in either of the compositions and the latter composition also incorporated an organ part into the piece. Additional instruments introduced into the *Tercentenary Ode* consisted of a double bassoon, tuba, side drum, triangle, glockenspiel, and trumpets were used instead of cornets. The inclusion of a harpsichord/spinet to create an historical sound was an unusual, even exceptional addition to an orchestra in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The programmatic nature of *The Eve of St John* and the portrayal of its many and varied characters naturally lends itself to orchestral writing that assigns musical themes to specific instruments or groups of instruments, such as the association of the harp with the chorus of angels. Stewart's compositions for public and ceremonious occasions were of a more serious nature so it was not possible for him to incorporate the programmatic devices or orchestral colouring found in *The Eve of St John* into the more formal installation and tercentenary odes.

What then are Stewart's characteristic methods of orchestration? He rarely if ever writes for the low register of the flute, and tends to confine his writing to the middle and upper octave, while at the same time avoiding the extremities of the highest notes. In the *Installation Ode* the flute often mirrors the soprano soloist but the best example of a flute solo is found in the fourth movement 'Ring out, o brave old bell' (bars 16–23). This bright solo (Example 8) consists of the notes of the triad

of F major (played staccato, bars 16–19) and an upward scale (bars 20–21) which comes to rest on the tonic note of F at bar 23.

Example 8. Stewart, *Installation Ode*, ‘Ring out, o brave old bell’, full score, bars 16–23

The image shows a musical score for Example 8, bars 16–23. The score is written for six instruments: Flute, Soprano, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello. The tempo is marked **Allegro con gioia**. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major). The time signature is 4/4. The Flute part features a melodic line with staccato markings. The Soprano part has lyrics: "All a - round wi - th ripp - ling sound of the". The Violin I, Violin II, and Viola parts are marked *pizz* (pizzicato). The Violoncello part is also marked *pizz* and features a rhythmic accompaniment. The score is presented in a standard musical notation format with staves for each instrument.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal and instrumental ensemble. The parts are arranged vertically from top to bottom: Flute (Fl.), Soprano (S.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello (Vc.). The vocal line has lyrics: "joy the joy thy ton - gue shall tell, Of the". The instrumental parts include dynamics like *sf*, *f*, *con arco*, and *p*, and a "8va" marking for the flute.

Stewart's writing for the piccolo is select; it features in only one movement in the *Installation Ode*, 'Ring out, o brave old bell', where it is assigned the main melody along with the oboe, clarinet, cornet and violins in a *tutti* section that accompanies the chorus. The piccolo's association with military music accounts for the combination of the instrument with the flute to state the opening of the 'British Grenadiers' in the tenth movement of the *Tercentenary Ode*. The *Installation Ode* and the *Tercentenary Ode* employ the clarinet as a harmonic instrument and in the overture to *The Eve of St John* the clarinet is combined with the flute, piccolo and oboe in the elf motif. In the latter composition it is one of a number of instruments associated with the statement of Hugo's theme in the angels' chorus from 'Round the beltane'. The primary function of the clarinet in the *Installation Ode* is to act as a harmonic support with occasional one- or two-bar motifs played with the flute or bassoon. Unlike the clarinet solos in 'The rugged chief in richer cell' and 'He who

with heart unmoved can tread' from the *Tercentenary Ode*, the clarinet is never employed as a solo melodic instrument in the *Installation Ode*. Stewart completely avoids the cor anglais in his orchestration but this may have been due to a lack of cor anglais players at Stewart's disposal in Dublin rather than a conscious avoidance of the instrument in his compositions.⁷⁶ Writing in 1886, Joseph Robinson remarked that he had to 'import' members of Charles Hallé's orchestra or members of Mr. Stockley's band in Birmingham for the concerts of the Dublin Musical Society, and he described this process as a 'very heavy burden' on the society.⁷⁷ Robinson attributed the lack of a first-rate orchestra in Ireland to the 'indifferent musical education, the poverty of the country, and the utter indifference shown by the aristocracy and wealthy mercantile class of [Dublin]' and his comments confirm that the sub-standard orchestras in Dublin were the concern of the professional conductors and performers in Ireland.⁷⁸ Circumstances were obviously very slow to change because in 1889 members of William H. Telford's Orchestral Union were employed to augment the orchestra at R.M. Levey's benefit concert at the Gaiety

⁷⁶ In 1873 the following orchestral members (compiled of staff and pupils at the Royal Irish Academy of Music) performed at the Dublin Industrial Exhibition Palace and this list indicates the instrumentalists available in Dublin at that time. Note that the harp and piano parts were played by female instrumentalists. First Violins: C. Barthmann, H. Bullock, T. Jackson, R. Daly, Herr Stein, J. Connolly, R. Johnston (pupil, RIAM), W. Byrne, H. Lowe, L. Moschini. Second Violins: Messrs. Durham (Principal), May, Barrowcliffe, De la Vega, Levenson (scholar, RIAM), Connolly. Violas: Messrs Jackson, Bullock, Cavendish. Violoncellos: Herr Elsner (Principal), Herr Wolf, M. Collins (scholar, RIAM), H. Norman (late pupil and professor at the RIAM). Double Basses: W. Hughes (principal), W. Logan, J. Meakin, R. Reed. Flutes: [Mr] Standhaft and T. Mc Neill. Oboes: Messrs Reggazoli and Sheppard. Clarinets: W. Wood (professor at the RIAM), [Mr] Tuckwell, J. Rocket. Bassoons: B. Morrow and [Mr] Robinson. Cornets: J. O'Donnell, S. Cromwell, G. Kennedy. Horns: B. Dwyer (former pupil and professor at the RIAM), T. Evans, F. Fitzsimmons (late pupil of the RIAM), P. Horan (late pupil of the RIAM). Trombones: [Messrs] Mc Manus, Duggan, O'Rorke. Euphonium: C. Reilly. Harpist: Mrs. Mackay. Solo Piano: Mrs Cruise. Timpani: T. Georgi. Side and Bass Drum: W. Wood junior (pupil of the RIAM). Conductor: R.M. Levey. RIAM Minute Books, 1871–76, NA 1120/1/6.

⁷⁷ Joseph Robinson, 'Musical Talent in Ireland', *MT*, 27 (1886), p. 677.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 677.

Theatre and it is possible that Stewart also availed of these instrumentalists when the occasion required it.⁷⁹

The overture to *The Eve of St John* employs both the bassoon and oboe as melody instruments and in the overture to *The Eve of St John* the bassoon has a broken chord accompaniment while the violins state Lucy's theme. Stewart's writing for the bassoon in the *Installation Ode* often mirrors the viola or 'cello and double bass parts and its utilization as a chordal-support instrument is quite prominent. It is given the occasional short solo with the clarinet or flute, such as that in the second movement 'As the light dispels the darkness' (Example 9) when both instruments play three quaver chordal progressions an octave apart just as the bass soloist begins another verse (bar 44). In the *Tercentenary Ode*, the bassoon has a walking bass function, or is employed as a harmonic instrument, as in 'The rugged chief in richer cell'.

⁷⁹ 'Mr R.M. Levey's Benefit Concert', *IT*, 16 April 1889, p. 6.

Example 9. Stewart, *Installation Ode*, 'As the light dispels the darkness', full score, bars 43–46

Andantino

Solo

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Horn in D

Cornet in A

Soprano

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

pa-son to the skies

voices to the skies O - cean trem - ul-lous be - neath him ri - pples

pp

pp

pp

pp

pizz.

The *Installation Ode* contains many examples of sustained tonic and dominant chords in the horns but there are two or three occasions where Stewart assigns a brief solo to the instruments, usually of the character of the motif below either in ascending or descending motion (Example 10).

Example 10. Stewart, *Installation Ode*, ‘As the light dispels the darkness’, full score, bars 35–37



However, the characteristic triplet writing for the horn returns towards the close of this movement when the horn is assigned a dotted minim/triplet quaver rhythm. In the symphony of the *Tercentenary Ode* Stewart assigns one statement of the theme to a succession of instruments and unusually for Stewart, the horn states the theme (‘The Carman’s Whistle’) at bar 29.

The trumpets, cornets and trombones in Stewart’s orchestral writing are almost exclusively utilized in terms of their potential as harmonic supports. The only instance in Stewart’s compositions discussed where the trombone is given a melodic line is in the movement ‘Behold, the men are with us still’ from the *Tercentenary Ode*. At the point the Irish melody ‘Sios agus sios liom’ is stated along with ‘The Coulin’, the alto or tenor trombone plays the melody of ‘Sios agus sios liom’ with the horn, while ‘The Coulin’ is played by the flute, violin and harp; the orchestral equivalent of three traditional Irish instruments. Stewart interestingly contrasts this Irish combination with the brass instruments, the most unexpected group of instruments to be associated with traditional Irish music. It appears, however, that it

was not unusual for brass instruments to play traditional folk tunes and melodies because military bands used to play arrangements of Irish melodies.⁸⁰ The melody of ‘Sios agus sios liom’ is illustrated below as Example 11.

Example 11. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, ‘Behold, the men are with us still’, full score, bars 123–143



The fugal chorus from another movement from the *Tercentenary Ode*, ‘Here to her lasting home’, provides an example of how Stewart employs the different instruments at his disposal. At the beginning of the fugue, each of the stringed instruments is given a corresponding vocal part, but from bar 27 the oboe is assigned to the soprano voices, the horn to the tenor voice, and the bassoon to the bass voice. From bar 39 the flute and violin 1 state the soprano material, the oboe and violin 2 state the alto material, the viola and bassoon state the tenor material, and the bass trombone states the bass material. Stewart’s employment of the trombones is more frequent in the *Tercentenary Ode*, and he seems to avoid them as melody instruments altogether in *The Eve of St John* and the *Installation Ode*, instead employing them as soft chordal instruments, often mirroring the ‘cello and double bass parts.

⁸⁰ At a ‘grand popular concert’ at the Exhibition Palace, Dublin on 7 August 1875 a military band played extracts from Glover’s *St Patrick at Tara* and selections of Irish melodies. *IT*, 28 August 1875, p. 1.

The employment of a harpsichord or spinet for the ‘symphony’ movement of the *Tercentenary Ode* was described by the *Irish Times* as a ‘quaint touch’ and ‘the dainty playing [of James Culwick] served to remind the audience of the music of three centuries ago’.⁸¹ Stewart’s decision to include a harpsichord/spinet in this particular movement of the work may have been an attempt to provide as genuine a reproduction of the Renaissance sound as possible. The appearance of either instrument in Ireland towards the end of the nineteenth century is exceptional and would have aroused considerable interest amongst the audience. Stewart managed to procure a spinet and a harpsichord from some acquaintances and these instruments were on prominent display during his 1875 series of lectures on ‘Stringed-keyed instruments’.⁸² In a letter to a female pupil in 1883 he wrote:

For the piano lecture I got a harpsichord by Weber and an old spinnet [*sic*] by Keene. There are no others of the sort in Ireland yet remaining. I swept the whole island for them ‘ere I netted those two specimens.⁸³

The provenance of these instruments remains unknown, but Stewart identified the makers as Ferdinand Weber (d. Dublin, 1784), and Stephen Keene (c1640–c1719). The presence of a glockenspiel in the *Tercentenary Ode* was also an unusual curiosity for the Dublin audience. Stewart seems content with the use of two timpani, and he utilizes the timpani and bass drum to complement and enhance cadences and the conclusion of movements.

It was only from the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the harp began to appear more often as an orchestral instrument in the scores of vocal music. In the opening bars of the overture of *The Eve of St John*, the harp signifies the

⁸¹ ‘The Tercentenary Ode’, *IT*, 6 July 1892, p. 5.

⁸² See chapter six for a discussion of these lectures.

⁸³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 24 November 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 147. See Appendix V for further information on Edith Oldham.

angels' theme with its arpeggiated figures and it is associated with the angels throughout the duration of the work. In the chorus of angels in the sixth movement Stewart employs the characteristic feature of the harp, the glissando, at the end of the movement, when the harp reaches its highest note: g flat⁸⁴ (bars 51–53). When the harp accompanies the soprano solo of 'Eileen Aroon' in *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* Stewart once again employs a semiquaver arpeggiated accompaniment.

The ballad 'At dead of night' from *The Eve of St John* demonstrates one of the few occasions where Stewart scores for wind instruments alone and in this song the wind section provides the harmonic support to the alto voice. In the first half of the verse the woodwind have long, sustained chords, and this changes to *pizzicato pianissimo* chords in the second half. Woodwind writing in the *Installation Ode* is either reserved to punctuate cadences in the predominantly string-accompanied first movement or it features in the *tutti* section that concludes movement two (bars 132–138) where flute, oboe, clarinet, violins and violas play the melody while the other woodwind, string and brass instruments provide the harmonic accompaniment.⁸⁴ This method of employing *tutti* contrasts with the first, second and fourth movements of the *Installation Ode*, whereby the recitatives and songs performed by the soloists are accompanied by strings only. In the seventh movement, 'More glorious than the Monarch' the tenor soloist is accompanied by an alternating combination of clarinets, bassoons and horns or strings. This alternation continues until a three-bar instrumental interlude combining the alternating instruments leads the music into the next recitative section.

⁸⁴ Bars 132 to 138. In the fourth movement there are two instances where Stewart employs *tutti*: the first occurs at bar 27, when the chorus sings 'When Gloriana bade arise' and the second occurs at bar 59, when the chorus repeats the lines just completed by the soprano solo 'In council grave'. At both of these instances the melody is taken by the piccolo, oboe, clarinet, cornet, violin I and violin II while the bassoon, horns, trombones, violas, 'cellos and double basses provide the accompaniment.

The orchestration of *The Eve of St John*, the *Installation Ode* and the *Tercentenary Ode* demonstrates the similarities in orchestral technique utilized by Stewart throughout his compositional career. Stewart's orchestration on the whole displays nineteenth-century common practice in relation to the type of music assigned to the woodwind, brass and string sections, while also showing a confident employment of the different orchestral groups. He was not an innovative orchestrator; instead he reflects the more conformist and mainstream trends in his employment of certain instruments, and the technique and manner in which he treats the orchestra. He remains conservative in his orchestration to the very end. We can see, however, that Stewart has moved from using the clarinet as an instrument of harmonic support with occasional one or two bar solos with the flute or bassoon as demonstrated in the *Installation Ode*, to an independent solo instrument in the *Tercentenary Ode*. Secondly, Stewart is also more ambitious in his writing for brass instruments in the latter composition. The setting of 'Sios agus sios liom' for the trombone for example indicates Stewart's decision to utilize the traditionally viewed harmonic brass instruments as melody instruments. Stewart did feel, however, that composers in Ireland should be encouraged to write for 'such a band as say that in *The Ring of the Nibelungen*', thus emphasizing the fact that Stewart acknowledged composers such as Wagner and Berlioz as fitting exemplars to be emulated.⁸⁵ His avoidance of writing for instruments in both the high and low extremities of their ranges may possibly have been determined by the availability or standard of instrumentalists in Dublin at the time. Nevertheless, Stewart was a capable and competent orchestrator.

⁸⁵ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to A.W. Tomlyn, 1 June 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 188.

Unfortunately we do not know the exact number of orchestral players who participated in the first performance of *The Eve of St John* but we do know that a total of sixty-nine instrumentalists and one hundred and eighty-three choir members participated in the *Tercentenary Ode*.⁸⁶ According to the report of the University of Dublin Choral Society for the 1891 to 1892 season, ‘there were several interesting instruments not usually heard’ and this no doubt refers to the glockenspiel and harpsichord. The Board of Trinity College had put £50 at the disposal of the society to organize the tercentenary concert. The use of Leinster Hall was provided *gratis* so the committee decided that the employment of professional soloists and the collection of a large and efficient orchestra was more than justified.⁸⁷ This suggests that there was an inadequate number of orchestral players in Dublin at the time and that professional performers had to be recruited from Cork or England, further confirmed by Joseph Robinson’s comments made in 1886 and commented upon earlier on in this chapter. A small portion of the orchestral members at the performance of the *Tercentenary Ode* either taught at the Royal Irish Academy of Music,⁸⁸ or were members of the committee of the Academy.⁸⁹ Charles Wilson and

⁸⁶ There are no clarinet or tuba players recorded in the programme for the concert, but the full score of the *Tercentenary Ode* includes two clarinets and a tuba in its orchestration. The following were the members of the orchestra for the performance of the *Tercentenary Ode*: *piccolo*: Charles Regazzoli; *flute*: Thomas McNeill, H.M. Fitzgibbon; *oboe*: George Ellard, W.P. Strangeways; *bassoon*: J.Haveron, Richard Littledale; *double bassoon*: A. Knight; *first violins*: Theodore Werner, Patrick Delany, Philip Levenston, Ernest May, D.F. McCready, Mrs. Rawlinson, Florence Bloom, Miss Callaghan, Mrs. Crookshank, Charles Grandison, Olive Grandison, R.A. Mitchell; *second violins*: J.E. Dowdall, P.J. Griffith, N.P. Healy, J.J.Pollard, Constance Maxwell, J.G. Smyly, J. Watson, E. Werner; *violins*: Joseph Stein, James C. Connolly, W.H. Adams, E. Knos, L. Rosenberg, M. Rosenberg, H.J. Stokes; *cellos*: Joseph Levenston, G. Prescott, Richard O’Reilly, E.A. Rawlinson, Johann Ruddersdorff, A. Baker, Ewart Cree, Miss Gerty, Robert Sharp, P. Crampton Smyly; *double basses*: E. Doyle, William Logan, Oscar May, W.H. Mitchell, R. Parry, Dr. Know, George MacCartney; *harps*: Priscilla Frost, Miss Sullivan, Miss Devine, Mrs. Fry; *harpsichord*: James Culwick; *corni*: Major E. Armstrong, Cornice Dowling; *trumpets*: J. O’Donnell, F.S. Despard; *trombones*: David Cherry, James Gleeson, J. Rafferty; *timpani*: W.A. Trundle, A.E. Trundle, L. Buchanan; *cymbals*: C.W. Wilson; *triangle*: William Telford; *glockenspiel*: James Culwick. Concert leaflet, 5 July 1892.

⁸⁷ UDSC Minute Books 1890–1944, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/10.

⁸⁸ George Ellard, J. Haveron, Charles Regazzoli, J. O’Donnell, Johann Ruddersdorff and W.A. Trundle were professors of flute/piccolo, bassoon, oboe, cornet, ‘cello and drums respectively. Other members of the teaching staff at the Royal Irish Academy of Music included Theodore Werner,

L. Buchanan who played the cymbals and timpani for the concert were piano players, and the triangle was played by the son of the organ-builder William Telford.⁹⁰ This list is extremely useful in that it provides a snapshot of the performers who worked as instrumentalists towards the close of the nineteenth century in Dublin.

Sacred and Instrumental Music

Stewart's sacred compositions consist of fifteen anthems, three sacred songs, four complete services, one incomplete service and various settings of the *Creed* and *Sanctus* to complete services by composers such as Aldrich, Boyce, Child, Farrant and King. He also composed over forty hymn-tunes contained in *Chants, Ancient and Modern*, the *Irish Church Hymnal* (of which he was an editor), *Hymns, Ancient and Modern* and *Weyman's Melodia Sacra*. This section will focus on Stewart's Service in E flat (1851) and his anthems *O Lord My God* (RS37, c1859), *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion* (1863), *If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments* (RS48, 1863) and *The King Shall Rejoice* (1887).

Stewart's Service in E flat for double choir was composed in 1851 and was submitted as his 'exercise' for the degree of MusB at Trinity College Dublin on 9 April.⁹¹ A morning and evening service consisting of *Te Deum*, *Jubilate Deo*, *Cantate Domino*, *Gloria Patri* and *Deus Misereatur*, it was originally scored for

Florence Bloom, A. Callaghan, James Culwick, Patrick Delany, P.J. Griffith, Charles Grandison and Richard O'Reilly.

⁸⁹ Richard Littledale, E.A. Rawlingson, and Robert Sharp were committee members of the Academy.

⁹⁰ Pine and Acton eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 567.

⁹¹ Chapter one contains an account of the performance of Stewart's exercises for the degrees of MusB and MusD.

double choir and orchestra. Published as a vocal score in 1881, Stewart composed a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* (RS139) to complete the service in 1891.

O Lord my God, a short full anthem, dates from c1859 and is contrapuntal in style while his verse anthem *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion*, written in 1863, opens in a homophonic style and introduces imitations between the voices from bar 30, at the words ‘Thou that hearest the prayer’. A short recitative section in the tenor voice follows, which emulates the technique of recitative employed by composers such as John Goss and Samuel Sebastian Wesley in their anthems. *If Ye Love Me Keep my Commandments* is fifty-four bars in length and is one of only four sacred compositions of Stewart to have been recorded.⁹² It is a simple setting for soprano, alto, tenor and bass choir that retains its four-part texture throughout and the words were also set to music by the Renaissance composer, Thomas Tallis.⁹³

Composed in 1887 for the occasion of the Queen’s Jubilee, the verse anthem *The King Shall Rejoice* employs recitative in the tenor and bass voices at the beginning of the anthem.⁹⁴ The tenor solo of this anthem is lyrical and expressive, but it lacks the aria-like qualities of those solos by Wesley which contain bold chromatic modulations to enhance the dramatic power of the solo. Stewart introduces a fugal section to conclude the anthem at the words ‘Hallelujah, Amen’ which lasts for one hundred and five bars. Similarly, *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion* contains a

⁹² See the discography section of the bibliography for further details.

⁹³ *If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments* was performed by the Priory Singers at a concert at Trinity College Dublin on 28 March 1992. ‘The Priory Singers at TCD’, *IT*, 3 April 1992, p. 10.

⁹⁴ *The King Shall Rejoice* was also performed at a special concert on 29 June 1887 at Trinity College, attended by Herbert Oakeley and Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley who were invited to receive honorary doctorates. ‘The University Choral Society’s Concert’, *IT*, 30 June 1887, p. 4.

tenor recitative and solo section and the anthem is concluded with a thirty-seven bar fugue.

A comparative analysis of the number of anthems composed by Stewart against that of his contemporaries (both Irish and English) reveals that while Stewart wrote the second largest amount of anthems compared to other Irish composers up to his time, he was far out-numbered by the English anthem composers of the nineteenth century. Of the Irish composers, John Andrew Stevenson composed twenty-six anthems, John Smith eleven, George Alexander Osborne two, Michael Balfe one, and Joseph Robinson four. The English preoccupation with the anthem is highlighted by the following anthem output: John Goss produced forty-five anthems, George Macfarren eighty-three, Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley eighty-eight, John Stainer forty-seven, Arthur Sullivan eighteen, Thomas Attwood Walmisley twenty-one, S.S. Wesley thirty-six, and William Sterndale Bennett eleven.

Unlike the instrumental output of the composers listed above, Stewart's non-vocal compositions account for a very small portion of his output and consist of small-scale organ, piano, harmonium, violin and orchestral pieces. He is known to have composed four piano fantasias, approximately sixteen organ pieces and a *Suite* for three violins (RS136). His orchestral pieces included a fantasia for the 1872 Boston Peace Festival and an *Exhibition Grand March* for the 1853 Dublin Industrial Exhibition (RS20). The finale from Mendelssohn's third symphony (op.56) and the overture to Handel's *Samson* (HWV57) were scored for organ solo by Stewart and the Adagio from Beethoven's Fourth Symphony (op.60) and his 1853 *Exhibition Grand March* were arranged for harmonium and piano respectively (RS22 and RS21). He also arranged Chopin's Funeral March (op.35 no.2) and 'God Save the

Queen' for orchestra but none of Stewart's orchestral or harmonium pieces are known to have survived. The extant organ pieces include a *Concert Fantasia* (RS62), *Introduction and Fugue* (RS102) and a selection of seven pieces entitled *A Little Organ School*, while his arrangement of the *Exhibition Grand March* is his only extant piano piece.

Composed in 1868, Stewart's *Concert Fantasia* in D minor was the most popular of his organ compositions and was printed in the *Organist's Quarterly Journal* in 1869. Stanford performed the piece at Cambridge in 1872.⁹⁵ It has four contrasting sections: Maestoso con moto, Andante, Allegro and Allegro moderato written in the tonic minor, relative major, tonic minor and tonic major respectively. This is one of Stewart's more mature extant organ pieces with a solid theme in the tonic minor key, a lyrical theme in the andante and imitative writing and virtuosic semiquaver movement in the third and fourth sections. *A Little Organ School* was composed c1885 in reaction to the organ tutors that were available during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Stewart described these as 'far too long [...] too costly [and] destitute of melody and expression', with the left hand functioning as the bass instead of the tenor voice.⁹⁶ The seven pieces in the collection are suitable as church and study pieces of easy to moderate standard and consist of two preludes, a siciliana, pastorale, allegro spiritoso, short study and postlude.

The *Introduction and Fugue* on the initials F.A.G was published in 1882 as part of the *English Organ Music* series and was dedicated to an 'honored friend', his counterpart at Oxford, Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley. The score indicates that the

⁹⁵ Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician*, p. 52.

⁹⁶ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 205–206.

of the march in the dominant followed by a succession of dominant-tonic chords that conclude the piece. Overall the piece has a similar light-hearted feel to that evinced in Chopin's Prelude in A major (op.28 no.17).

Example 13. Stewart, *Exhibition Grand March*, piano score, bars 9–16

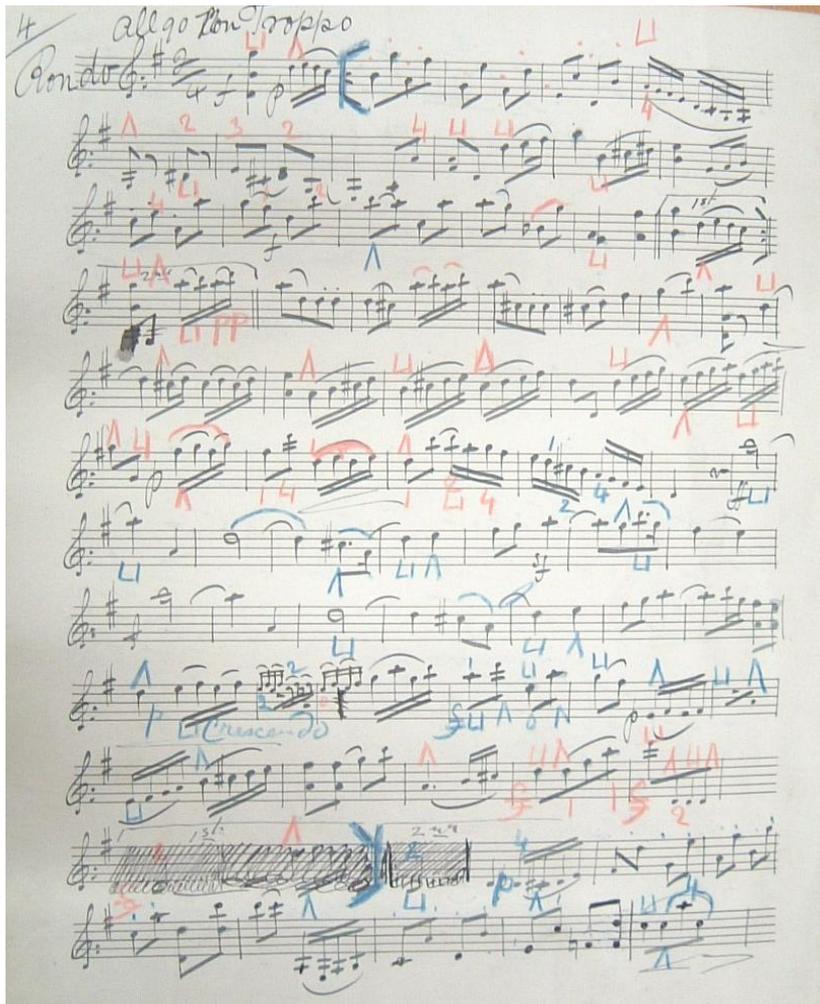


The *Suite* for three violins in G major was composed in November 1890 for the violin classes at the Royal Irish Academy of Music.⁹⁸ It was performed at one of Theodore Werner's concerts on 21 March 1891 and again at an Academy concert on 29 April of that year.⁹⁹ The piece consists of four movements, *Maestoso*, *Fugato*, *Andante espressivo* and *Rondo finale* and the manuscript parts are located in the library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. The violin parts have numerous blue, green and red pencil marks in the composer's hand-writing indicating bowing, fingering and other performance details (Illustration 3)

⁹⁸ Stewart signed the end of the full score of the piece with the date 14 November 1890 so it is most likely that he completed the composition on that date.

⁹⁹ 'Musical Notes', *IT*, 17 March 1891, p. 5. According to the advertisement for this concert, fifty male and female violin students of Werner were to perform Stewart's *Suite*. Programme of Royal Irish Academy of Music Orchestral Concert, 29 April 1891 located in the MS score of the work.

Illustration 3. Stewart, *Suite*, IV Rondo, Violin I, autograph, page 4



Stewart's musical style

In general, Stewart's vocal compositions are pleasant and straight-forward and demonstrate music that has been competently written, albeit in a conventional manner. Harmonic qualities common to his secular and sacred vocal music include the employment of chord vii and vii diminished seventh on a regular basis as a means of modulation (but not to distant or unrelated keys); the appearance of Italian, French and German augmented sixth chords to provide harmonic colouring and modulation to closely related keys, and occasional modulation to keys a third apart. Stewart set his compositional standards according to conventional techniques exhibited in

mainstream Europe and his music demonstrates some of the characteristic traits of composers including Handel (see p. 89), Mendelssohn (see pp. 146) and Brahms (see pp. 134–35).

The lyric quality of the soprano melodies in the sections ‘Raise the song to praise and bless’ and ‘And Thou did’st breathe into man’s lifeless frame’ in the *Inauguration Ode* (1852) are welcome features in this primarily homophonic composition although Stewart’s solo melody writing had not at this period yet reached the quality of that found in later compositions such as the *Installation Ode*. The *Daily Express* review of the work’s performance in 1852 described it as ‘in the spirit of Mendelssohn’, while the ‘Handelian’ character of the concluding section was discussed in the 1872 review of the work by the same newspaper.¹⁰⁰ The first section of the second movement, ‘See with soul the canvass glow’ (Example 14) provides us with an insight into one of Stewart’s more innovative harmonic progressions within the ode. Diminished seventh arpeggios played by the cellos, clarinets and oboes in bars 6 and 7 precede SATB voices in crotchet and dotted crotched/quaver chords (bars 8 to 12). This section begins in C major and illustrates Stewart’s employment of chords viid7 – flat VI – I7b – IV, after which a modulation to the key of C minor introduces the progression of the Italian Sixth chord to the dominant chord of G major (bars 11–12). Diminished seventh chords which resolve to the tonic of G, C minor, B flat and F minor follow and take the music to the key of E flat and into the proceeding section which begins with the words ‘Raise the song’.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Opening of the National Exhibition’, *DE*, 11 June 1852, p. 3, ‘Opening of the Exhibition’, *DE*, 6 June 1872, p. 4.

Example 14. Stewart, *Inauguration Ode*, 'See with soul the canvas glow', vocal score, bars 6–17

SOPRANO
start! Hear from string and Sy-phon flow sounds that

ALTO
start! Hear from string and Sy-phon flow sounds that

TENOR
start! Hear from string and Sy-phon flow sounds that

BASS
start! Hear from string and Sy-phon flow sounds that

PIANO
clarinetto oboe
violoncello
cresc
p

C major: viid7 flat VIc I7b IV iv
(dim 5th) C minor: iv ic iv7b

S.
soothe and shake the heart

A.
soothe and shake the heart

T.
soothe and shake the heart

B.

PNO.
dim p

C minor: ii7c Italian 6th V viid7d V viid7c viid7 i
of V of i of i B flat:ii viid7 of I

S. *a tempo*
 Raise the song etc
 A.
 T.
 B.
 PNO. *p rall* etc
 B flat major: I ____ viid7b_vb
 of v
 E flat major: iib Ic V I

The voice-setting in the *Inauguration Ode* varies from TTBB, SSAA or sopranos only in the shorter movements of the work to full SATB chorus in over half of the fifteen sections. The vocal parts are an easy to moderate standard so that the music can be sight-read easily and learned quickly. The speed with which the work was written is reflected in the word-setting which needs occasional revision and adjustment.

Only the terzetto ‘Love leads us captive’ (RS35) and the ballad ‘I must love thee still, Marion’ (RS41) from *A Winter Night’s Wake* (1858) have come to light. Both of these songs in the key of E flat and D flat major respectively represent the straightforward harmonic plan that manifests itself in most of Stewart’s compositions. The harmony never strays very far from the home or closely-related keys with punctuations of diminished seventh, German augmented sixth and chromatic chords to emphasize moments of interest in the text or melody line,

representing a device which seems to have been very popular with Stewart's audiences. 'Love leads us captive' was written for two sopranos and tenor and consists of a twelve-bar melody which is introduced unaltered by Marian, Hubert and Kate in turn. There are some very small changes to the harmonic accompaniment which commences on the piano but changes to the harp half way through this forty-six-bar composition. The opening bars of the song, which show the use of a sequence at the words 'Love our reason overruling', is illustrated in Example 15.

Example 15. Stewart, *A Winter Night's Wake*, 'Love leads us captive', vocal score, bars 1–13

Lento ♩ = 63

Marian

Lento ♩ = 63

Piano

p

Ah the heavy will bear no school - ing, vain are all our ef_forts

cresc

still, Love our rea-son o-ver - rul - ing Love our rea-son o-ver

cresc

f

rul - ing. Leads us cap - tive to his

f

dim

will, Leads us cap - tive to his will

dim

p

3

A constant influence on Stewart's musical language was Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn visited England eight times between 1829 and 1844 and his music became the model for composers in choral as well as instrumental music.¹⁰¹ His popularity in England was reflected to a large extent in Dublin, where his music was widely available. Selections from *Antigone* (op.55) were performed by the Dublin University Choral Society under Joseph Robinson in 1846 and extracts from his cantata *Die erste Walpurgisnacht* were performed five times in the space of four years under Stewart. Stewart also conducted the first Irish performance of *Athalie* on 13 April 1849, and extracts from *Elijah* (op.70) as well as songs and hymns by Mendelssohn were performed quite frequently in Dublin. The death of Mendelssohn in 1847 greatly increased his popularity as people reflected on his music and legacy.

In Stewart's 1862 lecture entitled 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', delivered to the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association, he provided a synopsis of the development of music from Ancient Greece and Rome up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Bach and Mendelssohn were cited in this lecture as being the only two 'real' composers of organ music and this opinion accounts for the substantial influence of these composers in Stewart's organ music.¹⁰² Stewart wrote how 'Mendelssohn displayed his unrivalled powers as an organist' in his performance of the fugues of Bach and he described Mendelssohn as 'the greatest musician of the present day' who 'attempted every description of composition, and

¹⁰¹ See R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn and his World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991) and *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), Philip Radcliffe, *Mendelssohn, The Master Musicians Series* (London: Dent, 1967), George R. Marek, *Gentle Genius: The Story of Felix Mendelssohn* (New York: Apollo, 1975).

¹⁰² Robert Prescott Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', *Lectures delivered before the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association* (Dublin: Hodges Smith, 1863), p. 162.

collectively give his music a very 'safe' quality. Perhaps this was due to a lack of confidence in his own ability to incorporate more complex harmony and modern compositional techniques into his compositions.

Stewart also utilizes augmented tonic and dominant chords in his secular music and tends to approach the augmented tonic chord with the 'normal' tonic chord and follows conventional treatment by resolving it to chord IV (often in second inversion). Composers who employed this progression included Schumann, Dvořák and Schubert. Romantic composers who used the augmented dominant chord included Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Chopin and Dvořák. 'Weep no more' and 'When the stars are dim in the darkling sky' contain the progression Vaug⁵ – I. 'The hallowed Light the Druid bore', 'Behold the men are with us still' and 'Guardian of Light' from the *Tercentenary Ode* also demonstrate Stewart's use of augmented dominant chords, while 'Behold the men are with us still' provides an example of Stewart's employment of a dominant thirteenth chord. Stewart uses the Italian, French and German augmented sixth chords in the *Inauguration Ode*, *The Eve of St John*, the *Installation Ode* and the *Tercentenary Ode*. In the duet 'Heaven be praised' from *The Eve of St John* for example, he combines all three 'nationalities' (abbreviated in the example as 'Ita 6th', 'Ger 6th' and 'Fre 6th') creating a 'cosmopolitan' augmented sixth bar (Example 17). Stewart approaches the augmented sixth chords with chord I in A major (bar /94), and the tenor voice, with its upward leap of a seventh (bar 94), contains the notes that indicate whether the chord is an augmented German or French chord. Bar 95 consists of chord I⁷ in A major (acting as the dominant seventh in the key of D major) and the music progresses to the key of D major two bars later.

Example 17. Stewart, *The Eve of St John*, ‘Heaven be praised’, vocal score, bars /94–95

Un poco lento

A major: I _____ Ita Ger Fre _____ I7
6th 6th 6th

An analysis of the songs in the *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team* (1875) confirms a straightforward structure: the outer songs both commence in the key of G major with short or momentary modulations to the dominant and supertonic before returning to the tonic. ‘The Land of the West’ remains firmly in its home key of B flat major.

When Stewart’s extant works are considered, harmonically he has reached the pinnacle of his musical creativity with the *Tercentenary Ode* (1892); his modulations tend to be more adventurous than those found in the *Inauguration Ode*, *The Eve of St John*, the *Installation Ode* and the *Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team*, and it is clear that the *Tercentenary Ode* is the work of a more mature and experienced composer. Many of the elements already discussed in relation to Stewart’s earlier cantatas and odes are also evident in the *Tercentenary Ode*, and these include the employment of Italian, French and German augmented sixth chords, augmented tonic and dominant chords and diminished seventh chords. Stewart also modulates to keys a third apart in ‘Behold the men are with us still’ from the *Tercentenary Ode* where

there is a modulation to the mediant major, a technique also employed to great effect by Schubert and ‘The rugged chief in richer cell’ from the same work recalls the opening arpeggiated bass solo from Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*. Although Stanford claimed that Stewart never appreciated Brahms,¹⁰⁶ the appearance of some of the features of Brahms’s music in the *Tercentenary Ode* suggests the opposite. The progression of a diminished seventh chord on the leading note, resolving to the tonic chord over a mediant pedal is a Brahmsian feature and this device occurs in ‘Purge the fair world of ill’ (Example 18b), and consists of a viidim7 chord in D minor resolving to ib in D minor over an F pedal. Brahms employs this characteristic in his Symphony No. 2 (op.73, 1877), in the first movement, in the key of F major (Example 18a). While Brahms emphasizes his device further by repeating it a second time, Stewart sees no need for this and progresses into C major. The employment of this device by both Brahms and Stewart is illustrated in Examples 18a and 18b.

¹⁰⁶ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, p. 49.

Example 18a. Brahms, *Symphony no. 2 I*, piano reduction of full score, bars 185–188

F major: viid7 I viid7 I
Mediant Pedal

Example 18b. Stewart, *Tercentenary Ode*, ‘Purge the fair world of Ill’, piano Reduction of vocal score, bar /49–49

D minor: ib III viidim7d (no 5th) ib
Mediant Pedal

Stewart was an ardent protagonist of Richard Wagner from 1876, when he attended the first performance of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (op.86) in Bayreuth. In the *Tercentenary Ode* he pays tribute to Wagner through his quotation of the ‘Destiny’ or ‘Fate’ motif from this work. In ‘He who with heart unmoved can tread’ (Example 19b) Stewart gives the Fate motif to the tenor voice and uses it as a means of modulating to the enharmonic equivalent of the tonic (from G sharp major to A flat major). The music, in the key of G sharp major, moves from chord V in bar 71 to chord ii7c on the first minim beat of bar 72. The introduction of the C double sharp in the treble part of the piano completes a dominant seventh chord with a diminished fifth which resolves to the chord of E flat in bar 73. The use of these chords means

The employment of this motif by Stewart demonstrates his familiarity with *The Ring*, and in his defence of Wagner and his music he referred to him as ‘one of the most richly and variously gifted of men’.¹⁰⁷

Due to the largely homophonic style of part-writing and the somewhat conservative character of Victorian sacred music, the alto, tenor and bass voices in particular in Stewart’s sacred music tend to have a comfortable, simple, steady movement. As a result of this the vocal-writing tends to remain static and there are few awkward leaps in the voices. In general Stewart’s part-writing is fluid and harmonically predictable, although more often than not in a similar vein to his secular vocal music, restricted to closely-related keys. The solos in Stewart’s service are not ‘aria-like’ or dramatic in quality, but they are melodically expressive, and often combined with the double choir at moments of emotional intensity. The soprano (treble) voices are tested in *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion*, when they are expected to hold one note for seven bars, a total of twenty-one beats, while the section is concluded by the alto, tenor and bass voices (Example 20).

¹⁰⁷ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 144. See chapter six for a discussion of Stewart’s lectures on Wagner and the articles on *Der Ring des Nibelungen* that he wrote at the 1876 Bayreuth Festival.

Example 20. Stewart, *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion*, vocal score, bars 78–84

The musical score is for a vocal quartet and piano. It is in 3/4 time and G major. The vocal parts are Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The piano part is on the bottom staff. The lyrics are: 'Thou that hear-est the prayer un - to Thee - shall all flesh come'. The dynamics are marked *p* (piano) and *pp* (pianissimo). The score shows a melodic line for the vocalists and a harmonic accompaniment for the piano.

Stewart’s religious music consists of simple contrasts of keys between sections, with occasional changes of time and tempo, and he makes the most of the resources available to him, and displays the ‘prevailing Victorian spirit [...] of conservative restraint’.¹⁰⁸ William Gatens asserts that sacred music in Victorian times was composed to ‘fit into and enhance a liturgical action’, making the achievement of artistic autonomy quite difficult.¹⁰⁹ The purpose of sacred music was to complement the religious message of the text and not to detract from it in any way. Stewart’s sacred music exhibits this feature; his anthems and services adhere very closely to competent, albeit harmonically non-adventurous guidelines which results in music that is conventionally Victorian in character and well within the performing abilities

¹⁰⁸ William Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 74.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

of an amateur choir, thereby achieving what Gatens describes as a ‘perfect congruence between artistic aspiration and liturgical requirement’.¹¹⁰

Throughout the Service in E flat, Stewart strongly adheres to the key relationships of the relative minor, subdominant, and dominant, while the key structure in *O Lord my God, Thou O God Art Praised in Sion, If Ye Love Me Keep my Commandments* and *The King Shall Rejoice* confirm a reluctance to imitate the exaggerated use of chromaticism exemplified by composers such as Spohr and Gounod. The progressions in *O Lord my God* encompass the dominant and relative minor, while the keys of the subdominant and relative minor are explored in *If Ye Love Me Keep my Commandments*. The Service in E flat and *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion* contain some instances of interesting harmonic progressions and areas worthy of note include the employment of Neapolitan chords in the *Jubilate Deo* and the *Cantate Domino* of the service. There are some harmonic modulations to keys a third apart in the E flat Service. At bar 106 of the *Cantata Domino*, Stewart introduces a chromatic chord (Example 21), when the music progresses from Ib with an augmented fifth to the subdominant in the key of D major. This progression is followed by a diminished seventh chord moving to the chord of Ic as illustrated in the following example.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

Example 21. Stewart, Service in E flat 'Cantate Domino', vocal score, bars 106–111

Allegro con spirito ♩ = 138

SOPRANO
Lord up - on the harp

ALTO
Lord up - on the harp

TENOR
Lord up - on the harp

BASS
Lord up - on the harp

PIANO

Allegro con spirito ♩ = 138

D major: Ib (aug 5th) _____ I (maj 7th) _____

S.
Sing to the harp with a etc

A.
Sing to the harp with a etc

T.
Sing to the harp with a etc

B.
Sing to the harp with a etc

PNO.

D major: viid7 of V _____ Ic

What were Stewart's attitudes towards composition and how did he perceive himself as a composer? Writing to Culwick in 1880, Stewart described himself as a 'grinder at the mill' who had to 'accept his lot' and resort to writing music under pressure without any guarantee that his compositions would ever be printed.¹¹¹ Stewart was pleased that Culwick had recognised in him 'one who [had] always tried to be a good artist' and take pride in his work. A letter from an 'accomplished friend' reproduced in Vignoles's *Memoir* describes the apparent pressure experienced by Stewart as a result of his hectic lifestyle. He often commenced his work at six o'clock in the morning in order to allow sufficient time to fulfil his teaching and performing duties throughout the day.

As he said to me many a time: 'I have been so constantly compelled to the drudgery of teaching, crushing me down and absorbing all my energies, that it was impossible for me to devote more time and thought to the labour of composition'.¹¹²

It is also suggested in this extract that Stewart felt that his compositions were neither on a par with his contemporaries nor did they exhibit the components of musical compositions of excellence. Sometime between the 1870s and 1880s Stewart wrote to Culwick expressing the personal and public sides to his compositional creativeness:

I have cherished, and have always been accustomed to cultivate, two sides, one for myself alone [...] and one for the public, and if I have a chance of writing anything it never takes a learned form. For not only would no one here care to hear it, but really they would not know, nineteen out of twenty of them, what it was all about.¹¹³

This quote is indicative of a composer who is to some extent in conflict over the limitations that he perceives have been imposed on him. He is aware that he must remain within the conservative boundaries of composition in order to satisfy the less

¹¹¹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to James Culwick, 22 October 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 129.

¹¹² Letter from an 'accomplished friend' of Robert Prescott Stewart to Olinthus Vignoles, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 217.

¹¹³ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 9.

than cosmopolitan Dublin audience and yet he feels that the composition of a ‘learned form’ (which possibly refers to contrapuntal compositions) is futile because it would fall on uninterested and unappreciative ears. Savage-Armstrong summed up Stewart’s consciousness of public opinion:

Later on, when I took the first draft of the [Tercentenary] Ode to read over to him, his criticisms were most interesting and wise [...] ‘We must respect,’ he said, ‘the *vox populi*, both in music and in words.’ This rule was one of the secrets of his popularity, and it also manifested his great natural kindness and consideration for others. Yet too much respect for the *vox populi* may prove destructive to art; and I have occasionally thought, that if Sir Robert Stewart had found it in his heart to defy the *vox populi* of his native city a little more resolutely, his creations as a musician might have rivalled those of other composers, to whom criticism may now yield a more exalted place.¹¹⁴

What then was the point in writing complicated music for the American rifle team ode or the *Inauguration Ode* for the Cork Exhibition? The isolation that Stewart felt in Ireland as a composer surely led to his feeling that he was not able to present his true compositional ideas to the public. These feelings were no doubt the main reasons why Stewart felt the need to escape the insularity of Ireland and visit exhibitions and festivals in England, France and Germany as often as he did. One can only speculate as to whether Stewart might have composed more ‘progressive’ music were he to have lived in a more stimulating musical environment. Given his cathedral training it might have been extremely difficult for Stewart to cross this restrictive boundary of convention. Had he come closer to this boundary line we may have witnessed more attempts at assimilating contemporary elements of which he was clearly aware, as shown by his quotation of Wagner’s ‘Fate’ motif.

¹¹⁴ George Francis Savage-Armstrong cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 203.

The ‘abnormal sensitiveness’ which caused Stewart much personal suffering may also have been the reason why he destroyed a number of his compositions.¹¹⁵ His first cantata, ‘Hence melancholy, thy dreary train’ was the first of at least a dozen compositions that were put to a ‘violent death’.¹¹⁶ In 1880 Stewart confessed to Culwick that he had destroyed many compositions including his 1851 doctoral exercise (RS17):

I really think I have spoiled as much music-paper as most men of my age, and have destroyed nearly all I wrote. The 107th Psalm, written for my degree in 1851 was a work of thirty minutes’ length. I put it into the fire not long ago.¹¹⁷

Speaking of the same work to Culwick in November 1881, Stewart wrote:

As to the holocaust of my 107th Psalm, it seemed to me one weak work was extant the less in this world, as I watched the embers of the oblong volume, gaily bound, which I had submitted to the then professor in all the pride of a neophyte. I think I also burned two orchestral overtures and a symphony.¹¹⁸

It is most likely that Stewart also destroyed the cantata *Who Shall Raise the Bell?*, the orchestral fantasia written for the Boston Peace Festival, the ode for the opening of the 1864 Dublin Exhibition and the *Ode to Shakespeare*. Culwick accredits Stewart’s drastic measures to his ‘highly-strung nature’ which ensured that he found it difficult to accept and deal with criticism, rudeness, or ‘unsympathetic crudeness of conduct’ when it came to his compositions.¹¹⁹ His acute sensitivity and lack of self-confidence in his creative output must have taken its toll on the composer as he strove to build up his reputation as a composer of eminence.

¹¹⁵ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 9.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to James Culwick, 22 October 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 129.

¹¹⁸ Culwick cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 30.

¹¹⁹ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 11.

One of the principal arguments of John Stainer's 1884 talk entitled 'Teaching of music in schools' was that English composers were involved in the 'intense worship of "respectability"'. Stainer elaborated on this statement as follows:

It is not respectable to be original; our professors and teachers have, for generation after generation, with red pencil in hand, been cutting out and rejecting as vicious, progression, phrases, and forms, which our wiser neighbours have been welcoming as new sources of originality. The result is what might be expected: England possesses some respectable composers. Another insidious mischief arising from the same cause is this, the young composer goes to the musical critic who cannot himself compose, to ask what style he should adopt. If he takes the hints given him, he is highly respectable; only, he has become so by changing places with the critic; he has, in fact, resigned his own natural creative gifts in order to become a mere modeller under some one else's direction; he is rewarded by free gifts of praise at once, but his fame dies with him. He has become a highly respected citizen, he thinks that the only posthumous honours worth having are those payable considerably by advance. The great mass of our countrymen must change its mental attitude towards music completely, if the full effects of the present extraordinary growth of musical education are to be realised; but I have great hopes of the result – if only all will work honestly and with a noble end in view.¹²⁰

The pressure to conform to compositional 'respectability' was certainly experienced by Stewart throughout his career.

Given that Stewart indicated his preference for more scholarly types of compositions, as opposed to the occasion-specific ode or cantata, why then did he not compose in the high art genres of the sonata, symphony and concerto? The reasons for this stem from the fact that there were no composers of note living in Ireland who were composing in these genres so there were no practising mentors for Stewart to learn from. Philip Cogan died when Stewart was eight years of age and John Field had not lived in Ireland since 1793.¹²¹ The list of Irish composers associated primarily with vocal genres who felt the need to emigrate in order to pursue creative

¹²⁰ John Stainer, 'Musical Education in Elementary Schools', *The Health Exhibition Literature, Conference on Education*, xiii (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1884), 394–99.

¹²¹ Robin Langley, 'Field, John: Works', *GMO*, ed. L Macy
<<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.09603.5>> [accessed 22 May 2007].

and successful musical careers include Thomas Cooke, William Rooke, Joseph Augustine Wade, William Vincent Wallace and Michael William Balfe. Stewart's predecessor at Trinity College, the English-born John Smith, was also a composer of vocal music and compositions for state occasions. Who, then, were Stewart's music teachers and mentors? As previously mentioned in chapter one Stewart was taught by the Revd John Finlayson and Richard Beatty at Christ Church Cathedral.¹²² A possible mentor of Stewart was Joseph Robinson. Only nine years his elder, Robinson was a teacher and conductor of high repute, but, like Stewart, his compositions comprised sacred and secular vocal music and only isolated short works for the piano. The lack of a mentor for Stewart who composed in the sonata, concerto or symphony genre in Ireland was possibly the main reason why the young composer did not produce works within these categories even though music societies, including the Dublin Philharmonic Society, performed concertos and symphonies at their concerts. In contrast, Stewart's contemporaries at Oxford and Cambridge, Sterndale Bennett, Macfarren, Parry and Stanford, all composed within these genres. It is possible that Stewart held the opinion that instrumental music was not appreciated as much as vocal music by his Dublin audiences and he felt that it was futile to compose within these genres. The absence of chamber music in Stewart's output hints at similar reasons. Stewart's musical training took place in a predominantly vocal environment and from the small number of instrumental compositions in Stewart's output compared to his vocal compositions, he clearly felt most comfortable when writing anthems, services, cantatas, odes, glees and part-songs. These compositions probably represented his comfort zone, and despite the fact that he felt his compositions within these forms were not of a sufficiently

¹²² Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, pp. 155, 194 and 'Music in the Nineteenth-Century Cathedral, 1800–70', pp. 339–52.

competent artistic structure, he was quite happy to remain within the vocal tradition. The mindset of 'tradition' that existed in the Victorian era was often characterized by the production of academic, 'gentlemanly', regular and non-innovative music which is a trait that can be seen all too often in Stewart's music, resulting in compositions that held popular appeal at the time of their production but fell out of the repertoire as attitudes in musical taste changed.

The discussion of Stewart's cantatas and odes above serves to indicate several interesting features in relation to Stewart's compositions. His harmonic language shows his competent assimilation of harmonic writing exhibited by Mendelssohn, Weber, Schubert and Brahms. The frequent recurrence of counterpoint, fugal writing and chorale-like compositions illustrates the early music training of the cathedral organist as well as the influence of Mendelssohn, while Stewart's utilization of traditional folk melodies and national tunes and anthems reflects his awareness of and involvement in the latest compositional trends and his ability to cleverly integrate these tunes into his compositions. His orchestration reveals the work of a competent although not an innovative or adventurous orchestrator. What seems to have been a conscious decision to remain within his comfort zone and a busy day-to-day schedule accounts for the straightforward, polite but competent music that manifests itself in the extant works of Stewart discussed above.

Chapter 4

The Instrumental Pedagogue

To those who are blessed with a highly sensitive temperament, lesson-giving, to ordinary pupils, is not an agreeable occupation. Wearing to the nerves, trying to the temper, it strains patience to the utmost limit of human endurance. Were a new tariff for musical instruction to be arranged, I would be inclined to price music-lessons to those most deficient in music comprehension, borrowing the quaint phraseology of my old Roan friend, 'terms half more high.' In other words, the most stupid pupils should pay the highest terms.¹

Finding himself in a similar position to so many other Victorian musicians and instrumentalists who had to undertake several musical positions to earn a sufficient living, Stewart offered lessons in singing, piano and organ to supplement his income as an organist and had 'no lack of pupils' in Dublin.² One of the provisions of his appointment to the chair of music at Trinity College in 1862 stipulated that he could give private instruction to members of the university on the condition that the university board approved of the fees that were charged and it is most likely that he availed of this clause.³ This chapter will examine Stewart's career as a pedagogue in Dublin and will incorporate a discussion of what is known of his teaching methods and repertoire. Female music teachers were not uncommon in Dublin during the second half of the nineteenth century and were employed at the Royal Irish Academy of Music as harp, piano and singing teachers.⁴ Stewart's observations and opinions in

¹ Charles Salaman, 'On Music as a Profession in England', *PMA*, 6th Sess. (1879–80), p. 115.

² Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 16. In June 1861 Stewart commenced vocal classes with the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association but he was 'obliged to relinquish the charge of the class' due to other commitments and John Dunne took over his place. 'Dublin Young Men's Christian Association', *IT*, 8 May 1861, p. 3 and 'Dublin Young Men's Christian Association', *IT*, 8 November 1861, p. 3.

³ Board Meeting, 22 March 1862, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, pp. 475–77.

⁴ Female teachers at the Royal Irish Academy of Music included Fanny Arthur Robinson, Elizabeth Bennett, Julia Cruise, Priscilla Frost, Bessie Herbert, Margaret O'Hea, Edith Oldham and Elizabeth Scott-Fennell. Pine and Acton eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 524–527. See Appendix V for biographical information on Margaret O'Hea and Edith Oldham.

relation to the role and inclusion of women in musical activities as an instrumental instructor in the second half of the nineteenth century will also be examined.⁵

Derek Collins's assessment of music in Dublin during the period 1800 to 1848 is extremely valuable in its documentation of prominent music teachers, visiting performers and ensembles, music festivals and various choral and instrumental societies active in Dublin. Information on the musical families who earned a living through teaching and the ancillary activities of instrument making and music printing and selling are also brought to light by this author.⁶ A number of factors ensured that the dissemination of art music in Ireland, driven into decline after the Act of Union, was now in a position of progression and expansion. It was now considered fashionable to be involved with music 'as a manifestation of prosperity' amongst the upwardly mobile middle class and the new found public enthusiasm and support for music nurtured its production and performance in the capital city.⁷ The availability of cheap music, the more affordable cost of musical instruments, the increase in the number of amateur choral societies and an augmentation in the teaching of brass and wind instruments through the temperance movement were other notable features in the development of musical activity in nineteenth-century Dublin. The piano became one of the most popular of musical instruments and no Victorian drawing-room was thought complete without one:

No house now, from the nobleman's mansion down to the six-roomed box of the prosperous shopkeeper, is deemed furnished without one, at least, of these instruments; and the performance upon them is thought so essential to female education, that no young lady, however otherwise informed, is supposed to have been properly educated if playing the piano is not found amongst the first of her accomplishments.⁸

⁵ For a discussion of the participation of women in music in England see Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870–1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

⁶ Derek Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800–1848', *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, pp. 12–27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸ Sproule, ed., *The Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Content*, p. 242.

Instrumental teachers who were active in the capital city during the first half of the nineteenth century were divided by Collins into three categories: part-time freelance teachers, full-time professional teachers and visiting specialists.⁹ Full-time professional teachers included Wilkinson and Lidel, Madame Morosoni, John Smith, and the musical families of Johann Bernhard Logier, Mr and Mrs Haydn Corri, Mr and Mrs Willis, Mr and Mrs Ashe and Francis Robinson.¹⁰ Before the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1848 instrumental tuition was available only through private lessons usually lasting between half an hour and one hour.¹¹

Stewart was well established in Dublin as a performer, teacher, conductor and professor of music when the opportunity arose for him to join the staff of the Royal Irish Academy of Music at the age of forty-three. In 1869 he was offered the unfilled position of professor of harmony and composition (previously held by John Smith, his predecessor in the chair of music at Trinity College Dublin) and after some lengthy negotiations, the position of professor of piano. His career with the academy was a fruitful one; following his initial appointment he was subsequently elected to the position of professor of organ and chamber music in 1880 and he was one of the vice-presidents at the academy from 1889.¹²

⁹ Collins, 'Music in Dublin', p. 25.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 25.

¹² Stewart's association with both the Academy and Trinity College led to other examining positions: he acted as an honorary local examiner for the Royal College of Music in 1883 and in the same year he was appointed a music examiner at the Royal University of Ireland alongside Joseph Smith. In 1891 he was a member of the examining jury for the Dublin Municipal School of Music. Joseph Smith and Luigi Carraccioli were also appointed honorary local examiners to the Royal College of Music in 1883. 'Royal College of Music', *Times*, 31 March 1883, p. 6. Stewart acted as a music examiner at the Royal University of Ireland until 1889. See chapter five for a further discussion of the music examination papers of the Royal University of Ireland. The 1887 and 1889 examination papers for the Bachelor and Doctor of Music are located in Appendix IV.

A meeting of the Royal Irish Academy of Music committee on 3 March 1869, then located at 18 St Stephen's Green, Dublin, reported that since the death of John Smith in 1862 the position of professor of harmony and counterpoint had remained vacant due to the lack of available funds to pay the requisite salary for the position. The study of harmony and composition, even though it was recognized as an essential subject in the study of music, did not allow for a self-supporting teaching position and it was acknowledged that the students would not pay extra for attending classes in harmony and composition.¹³ Stewart was offered the professorship of harmony and composition by letter on 6 March 1869 and in this letter Francis Brady (honorary secretary of the Academy) informed Stewart that the necessary funds required to finance the appointment, although not yet in place, were expected to come to fruition very shortly:

The Academy will probably be aided by a grant from the public funds, and [...] the amount may depend upon the efforts used by the Committee to afford the best musical instruction. With that view they have determined to appoint a Professor of Harmony and Composition, in the expectation of increased support from the subscribers to defray the requisite expenses.¹⁴

A salary was offered to Stewart at a rate of £40 per annum with a yearly review of the 'arrangement' depending on 'the progress of the Academy'.¹⁵ In his reply to Brady's letter Stewart claimed he was 'far too much overworked to undertake more engagements' but hinted that if he were even to consider the offer, the salary discussed was far too low for a teacher of his status:

I am sorry my answer is not in accordance with the kind wishes expressed both by you and your Co Secretary my friend MacDonnell but, I never wish to undertake what I do not carry out thoroughly [...] I have again and again refused pupils, during this season (who would have paid one at a rate in accordance with enclosed could I

¹³ Letter from Francis Brady to Robert Prescott Stewart, 6 March 1869, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–71, NA 1120/1/5 and Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 116

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

have devoted the time to them. I mention this for your own private information, for I don't wish to advertise my terms which I need not say I have never done).¹⁶

Stewart's letter clearly made its point to the committee and he was subsequently offered the professorship again six months later with additional incentives consisting of a piano professorship (making him second only to Fanny Arthur Robinson, wife of Joseph Robinson and one of the most noteworthy piano teachers at the Academy), a revised salary of £100 per annum, and one lecture per week in harmony with a payment of half a guinea per lecture.¹⁷ Stewart, recognising the merits of this propitious offer, accepted the revised terms and commenced instruction on the piano at the Academy on the 21 September 1869. His harmony lectures were scheduled for twelve noon every Wednesday and in March 1870 he divided his harmony class into a junior and senior class while Stewart's piano pupils received a twenty-minute lesson each week.¹⁸ Despite the formation of a sub-committee of Academy teachers on 17 April 1878 consisting of Stewart, Luigi Caracciolo, Jozé, H. Vivian Yeo, and George Cree 'to inquire into the present state of the harmony classes and report to the Council with a view to their encouragement and development,' it was not until 1892 that Stewart's suggestion that 'harmony be obligatory on all students by making its neglect on the part of the students to disqualify them from competing for any prize in the Academy' was agreed to by the committee and thereafter enforced.¹⁹

¹⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Francis Brady, 9 March 1869, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–71, NA1120/1/5.

¹⁷ Committee Meeting, 15 September 1869, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–71, NA 1120/1/5.

¹⁸ Committee Meeting, 22 September 1869, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–71, NA 1120/1/5. Committee Meeting, 23 March 1870, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–71, NA 1120/1/5.

¹⁹ Dibble, 'The Composer in the Academy (1) 1850–1940', p. 401. Committee Meeting, 21 September 1892, RIAM Minute Books, 1891–93, NA 1120/1/12.

By 1878 there was obvious tension between Stewart and the committee of the Academy when he complained about his alleged falling income. In a letter to Brady dated 11 March, Stewart argued that his income had been reduced substantially per term. He insisted that the Academy make the appropriate arrangements so that he would not continue to be ‘utterly sacrificed’ and asked for a three-hour teaching session on Mondays and Thursdays. Stewart’s correspondence to Brady on this occasion accentuates the fact that his acceptance of the harmony and composition professorship was not based primarily on his own personal endeavour to teach the subject and improve the standard of the Academy pupils, but was the mechanism by which he had secured an even more attractive piano professorship:

I am not satisfied with my position at 36 W[estland] R[ow]; from £98 to £91 per term I have come down to £32 or £36, and even this wretched sum is made up by adding £8 or £10 earned in Harmony lectures. You remember that I always objected to teach harmony unless you all saw that I had a good piano class, not two or 3, as I have had all this term or one & 5 or 6 on the other. In this week I have but 9 pupils! (you know what the rest have per diem) I don’t care for the *barren hours* of figuring in advertisements & prospectuses of heading classes & signing certificates only: I wish to get a fair share of pupils. When you had no grant and only depended on pupils’ fees I had £50 the first term and it *has* constantly been up to £75 & £60: you must only make some arrangement for me by which I shall not be utterly sacrificed as I have been. I suggest that you shall ask the Council to allot me 3 hours *Monday* and 3 hours on *Thursday*: 6 in all: and 18 pupils in all [...] Harmony I don’t care to teach and I only *engaged* in it to accommodate you all, since few know and less care anything about it, however I decline to be shunted onto a harmony siding! But now for us commencing a new term and I trust you will agree to this very feasible and very moderate amount. It is not worth fighting for indeed, but it is better than the 2 or 3 lonely girls I have had all this term on one of my days. It could never be supposed a man in my position could be contented with a pittance like this. If one had the barren honour of ‘Principal of RAM’ like my friend Professor Macfarren, it might console one for poor pay; but I am in no better position than the very humblest of your staff [...] since therefore I serve as a mere teacher, let me at least have something worthwhile my doing so.²⁰

Brady’s reply to Stewart’s letter did not hesitate to point out that Stewart’s salary over the last four years had in fact been between £120 and £135 per year and

²⁰ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Francis Brady, 11 March 1878, RIAM Minute Books, 1876–79, NA 1120/1/7 and Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 117–18.

suggested that should Stewart ‘induce pupils of talent to come to the Academy’ he would soon find his pupil numbers increase:

I laid before the Council your letter of the 11th last—it appears from your book that the smallest number of pupils you have had on any day this term has been *four* not *two* as stated by you. As to the falling off you complain of, the Council cannot make pupils who are sufficiently advanced for your class and it so happens there is an unusually small number of good pupils in the pianoforte class at present.

The pupils in your class last year, have, many of them, left the Academy and there are not others to fill their places. Your remuneration has varied but little for some time past. It amounted to in

1874 £134.7.7

1875 £121.12.10

1876 £129.12.8

1877 £128.2.11.

[...] I am surprised to hear you condemn the study of Harmony. I would have expected you to be its warmest advocate. I believe there will be a larger class for you this term, but you cannot expect the Council to lose money by giving you pupils who cannot pay their fees or who can hardly play their notes. Try and induce pupils of talent to come to the Academy & you will soon find your class increase.²¹

Stewart retaliated against Brady’s remark suggesting that Stewart should promote and encourage his teaching services at the Academy and his annoyance is indicated in the following excerpt:

I am constantly the means of sending you pupils, and not always for myself—rightly or wrongly I am looked on as a sort of Principal or head of the place, both in England & in the provinces. Of course those in Dublin know I have perhaps *less* influence *within* [the] Academy than even your pupil teachers²²

Stewart’s complaints paid off; the Academy allocated more pupils to him (most probably taken from a junior teacher) and he was granted permission to rent a room in the Academy for private instruction at the rate of five shillings per day in an effort

²¹ Letter from Francis Brady to Robert Prescott Stewart, 14 March 1878, RIAM Minute Books, 1876–79, NA 1120/1/7.

²² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Francis Brady [n.d.], Minutes of 13 March 1878, RIAM Minute Books 1876–79, NA 1120/1/7 and Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 118.

to further appease him.²³ There were no further documented complaints from Stewart to the committee in relation to his remuneration even when his hourly rate had been decreased from 10s. 5d. per hour to 9s. in his 1889 contract.²⁴

From the mid-1880s until 1894, Stewart was one of the top five earners at the Academy along with Joseph Robinson, Michele Esposito, Theodore Werner and Jozé.²⁵ In 1888 the Academy published the average remuneration of its staff based on the number of years' service contributed by each staff member and Stewart's average remuneration was £169.17s.6d., Robinson's was £154.1s., and Esposito's was £129.14s. In 1889 Stewart's total salary from the Academy was £273 (£100 for his harmony, counterpoint and composition classes which consisted of a combined total of 8 hours per week and £173 for his piano teaching).²⁶ Stewart's earnings in 1889 also consisted of his £100 per annum salary as professor of music at Trinity College Dublin and his salary of £60 as conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society.²⁷

As professor of organ studies at the Academy from 1880 Stewart was assisted by Alois Volkmer and Jozé. In August 1879 the specifications for a pine-case organ at the Academy were drawn up (based on the advice of William Telford) and the organ was completed towards the end of November of that year.²⁸ Charles Marchant was employed as Stewart's assistant in 1880 'in anticipation of the numbers expected

²³ Committee Meeting, 19 November 1879, RIAM Minute Books 1879–83 NA 1120/1/8.

²⁴ Contract between Robert Prescott Stewart and the Royal Irish Academy of Music, 26 June 1889 in RIAM Minute Books, 1889, NA 1120/1/10.

²⁵ Finance Committee Reports, RIAM Minute Books, NA 1120/1/11 (1889) and 1120/3/1 (1889–94).

²⁶ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 119.

²⁷ Board Meeting, 11 February 1871, Mun/v/5/13 (1871–77), p. 3; UDCS Ledger and Account Books, 1882–88, Mun/soc/choral/2/12. See p. 194 for details of the salaries of the professors of Engineering, Civil Law, and Classical Literature at Trinity College Dublin.

²⁸ Committee Meeting, 12 August 1879, RIAM Minute Books, 1876–79, NA1120/1/7.

to flock to the Academy after the installation of the organ'.²⁹ The expected increase in demand for organ tuition failed to materialise, however, and Marchant's position was terminated in 1881.³⁰ The fees for organ instruction were £10 per annum for a weekly forty-minute lesson but the number of organ students remained quite low at the Academy during Stewart's period there. In 1888 the Academy was reported to have had seventeen organ students, in the following year it had nineteen, and in 1891 it had twenty-one, but the average number of organ students assigned to Stewart was usually no more than nine or ten. In 1892, twelve years after organ instruction had been introduced at the Academy, it was reported to have had only eighteen registered organ pupils.³¹

Stewart's concurrent occupation of several teaching roles within the Academy ensured that he was constantly engaged as a teacher and examiner. Along with other teachers at the Academy Stewart examined the following subjects at the annual examinations: piano scales, sight-reading, modulation, accompaniment, piano playing, organ playing, singing and harmony, counterpoint, musical history and acoustics. His 1889 contract specified that he was required to:

Hold such Examinations of such of the Pupils in the Junior Pianoforte Class as shall be submitted to him by the Council, at such times as the Council shall appoint, and at the above rate of payment per hour [9s.], and shall report the result of each such examination to the Council.³²

²⁹ Pamela Flanagan, 'The Rewarding of Excellence', *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, p. 454.

³⁰ Marchant succeeded Stewart as organ professor at the Academy in 1894.

³¹ RIAM Minute Books, 1883–1934, NA 1120/6/2; Minute Books, 1889–90, NA 1120/1/11; *DE*, 23 April 1891 in Minute Books 1883–1936, NA 1120/6/2; *FJ*, 30 March 1893, in Minute Books 1883–1934, NA 1120/6/2.

³² Contract between Robert Prescott Stewart and the Royal Irish Academy of Music, 26 June 1889, in NA 1120/1/10.

In addition, Stewart was often asked to assist in the choice of the examination pieces at the Academy and in 1886 he chose Moszkowski's Concert Polonaise in D major [possibly from his Concert Studies op.24]:

A jolly piece with brilliant sequential fugues. It is difficult, but so taking that all the girls are delighted with it. It will do well for a show concert piece, after it has served its turn as an examination test.³³

From 1869 to 1876 Stewart was the only harmony and composition professor at the Academy and it was his responsibility to organize the setting and correction of the harmony examination papers on an annual basis. It is not clear when it became obligatory for students to take harmony lessons at the Academy but this was certainly the case by 1887 when two hundred and thirty-nine pupils were enrolled at the academy.³⁴ Two separate examinations were set for the senior harmony class (first class), and the junior harmony class (second class) and from 1885 a third class had been introduced. The junior harmony students were usually expected to define sound and pitch and to explain the staves and various intervals that occur in music, while the senior harmony classes had to harmonize a given melody in four parts, give the root and resolution of diminished seventh chords, realize a given figured bass and modulate through a list of specified keys. A selection of the harmony, counterpoint, and history examination papers prepared by Stewart between 1873 and 1888 at the Royal Irish Academy of Music is located in Appendix II.

³³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 24 November 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 148.

³⁴ Report of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, 1888, NA 1120/6/2. The *FJ* recorded that theoretical study was obligatory at the Academy in 1859 when the students had to study harmony and composition with John Smith but this practice lapsed when Smith died in 1861. *FJ*, 4 January 1859 in *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, p. 72.

The minute books and administrative volumes of the Royal Irish Academy of Music record that the completed harmony papers were sent to external examiners for correction and this was probably a routine occurrence at the Academy. The 1873 papers from the harmony examination were sent to Macfarren who was then one of the professors at the Royal Academy of Music London.³⁵ The excerpt below outlines some of the difficulties experienced by the examiner and his assistants in relation to his attempted correction of the examinations scripts:

I am flattered by your invitation to examine the harmony and composition papers of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, and shall be always happy to do what I can to assert that invitation. The inspection of the exercises has been very difficult in consequence of their being written in pencil, and so are not legible. The decision is made troublesome by No. 4, 5 and 6 containing each 2 questions, of which sometimes one is answered rightly and the other wrongly-my award for answer to question is, 1st prize to 'Wayland' and 2nd to 'Jones' on the strength of the good and bad marks yes and no, as by examination of the composition.³⁶

In 1888 the examination papers in harmony and counterpoint were sent to John Bridge in London (there were seven counterpoint papers, and fifty-seven harmony papers) and the musical history paper (of which there were thirty-one) were sent to William Gater in Dublin.³⁷

Despite the duration of Stewart's employment at the Academy information confirming the studies, exercises and repertoire that he utilized in his instrumental and compositional lessons is limited and hinders an attempt to construct an overall picture of Stewart's teaching resources. We do know that the compositions of Bach

³⁵ Two years later Macfarren was elected principal of the Royal Academy of Music and professor of music at Cambridge University following the death of William Sterndale Bennett.

³⁶ Letter from Macfarren to the Academy 20 January 1874, RIAM Minute Books, 1871–76, NA 1120/1/6. Even though Macfarren lost his sight in 1860, he remained active as a composer, writer, lecturer and teacher and was assisted by a series of amanuenses. Nicholas Temperley. 'Macfarren, Sir George', *GMO*, *OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17324>> [accessed 14 July 2008].

³⁷ 1888 Report of the Royal Irish Academy in RIAM Minute Books, 1883–1934, NA 1120/6/2.

and Mendelssohn were an important element of his organ-teaching repertoire in particular, as well as several of his own organ pieces that were composed primarily as instructive pieces for his students. By examining details pertaining to the concerts that took place in the academy between 1884 and 1890 we get a small glimpse of the repertoire employed by Stewart and the other organ teachers at the Academy.³⁸ This repertoire included the preludes and fugues of Bach, fugues of Rheinberger, arrangements of Handel oratorios including *Samson* (HWV57), an arrangement of the ‘Hallelujah Chorus’ from Beethoven’s *The Mount of Olives* (op.85), studies by Lefébure-Wély, and the organ sonatas of Mendelssohn (op.65). Stewart’s arrangement of the finale to Mendelssohn’s ‘Scottish’ Symphony was also performed by organ pupils at the Academy both at competitions and at concerts.³⁹ Humphrey Minchin’s reminiscences of Stewart learning Mendelssohn’s organ sonatas at the organ of Christ Church Cathedral indicate that Stewart always held these sonatas in extremely high regard and it is not surprising that they should feature in his teaching repertoire.⁴⁰ Stewart’s *Concert Fantasia* (RS62) and a set of pieces entitled *A Little Organ School* (RS117) also feature in the concerts of the Royal Irish Academy of Music.⁴¹

An account by Annie Patterson confirms that Stewart taught Rheinberger’s ‘Pastorale’ Sonata [op.88] to his organ pupils:

I remember Sir Robert once sending me, when a young student of the organ at R.I.A.M. to Mr. [Vipond] Barry’s residence to inquire about a piece (Rheinberger’s ‘Pastorale’ Sonata). ‘If anyone in Dublin possesses it, Mr. Barry will’ said the

³⁸ RIAM Minute Books, NA1120/1/9, (1884–89); NA1120/1/10, (1889); NA1120/4/8, (1889–92), ‘Royal Irish Academy of Music’, *IT*, 15 March 1888, p. 6,

³⁹ This arrangement, printed by Novello, [c1889], is located in the Royal Irish Academy of Music Library.

⁴⁰ See p. 33.

⁴¹ RIAM Minute Books, 1884–89, NA 1120/1/9, NA 1120/1/10 and NA 1120/4/8 and RIAM Annual Examinations Report Books, 1896–1906, NA 1120/10/1.

knight. And, sure enough, Mr. Barry not only had the piece, but had, as well as I remember, been the first to play it in Dublin.⁴²

Bach's preludes and fugues had established themselves as an important component of the inventory of any serious organist during the nineteenth century and were accepted components of the canon of keyboard music. Stewart was of the opinion that Bach's fugues in particular were 'above criticism' and commended their ability to enable the student to '*individualise* every part' of the composition. He also believed that double counterpoint was 'to the fugue like gravitation in the world of science, a thing not to be got rid of'.⁴³ When Edith Oldham left the Royal Irish Academy of Music for the Royal College of Music in 1883, Stewart asked his former pupil if she would 'keep up' her Bach fugues:

No one can object to those; and Herr Pauer's expression calling this style 'the mailed school,' as if armed in panoply of chained mail, seems to be very well chosen. They were the favourite study of Mozart and Beethoven, and you cannot err if you work one up now and then, and do (what few Londoners do) make a score from it yourself.⁴⁴

It is also interesting to note that Stewart himself performed some of Bach's fugues on the Hill organ at the Crystal Palace in 1851 and this recital probably included the 'St Anne' prelude and fugue.⁴⁵

Stewart also taught some of the preludes and fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier* (BWV846–69 and 870–93) and remarked that Beethoven and Mozart studied

⁴² Annie Patterson, 'Musicians of the Day, Mr. Vipond Barry', *WIT*, 6 April 1901, p. 3.

⁴³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 128

⁴⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 1 June 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 36. I have been unable to find reports of this performance in either the *Times* or the *Musical Times*.

them as a ‘labour of love’.⁴⁶ According to Yo Tomita, it took almost half a century after Bach’s death for his *Well-Tempered Clavier* to enter the ‘core repertoire’ of music in England and he affirms that from the 1820s, the collection had ‘successfully entered the popular repertoire’ of keyboard music.⁴⁷ Of the fugue in A minor, book I, Stewart remarked that it was ‘not at all an effective fugue for public playing; but look into it, and remark the skill of its treatment!’ He used the prelude in D minor from book II to ‘coax girls into a love of Bach’ and also taught the B flat minor and C sharp major preludes. Referring to Bach as ‘that grand Leipziger’, a ‘wizard’ and ‘old magician’, Stewart wrote that he could do ‘just whatever he pleased with the spirits he summoned’.⁴⁸ When discussing ‘musical form’ in his 1872 lectures at Trinity College Dublin, Stewart ‘showed his complete admiration’ for Bach as a composer through his discussion of his preludes and fugues in the first lecture, commenting specifically on the prelude in C major and the fugue in C sharp minor.⁴⁹

In terms of the collection of piano pieces utilized by Stewart, we know that he taught pieces by Giovanni Sgambati including the *Mélodie* in B [from *Étude Mélodique* op.21 no.3] and the *Nocturne* in C minor, (op.20 no.3).⁵⁰ Stewart remarked that the *Mélodie* was ‘most effective’ and ‘greatly liked’ by his pupils at the Academy. Further commenting on the piece, Stewart wrote:

⁴⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 128.

⁴⁷ Yo Tomita, “‘Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work’: The English Reception of Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier* in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions Published in London”, *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, ed. Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33, 64.

⁴⁸ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 7 January 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 155.

⁴⁹ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, p. 12. Stewart explained the three subjects in the C sharp minor fugue with the aid of large diagrams during his lecture on musical form. ‘Trinity College Dublin: Lecture on Music’, *DE*, 11 March 1872, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 24 May 1889, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 160. Stewart met Giovanni Sgambati in London in 1882 so this might account for Stewart’s familiarity with his compositions. Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 140.

I know nothing since Chopin's day so much so. The fresh new chords in the tenor, the glittering 'passage-work,' the profound knowledge of harmony, the equivocal chords, resolved in the contrary direction from what ordinary hearers were expecting — all this distinguishes our Don Juan as a king in his art, as modest as he is gifted.⁵¹

This opinion represents the all too familiar case of a nineteenth-century composer who achieved popularity during his lifetime but fell out of fashion after his death.

Stewart included the sonatas of Beethoven both in his piano-teaching and in his written examination papers. He referred to Beethoven's 'Waldstein' sonata (op.53) as 'that finest perhaps of Beethoven's sonatas' and there were two instances where Stewart's harmony examination for the senior class examined Beethoven's Sonata in A flat (op.26) and his Sonata in F minor [op.2 no.1], reflecting the prominent position that Beethoven's piano sonatas attained within the canon of piano repertoire in the concert hall and in the drawing room.⁵² In 1883 one of his students was working on Sgambati's F sharp prelude, while another was learning Liszt's *La Campanella* [possibly LWA15 or LWA52].⁵³ At Stewart's 1875 lectures on stringed-keyed instruments his pupils performed Chopin's Étude in A minor [op.25 no.11] and Berceuse in D flat [op.57] and Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto in D minor [op.40], indicating other keyboard pieces that formed part of Stewart's teaching repertoire. Stewart also remarked that one of his piano students, Adeline Wheeler, who was fourteen when she performed Mendelssohn's Piano Concerto at his lecture, also knew 'by heart' Mendelssohn's first prelude and fugue in E minor (from op.35)

⁵¹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton , 24 May 1889, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 160.

⁵² See Harmony Examination, Senior Class 10 December 1883, and Analysis and History Examination, First Class, 5 December 1885, in Appendix II. Dorothy De Val and Cyril Ehrlich, 'Repertory and canon', *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, ed. David Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr. 2001), p. 119.

⁵³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 1 June 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 146.

and Liszt's *Rhapsodie Hongroise* (LWA60b).⁵⁴ Wheeler performed Schumann's *Études Symphoniques* [op.13] at the presentation of prizes ceremony at the Royal Irish Academy held in February 1877.⁵⁵ One of Stewart's pupils also performed Mendelssohn's *Capriccio Brilliant* in B minor for piano and orchestra (op.22) at a Royal Irish Academy of Music concert in 1889.⁵⁶

Hans von Bülow, Vladimir de Pachmann, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Ernst Pauer and Anton Rubinstein were five of the most popular virtuoso pianists in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. Stewart attended concerts by these performers when he was in London and Rubinstein himself visited Dublin in 1877.⁵⁷ He referred to Rubinstein as 'a smasher or a lion pianist' but preferred the school of De Pachmann which, Stewart commented, was like Giovanni Sgambati's:

[De Pachmann's] touch is delicacy itself, his scales like a string of pearls—yet his power is great, now and then. He uses force rarely, though finish and memory are a like remarkable.⁵⁸

Stewart enjoyed Pachmann's playing of Chopin and when he recalled an 1891 recital of Chopin's music by Paderewski in London, Stewart wrote:

I have played Chopin (after my own imperfect way) since 1842, when no one had ever heard of him save a few enthusiasts. Paderewski (in Chopin) satisfied me more than Pachmann or Von Bülow or Rubinstein. By Jove! He is perfect; his memory too is phenomenal!⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to William Guernsey, 19 April 1875, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 117. Mendelssohn's prelude and fugue in E minor was one of the most popular of his works performed at the Monday Popular Concerts, St James's Hall, London between 1862 and 1890. De Val and Ehrlich, 'Repertory and canon', p. 120.

⁵⁵ 'Royal Irish Academy of Music', *Times*, 6 February 1877, p. 7. Wheeler was described by the *Times* as 'one of the cleverest and most accomplished pupils' of the Academy.

⁵⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 24 May 1889, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 160.

⁵⁷ In Stewart's fourth lecture on the development of the lyric drama, Stewart referred to Anton Rubinstein's recent visit to Dublin to perform two concerts at the Exhibition Palace, Dublin on 2 and 3 April 1877. See 'Rubinstein', *FJ*, 3 April 1877, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 27 February 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 156.

⁵⁹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 1 June 1883 and letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 29 September 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 164, 157.

Stewart prescribed ‘those few selected studies fingered by [Carl] Tausig’ from Muzio Clementi’s *Gradus [ad Parnassum]* to alleviate a weak fourth and fifth finger,⁶⁰ illustrating once again his incorporation of a resource of studies and exercises that was popular throughout the nineteenth century and continued to be included in the syllabuses of the Associated Board into the twentieth century.⁶¹ Stewart was well informed about certain texts on composition also as this excerpt illustrates:

There are not many works published in English on composition; one is Marx’s – (Adolph Bernhardt Marx, editor of many little known organ and other works of J.S. Bach) – of Berlin, I think he was; but it is an expensive and rather a bulky volume. I think the little English (translated) book called *F.C.[sic] Lobe’s Catechism of Composition*, published by Augener of Newgate Street, London, is an admirable and exhaustive little work. Lobe was born at Weimar 1797, and was a good flautist and composer. Felix Mendelssohn’s Letters, and his traits of character, were associated in some of Lobe’s *Musikalische Briefe*, published at Leipzig, and a good deal of interest was given [*sic*] to these articles.

I would add Stainer’s [*sic*] larger work, *A System of the Science of Music*. It has the best and most consistent system of chords I know of, and (if for no other reason) the host of examples in its pages – examples of all sorts of works, and of every composer of eminence – render it a fitting gift for every English-speaking musician.⁶²

In terms of Stewart’s resources on composition, it is clear from the notebooks of a former pupil of harmony and composition, John Millington Synge, that Frederick

Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to J.S. Bumpus, 5 August 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 172.

⁶⁰ Carl Tausig prepared an edition of Clementi’s *Gradus ad Parnassum* that contained twenty-nine of the studies and this was published by Trautwein in Berlin in 1865. See Rohan Stewart-MacDonald, ‘The Faces of Parnassus: Towards a New Reception of Muzio Clementi’s *Gradus ad Parnassum*’, *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, ed. Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 70. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 128.

⁶¹ Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg, ‘Introduction’, *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, Ellsworth and Wollenberg, eds, p. 4.

⁶² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 13 November 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 161. Johann Bernhard Logier was the author of *A System of the Science of Music* and not John Stainer. Stainer did, however, write *A Theory of Harmony, founded on the Tempered Scale* (known as *A Treatise on Harmony and the Classification of Chords* from 1884) so it is not immediately obvious whether Stewart was referring to the writings of Logier or Stainer. Nicholas Temperley, ‘Stainer, Sir John’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy
<<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.26529>> [accessed 26 February 2006]. David Charlton/ Michael Musgrave, ‘Logier, Johann Bernhard: Writings and Pedagogical Works’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy
<<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.16877.1>> [accessed 21 May 2008].

Arthur Gore Ouseley's *Treatise on Musical Form and General Composition* was the required text for his studies with Stewart.⁶³ Synge's detailed notes contain many of the central points of each of the thirteen chapters contained within Ouseley's treatise and in most cases these important points are written *verbatim* into Synge's notebook. The topics covered in the treatise include authentic and plagal modes, melody, modulation, and seven types of form: ancient binary, modern binary, ternary, minuet, rondo, air and variations and fugue. The reference to Parry's article on 'Form' in Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in the same notebook may also indicate that Stewart used this source as a teaching aid and the analysis of sonatas by Mozart, Schubert and Beethoven undertaken by Synge and located in another of his notebooks may have been assignments set by Stewart.⁶⁴ In 1891 Stewart recommended Ebenezer Prout as the best person to give correspondence lessons on orchestration and this illustrates Stewart's familiarity with Prout's writings on instrumentation, harmony, counterpoint and fugue.⁶⁵ The Academy purchased the musical library of the Antient Concerts Society in 1873 so it is possible that any suitable music within this collection was utilized by Stewart and other teachers at the Academy in the planning and teaching of their lessons.⁶⁶

⁶³ *The Synge Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1971) and IRL-Dtc, MS4375. See also Ann Saddlemyer, 'Synge's Soundscape', *Irish University Review*, 22 (1992), 55–69. Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, *A Treatise on Musical Form and General Composition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, ¹/1875, ²/1886).

⁶⁴ See IRL-Dtc, MS 4376 for Synge's analysis of compositions including Mozart's piano sonatas in C minor [K.457] and A minor [K.310/300d]; Schubert's sonata in A minor, op.137 [D.537]; the first movement of Beethoven's 'Eroica' Symphony and his piano sonatas (op.2 no.1) and (op.2 no.3).

⁶⁵ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to A.W. Tomlyn, 1 June 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 188.

⁶⁶ Circular from the Royal Irish Academy, 1 January 1874, in RIAM Minute Books NA1120/1/6 and IT, 5 November 1873, p. 7. See Catherine Kiely-Ferris, 'The music of three Dublin Musical Societies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the Anacreontic Society, the Antient Concerts Society and the Sons of Handel. A descriptive catalogue', 4 vols (unpublished MLitt diss., NUI Maynooth, 2005).

Regrettably the only extant information relating to Stewart's teaching methods consists of anecdotes left by former pupils including Annie Patterson, Annie Curwen, Margaret O'Hea, Edith Boxwell, John Millington Synge and Charles Villiers Stanford.⁶⁷ Other students of Stewart included Patrick Delany, Alexandrina Elsner, William Henry Gater, George Harrison, Annie Irwin, Louisa Kellett, Edith Oldham, Linda Scates, George Robertson Sinclair, and Adeline Wheeler. Appendix V contains biographical information on some of these former students of Stewart.

Annie Curwen, piano teacher, music educationist and wife of John Spencer Curwen referred to the 'vivacity and thoroughness in Stewart's method of teaching',⁶⁸ and contributing to a discussion that followed a paper delivered by Vignoles to the Musical Association in 1898, she referred to Stewart's ability to put himself in the place of a child:

I was only his pupil for a few organ lessons, but I had the pleasure of seeing him give lessons at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. He could (as he says in a letter to me) make himself a child, putting himself on a level with his pupil. One lesson I specially remember. Seating himself at the piano he gathered us girls around, and taking up a book which happened to lie on the instrument he opened it at random, playing the first passage that came and asking some question about its form, key, chords, &c. He gauged the general knowledge of the class by the variety of questions which were suggested by the score as he turned over the pages, playing all the time. In the same letter to which I have referred, he says: 'I avoid conventionalities and technicalities.' He left out conventional terms and put in familiar terms. He was an intuitive psychologist, able to present new facts in the light of the old. One appreciates such lessons more now than at the time.⁶⁹

In her *Pianoforte Method*, Curwen describes Stewart as an able and interesting teacher and furnishes us with the following anecdote of her former teacher:

⁶⁷ See Jennifer O'Connor, 'Fanny Arthur Robinson and Annie Patterson: The Contribution of Women to Music in Dublin in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished MA diss., National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2003) and 'The Growth of Female Piano Pedagogy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin and Annie Curwen's Pianoforte Method', *MM*, 1 (2008), 59–77.

⁶⁸ Annie Curwen cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 152.

⁶⁹ Vignoles, 'Brief Sketch of the Career of Sir Robert P. Stewart', p. 105.

The late Sir Robert Stewart [...] has been known to vary his blackboard demonstration of this subject [the clef] by making a collection of sticks and umbrellas, laying them on the floor to represent a staff, and placing his hat on one of them for a clef; then, by manipulating the ‘lines,’ he would show how, though *the clef never moved*, it was seen in different positions in each five-line staff that he made. He would finish the lesson by saying, ‘Now, children, take this away with you—Clefs never move. Say it after me.’ And as they broke up there came a chorus of ‘Clefs never move!’⁷⁰

Annie Patterson had a successful career as an organist, conductor, composer, lecturer, professor and leading musical figure in Ireland, and she was particularly fond of Stewart as her comments demonstrate:

I was entered as a very small pupil of his Harmony class, and diminutive indeed I must have been, for the kindly gentleman’s first act was to raise me up in his arms and show me to the other students as a very little girl with a very large note-book. The subject treated of in class that day was the ‘Dominant Seventh,’ and well I recollect my intense admiration of a big girl who sat next to me, who was positively able to spell Dominant! Later on, to give a pictorial demonstration of the three kinds of motion in part writing, Sir Robert chose me and another very juvenile student to walk up and down in front of the class, sometimes together and sometimes in different directions, or else one quiescent and the other moving, to illustrate the ‘similar,’ ‘contrary’ and ‘oblique.’ Such things made a great and lasting impression upon children, and it is necessary to remark I never forgot the facts taught in that, my first lesson in part writing. There was a kindness and enthusiasm about the late Sir Robert Stewart—a placing himself in sympathy with young intelligences—indeed he was a man that she could never call *old*—that won its way at once, especially with his child pupils; and when it was my privilege to study advanced work with him in later years, I always felt inspired and encouraged by the fact that, talented and distinguished as he was, he could yet enter into the initial difficulties of the inexperienced, and invariably bring out the best abilities that they possessed.

As his organ pupil I came to respect the genius of my master more and more. His own great powers as an executant, his marvellous ability at score reading, and his wondrous memory did not prevent him entering, with admirable patience and geniality, into what I now realised was my most presumptuous ambition, to excel at all which he did so well.⁷¹

She also recounted Stewart’s ‘penny principle’ method used to train a level hand position at the keyboard. This ‘simple plan’ entailed the placing of a ‘penny, button, or other small object on the hand while playing five-finger exercises and scales [...] after a time, when the mechanical aid hinted at can be discarded, it will be found that

⁷⁰ Annie Curwen, *The Teacher’s Guide to Mrs. Curwen’s Pianoforte Method*, 16th edn (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1913), p. 359. I am grateful to Jennifer O’Connor for bringing this reference to my attention.

⁷¹ Annie Patterson, ‘The Royal Irish Academy of Music’, *WIT*, 12 May 1900, p. 4.

the hand will have taken a tranquil pose, and that the fingers work loosely from the knuckle joints'.⁷²

Margaret O'Hea, a piano teacher at the Royal Irish Academy of Music also recounted her reminiscences of Stewart in an interview with Annie Patterson. She referenced his kind and considerate nature and his geniality and charitableness in particular, along with the following humorous incident relating to his teaching style:

Going into the room one day when he was teaching harmony to a class of juniors [...] I found him pointing out some absurd mistake one of them had made between a major and a minor interval. He got a tall girl and a smaller one to stand up, and then he said to the class:– 'Now, which is major and which is minor?' And with such apt illustrations he used to impress musical ideas and facts upon them.⁷³

O'Hea also fondly remembered how Stewart supported her younger sister Ellen and regularly offered advice on her compositions.⁷⁴ Stewart apparently took an active interest in Ellen's compositions and often reviewed her scores. He also conducted several performances of her opera at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin and at the Royal Irish Academy of Music.⁷⁵ This may have been quite an unusual situation for Stewart to find himself in. According to Jane Bernstein, women composers in the nineteenth century were perceived as being from a dilettante background,⁷⁶ and when we consider the 1883 review by Otto Schamm below which comments on women composing programme music, it may have been difficult for Stewart to encourage his

⁷² Annie Patterson, 'Music in the Home: What to practice', *WIT*, 28 October, 1899, p. 9.

⁷³ Annie Patterson, 'Eminent Dublin Musicians: Miss Margaret O'Hea (continued)', *WIT*, 17 November 1900, p. 3. I am grateful to Jennifer O'Connor for bringing the articles of Annie Patterson to my attention.

⁷⁴ Ellen O'Hea (also known as Elena Norton) composed an operetta entitled *The Rose and the Ring* and she died young in 1880. Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 32.

⁷⁵ Patterson, 'Eminent Dublin Musicians: Miss Margaret O'Hea (continued)', *WIT*, 17 November 1900, p. 3 and 'Antient Concert Room's, *IT*, 9 February 1877, p. 4.

⁷⁶ Jane A. Bernstein, "'Shout, Shout, Up with Your Song!'" Dame Ethel Symth and the Changing Role of the British Woman Composer', *Women Making Music*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), p. 305.

audience to take Norton's music as seriously as they might have taken the composition of a male composer:

Certainly many a man, when he finds a feminine name listed on the program of the fourth chamber music concert, would cherish a slight misgiving concerning the worth and success of this composition, for, in general, one cannot trust all that much the productive capacity of women in the area of music.⁷⁷

Stewart seems to have supported one of his piano pupils, Adeline Wheeler, in a similar fashion. He conducted her 'first concert' (probably referring to her first concert since her return from the Leipzig Conservatoire) in Dublin in April 1881. At this concert Wheeler is recorded as having played the following: Robert Schumann's *Fantasia* [possibly his *Fantasia* in C major, op. 17]; one of Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*; a Polonaise by Chopin; J.S. Bach's 'Italian' Concerto (BWV971); a march by Chopin; a Scarlatti sonata and Thalberg's arrangement of 'Home, Sweet Home'.⁷⁸

Another student of Stewart who often brought his compositions to him for advice and instructions was John Millington Synge. From 1889 he was a devoted student of Stewart and referred to him as 'my beloved harmony teacher', 'the cleverest Irish musician and one of the kindest of men'.⁷⁹

Edith Boxwell left her reminiscences of Stewart at the Academy and they are particularly informative in that they illustrate one of Stewart's teaching methods. He encouraged his students to come to the end of the preceding lesson and to stay for the

⁷⁷ Cited in Judith E. Olson, 'Luise Adolphe Le Beau: Composer in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Women Making Music*, ed. Bowers and Tick, p. 290.

⁷⁸ This concert consisted of the performance of several songs by Dublin vocalists in the first half followed by Wheeler's solo performance in the second. *IT*, 20 April 1881, p.2.

⁷⁹ David Greene and Edward Stephens, *JM Synge 1871-1909* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 40. Synge's extant compositions, including a scherzo for string quartet and movements of violin sonatas, indicate that he was 'above average' as a composer, see Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 207.

beginning of the next lesson so that they also experienced his teaching of other pupils and benefitted from the information that he imparted to them also. His ability to communicate with the children by humour was one of her more prominent memories:

Sir Robert was a wonderful teacher. He loved us and we loved him. He taught us to 'love music for music's sake.' He liked us to come to part of the preceding lesson and wait for the following one and in this way we learned a great deal. He was a delightful pianist, a beautiful accompanist, and, of course, one of the great organists of his time. He was a man of wide culture, of courtly manners, with great charm. He gave us several classes in the week, and sometimes illustrated them in a humorous way. For instance, in his class on analysis one day, he left the room for a few minutes and then returned with his tall hat on the side of his head, his hands under his coat tails, and walked in an agitated manner to the window. Several voices called 'Beethoven in a hurry,' referring to the drawing that we all know [...] His sudden death [...] caused deep and widespread sorrow. Most if not all of his pupils, felt as I did that we had lost not only a great teacher, but a real friend.⁸⁰

W.H. Vipond Barry relayed the following humorous anecdote to Patterson in relation to an occasion whereby both Stewart and Vipond Barry were examining students at the Royal Irish Academy of Music:

Once, when Mr. Barry was examining with Sir Robert Stewart at the R.I.A.M. he was asking one of the candidates some questions on the mechanism of the instrument, amongst others whether he knew what a 'backfall' was. 'Faith, I do' replied Sir Robert with a pleasant smile 'for I got one over an orange peel yesterday'.⁸¹

Charles Villiers Stanford was the most successful and well-known former pupil of Stewart. Stanford studied composition, orchestration and organ-playing with him and, as Dibble asserts, this no doubt accounts for Stanford's 'profound affinity' for the Anglican church repertoire.⁸² Stanford also paid tribute to Stewart's 'orchestral

⁸⁰ Edith Boxwell, 'Memories of the Academy', *Royal Irish Academy of Music 1856-1956 Centenary Souvenir* (Dublin: Ann T. Higgins [1956]), pp. 43-44.

⁸¹ Annie Patterson, 'Musicians of the Day, Mr. Vipond Barry', *WIT*, 6 April 1901, p. 3.

⁸² Dibble, 'The Composer in the Academy (1) 1850-1940', p. 404.

treatment' of the organ and the fact that 'unlike most of his contemporaries (and I fear many of his successors) [Stewart] knew his full score from memory'.⁸³

Towards the end of his career, Stewart's status as an instrumental teacher had reached its pinnacle. In 1891 he wrote to an acquaintance living in Rome, Lily Hutton, boasting about two pupils in particular. The first was Cecil Winn, the son of Lady St Oswald of Leeds, who was one of his organ students.⁸⁴ The second student referred to was a piano pupil, Herminie [*sic*], Duchess of Leinster. She was described by Stewart as 'the loveliest woman (it is said in the three kingdoms) [...] whose photo adorns all the shop windows' and he referred to her as being 'most diligent as a musician'.⁸⁵

Memories of Stewart's teaching methods survived well into the twentieth century with George Harrison, the longest surviving organ student of Stewart. Harrison was president of the Leinster Society of Organists and organist of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place, Dublin for an astonishing seventy-five years.⁸⁶ He died at the age of ninety-two on 20 March 1970.⁸⁷

As previously mentioned, Stewart often attained the services of pupils and teachers from the Royal Irish Academy of Music to perform the musical illustrations at his lectures: Miss Jones, Miss Wayland and Miss [Adeline] Wheeler performed piano pieces at one of his 1875 lectures while Ellen O'Hea performed several songs

⁸³ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, p. 24.

⁸⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 28 March 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 162. According to Vignoles, Lady St Oswald entertained Stewart and his wife at the Leeds Festival.

⁸⁵ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 28 March 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 162.

⁸⁶ Charles Acton, 'From Kalkbrenner to O'Connor', *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, p. 497.

⁸⁷ I am grateful to Axel Klein for this information.

during his 1878 Balfe Memorial Lectures. This symbiotic relationship ensured that Stewart had suitable, proficiently-performed musical illustrations to entertain the audience at his lectures and his pupils had the opportunity to perform in public and thereby increase their profile and performance experience. Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner and Mrs Mackey, who held the positions of professor of ‘cello and harp respectively at the Academy, also participated in Stewart’s lectures.⁸⁸

Charles Salaman’s advice to those musicians embarking on a professional career in music in 1880 exemplifies the traits that musicians of any era needed to exhibit:

While hopefully entering upon his new, and, let us hope, promising career, it were unwise in the young musician to underrate the difficulties which he will have to encounter, the obstacles he will have to surmount, before he shall have reached the goal of his just ambition; viz., an undisturbed, undisputed position in his profession. [...] He must school his mind and temper to submit, with a smile and a shrug, to petty slights, vexations, denials, indifference, ingratitude, sometimes rudeness, freezing neglect, disparaging—often unjust—criticisms from incompetent judges. He will perceive that only those who are satisfied to remain in obscurity can hope to escape calumny, and the baleful effects of professional jealousy, envy, and all uncharitableness.⁸⁹

Music-teaching in this country is acknowledged to be the chief and most lucrative branch of the profession of music. It is that in which the great majority of musicians are mostly engaged. To those who are blessed with a highly sensitive temperament, lesson-giving, to ordinary pupils, is not an agreeable occupation. Wearing to the nerves, trying to the temper, it strains patience to the utmost limit of human endurance!⁹⁰

What then was Stewart’s perception of music and instrument teaching in Dublin throughout his career and did he have the suitable ‘temperament’ for this particular occupation? Described as a ‘constant and indefatigable worker’ Stewart is reported to

⁸⁸ For further details on the performers at Stewart’s lectures, see chapter six. According to the *BMB* Mrs Mackey’s maiden name was Erminia Glover, and she was a daughter of John William Glover. It is more likely that the publication was referring to his daughter Emilie, however. Brown and Stratton, eds, ‘Glover, John William’, *BMB*, p. 165.

⁸⁹ Charles Kensington Salaman, ‘On Music as a Profession in England’, pp. 111–12.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

have commenced his work before 6.30am and continued until midnight.⁹¹ His daily activities included letter-writing, reading, ‘work, colleges, concerts, pupils, etc’ and he did acknowledge that the strain of getting up at six o’clock in the morning on a continuous basis in order to fulfil his duties did take its toll on him and restricted the time that he could devote to composition.⁹² Stewart described himself as ‘incessantly occupied’ and ‘active as ever’ with ‘the care’ of the Royal Irish Academy and his work at Trinity College.⁹³ Miss Hamilton described the ‘drudgery of teaching’ that he experienced as a consequence of his hectic work schedule:

The drudgery of teaching never could have been congenial to him, and yet, marrying as he did at twenty-one [...] it was necessary to teach in order to bring grist to the mill. He told us that one day he had given twenty lessons at the Academy of Music, and none of his pupils, he added, with a smile, were interesting! Fancy the wear and tear of this, and of training choirs, and then his Sunday duty: the service at the College Chapel at a quarter to ten o’clock, then hurrying off to Christ Church at 11.15, and then to the three o’clock service at St. Patrick’s; and oftentimes (such was the energy of the man in early life) he used to attend the evening service at St. Matthias’ with his wife. His energy was enormous. He was always alert, and on the move. He was a great favourite with all young people; and it was no wonder, for he had a perpetual fountain of youth within him. The youngest choirboy was not too insignificant for him to notice. He was often seen with his arm thrown round one of the student-members of the College Choral Society. I remember his bringing down Charlie Stanford (then a lad of fifteen or sixteen) to one of the concerts at Bray, and standing behind him as he played.⁹⁴

According to Culwick ‘activity’ was Stewart’s ‘natural state’, he was a great favourite as a theoretical or practical teacher and his services were in constant demand’.⁹⁵ The March 1875 issue of the *Dublin University Magazine* paid tribute to Stewart as an instrumental teacher, organist and piano player and acknowledged that

⁹¹ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 3.

⁹² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 27 October 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 154. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to an unnamed friend cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 217.

⁹³ Letters from Robert Prescott Stewart to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 128; to Lily Hutton, 27 October 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 154; to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 128.

⁹⁴ Reminiscences of Miss Hamilton, soprano member of the Bray Philharmonic Society. Weekly practices of his society took place at Stewart’s house on the Bray esplanade on Friday evenings. Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 89–90.

⁹⁵ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 3.

he was in ‘high request’ as a teacher.⁹⁶ Vignoles recorded that Stewart was extremely popular with his younger singing pupils in particular and described his ‘manner [...] brightness and quiet drollery’ when accompanying the choral class which had the effect of making all of the choir members his ‘devoted partisans’.⁹⁷ Likewise his harmony students at the Academy, often perplexed by ‘contrapuntal fogs [and] harmonic mists’ also benefitted from his teaching experience.⁹⁸

Stanford provides us with an informative and honest opinion of Stewart and his surrounding environment as the following excerpt demonstrates:

A little more dead-in-earnestness, and a greater grasp of the big things in life and art would have made Stewart an outstanding man. But his easy-going nature and the sloppy *laisser-faire* atmosphere which surrounded him prevented his attainment of the highest place. It was hard, even for one gifted with so brilliant a brain, to live in a circle of half-baked musicians without being affected by their standard, and still harder to occupy a position which he had no rival to excel or learn from. He left his mark, however, on the ‘melancholy island,’ which was responsible both for his witty and versatile gifts and for the lack of opportunity to give value and effect to them.⁹⁹

Stewart’s own opinion of the financial need for a Victorian musician and composer to work as an instrumental teacher comes to the fore in his tribute to his contemporary William Sterndale Bennett, delivered at the first of Stewart’s 1875 lectures on stringed-keyed instruments. Stewart describes the teaching undertaken by Bennett as ‘a necessary evil’ that should have been left to those who were ‘incapable of creating music’.¹⁰⁰ In other words, Stewart felt that because Bennett was forced to dedicate so much of his time to teaching, his talent for composition was not utilized to its maximum capacity. Stewart’s frustrations at the situation which he and other teachers faced in Dublin, an environment lacking patronage, encouragement or a

⁹⁶ ‘Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus.D.,’ pp. 271–72.

⁹⁷ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 16–17.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁹⁹ Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, pp. 50–51.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 15 March 1875, p. 3.

support structure for profession musicians, are echoed in his lecture. The following excerpt from Stewart's lecture taken from the report of his lecture by the *Daily Express* illustrates that even though Stewart was referring to Bennett, the underlying tension and criticism of Stewart's own personal situation is evident:

But, of late, Sir Sterndale Bennett pursued too quiet, too unobtrusive a life, and devoted himself almost entirely to teaching – a state of things surely to be deplored, for giving lessons, although, perhaps, a necessary evil, is at best but mechanical employment – an employment which might well be entrusted to those who are incapable of creating music. The time of Sterndale Bennett belonged of right to his country, and was far too precious to be wasted in lesson-giving. For a man thus gifted to continue teaching as he did, for from six to ten hours *per diem*, instead of rather producing such noble overtures as “*Parisina*” or the “*Wood Nymphs*”, or such works as the fine concerto in F minor for piano and orchestra: this cannot but be deemed a talent misapplied.¹⁰¹

Describing the amount of teaching that Stewart was undertaking in the late 1860s and 1870s, Vignoles emphasized that ‘nearly the whole of his time’ was taken up with the ‘exhausting drudgery of teaching’:

This perpetual round of a necessary but uninspiring routine he dared not remit, as he had not one penny of private income, and could only by persistent toil of body and mind obtain the means of livelihood requisite for the maintenance of his professional and social position, and the growing necessities of his family. As appears continually in the chequered story of his life, all his leisure moments—and those almost invariably snatched from his meals or from sleep—were devoted to an interminable correspondence, partly unavoidable from the nature of his avocations, but in a still greater proportion to be accounted for by his inexhaustible good nature. He was as accessible to strangers as to friends, and the numerous examples that remain, some of which appear in this volume, give indisputable proof of his marvellous unselfishness, and his unflinching readiness to afford advice, help, explanation, information of every kind, local, professional, musical or literary, to every correspondent. This large-hearted willingness to do a good turn to all who desired his assistance, no matter what might be the nature of the request, or what labour on his part might be involved, will remain in the hearts of those who truly knew him, as a memory that can never perish¹⁰²

Stewart's regular encouragement and praise of his students was a most successful approach to his teaching methods as it helped his students to see their teacher as a friendly figure and made them more receptive to his attempts to inspire them with a

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰² Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 94.

consistent interest in and appreciation for music. Stewart was known to say ‘well done’ to his pupils when it was deserved, he delighted in the successes of his students and ‘was ever ready to see their better points’.¹⁰³ Indeed, as Culwick asserts, ‘he had the very remarkable power of so disguising his most technical teaching, [...] presented with such attractive qualities, that the listener, never wearied, could hardly forget the lessons’.¹⁰⁴

Despite a demanding position as piano, organ and harmony professor, Stewart was not considered by all to be above criticism. In 1887 Edith Oldham’s mother wrote: ‘As far as the piano goes [at the Academy] I think they are getting worse each year [...] Sir Robert Stewart is too lazy to do much and they all seem so much behind the times’.¹⁰⁵ Stewart may have indeed fallen into a more relaxed mode of teaching at this time but the lack of other sources to corroborate Oldham’s accusations may indicate that her criticism was no more than a personal observation. Stewart was one of the foremost figures in the organ and piano teaching profession in Dublin and his endeavour to raise the standard of music students in Ireland so that it came within some range of the accepted European standard was an important contribution of his. The ability to think at the level of a beginner, intermediate and advanced student (his pupils ranged from small children to adult pupils at Trinity College) was an essential trait in his successful communication as a teacher. His extremely precise memory meant that it was unnecessary for him to write down and maintain any elementary teaching compositions or improvisatory sight-reading exercises for his piano students in particular but it is likely that he often jotted down exercises or short pieces for his pupils during their lessons. The absence of any

¹⁰³ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, pp. 6–7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 86.

lesson plans or teaching notes makes it difficult to establish whether or not Stewart followed a systematic approach when teaching or if he followed specific concepts of education. We do not know if he was a critically reflective pedagogue but his precept of education seemed to include the attainment of the respect of his pupils and the utilization of regular encouragement and humour in order to teach and maintain their interest and progress. The lack of books or workbooks written by Stewart on harmony, counterpoint or composition is also significant especially when compared with the output of his fellow music professors in England. Stewart's only known contribution to the field of instrumental instruction is his organ tutor of seven short easy-to-intermediate pieces for the organ entitled *A Little Organ School*. This publication suggests that Stewart considered himself an organist first and foremost even though his reputation as a piano teacher was quite impressive. The inclusion of Bach in his teaching repertoire reflects the return to the 'early' music of the eighteenth-century keyboard composers while his choice of Chopin and Liszt signifies his engagement with the modern romantic innovative school of virtuoso performance.

Even though Stewart instinctively taught his female students with much patience and affection, it is clear that his standards in relation to his female pupils were not as high as those expected from his male music students and choirboys.¹⁰⁶ The following excerpt is indicative of Stewart's opinion that Ireland's choir boys, and not her female music pupils, were the 'nursling musicians of a country'. This

¹⁰⁶ Although Stewart was one of the Royal Irish Academy of Music's piano professors who taught the female students only, he did teach male organ and harmony and composition students. For a list of the professors at the Academy in 1875 and 1876 see *IT*, 6 November 1875, p. 3 and *IT*, 18 September 1876, p. 2.

statement demonstrates that despite Stewart's encouragement of his female pupils, women were never taken too seriously as musicians or composers in his mind:

Ireland is not a musical country. The people, of course, will tell you she is; but I have been teaching the young people of Ireland since 1846, and I have also seen and heard chorister boys by dozens for half a century (they are the nursling musicians of a country); but, save for a few, not more than four or five, I can safely assert that our Stainers and Sullivans are singularly conspicuous by their absence.¹⁰⁷

At the Royal Irish Academy of Music the female pupils took lessons in piano, voice, harp and singing while the male students attended violin, 'cello, wind and (from 1871) piano lessons.¹⁰⁸ In England the formation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1822 was followed by the establishment of the Royal Society of Female Musicians in 1839 and the former allowed female teachers to work at the highest levels of their occupation.¹⁰⁹ The Royal Irish Academy of Music was to follow suit and employed female teachers including Fanny Arthur Robinson and Elizabeth Bennett (piano), Mrs Mackey [Emilie Glover] (harp) and Elizabeth Scott-Fennell (voice).¹¹⁰ Jennifer O'Connor records that in the 1851 edition of *Thom's Directory*, five out of the twenty-seven names, or 18% of those recorded under 'professors of music', were women and three extra women were listed as either music teachers or professors in a different section of the directory, that recorded the merchant and trader listings of the city. Half a century later the 1900 directory illustrates that the proportion of women to men listed under 'professors of music' in Dublin had more than doubled: out of the sixty-six 'professors of music' recorded, twenty-eight, or 42%, were women.¹¹¹ This

¹⁰⁷ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 188.

¹⁰⁸ Mr Sproule was appointed as professor of piano to a piano class for boys in 1871. Committee Meeting, 1871, RIAM Minute Books, 1868–1871, NA1120/1/5.

¹⁰⁹ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 85.

¹¹⁰ See 'Teaching and Administrative Staff', *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, pp. 522–30 for a list of the instrumental teachers at the Royal Irish Academy of Music.

¹¹¹ O'Connor, 'The Growth of Female Piano Pedagogy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin and Annie Curwen's Pianoforte Method', p. 60.

clearly demonstrates that the number of women involved in music teaching had increased significantly in Dublin. Given this more flourishing environment for female music teachers, it is interesting to examine the extant sources that provide us with an indication of Stewart's opinion of women in the roles of music practitioners in Dublin.

Vignoles reproduced several letters from Stewart to Hutton in his *Memoir*, and correspondence to Culwick and several female pupils are reproduced in his *Memoir* of Stewart. These letters are informative in terms of their provision of an insight into Stewart's opinions of women engaged in music-making and performing and demonstrate Stewart's personal attitude towards his female students. While some of Stewart's comments to Hutton in relation to her music-making may seem somewhat patronising in today's context, they were not meant in a demeaning way but it is reasonable to conjecture that his remarks were genuinely written in an encouraging and praiseworthy manner. For example Stewart commended Hutton on her membership of a choral society:

I am glad you sing in chorus. It is one of the highest pleasures to a really clever girl to feel she is part of some wondrous warp or woof, manufactured by those big weavers, Palestrina or S. Bach.¹¹²

In the following month, Stewart and Hutton were again in correspondence and Stewart praised her on her abilities to look after the household:

I admire you for being able to take up the *rôle* of a maid and see to the household. Homer's princesses used to cook and wash and it is generally supposed that Pharaoh's daughter when (like a dishonest milk vendor) she took a little prophet (profit) out of the water was washing clothes! A clever good girl can turn her fingers to anything [...] My youngest daughter can lay a table, and perform her household

¹¹² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 7 January 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 155.

duties as well as what she once did creditably, when only thirteen, play this at her school concert in Bray. So you see I only admire your Homeric actions!¹¹³

The correspondence to Hutton is also significant in that it helps us to understand Stewart's opinion of his female students in general. When writing to Hutton about Sgambati's F minor study from his *Album Vocale*, Stewart referred to some omissions of a sharp or natural sign in the music (he could not recall exactly which one) and indicates his patronising and somewhat belittling opinion of the average Irish girl:

To anyone with a good ear and talent [...] these trifles would not signify, but the average Irish girl is a charming goose, and interprets *au pied de la lettre* anything she can interpret at all; and therefore I always find these notes cropping up like weeds.¹¹⁴

Despite any reservations that Stewart may have had concerning the intellectual capacity of his female pupils he did maintain contact with former pupils including Edith Oldham and Louisa Kellett who received scholarships to study at the Royal College of Music in 1883 and he visited them in London to check on their progress. He also soothed the nerves of his former pupils and provided encouraging reassurance when the situation called for it, as an extract from a letter in 1887 to Miss Walton, a former pupil studying at the Royal College of Music, demonstrates:

I send you a telegram I got from Sir George Grove in reply to mine, asking him to be present and sustain your nerves! [...] Without fine, nervous excitement we cannot do well; yet, with it, that feeling frequently upsets young sensitive girls like yourself. Your modulations used to give you no trouble. But no one does so well when strangers are present, as alone! And still, what good is our talent if it cannot stand rough tests?¹¹⁵

¹¹³ According to Vignoles, Stewart is referring to Bach's C minor fugue from *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* book I, at the words 'play this', Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 156. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 27 February 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 156.

¹¹⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 27 February 1884, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 156.

¹¹⁵ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Miss Walton, 1 March 1887, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 179.

Writing to Francis Brady at the Academy in 1878 Stewart provides us with a description of the two categories of female students attending the Academy at the time. The first category of student, from a poor economic background and possibly at the academy on a scholarship, needed ‘sometimes a good strong hand over [her]’ while the other group of female student in contrast expected to be given special attention and lavished with praise and encouragement. Stewart suggested to Brady that ‘a little reticence and patience’ would increase the number of pupils at the Academy:

You see there are girls with us who are used to be about (Sydney Smith said these children of the poor are not brought up but dragged up) these creatures are used to it but there are others who are used to feather treatment and if any of our Governing Body hurt or insult [or] mortify them, a dislike of the institution gets hold of them. This is no fancy of mine [...] I think we ‘dragoon’ the girls too much¹¹⁶

His comment that the staff of the Academy in general ‘dragoon’ the girls too much indicates that he was of the opinion that the female students were treated too harshly and should be taught with a less severe manner and expectation as to their achievement abilities.

In a letter penned in 1880 to Mrs Jackson, Stewart writes that ‘musically for the most part, girls from the country are profoundly gauche and ignorant’, and his letter to Culwick written six years later demonstrates that Stewart’s opinion had not changed at all.¹¹⁷ The letter to Culwick is quite informative in relaying Stewart’s opinions on the education of young women. His portrayal of females as fragile

¹¹⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Francis Brady, 11 March 1878, in RIAM Minute Books 1876–79, NA 1120/1/7 and Pine and Acton eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 118. I have not been able to ascertain the source where Stewart claims that Sydney Smith references the upbringing of poor children but the statement certainly appears in *Bleak House* by Charles Dickens: ‘It is said that the children of the very poor are not brought up, but dragged up’. Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (New York: Heritage Press, 1942), p. 78.

¹¹⁷ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Mrs Jackson, 4 April 1880, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 127.

creatures that must be protected from the vulgarities of life and therefore only subjected to expurgated editions of certain text books, while sexist in its outlook by today's standards, illustrates Stewart's opinion of female education and 'over-education' in general. It is also reflective of the attitudes towards women in the latter half of the nineteenth century and demonstrates the psychology adapted by Stewart when teaching his female students:

I quite go with you, that the girls (whom *you* know better than anyone else, of course, to have worked hard) should not be discouraged. As a rule I err on the other side. I am never unfair to young women, and what I say to you I say to all my Irish friends who are associated in the 'higher education' question.

I would not discourage any girl, for they are like the French soldiers, who (we are told) are mostly successful unless foiled in their *first* rush. If you read the London papers of last Friday you will find the strongest discouragement as to our over-educating young women far more forcibly urged than I could put it. In fact, without adopting altogether the sweeping dictum of Heine, 'That every woman who goes in for Art has her eyes half on a man at the same time', I am inclined to wish that the old times could return, when young women had no higher ambition than to love, marry, and bring up children.

There is a good deal to be said in favour of such a theory, and I have had more (*i.e.* longer) experience than most of my friends; and so far from being a woman-hater, I am well known to prefer their society to that of men. My views are these: books form only a small part of education, the rest being brought about by what – for want of a better phrase – I call the 'attrition of life'. Now, women's grace, tenderness, modesty, all that makes them what they are – the best joy and solace of man – these qualities are deteriorated when they begin habitually to frequent theatres and music-halls. One cannot allow girls even to read Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, unless in an expurgated edition; nor should they be permitted to study from the nude, either in painting or sculpture. They ought not to dissect the dead, and if young and beautiful they cannot tend the sick.¹¹⁸

Stewart's opinion of Irish females was not at all different to his attitude towards their English counterparts as this excerpt from a letter to Edith Oldham illustrates:

Herr P[auer]'s story is capital, the middle class London women are indeed (musically) terrible noodles! I went to one of Hallé's Beethoven Sonata Concerts in St. James's Hall in 1862. There were two Grands. 'Does a leopard change his spots? Yes, when he is tired of one spot he goes to another!' So did Hallé, when he was tired of one Grand he went to another! Many women had their knitting or sonatas on their laps, and curiosity (or the father of evil) prompting me, I looked over the shoulder of the lady nearest to me. She had one of Chappell's blue-covered 'Sonatas'

¹¹⁸ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to James Culwick, 16 August 1886, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 175–76. See John Lempriere, *Classical Dictionary*, 8th edn (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1812).

by L. van B. open before her, but it was the wrong one! Hallé was playing quite another work! I have the bad taste to tell her so, and I received a look of pitying scorn for my pains. This is true.¹¹⁹

Stewart's patient instruction and his ability to simplify the concepts of music were documented by his former students. In a letter written to a female student in 1863 Stewart discussed the errors made by the student in her composition and yet concluded on a very positive note by paying tribute to her variations, stating that they '[did] her credit':

My Dear Miss——, —I gladly received your note and MS. Any little difficulties you have met with arise from one point; here it is—In every tune there are *passing* notes which are not worthy of separate harmonies for them, but go along with their fellows; just, you know, as if you gave a party, and invited some family, and all the children of it, you would not write to all *separately*, would you? Johnny and Jenny would come along with mamma, papa, and the two or three big boys and girls. So these passing notes are not of sufficient importance to be treated separately; and this truth you have yourself acted upon at the first bar of page 3 (last notes) where the G# is treated as nothing, and the bass has the chord of the Dominant 7th, which you know suits the F# only. Now the variation on page two seems to vex you; in the second bar of this quaver variation you have sought for a harmony to suit the F# at end of the bar—a little semi-quaver—it is really only a passing note from E to G# so—



You seem, by the C# in the bass, to prefer either of these two harmonies—the chord of A (of which your C# is the first *inversion*) or else



which is the chord of F# major, with the 7th added; C# would be the second inversion.

Now your chord of accompaniment is neither of the above, but the chord of F# minor 2nd inversion; and it is a 'weak' chord here.

I think this passage is the only one which disappoints you, that is what you really hear in the harmony, which musicians call 'consecutive six-fours.'

¹¹⁹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a lady pupil [Edith Oldham], 24 November 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 148–49.

Now I would (not only here, but also in the semi-quaver triplet variations which succeeds) substitute another harmony for yours, which will make the exercise quite correct.

And now I may say I like both your variations well, and they do you credit. If puzzled, come again to

Yours sincerely, R.P.S.¹²⁰

Stewart was a supportive and encouraging pedagogue to all of his students but the fact that he had four daughters (and no sons) may have accounted for his sensitivity when teaching his female students while also indicating his conservative and protective attitude that saw women's place in the home occupying the dual role of wife and mother.

Though not a pioneering pedagogue, Stewart's consistent and proficient approach to teaching contributed to his reputation as a highly respected teacher who considered the improvement of the standard of musical education in Dublin of the utmost importance. From the anecdotes of his former pupils discussed above, Stewart made a lasting positive impact on his young piano, organ and harmony students. He was an excellent and patient instructor whose approachable nature made him accessible to his students at all times, despite the busy work schedule that he experienced through his association with the main musical institutions in Dublin.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to a private female student, 29 June 1863, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 73.

¹²¹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 16.

Part II: The Theoretical Victorian Musician

Chapter 5

The Music Professor and Examiner

Often occupied by the same person, the organ loft and the chair of music were connected during the eighteenth century. William Crotch held the positions of music professor at Oxford and organist at Christ Church, Oxford for a time and likewise, Thomas Attwood Walmisley was engaged as organist and professor at Cambridge. This tradition seems to have dissolved by the time Crotch and Walmisley were succeeded by Henry Bishop and William Sterndale Bennett respectively. In Dublin Stewart was elected to the position of organist at the chapel of Trinity College Dublin in 1844 and from 1862 until his death he held the positions of music professor and organist simultaneously.¹ This chapter will assess a number of issues relating to Stewart's tenure as music professor at Trinity College including the trivializing and dismissive opinion of the music profession and its associated qualifications during the nineteenth century. The changes that were implemented to the music curriculum by Stewart as a reaction to this mindset will also be studied.² These amendments were the result of an attempt to introduce a more systematic approach to the music accreditation procedure at Trinity College and in order to place these developments in context, contemporary practices at Oxford and Cambridge will also be evaluated in detail. A brief comparison between the music degree regulations at Trinity College and those at the Royal University of Ireland (of

¹ After Stewart's death in 1894 Ebenezer Prout was elected to the professorship and Charles Marchant to the organistship at Trinity College Dublin.

² An abridged version of this chapter appears in the journal *Maynooth Musicology*. See Lisa Parker, 'Robert Prescott Stewart as a music educator in Dublin in the latter-half of the nineteenth century', *MM*, 1 (2008), 1–27.

which Stewart was one of two music examiners from 1883 to 1889) will conclude this chapter. The main primary source consulted for the original research in this chapter was the yearly issue of the *Dublin University Calendar* which recorded the requirements and regulations for the various degrees offered at Trinity College Dublin. Once this information was collected, it was then possible to compare any changes taking place at Dublin to similar advances and modifications that were being introduced at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Although Thomas Bateson was awarded the first bachelor of music degree from Trinity College Dublin in 1612, this presentation took the form of an honour conferred upon a leading musician and composer as a mark of recognition and did not represent the successful completion of an accumulated course of study undertaken by the recipient.³ It appears that a further one hundred and fifty years were to pass before the establishment of the music professorship and the awarding of the next music degree at Trinity College. While the music professors at Oxford and Cambridge were instituted in 1626 and 1684 respectively, the first professor of music was not elected at Trinity College until July 1764.⁴ The Earl of Mornington, Garret Wesley (1735–1781), held the honorary position of professor of music for ten years and was paid a stipend of £100 per annum.⁵ Mornington was not expected to teach or examine as part of this sinecure but he was required to compose suitable music for occasions at the university. Trinity did not retain the post after Mornington's resignation and the chair of music lay dormant until 1847 when John Smith (1797–

³ Brian Boydell, 'Thomas Bateson and the Earliest Degrees in Music awarded by the University of Dublin', *Hermathena*, 146 (1989), 53–60.

⁴ The 1875 *DUC* records that Mornington became professor of music on 14 July 1764, p. 339. However, the Trinity College Dublin Board Books record the date as 11 July 1764. Board Meeting, 2 June 1883, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 291.

⁵ Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, p. 58.

1861) was elected to the position.⁶ Smith taught pupils in a private capacity and examined the compositions for the MusB and MusD examinations known as ‘exercises’.⁷ Under the terms of Smith’s employment he was not granted an annual salary at first; instead, he received a fee for each of the degree candidates that he examined but in 1859 it was decided by the Board that Smith was to be awarded a salary of £4 in place of examination fees.⁸ The annual *Dublin University Calendar* records that seven music degrees, three MusB and four MusD degrees, were awarded during his fourteen year professorship and these are listed in Appendix VI.⁹

According to Culwick writing at the end of the nineteenth century, Smith was ‘admittedly more of a musician than a *litterateur*’¹⁰ and his competence, ability and suitability as professor of music had been questioned more than once by his peers. His book entitled *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music* was widely criticized and attacked by Bumpus as being an ‘absurd production’ giving a ‘prescription by which any person, by a mechanical process, might make a melody and add appropriate harmony thereto’.¹¹ Even the poet John Francis Waller ridiculed

⁶ Despite the fact that some sources list 1845 as the date that John Smith was awarded the music professorship, the Board Books of Trinity College Dublin record that he was elected on 27 March 1847: ‘Dr John Smith appointed Professor of Musick to the University, he is to receive the Professor’s fees of those graduating in Musick’. TCD Board Books, 1840–47, Mun/v/5/8, back page. Smith taught harmony and composition at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, he was Master of the King’s Band of State Musicians in Ireland and composer to the Chapel Royal. See Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 62 and R.H. Newmarch, ‘Smith, John’, *DNB*, ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Edler, 1898), iii, pp. 81–82. It is, however, possible that Smith may have acted as professor of music in an unofficial capacity from 1845 in order to examine the two MusB graduates, Nicholas William Stack (July 1845) and William Murphy (February 1847) and was then officially elected to the position in March 1847.

⁷ To maintain consistency within this chapter, bachelor and doctor of music degrees will be referred to by their Trinity College Dublin titles (MusB and MusD) even though the correct term for these degrees at Oxford, London and the Royal University of Ireland was BMus and DMus.

⁸ Board Meeting, 29 January 1859, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 321.

⁹ *DUC* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith; London: Whittaker, Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1847–62).

¹⁰ James Culwick cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 5. Culwick was an organist, composer and professor of piano and theory at Alexandra College, Dublin. He received a MusD *honoris causa* from Trinity College Dublin in 1893.

¹¹ John Smith, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music: With the Principles of Harmony and Composition and an Approved Method of Learning to Sing by Note and in Parts as a Class-Book for*

the work in rhyme in 1852 in the *Dublin University Magazine* confirming Bumpus's declaration that Smith was the subject of endless practical jokes at Trinity College.¹² Nevertheless, the *Saunders's News-Letter* demonstrated that a certain amount of support existed for Smith in 1851 when they reported that: 'until the appointment of the present eminent Professor Dr. Smith, it was a pure fiction that there were any students in this college in respect of music'.¹³ Smith died on 12 November 1861 and the board books of Trinity College do not refer to any other person except Stewart in relation to the new professor of music.¹⁴ However, Vignoles also mentions that it was 'generally understood' at the time that a 'great favourite' of the musical circle at Trinity College, an eminent singer and recipient of an honorary MusD, was also in contention for the professorship.¹⁵ Vignoles was clearly referring to Francis Robinson, the eldest of the Robinson brothers who were collectively one of the most famous musical families in Dublin at the time.¹⁶

Francis Robinson was a tenor soloist who received his honorary doctorate from Trinity College on 6 July 1852. He was a chorister at Trinity College Chapel, treasurer of the Philharmonic Society, a member of the committee of the Antient Concerts Society and he was involved with his brother William and Henry Bussell in a piano dealership. There seems to have been a degree of tension or rivalry between Stewart and Robinson and we get a glimpse of this from the board books in 1862, just before Stewart was appointed to the professorship. The board meeting of 1

Academics (Dublin: McGlashan, 1853). Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals Part II', p. 127. Bumpus specialised in ecclesiastical music and was regarded as a distinguished expert on the subject. 'Obituary, John Skelton Bumpus', *MT*, 54 (1913), p. 317.

¹² Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals Part II', p. 128.

¹³ 'University of Dublin', *SN*, 10 April 1851, p. 2.

¹⁴ There is no reference in the Board Books of this period to the death of John Smith, the vacant chair of music, the procedure to recruit a new professor or any possible applicants for the position.

¹⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 60.

¹⁶ The four Robinson brothers were Francis (1799–1872), John (c1812–1844), Joseph (1815–1898) and William (born c1805).

March 1862 recorded that Robinson had made ‘certain charges’ against Stewart in relation to the performance of his duties as organist to the university.¹⁷ These charges were put into writing and discussed at a board meeting five days later. Robinson charged Stewart with neglecting to ‘provide that the necessary parts of the anthems and services [were] duly laid out for the choir’, reporting one instance of such neglect on a recent occasion.¹⁸ The registrar wrote to Stewart informing him of the charges and requested his prompt explanation. On 8 March Stewart’s reply and (presumably) his explanation were read at the board meeting but unfortunately neither Stewart’s explanation nor Robinson’s correspondence survive in the board book minutes. Instead the minutes of the meeting record that the Provost, Richard MacDonnell, and one of the Fellows, Charles Graves, were requested to ‘consider and advise’ whether any changes were desirable in the duties connected with the offices of organist and professor of music and consequently new terms specifying the duties of both positions were drawn up by the board as a result.

Robinson’s accusations against Stewart were not taken too seriously by the board; perhaps they recognised it as a failed attempt on behalf of Robinson to smear the reputation of an obvious candidate for the professorship. Acting out of spite, Robinson may have expected to attain some of the positions at Trinity that Stewart was successful in obtaining up to this time. After all, they had very similar backgrounds and experience, both being choristers at Christ Church Cathedral, and organists or assistant organists at the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick’s. It was Francis’s brother John (c1812–1844) whom Stewart succeeded as organist at Trinity Chapel and at Christ Church Cathedral upon his early death, and another

¹⁷ Board Meeting, 1 March 1862, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 471.

¹⁸ Board Meeting, 6 March 1862, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 472.

brother, Joseph, resigned the conductorship of the University of Dublin Choral Society nominating Stewart to the position: ‘I commend to your choice this friend of mine, who, young as he is, is already the finest musician our country has produced; and in saying this I do not except myself’.¹⁹ Stewart and Francis Robinson were also MusD recipients, and both composed church music and songs reflective of their early cathedral music training. Bearing this in mind, the question as to why Robinson was not considered by the authorities for the position of music professor is a relevant one, along with the question as to why there was no official application procedure for the post. It is of course possible that Stewart was guilty of neglecting his organist duties in which case Robinson was merely pointing it out to the college authorities but the board books do not record any other official complaints against Stewart for the remainder of his tenure there.

According to a later Provost at Trinity College, George Salmon, there was ‘no mention of anyone but Stewart being proposed or suggested as Professor of Music’ in the college registry and it appears that it was no surprise that Stewart was elected as Smith’s successor.²⁰ Stewart was well known at Trinity College by this time; he was elected chapel organist in 1844, he succeeded Joseph Robinson as conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society in 1846 and he graduated with both his MusB and MusD degrees on 1 July 1851. Four days after the death of John Smith the *Irish Times* reported a rumour that ‘the gentleman most likely to be chosen to fill the vacant chair is Dr. Stewart’, and the newspaper continued to describe him as ‘a scientific and practical musician, [who] would unquestionably discharge the

¹⁹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

duties with credit to the College and advantage to the students'.²¹ Stewart also made sure that the Trinity College Board was aware of his existence within the university walls and printed a small leaflet sometime between November 1861 and February 1862 entitled: *Statement of Facts Submitted by R.P. Stewart, Mus.D. Relative to the Vacant Chair of Music in the University of Dublin* in which he outlined his preference for a 'formal application for the vacant chair'.²² The leaflet itself may have been compiled as a response to a rumour or indeed a well-informed fact that it had been proposed by the Board to 'declare the Organist ineligible for the appointment' and as a consequence rule Stewart out as a possible contender for the chair.²³ William Crotch and Thomas Attwood Walmisley were presented by the author as worthy examples of how it was possible to successfully manage and combine the duties of an organist alongside the obligations of a music professor. It was also noted that during the eighteen years of Stewart's employment at Trinity College, 'the Organist has been but three or four times absent, and then only on account of sickness or death in his family', a certain attempt at putting himself in contention for the professorship.²⁴

The final point in the *Statement of Facts* appealed to the financial consideration of the Board and stated that Stewart's salary as organist and master of the children, £86.10.0 (this figure included a salary of £46 as organist and £30 in his role of Master of the Boys), 'would serve in lieu of an endowment for the Chair of Music' and, essential to Stewart's argument, save the College further expense.²⁵ That

²¹ 'University Intelligence', *IT*, 16 November 1861, p. 3.

²² Robert Stewart, *Statement of Facts Submitted by R.P. Stewart, Mus.D. Relative to the Vacant Chair of Music in the University of Dublin*, IRL-Dtc, MS10047/48/266.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Stewart campaigned for the position of professor (at least on a small scale) is evident not only in the production of his *Statement of Facts* (which he presented to Charles Graves, Dean of the Chapel Royal and Fellow at Trinity College) but also in a letter he wrote to Walter Creyke, assistant personal secretary to the lord lieutenant in which he asked Creyke to mention the matter of the music professorship to the lord lieutenant.²⁶ It is not known whether Creyke did indeed pass on Stewart's requests to Lord Carlisle but in any event Stewart's petitions were successful and he was appointed to the chair of music.

Stewart's duties as professor of music and as organist at Trinity College were clearly specified at a Board Meeting on 22 March 1862 and he was formally elected to these positions three days later.²⁷ The regulations of the professorship ensured that Stewart was responsible for conducting the music degree examinations and for presenting the candidates to the vice-chancellor and the senate of the university at the Commencements or graduation ceremonies. He was at liberty to deliver public lectures if he thought it appropriate, and could give private instruction to members of the university provided that the Board approved of the fees that he charged. Stewart's annual salary was £34, but when examining the exercises of the music degree candidates he would also receive the sum of two guineas a day provided the examination should not continue more than two days.²⁸ The post of professor of music that was offered to Stewart was for a period of five years with the possibility of re-election at the end of the term.

²⁶ Letter from Robert Stewart to Mr Creyke, [n.d.], IRL-Dtc, MS 10047/48/266.

²⁷ Board Meeting, 22 March 1862, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, pp. 475–77.

²⁸ The sum of one guinea a day was paid to Stewart's co-examiners. 'Regulations for obtaining the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Music in the University of Dublin', letter from Robert Stewart to the editor, 7 November 1875, *MMR*, 12 (1875), p. 173.

The specifications as to the duties and responsibilities of the organist stipulated that Stewart was obliged to preside at the organ in the College Chapel at morning service on Sundays and holidays when requested to do so, and to perform upon the organ on graduation days. For these duties he would receive the sum of one guinea for every such attendance. It was also his responsibility to ensure that the organs in the chapel and hall were properly tuned and cleaned and to take charge of the music books, to catalogue them, and to see that the members of the choir were duly supplied with the parts required for the performance of the music ordered by the Provost. Stewart was also required to take a Saturday afternoon rehearsal with the choir boys for the Sunday service and to hold auditions once a year to select the choir boys for the chapel, duties for which he was to receive ten shillings per week. He was appointed organist for a term of five years initially, ‘provided he gives satisfaction by the regular and efficient discharge of his duties’.²⁹

In February 1871 it was resolved that the annual salary of the music professor be raised to £100 per annum on condition that the professor would give the usual instruction to the choirboys without extra payment, that he would give lectures to students of Trinity College in class at a fee to be determined by the board, and that he would conduct all examinations in music at the usual rate of one guinea per day.³⁰ It

²⁹ Board Meeting, 22 March 1862, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 477. In 1867 positions known as ‘musical exhibitions’ were introduced by the board to encourage the ‘study and practice’ of sacred music at Trinity College Dublin. Exhibitioners were expected to participate in the choral services of the college chapel and to attend scheduled rehearsals. Potential candidates from the junior freshman class had to take an examination on the theory and practice of music to qualify as an exhibitioner and the examinations were the responsibility of Stewart and John Pentland Mahaffy. The successful musical exhibitioners were entitled to an exemption from decrements (a portion of the half yearly fees) and were entitled to a reduction in the accommodation fee at the university. According to the *IT* these positions were aimed at divinity students who could benefit from the experience and knowledge gained as musical exhibitioners and as a result provide them with the skills and confidence to teach and direct a parish choir competently. These positions seem to have lasted until approximately 1886. Board Meeting, 9 May 1867, Mun/v/5/12 (1862–70), p. 256; *DUC* (1873), p. 278–79; *IT*, 9 November 1867, p. 2.

³⁰ Board Meeting, 11 February 1871, Mun/v/5/13 (1871–77), p. 3.

is possible that the ‘lectures’ referred to here would have taken the form of classes or tutorials on compositional style, harmony and counterpoint on a one-to-one basis for the intending MusB and MusD degree candidates. The lack of a residence requirement at Trinity College Dublin ensured that Stewart did not have a class of music students to lecture to in the first instance as the music applicants were external students and the *Dublin University Calendar* does not list music among the subjects that offered regular lectures. The reference here is not to Stewart’s public lectures because they were usually delivered in the Examination Hall of the university and were attended by members of the Trinity College community and the public.

Originally re-elected to the professorship quinquennially, Stewart was elected to the professorship for life in 1874, along with the professors of chemistry, geology, French, German and the Romance Languages (Italian and Spanish).³¹ The decree concerning the life term of these positions contained conditions and requirements expected of such academic contracts: the academics concerned should not engage in any occupation deemed ‘incompatible with the proper discharge of his professorial duties’ inside or outside of the college, and if they were found to have neglected their duties the academics would be expected to relinquish their post at the request of the university.³²

Stewart’s salary remained at £100 per annum until 1892 when it was increased to £125.³³ This salary was reasonable considering that most full

³¹ Decree of the Provost and Senior Fellows, 30 May 1874 in TCD Board Books, 1862–70, Mun/v/5/12.

³² TCD Decrees of the Board, 1862–75, Mun/v/7a/2.

³³ Board Meeting, 27 February 1892, TCD Board Books, 1891–98, Mun/v/5/16, p. 104. Decree of the Provost and Senior Fellows, 5 March 1892, Companion to the Board Books, 1887–98, Mun/v/6/1, p. 70.

professorships at Trinity College Dublin carried an income of £200 or less,³⁴ that Sterndale Bennett received £100 per year as professor at Cambridge (when he was finally paid for the position after eleven years as professor),³⁵ that Stainer received £120 a year from Magdalen College Oxford in 1860 for playing the organ and training the choir, and that by the 1890s few organists and choir masters received an income much higher than £300.³⁶

When Stewart commenced his professorship weekly lectures were offered at Trinity College Dublin in subjects such as Greek, classics, mathematics, languages and other science subjects but because of the external nature of the music students, there were no regular lectures for music candidates to attend. As professor of music Stewart was expected to compose music for noteworthy occasions at Trinity College, an obligation he was quite happy to fulfil. His output includes an ode composed to commemorate the new campanile (RS24), an *Installation Ode* (RS50), and a *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141) for the university celebrations. Despite the lack of a formal music education structure at Trinity College Dublin in the latter half of the nineteenth century sixty-three candidates were awarded a music degree during Stewart's thirty-two year tenure as music professor and these candidates are listed in Appendix VI.

³⁴ Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, pp. 160, 311. There were exceptions to this income bracket, the professor of Engineering was on a salary of £300 per annum by 1872, the professor of Civil Law was on a salary of £500 per annum by 1871, and the professor of Classical Literature earned a salary of £400 per annum in 1873. These figures demonstrate that the music professorship was at the lower end of the salary scale at Trinity College. Mc Dowell and Webb also suggest that the amount of time that a professor dedicated to the university was commensurate with his salary and hence: 'the more highly paid were expected to give something like three-quarters of their time to the College; the lowest-paid perhaps not more than a tenth', p. 310.

³⁵ Charles Cudworth, '500 Years of Music Degrees', *MT*, 105 (1964), p. 98 and Frida Knight, *Cambridge Music from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 71.

³⁶ K. Theodore Hoppen, 'The Business of Culture', *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–1886*, *The New Oxford History of England*, ed. J.M. Roberts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) p. 400.

The academic standing and intellectual prestige of the music degree during the nineteenth century was not on a par with degrees in areas such as medicine, law or theology. This environment was not only prevalent in Dublin, but also in Oxford and Cambridge. Music was not considered a worthy or suitable pursuit for a gentleman and Bernarr Rainbow described ‘the lack of esteem accorded to music as an academic discipline’.³⁷ The excerpt below, taken from the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1820) represents the meagre estimation of the merit of musicians and music degrees held in public opinion at the time:

The mere musician ranks very little above or below the mere mathematician, the mere sportsman, or any other enthusiast [...] A man with a fiddle under his chin, a violoncello between his legs, or a hautbois at his mouth, may easily be made the subject of a caricature, more easily indeed than can the grace and spirit with which we have seen these instruments managed to be imparted to the portrait [...]³⁸

This extract is one of several found throughout the *Orchestra* that discusses the various schemes of music education at the English universities and comments on contemporary appointments to the music chair. In terms of the selection of instrumental teachers by parents and a suggestion that the music profession in general was not held in high regard, an article in the *Monthly Musical Record* of May 1871 reports rather despairingly that in the majority of cases, ‘people exercise far less care in the selection of a teacher of music for their children than they do in the choice of a butcher or a baker’.³⁹

The low estimation of the music degree went hand-in-hand with the equally low opinion of the position of the music professor which was described ‘a useless

³⁷ Bernarr Rainbow, ‘Music in Education’, *The Romantic Age 1800–1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain v (London: Athlone, 1981; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 30, 34.

³⁸ ‘Music as a pursuit for men’, *QMMR*, 3 (1820a), p. 7.

³⁹ ‘Musical Education’, *MMR*, 1 (1871), p. 53.

thing' and an 'empty honour'.⁴⁰ Susan Wollenberg points that out that at the turn of the nineteenth century music appeared, only to a limited extent, to be 'an academic pursuit connected with lectures, examinations and degrees' and was valued more for the entertainment factor that the compositions contributed to ceremonious occasions at the university than to the academic merit of the subject.⁴¹

Prejudices against music degrees and professors existed both within the university environment and beyond. At Cambridge, those who held the degree of bachelor and doctor of music were not allowed to become members of Senate unless they also held the degree of Master of Arts and the professor of music was not exempt from this rule.⁴² Similarly at Oxford, graduates in music were not entitled to vote in convocation unless they were also MA graduates, and doctors of music were not regarded as doctors of a faculty.⁴³ When Ouseley decided to take his MusB degree in 1850, one year after his MA, the authorities tried to dissuade him by saying that 'a man of his rank and position should scorn to take any musical degree at all'.⁴⁴ In a similar vein, Culwick asserted that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Trinity College Dublin had 'long ceased to count music as worthy of serious consideration'.⁴⁵

Stewart himself was of the opinion that the music graduates who hoped to occupy a high place in society as musical artists 'should be sufficiently educated to

⁴⁰ 'The Professorship of Music in the University of Edinburgh', *Daily News* article reproduced in the *MT*, 29 (1846), p. 34; Cudworth, '500 Years of Music Degrees', p. 98.

⁴¹ Susan Wollenberg, 'Music and Musicians', *The History of the University of Oxford* v, ed. L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 865.

⁴² D.A. Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 77.

⁴³ Wollenberg, 'Music and Musicians', p. 867.

⁴⁴ F.W. Joyce, *The Life of FA Gore Ouseley* (London: Methuen, 1896), p. 85.

⁴⁵ Culwick cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 5.

enable them to meet such literary men as they may encounter, freely, and upon equal terms'.⁴⁶ He firmly believed that music graduates should not only be fully informed of the most recent developments in the musical world, but that they should also take rank as 'gentlemen of general education' and in the process raise themselves up from the 'status of craftsmen' to that of 'artists and *littérateurs*'.⁴⁷ According to a letter penned by Stewart to the *Monthly Musical Record* in 1875, the authorities of Trinity College had instructed him that no music candidate should be presented for graduation 'unless he shall have been educated as a gentleman and an artist'.⁴⁸ Stewart also asserted that neither Oxford nor Cambridge had 'as yet taken any action in this direction', despite Stewart having contacted Ouseley and Macfarren in relation to the issue, although his counterparts were also attempting to bring about change at their respective universities.⁴⁹

Ouseley responded to Stewart's letter (printed in January 1876) expressing his sympathy for the Irish professor's views but pointed out that he did not think that 'the possession of academical degrees in the faculty of music can ever have much effect, by itself, in raising the position of musicians in the estimation of the outer world, unless such degrees come to be looked upon as a guarantee of general intellectual culture as well as of mere technical knowledge'.⁵⁰ He was supportive of Stewart's introduction of a literary examination and he also reiterated the fact that he had discussed the matter with the Oxford authorities on more than one occasion.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to editor, *MMR*, 7 November 1875, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 108.

⁴⁷ Letters from Robert Prescott Stewart to editor *MMR* and to William Pole cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 109.

⁴⁸ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to editor, *MMR*, 7 November 1875, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 108.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵⁰ Letter from F.A. Gore Ouseley to the editor, *MMR*, 6 (1876), p. 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Ouseley cautioned that it would be ‘a long time’ before such an innovation was likely to be adopted at Oxford and emphasized that he could do no more to push the issue. In the following year, Ouseley spoke to the Selborne Commission at Oxford emphasizing that the music degrees did not carry the weight that other degrees did and it was all too apparent that Ouseley was fighting a similar battle to Stewart in Dublin.⁵²

Macfarren was also trying to improve the academic status of music at Cambridge as this extract from his letter to the vice-chancellor in November 1875 illustrates:

I wish that music were indeed a branch of University education in the same sense as other subjects are. Unhappily it is, I believe, the sole subject in which the University confers honours but affords no means of qualifying for them, and in which Candidates for these honours not only may, but must, obtain their education beyond the University precincts. These honours moreover are rather titular than real, at least in the University itself, since they do not admit, as other degrees do, to membership of the Senate [...] I wish the study of music might be encouraged, by its being made an avenue to the attainment of a real Degree, such as is the case with all other Faculties of the University [...] From those [...] on whom the special *Musical* Degrees are conferred, I would hope that the University might in course of time expect guarantees of a more liberal education than some of them at present enjoy, — such as residence in the University itself. [...] I would suggest that there should be associated with the Professor one or more resident Musicians who should instruct classes or individuals under his special direction.⁵³

There were other issues at Trinity College Dublin that reiterated the prevailing attitudes towards the study of music at the university. Until 1868, the music degree fees charged at Trinity College Dublin equalled those of the degrees in medicine and law but this year saw the fees reduced from £11.15.0 and £22 to £10 and £20

⁵² Susan Wollenberg, ‘Music’, *The History of the University of Oxford vii*, ed. M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 432.

⁵³ Letter from Macfarren to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, 19 November 1875, cited in Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, pp. 67–68.

respectively.⁵⁴ This made the music degree fee less expensive than the bachelor degrees in law and medicine. Making it look like a ‘cheaper’ degree would not have been advantageous for its reputation and did not help in the attempt to bridge the gap between music degrees and those from the more reputable disciplines. On the other hand the music degree was made a little more accessible to the student who was not from a wealthy background. At Oxford, the opposite situation occurred in 1891 when the degree fees for the music doctorate were increased from £10 to £25 to ‘bring it into line’ with the fees charged for other doctorate degrees.⁵⁵

The lack of any recruitment process undertaken by the authorities at Trinity College in relation to the vacant chair of music after Smith’s death is also an interesting observation. The relative importance of the post was reflected by its poor salary (£34 per annum) and the music professorship was not deemed to have been a position that carried much weight. It is most probable that the members of the board sat down and decided that it made sense to award the professorship to Stewart, a person with whom they were already familiar, and this route would avoid the inconvenience of engaging in a recruitment process for a department that was the awarding of only seven music degrees over a fourteen year period. The social purpose of the Music Department was primarily for the provision and performance of music for special occasions and this far outbalanced its usefulness and respectability as an academic department. Recruitment procedures do seem to have been in place at the time of Stewart’s death, however, and it was resolved at a board meeting six weeks after Stewart died that:

⁵⁴ Decree of the Board 14 March 1868, TCD Board Books, 1862–70, Mun/v/5/12, p. 301.

⁵⁵ Peter Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain* (Newton Abbot/Devon: David & Charles, 1984) p. 102.

advertisement be inserted in the Dublin morning papers, in two weekly London papers, twice, and in their principal musical papers, thrice, at the end of this term, inviting Candidates for the vacant Chair of Music, and that the nomination be fixed for a special meeting, in the ensuing Michaelmas Term, to be determined by the Provost.⁵⁶

The advertising of the position in the Dublin and London papers on this occasion illustrates that even though the professorship remained a non-resident position, there was an obvious attempt on the part of the board to actively advertise the post and ensure that some form of recruitment strategy was implemented. As a direct result of Stewart's tenure, the nature of the music professorship had changed from that of a 'figurehead' to that of a revered, respected position of authority.

The appointments of Ouseley, Macfarren and Stewart ensured that the process of reform was set in motion at their respective universities and gradually the standard of the music degree became more respectable. Successful music degree candidates were now held in high regard along with graduates from other university faculties. In his 1893 *Degrees in Music*, C.F. Abdy Williams also noticed the change in attitudes: 'at one time, to be a Mus.Bac. or Mus.Doc. meant little [...] now it means that the holder has passed several very severe examinations'.⁵⁷ Not everybody was convinced that the academic standing of the music degree was high enough, however. Towards the end of the nineteenth century W.H. Hadow described music degrees as 'still certificates of technical proficiency, not marks of university citizenship' and he observed that 'the musical profession in England is still, as a rule, somewhat behind other arts and other professions in point of general intellectual

⁵⁶ Board Meeting, 12 May 1894, TCD Board Books, 1891–98, Mun/v/5/16, p. 280.

⁵⁷ C.F. Abdy Williams quoted in Susan Wollenberg, 'Bishop and 19th-century Oxford', *MT*, 127 (1986), p. 609.

culture'.⁵⁸ Nevertheless the determination of the music professors to strive for equality of merit for the music degrees and to ensure that this was realised by the public at large led to an improved situation whereby the degree in music was no longer seen as an unsuitable subordinate degree.

The music degree requirements at Trinity College Dublin underwent clarification and expansion during the nineteenth century and to examine these in context, developments that were taking place at Oxford and Cambridge during the second half of the nineteenth century will also be discussed. For the purposes of this evaluation, our starting point is 1833, the first year in which the *Dublin University Calendar* was printed. The requirements for the awards of MusB and MusD in place at Trinity reflect the regulations of the English universities which were in place during the seventeenth century and were as follows:

A Bachelor in Music must compose and perform a solemn piece of music before the University, and it is not necessary that he should have graduated in Arts.

A Doctor in Music must be Mus.B. of five years, and his exercise is the same.⁵⁹

The description of the exercise as 'a solemn piece of music' was replaced by the term 'service', in the calendars for the years 1834 to 1844. The 1845 calendar demonstrated the first attempt at Trinity to expand the requirements for both degrees (even though it is not known who introduced these changes) and apart from introducing matriculation, or the payment of a fee for the MusB candidate, the exercise for the MusB is specified for the first time as being 'a piece of music in five parts, which, if approved by the Board, is to be publicly performed in such place and

⁵⁸ W.H. Hadow, 'Faculty of Arts: Degrees in Music, Oxford, c1900', Oxford, Bodleian Library, GA Oxon b41 (7) cited in Susan Wollenberg, 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Oxford', *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* i, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 204, 205.

⁵⁹ *DUC* (1833), p. 69.

manner as they shall direct'.⁶⁰ The candidate was also requested to produce a certificate signed by at least two 'musical persons of celebrity', to prove that he had studied or practised music for seven years. A MusD candidate was required to 'compose a piece of music in six or eight parts, which, if approved of by the Board, must be publicly performed'. The presentation of a certificate to prove that the candidate had passed five additional years in the study and practice of music was also required and in the following year the regulations specified that the public performance of the exercise was 'at the expense of the candidate'.⁶¹

The 1846 regulations continued unaltered at Trinity College Dublin until 1856 and are almost identical to those stipulated in the Laudian Statutes of 1636 and adhered to at Oxford. Under the Laudian Statutes, it was necessary for music degree candidates to have studied music for seven years for the MusB and for a further five years for the MusD. A five part composition was required for the MusB and a composition in six or eight parts was required for the MusD, both of which were to be performed in public.⁶² The 1846 Trinity College Dublin regulations were also similar to those in place at Cambridge, although Winstanley points out that it was not strictly necessary for a candidate to have the MusB degree before proceeding to the MusD at Cambridge.⁶³ The 1856 *Calendar* requirements at Trinity College Dublin state for the first time that the MusB candidate must be matriculated specifically 'in Arts', as opposed to the previous requirement (implemented in 1845) of

⁶⁰ *DUC* (1845), pp. 7–8.

⁶¹ *DUC* (1846), p. 7.

⁶² Susan Wollenberg, 'Oxford, §5: Academic tradition', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.20620.5>> [accessed 09 March 2006].

⁶³ Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 78.

matriculating with the university as a music candidate, through the completion of a form and the payment of fees.⁶⁴

Developments at Oxford began with the appointment of Ouseley as Heather Professor at Oxford in 1855. In 1856 he implemented the first of many changes that he made to the Laudian statutes by introducing a written examination for the music degrees to be taken in addition to the submission of the required exercise. This written examination consisted of two papers, one in harmony and one in counterpoint. It was also ruled for the first time at Oxford that the music professor would no longer be the sole examiner of the degree compositions, and that a panel of three examiners consisting of the professor, choragus (leader of the choir) and a third examiner would be responsible for examining the music degree candidates. A year later William Sterndale Bennett (elected at Cambridge in 1856) introduced a similar examination at Cambridge for the bachelor's candidates.⁶⁵

In October 1861 we see an important modification to the music syllabus at Trinity College Dublin, no doubt sparked by Smith's astute observation of the regulations at Oxford. An examination in the theory and grammar of music, thorough bass and musical composition was added to the music degree regulations.⁶⁶ Stewart continued to make amendments to the music curriculum throughout his term as music professor between 1862 and 1894.

⁶⁴ Letter from Stewart to William Pole cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 109–10.

⁶⁵ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944*, ii, p. 659.

⁶⁶ Board Meeting, 19 October 1861, TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 454.

The music degree requirements that Stewart inherited in 1862 from Smith's professorship were as follows:

A Bachelor in Music must be matriculated in Arts, and must compose a piece of music in five parts, which, if approved by the Board, is to be publicly performed in such place and manner as they shall direct, at the expense of the candidate. The candidate must also produce a certificate signed by at least two musical persons of celebrity, to prove that he has studied or practised Music for seven years. Before the private grace of the House is obtained, the candidate must pass an examination in the Theory and Grammar of Music, Thorough Bass, and Musical Composition.⁶⁷

A Doctor in Music must be Mus.B., and must have spent twelve years in the study or practice of Music. He must also compose a piece of Music in six or eight parts, which, if approved by the Board, must be publicly performed at the expense of the candidate. Before the private grace of the House is obtained, the candidate must pass an Examination in the Theory and Grammar of Music, Thorough Bass, and Musical Composition.

The full score of the exercise for both degrees was to be lodged with the Senior Proctor one month before the degree ceremonies.⁶⁸

In order to matriculate for the Bachelor of Arts degree at Trinity College Dublin at this time, a student had to take an entrance examination in Latin and English Composition, Arithmetic, Algebra, English History, Modern Geography, and two Greek and two Latin books from a specified list of authors including Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Virgil and Horace.⁶⁹ As R.B. McDowell and D.A. Webb point out, this entrance examination was 'imposing enough on paper' but in reality the university policy was to 'select and reject not at matriculation but at later

⁶⁷ In practice, music candidates submitted their exercise and had it performed in public before they officially matriculated with the university. This was the case with Stewart who had his exercises performed on 9 April 1851, matriculated with the university on 8 May and graduated with his MusB and MusD on 1 July.

⁶⁸ *DUC* (1862), pp. 12–13.

⁶⁹ *DUC* (1861), p. 26. This was the matriculation syllabus for the 'ordinary' degree and the entry route followed by the music degree candidate at Trinity College Dublin. Intending Bachelor of Arts students who wanted to matriculate for the 'honours' degree had further examinations on passages from Greek and Latin authors, general questions in grammar and history, and Greek and Latin prose and verse composition. Matriculation was introduced at Oxford in 1870 and at Cambridge in 1881.

examinations’, making it rare for more than two or three per cent of the candidates to be refused admission.⁷⁰

Stewart has been described as a ‘pioneer in the endeavour to raise the social status of musical graduates, so as to bring music into closer touch with the other faculties’ at Trinity College.⁷¹ What then were the concepts and precepts with which Stewart sought to modify the music programme? When Stewart himself matriculated at Trinity in 1851 (before the 1856 regulations that required music degree candidates to matriculate in arts and sit the arts entrance examination), he expected to be examined in Greek, Latin, and mathematics and because he had received a ‘good liberal education’ as a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral, he was ‘ready’ for this examination. However, there was no literary or matriculation examination for the MusB candidates at that time: Stewart later commented that his matriculation consisted merely of a form and the payment of fees which he duly described as ‘a degradation of the Musical Faculty’.⁷² Almost immediately after he was appointed music professor, Stewart applied to the board of Trinity College to add a literary examination to the music degree requirements. The ordinary requirements for the BA student that the music candidate followed did not include any provision for an examination in modern languages, and this may have been one of the reasons that Stewart felt the need to introduce his separate literary examination as he felt that the arts entrance examination was not a sufficient test of a general education at bachelor’s degree level. The board books record the receipt of a letter from Stewart on this subject at their meeting on 12 April 1862, at which a Senior Lecturer, and one

⁷⁰ Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, p. 118. The entrance examination of the music degree candidates will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter.

⁷¹ ‘The New Professor of Music in Dublin University’, *MMR*, 24 (1894), pp. 265–66.

⁷² Letters from Robert Prescott Stewart to William Pole, Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 109–10.

of the Fellows (Charles Graves), were requested to consider the details of the examination of the music degree candidates and report back to the Board.⁷³ Stewart's new proposals were accepted by the board and adopted on 21 June 1862 with details of these new regulations first appearing in the 1863 *Calendar*.⁷⁴ In addition to the requirements in place when Stewart commenced his professorship (cited on page 204), the Bachelor of Music candidate also had to pass Stewart's literary examination in the areas of English composition, history and literature; a modern language (Italian, German or French); Latin or, a second modern language, and arithmetic, although no examples of this examination have come to light so far.⁷⁵ With Stewart's new regulations, we see a more detailed description of the degree requirements emerge in an attempt to enhance the academic merit of the newly expanded music syllabus. It was now specified that the MusB composition had to contain a 'portion at least' in five parts, and the MusD exercise similarly required a 'portion at least' in six or eight parts. This contrasts with the previous regulations that vaguely called for 'a piece of music' and stated the number of parts required, implying that the entire composition was to be written in five or six/eight parts. The accompaniments were also specified for the first time as being for a string ensemble or organ for the MusB exercise and for a small orchestra (probably consisting of woodwind and strings) for the MusD composition. Smith's MusB examination on musical composition introduced in 1861 was replaced with an *ex tempore* piece of counterpoint composition written on a proposed subject within a given time, and the composition element of the MusD was also modified by Stewart to the composition of 'pieces of

⁷³ Board Meeting, 12 April 1862, TCD Board Books, 1862–70, Mun/v/5/12, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Board Meeting, 21 June 1862, TCD Board Books, 1862–70, Mun/v/5/12, p. 11. *Regulations Respecting the Exercises to be Performed by Candidates for Degrees in Music*, TCD Board Books, Mun/v/5/12 (1862–70), p. 11 and the *DUC* (1863), pp. 13–14.

⁷⁵ John Dunne, a MusB candidate in June 1866 was examined by Revd Thomas F. Gray in English literature, history, geography and arithmetic and by Professor A.C. Marani in French and Italian. 'University of Dublin—Degrees in Music', *IT*, 16 June 1866, 3.

harmony on given subjects or on given basses written within a prescribed time' and an examination on instrumentation was also introduced for the first time.⁷⁶ The detailed description now accorded to the music degree exercise demonstrates Stewart's attempt to clarify the vague instructions inherited from Smith's tenure.

Stewart's reforms were apparently 'stoutly opposed' by the professional musicians in Dublin. He received letters arguing that 'one might as well make music obligatory on the ordinary B.A. candidates as to require literature for the Mus.B's!', which could be considered as an insult and a clear underestimation of the academic capabilities of Ireland's intending music degree candidates.⁷⁷ In 1868 it was recorded that the aim of the MusB degree was to 'show that a sound practical knowledge of music has been attained, sufficient to manage and conduct a choir, [and] to officiate in cathedral or church services'.⁷⁸ Stewart's intention was to ensure that the MusB graduate not only fulfilled the aspirations above but also attained an adequate 'general' education thereby serving the three groups of music candidate at Trinity College Dublin, the student of divinity, the amateur musician and those students intent on entering a professional career in music.

The introduction of Stewart's literary examination in 1863 preceded the introduction of similar examinations at Oxford, Cambridge and London by about thirteen years. At Oxford, the written examination for the MusB was divided into two separate examinations in 1871, with harmony and counterpoint in the first

⁷⁶ *DUC* (1863), p. 8.

⁷⁷ Letter from Stewart to William Pole cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 110.

⁷⁸ T.L. Southgate, 'A Brief History of Degrees in Music', *Roll of the Union of Graduates in Music and Kalendar for 1895* (London: C. Jacques and Son, 1895), p. 80 and Board Meeting, 14 March 1868, TCD Board Books, 1862–70, Mun/v/5/12, p. 301.

examination and more advanced harmony, counterpoint and history in the second.⁷⁹ The 1876 Statutes required MusB candidates who were not members of the university to show ‘evidence of having received a liberal education’ either by certifying that they had passed ‘Responsions or an equivalent’ or by taking tests at the University in the areas of English and mathematics, Latin, and either Greek or a modern language.⁸⁰ These new regulations would come into force in the Hilary term of 1878. At Cambridge the 1877 Report instituted similar changes to those in place (or about to be implemented) at Dublin and Oxford, with the introduction of a ‘Previous Examination’ to test ‘the literary and scientific qualifications of the candidates’.⁸¹ Candidates for the MusB must now have passed parts I and II of the Previous Examination, or produce evidence of having passed the certificate of the Higher Local Examinations of the University or the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board. If the candidate was presenting the ‘Senior Local Examinations’ of the University, they had to pass the following subjects: English grammar and arithmetic; two at least of the subjects English, history, geography; a work of some standard English writer and political economy; the English essay; and in one of Latin, Greek, French or German; and in Euclid and Algebra.⁸² The University of London issued its first music degree syllabus in 1878 even though it did not yet have a music faculty or indeed a professorship in music. London imitated the instructive ideology of Cambridge and concentrated its education on the more scientific elements of music. The matriculation examination of the new syllabus called for the demonstration of competent knowledge in each of the following subjects: ‘Latin; any two of the following, Greek, French, German, Sanskrit, or Arabic; the English

⁷⁹ Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 102.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁸¹ ‘Musical Degrees at Cambridge’, *MT*, 18 (1877), p. 295.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

language, English History and Modern Geography; Mathematics; Natural Philosophy; Chemistry’, certainly a more demanding matriculation than the one in place at Trinity College.⁸³ By 1878 Dublin, Oxford, Cambridge and London were on an even keel in terms of the literary examinations that music students were expected to take before proceeding to the music examinations.

Under the 1877 Syndicate Report the MusB examination at Cambridge now consisted of three parts: a preliminary examination in acoustics, harmony and counterpoint, the submission of an exercise, and a more advanced examination in musical science, also reflecting the MusB requirements at Oxford (from 1871) of two written examinations and the exercise. At London, the MusB and the MusD syllabus also contained two examinations, an intermediate and a final one with a five-part exercise required for the MusB and an exercise in eight parts for the MusD. The formation of a three-member examination panel at Cambridge replaced the professor as the sole examiner, a procedure which was introduced at Oxford twenty years earlier. Stewart was also assisted by one or two examiners who were usually fellows of the university and appointed by the board. Dublin’s requirements differed in that the student had to sit the matriculation examination and take Stewart’s literary examination while the candidates at Oxford and Cambridge had to satisfy the matriculation requirements only (*i.e.* Responses or the Previous Examination or their equivalents). Dublin was similar to both universities because the candidate had to submit the exercise and take an examination in the theory and grammar of music and thorough bass and one in counterpoint, although the order of the examinations were not exactly the same as that in place at Oxford and Cambridge. At Trinity, it

⁸³ H. Heathcote Statham, ‘London University Musical Degrees’, *MT*, 19 (1878), p. 378.

was not unusual for the exercise to have been examined and publicly performed and the written examinations taken and passed before the student matriculated and paid their fees.

In 1874 Mozart's *The Magic Flute* (K.620) and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (op.70) became prescribed works for the orchestration element of the MusD examination at Dublin. Stewart's reason for selecting these works was 'the novel and picturesque scoring' contained in both compositions.⁸⁴ The fact that 'those very modern orchestral works of Berlioz and Wagner, or Liszt' were 'too costly to expect students to purchase them' no doubt accounted for the fact that works by the latter composers were not included in the MusD syllabus.⁸⁵ In January 1883 it was resolved by the board at Trinity College that a candidate for a MusB could substitute a modern language for Greek at the arts entrance examination.⁸⁶ By March of that year it was reported that Stewart's 'Special Arts' or literary examination was abolished, without any explanation as to what prompted this action.⁸⁷ Perhaps undocumented discussions within the university assessed the current examination system for music candidates and concluded that Stewart's literary examination was no longer required either because of a noticeable increase in the level of education of the most recent music graduates or indeed because of the extended (and as a result more demanding) matriculation syllabus in arts. Stewart is not recorded by Vignoles or Culwick as having discussed the termination of this examination and neither the board nor the council books record any correspondence from Stewart protesting against the decision.

⁸⁴ Letter from Stewart to A.W. Tomlyn, 1 June 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 188.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁸⁶ Board Meeting, 20 January 1883, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 265.

⁸⁷ Board Meeting, 17 March 1883, TCD Board Books, 1878–85, Mun/v/5/14, p. 281.

In 1886 the MusB requirement at Trinity saw the introduction of an examination on ‘the masterpieces, both sacred and secular’ which the candidate may fairly ‘be expected to have heard and studied’.⁸⁸ The influence of the music syllabus at Oxford, Cambridge and the Royal University of Ireland may have contributed to this additional MusB requirement as these three universities had similar specifications.⁸⁹

Another examination, this time in the acoustics of music, was added to the MusB requirement in 1887 which was to be taken at the entrance examination. No knowledge of mathematics beyond arithmetic was necessary to take the acoustics examination.⁹⁰ And it was intended that the following elements would be covered in the examination:

Sensation and external cause of sound, mode of its transmission, nature of wave-motion in general, application of the wave-theory to sound, elements of a musical sound, loudness and extent of vibration, pitch and rapidity of vibration, measures of absolute and of relative pitch, resonance, analysis of compound sounds, Helmholtz’s theory of musical quality, motion of sounding strings, the pianoforte and other stringed instruments, motion of sounding air-columns, flue and reed stops of the organ, orchestral wind instruments, the human voice, interference, beats, Helmholtz’s theory of consonance and dissonance, combination-tones, consonant chords, construction of the musical scale, exact and tempered intonation, equal temperament and systems of pitch-notation.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Board Meeting, 20 March 1886, TCD Board Books, 1885–90, Mun/v/5/15, p. 24.

⁸⁹ In 1871 Oxford’s second examination for the MusB contained a section on the ‘form and structure of the works of such distinguished composers as shall be designated by the Professor of Music’, Cambridge required an ‘analysis of some Classical Composition, both with regard to Harmony and Form, the name of which is announced by the Examiners at least six weeks before the date of the Examination’, and the Royal University of Ireland required a ‘critical knowledge of the full scores of a prescribed list of standard classical compositions’. See *OUC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), p. 129; *CUC* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell; London: George Bell, 1879), p. 66; and *RUIC* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1883), p. 72.

⁹⁰ Council Meeting, 19 May 1886, TCD Council Books, 1875–99, Mun/v/3/1, pp. 262, 289; 17 June 1887, TCD Council Books, 1875–99, Mun/v/3/1, p. 290; 9 November 1887, TCD Council Books, 1875–99, Mun/v/3/1, p. 296.

⁹¹ *Report of the Committee on the Examinations to be Passed by Candidates for Degrees in Music*, 7 June 1887, TCD Council Books, 1875–99, Mun/v/3/1, p. 289.

An interesting element of the intermediate examinations for music degrees at London was the ‘physical’ section of the written paper which assessed topics such as ‘the relations between musical sounds and the vibrations of sonorous bodies, as affecting the pitch of sounds, the properties of stretched strings, compound variations, nodes, the nature of harmonics’ and for the MusD, ‘the phenomena of sound in general, the theoretical nature of the sounds of musical instruments of various kinds, including the human voice and the phenomena attending the combination of two sounds’.⁹² The influence of acoustics examined at London also stems from Cambridge University. Sedley Taylor’s book *Sound and Music* was already one of the recommended texts at Oxford for the MusD, and at Cambridge where Taylor gave a series of lectures on acoustics. The Trinity College Dublin regulations in relation to acoustics and the arithmetic examination were heavily influenced by those at Cambridge which were passed as a result of the 1877 Syndicate Report. The Dublin requirements were copied *verbatim* from the *Cambridge University Calendar* of 1878, once again demonstrating that Dublin kept a close eye on the music syllabus at its sister universities of Oxford and Cambridge.⁹³

In May 1891, it appeared that the seeds were being sown to change the music degree regulations at Trinity College again, and the source for this suggested modification was not Stewart himself. A letter from Dr Robert Atkinson, Professor of Romance Languages, was read to the Board requesting that music degree candidates should first complete a Bachelor of Arts degree as was required by students wishing to take a bachelor’s degree in divinity, law, engineering or medicine. This prompted the Board to procure a report from Stewart on 17 October.

⁹² William Pole, ‘Musical Degrees’, *MT*, 27 (1886), pp. 462–63.

⁹³ *CUC* (1878), p. 22.

A week later, having read Stewart's report, the Board concluded that they did not deem it necessary to 'make any change in the conditions now in force for the obtaining of degrees in music'.⁹⁴ One must wonder what exactly compelled Atkinson to make this request and establish where his motivations stemmed from. Perhaps Atkinson was attempting to bring the MusB degree into line with degrees in other disciplines (divinity, law, civil engineering, surgery) that required a candidate to hold a BA before they could progress to the more specialised degree; or, it might have been an attempt to remove any perception that the MusB degree was an inferior degree to the other bachelor's degrees on offer at Trinity College. An attempt to integrate the music students into college life by making them resident during their BA studies may equally have been one of his motives or perhaps it was an attempt to improve the literary level of the music applicants as a consequence of the cancellation of Stewart's literary examination in 1883. Unfortunately the details of Stewart's report to the board have not come to light so we can only speculate as to the content of his defence. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge had introduced regulations in relation to the full-time residence of their MusB candidates by 1891 but Atkinson's suggestion of residency was most probably a debatable topic of interest within academic circles. Whatever Stewart's arguments were, they were obviously convincing enough for the board to leave the regulations in their current form.

In 1891 the arts entrance examination and the acoustics examination for music candidates at Trinity were combined and renamed the 'Special Matriculation Course'.⁹⁵ Stewart's terms and requirements remained in place until 1895 when his successor, Ebenezer Prout, introduced a system for the MusB candidates that

⁹⁴ Board Meeting, 24 October 1891. TCD Board Books, 1891–98, Mun/v/5/16, p. 55.

⁹⁵ *DUC*, (1892), p. 27.

included matriculation in arts, a preliminary examination in harmony, counterpoint, the piano sonatas of Beethoven and the history of English church music from Tallis to Purcell; the performance of the exercise and, if approved, a further examination in counterpoint, harmony, Bach's Preludes and Fugues and the history of the oratorio as treated by Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn. The MusD applicant was examined on counterpoint, instrumentation and the lives and works of the 'great composers' following the successful completion of the exercise.⁹⁶

Cambridge was the first to abolish the public performance of the MusB exercise in 1868 (the exercise requirement was removed from the MusB requirements in 1893) and that of the MusD in 1878 and Oxford followed close behind in 1870 and 1890 respectively.⁹⁷ The public performance of the MusB exercise was offered to the Trinity College candidate as an option from 1895, with the warning that if the candidate elected to have his exercise performed, it was at his own expense. This year also marked the last year that the MusD exercise was required to be publicly performed.⁹⁸

While music students at Trinity did not have to conform to a residence requirement, this was instituted at Cambridge in 1893 and at Oxford after 1918. One feature in common with all three universities was that all of the professorships were non-resident (Stewart and John Stainer happened to reside at the same location as their respective universities).⁹⁹ Ouseley and Stainer did lecture but not necessarily on subjects that were directly relevant to music degree examinations. Similarly, while

⁹⁶ Council Meeting, 13 February 1895, TCD Council Books, Mun/v/3/1, p. 433.

⁹⁷ Cambridge was the first university to introduce the Master of Music degree in 1893.

⁹⁸ Council Meeting, 13 February 1895, TCD Council Books, Mun/v/3/1, p. 433.

⁹⁹ John Stainer succeeded Frederick Ouseley as professor of music at Oxford in 1889 and remained in the position for ten years.

Stewart was not obliged to lecture, he felt it a requirement of his position and gave over fifty lectures from 1862 to 1894 on a diverse range of musical topics.¹⁰⁰ Bennett also lectured at Cambridge and his successor, Macfarren, was required as part of his appointment to lecture not less than four times during the year. This tradition was continued in turn by Stanford who provided illustrated lectures with orchestra which students were expected to attend.¹⁰¹

According to Susan Wollenberg, the examination papers survive for 369 successful MusB candidates at Oxford between 1854 and 1914, along with the submitted exercises composed by some of the graduates.¹⁰² Trinity College has unfortunately not retained any similar documents. It is interesting to note, however, that approximately eighty-four MusB candidates graduated from Trinity during the same period. Surviving evidence in relation to the examinations taken by music candidates at Trinity College Dublin is sparse. While the information in the Entrance Marks Books confirms that MusB candidates John William Rogers and William Spark sat the entrance or matriculation examination in 1859 and 1861 respectively,¹⁰³ the recording of information relating to the music degree supplicants during Stewart's tenure is less straightforward and makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions as to the exact procedures employed in relation to the matriculation examination.

The examination papers themselves do not appear to have survived into the twentieth century but the *Monthly Musical Record* provides us with a specimen of

¹⁰⁰ See chapter six.

¹⁰¹ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, p. 208.

¹⁰² Susan Wollenberg, 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Oxford', p. 206.

¹⁰³ TCD Entrance Marks Books, 1858–77, Mun/v/26/4.

the 1874 examination papers for the MusB and MusD examinations at Trinity College and can be consulted in Appendix III.¹⁰⁴ Questions on false relation, double counterpoint, thorough bass, ancient modes, pitch, clefs and cadences form the core questions for the MusB examination while the MusD candidates had to answer questions on diminished seventh, Neapolitan, French and German sixth chords, the laws of fugue, the arrangement of a score for instruments, and the ‘devices’ of modern orchestration. An exercise beginning in C major had to incorporate the following pattern of modulation: from C through A, F sharp minor, E flat, D flat, G minor, F major, G and ending in the key of C. The 1874 examination papers reproduced in the *Monthly Musical Record* also confirm that a *viva voce* was part of the examination process for the MusB and MusD candidates.

Some of the MusB and MusD questions reproduced in the *Monthly Musical Record* also appear in harmony papers set by Stewart at the Royal Irish Academy of Music between the years 1873 to 1888.¹⁰⁵ Examples of these ‘multi-purpose’ questions include those on the pitch of musical sounds, the derivation of the stave and the clefs, the difference between the time signatures 3/4 and 6/8, Neapolitan, French and German sixths, the laws of fugue, and the harmonisation of the first few bars of the National Anthem, the latter two questions also appearing in the Senior Harmony Candidate examinations at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. It becomes difficult here to speculate whether this suggests that the standard of the music degree candidates was not particularly high at Trinity in the 1870s or whether the standard of the harmony students at the Royal Irish Academy of Music was very high indeed, but I suspect the latter scenario was probably the case. In the area of the history of

¹⁰⁴ ‘Dublin University Musical Examinations’, *MMR*, 4 (1874), pp. 99–100.

¹⁰⁵ These examination papers are located in the Minute Books of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, NA 1120/1/6, 1120/1/8, and 1120/1/9.

music the MusB candidates were not required to have a knowledge beyond that of the approximate birth and death date of Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Mendelssohn and all of the other questions were based on the rudiments of music, harmony and counterpoint. The inclusion of Helmholtz in one of the MusD questions may be attributed to William Pole (1814–1900), music degree examiner at the University of London, to whom Stewart had written that he would try and put Helmholtz’s book *On the Sensations of Tone* into the Trinity College curriculum.¹⁰⁶

The MusD degree at Oxford was rarely awarded before 1879 and usually only honorary degrees were granted. Recipients included Charles Villiers Stanford (1883) and Edward Elgar (1905). Cambridge showed a ‘due respect for music and musicians’ by offering honorary degrees to a number of eminent composers including Parry and Joachim in 1883, Dvořák in 1891, Tchaikovsky, Saint-Saëns, Bruch and Boito at the jubilee celebrations of the Cambridge University Music Society in 1893.¹⁰⁷ Honorary degrees were awarded at Trinity College to Herbert Oakeley, Frederick Ouseley and George Alexander Macfarren in 1887, John Pentland Mahaffy in 1891, C.H.H. Parry in 1892 and James Culwick in 1893. In 1889 Cambridge introduced the regulation that a music candidate could no longer supplicate for the MusD without first having been granted the MusB, with a waiting period of three years between taking the MusB degree and presenting himself for the MusD.¹⁰⁸ At Dublin, by contrast, the degrees of MusB and MusD could be awarded on the same day under the following regulation:

¹⁰⁶ Letters from Robert Prescott Stewart to William Pole cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁷ Frida Knight, *Cambridge Music from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 79–80.

¹⁰⁸ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, ii, p. 660.

when the time at which a higher Degree can be taken is said to be reckoned from the taking of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, or in any faculty, the meaning of the Rule is, that the time may be reckoned from the date at which according to the Laws and Statutes of the University, the Degree of Bachelor might have been taken. With this condition, the inferior and superior Degree may be taken on the same day.¹⁰⁹

Thirty-four out of the sixty-three music candidates are listed in the Entrance Marks Books along with details that include their religion, father's name and occupation, age, place of birth, school and college tutor.¹¹⁰ However, the lack of consistent record-keeping in the entrance marks books and the fact that the matriculation results were recorded for some music students and not for others makes it difficult to assume that all music degree candidates at Trinity College who did not already hold a bachelor's degree did in fact take the matriculation examination (including Stewart's literary examination between 1862 and 1883).¹¹¹ The reason why the entrance marks were recorded for some students and not for others is not known; it was possible that the entrance examination papers were sent to Stewart himself for correction, or perhaps the precedent had been set whereby it was not necessary to record the entrance marks of the music candidates in the university books. The results of Stewart's literary examination do not seem to have been recorded in the Term and Examination Returns Books either so it was possible that the administration side of the result-keeping was left to the professor himself or to one of

¹⁰⁹ *DUC* (1866), p. 14.

¹¹⁰ The religion of the candidate is recorded for thirty-one out of the thirty-four music degree applicants recorded in the Entrance Marks Books. Twenty-six of the candidates were Protestant, three were Roman Catholic and two were Presbyterian. TCD Entrance Marks Books, 1858–77, Mun/v/26/4, 1877–86, Mun/v/26/5, 1886–97, Mun/v/26/6. (This reflects the mid-nineteenth-century position at Trinity College, whereby the 'the College was 'preponderantly' but not exclusively Anglican and the university did accept Roman Catholic students. Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, p. 247.

¹¹¹ The entrance examination results columns are left blank for twenty-eight of these students. Of the three MusB students that matriculated on 24 June 1864 the word 'musical' was written across the results columns, and a candidate matriculating in 1892 had the words 'for Musical Degree' written across the columns after his name. The six candidates that have entrance examination results recorded after their names matriculated in 1876, 1883, 1888, 1892 and 1894. In the Entrance Marks Books, two columns are allocated to Greek results, two to Latin, one to Algebra and Arithmetic, one to History and Geography, one to English Composition, one to Latin Composition and one to Euclid (when introduced).

the music tutors and not kept with the rest of the results from the university. It seems most likely that the music degree candidates at Trinity College Dublin were required to matriculate and did indeed sit the university arts entrance examination along with Stewart's literary examination between 1862 and 1883 despite the lack of recorded results in the university books. When Stewart's examination was terminated, the music candidates continued to take the arts entrance examination along with an examination in acoustics.

Despite Stewart's lengthy occupation of the music chair and the number of music candidates at Trinity College from 1862 to 1894, there is surprisingly little extant information recorded by music degree candidates at Trinity College in relation to their interaction with and opinion of Stewart as their music professor. The information that does survive emphasizes very positive opinions of Stewart as the following anecdotes and reminiscences demonstrate. John Bulmer (*MusB* 1880) wrote this anecdote to Stewart's wife in 1896:

You will observe that, as though with the double object of checking conceit and preventing despair, Sir Robert administers, throughout, a fatherly caress with one hand, and almost simultaneously, a tremendous box upon the ear with the other! What right-minded pupil (at least with any sense of humour) would not delight in such a preceptor as this?¹¹²

Vignoles was also aware of Stewart's willingness to help the music candidates in their time of need:

Moreover, his extreme good-nature made him accessible at all times (often at great personal inconvenience) to those who sought his advice and aid in their musical studies; patiently correcting their mistakes, smoothing their difficulties; no matter how busy he might be; disentangling the 'hidden ties of harmony' for puzzle-headed would-be contrapuntists; or from the resources of his amazing memory scoring a passage from some forgotten or occult composition on the back of a letter; or scribbling a melody or musical phrase, which no one else remembered, on the blank page of an old song or anthem!¹¹³

¹¹² Letter from John Bulmer to Lady Marie Stewart, 7 March 1896, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p.215.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

The extract from the letter below to Arthur Froggatt (MusB 1888 and MusD 1894) demonstrates the type of advice that Stewart gave to the music degree candidates at Trinity College Dublin when they submitted drafts of their compositions to him for inspection.

I have only this morning managed to get a look over your ingenious work. I like your two subjects in it, *Thou art the King of Glory*, and one in the last chorus. It seems unfair to find faults which arose from your adherence to your subjects; but I don't think the canonic feature is worth the octaves between E-C sharp. I like your idea of the *Dies Irae*, but when you are as old as I am you will find that the bass trombone of your days will not reach softly down to low D. You will obtain that note softly from the D horn, if it is not too low for the player, although you will not get it from the C horn securely. E flat or F horns are safe. I cannot say you are a very gushing melodist, but the exercise will do well.¹¹⁴

Frank Bates (MusB 1880, MusD 1884) left one particular fond memory in connection with his doctor's degree at the University of Dublin and the informal way in which he found out that his application for a MusD had been successful.

I was the only candidate, and having submitted myself to the usual written and oral examination by Sir Robert Stewart, the Professor of Music, and Professor Mahaffy [...], I was anxiously waiting to know the result of this examination before preparing for the final stage, viz., the public performance of the work submitted to the examiners.

One afternoon I went to pay my respects to Sir Robert Stewart, with whom I found Sir Robert Ball, the Astronomer Royal. In introducing me to Sir Robert, the professor in his own charming way said: 'May I introduce you to' – and then a pause – 'well, yes, I think I may – *Dr. Bates!*' My relief and pride may be better imagined than described.¹¹⁵

From Vignoles's *Memoir* it is also apparent that Stewart knew some of the music degree recipients very well and travelled with them abroad. For example the Dublin singers who travelled to perform in the choir at the Triennial Handel Festival in Sydenham in 1862 included John Dunne (MusB 1866 and MusD 1870) and George William Torrance (MusB and MusD 1879). Torrance knew Stewart since his days as

¹¹⁴ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Arthur Froggatt, 15 May 1892, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 189.

¹¹⁵ Frank Bates, *Reminiscences and Autobiography of a Musician in Retirement* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1930), p. 25.

a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral and recalled having his ears boxed by Stewart when he was a chorister.¹¹⁶ Stewart also met William Spark (MusB and MusD 1861) on several occasions when he attended the Handel Festivals in England.¹¹⁷ It was reported in the *Musical Herald* that one of the ‘great treats’ for Harry Crane Perrin (MusB 1890) was to ‘join Sir Robert Stewart at Trinity Chapel service at 9.30 on a Sunday morning, go on with him afterwards to Christchurch [*sic*] Cathedral, where full matins and choral celebrations went on sometimes until two o’clock, then after a hurried lunch attend with him evensong at three o’clock at St Patrick’s’.¹¹⁸

These anecdotes and nostalgic memories demonstrate the high opinion with which Stewart was held by the music candidates both during and after their supplication for music degrees at Trinity College and illustrates that Stewart was highly respected as a serious music academic and composer.

The 1879 University Education (Ireland) Act contained the provision for the formation of a new university in Ireland and the charter of the Royal University of Ireland was granted on 27 April 1880.¹¹⁹ In 1882 Stewart played the organ at the first public ceremony of the conferring of degrees of the newly-formed Royal University of Ireland,¹²⁰ and in the following year he was appointed as a music examiner to this institution, along with Joseph Smith.¹²¹ Their duties involved a certain amount of input into the development of the music degree requirements (the extent of which the

¹¹⁶ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 63, 67 and Vignoles, ‘Brief Sketch of the Career of Sir Robert P. Stewart’, p.107.

¹¹⁷ Vignoles, *Memoir*, pp. 67, 69, 84.

¹¹⁸ ‘Dr. H.C. Perrin’, *Musical Herald*, 719 (1908), p. 35.

¹¹⁹ National University of Ireland, ‘History of the NUI: Origins’, <<http://www.nui.ie/about/history.asp>> [accessed 04 June 2008].

¹²⁰ ‘The Royal University of Ireland’, *IT*, 9 November 1882, p. 6.

¹²¹ Senate Meeting, 3 February 1887, Minutes of the Senate, ii, 1887–91, p. 3. Stewart and Smith received a remuneration of £15 each for their responsibilities as music examiners.

music syllabus might have been devised by Stewart and Smith cannot be confirmed), and the setting and correcting of the music examination papers. Both examiners also gave organ recitals before and after the conferring ceremonies and provided the music during the official proceedings.¹²²

Given Stewart's modification of the music degree curriculum at Trinity College Dublin, it is interesting to examine the music degree regulations of the Royal University of Ireland in light of any similarities and differences that exist between both institutions in terms of regulations, elements of music examined and prescribed text books. The Royal University of Ireland music examination papers from 1887 to 1889 are located in Appendix IV.

The regulations of the Royal University of Ireland stated that a candidate for a degree in music must pass four examinations in order to obtain a MusB and five examinations to satisfy the MusD requirements: the matriculation examination, the first university examination, the first examination in music, the MusB examination and then finally the MusD degree examination.¹²³ The first examination in music consisted of questions on acoustics, the rudiments of music and modern musical history in the pass paper and examined counterpoint, a general knowledge of the laws and practice relating to temperament, and a more detailed knowledge of the growth of musical forms in the honours paper.¹²⁴ One year must have separated the first university examination, the first examination in music and the MusB

¹²² At the 1883 conferring ceremonies the following selection was played on the organ: Fantasia (Robert le Diable), Meyerbeer; Finale to Symphony in D, Haydn; Allegretto and Finale to the Fourth Organ Sonata, Mendelssohn; Overture to William Tell, Rossini. During the conferring ceremony 'God Save the Queen', *Fantasia* by Hesse, a fugue by J.S. Bach and a concerto by Handel were performed on the organ. 'Royal University of Ireland', *IT*, 25 October 1883, p. 5.

¹²³ *RUIC* (1883), p. 71.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

examination and a further two years must have elapsed between the MusB and the MusD examinations. The Trinity requirements specified that the exercise submitted for the degrees of bachelor and doctor was to be publicly performed until 1895, but there was no stipulation in the Royal University of Ireland regulations that required the public performance of the exercise.

Similar requirements were in place at Trinity College and the Royal University of Ireland for the exercise element of the music degree. Both institutions required a five-part vocal composition with contrapuntal sections and an accompaniment for strings. The MusD exercise at Trinity College called for a six or eight part vocal composition while the MusD exercise at the Royal University had to be in eight parts and contain an instrumental overture or interlude. Accompaniments for a small orchestra were required at both institutions. Additional rudiments that were examined at the Royal University of Ireland included the analysis of the full scores from a prescribed list. While harmony and counterpoint were examined at both universities for the doctor of music examination, the absence of an examination in the acoustics of music before 1887 at Trinity College Dublin becomes obvious.

The most important difference between the music syllabus at Trinity College and the Royal University is the inclusion of a practical examination for the MusB and MusD examinations at the Royal University as well as the submission of an exercise. The practical test was introduced from 1884 and required candidates to play two pieces on the organ or piano, with violin pieces introduced in 1888.¹²⁵ It was not

¹²⁵ The pass element of the First Examination in Music required the performance of Mozart's Sonata in D major, no. 6 (Pauer's Edition) and Mendelssohn's *Lieder ohne Worte*, nos 23 and 30 for piano and J.S. Bach's Prelude and Fugue in E minor (volume III, No. 10, Griepenkerl and Roitzsch Edition) and Mendelssohn's *Andante tranquillo* from the third organ sonata for organ. The honours section of

until Percy Buck was appointed music professor at Trinity (from 1910 to 1920) that MusB and MusD candidates had the option of submitting an exercise or taking a practical examination as part of their degree requirements. These directives were changed when Buck's successor, Charles Kitson (who occupied the chair of music from 1920 to 1935) took away the option of an exercise or a practical test for the MusD candidates and once again made it compulsory for these applicants to compose an exercise.¹²⁶ It is interesting to note that while Stewart was involved to some extent with the introduction of a practical examination for the first examination in music and the MusB and MusD degree examinations at the Royal University of Ireland, he did not feel it necessary to introduce a similar requirement at Trinity College Dublin. Given the importance of an excellent standard of practical performance for music degree graduates, the absence of a similar practical examination at Trinity College is an interesting one.

Another fundamental difference between the two universities was that women could and did take the same examinations as their male counterparts at the Royal University of Ireland; the first MusB recipient in the Royal University of Ireland was Charlotte M. Taylor who received her degree in 1884 and Annie Patterson (see Appendix V) graduated with a MusB and MusD in 1887 and 1889 respectively.¹²⁷

the First Examination in Music called for the performance of Beethoven's Sonata in F, op.10 no.2 and Handel's Air and variations in E major (from the 5th 'Suite des Pièces', popularly known as *The Harmonious Blacksmith*) for piano and Mendelssohn's Prelude and Fugue in G major (from *Three Preludes and Fugues*) for organ.

¹²⁶ Joseph Ryan concludes that Trinity College Dublin remained limited 'through its position as an examining rather than as a teaching centre' until George Hewson became music professor in 1935 and proceeded to establish a teaching department of music. Joseph J. Ryan, 'Music and the Institutions', *Music in Ireland 1848–1998*, ed. Richard Pine (Dublin: Mercier, 1998), p. 102. It was not until 1974 that the professor of music at Trinity College Dublin undertook teaching duties in a full-time capacity. Brian Boydell, 'Dublin', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.08226.10>> [accessed 20 October 2003].

¹²⁷ The Royal University of Ireland, Minute Books of the Senate, volume I, 1880–86 and volume II, 1887–91. Patterson herself examined for the Royal University of Ireland from 1892 to 1895.

The first woman music degree recipient at Trinity College Dublin was Emilie Bessie Guard and she graduated with a MusB on 7 March 1905.¹²⁸

The Royal University of Ireland regulations are also informative in that they list the text books that were recommended to music degree candidates. Whereas the *Dublin University Calendar* listed Sedley Taylor's *Sound and Music* as recommended reading material, texts listed at the Royal University for the first examination in music included Henry Charles Banister's *Music* (1873), J.C. Lobe's *Catechism of Composition* (1851; English trans. 1874), W.H. Stone's *Scientific Basis of Music* (1878), John Tyndall's lectures on *Sound* (1867), Frederic Louis Ritter's *History of Music* (1876) and George Alexander Macfarren's *On the Structure of the [sic] Sonata* (1871). Hector Berlioz's *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration* (1843; English trans. 1856) and John Curwen's *Musical Statics* (c1875) were listed as recommended MusB examination texts. William Pole's *The Philosophy of Music* (1879), Hermann von Helmholtz's *On the Sensations of Tone* (1863; English trans. 1875), John Hawkins's and William Chappell's histories of music and Parry's article on 'harmony' in Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* were also listed as useful texts illustrating a wide-ranging reading list for the music degree candidate at the Royal University of Ireland.

While Stewart's changes to the music degree requirements at Trinity College Dublin were not hugely radical, they did clarify in more detail the requirements for the MusB and MusD degrees and the introduction of the literary examination, and additional examinations in the areas of instrumentation, masterpieces and acoustics

¹²⁸ *DUC* (1905–06), ii, p. 74.

contributed to an improvement in the educational level of the music degree applicants. This in turn ensured that the public perception of the academic standing of the music degree awarded by Trinity College was raised accordingly. Stewart's development of a schema that allowed a more systematic approach to the syllabus and examination requirements in music was a substantial contribution of his, although he did not go so far as to introduce a practical examination to the degree requirements, nor did he introduce such a detailed reading list such as that at the Royal University of Ireland. The influence that Stewart's literary examination had on the introduction of Responsions and Previous Examination regulations at Oxford and Cambridge is also significant. While Ouseley and Macfarren were pushing for similar reforms at their universities, the fact that Dublin introduced a successful model may have assisted these professors in presenting persuasive cases to their respective university authorities. The similarity of the degree regulations at Trinity, Oxford and Cambridge demonstrate that like-minded people were striving for the same aspiration: to make music a 'respectable' university subject to be taken seriously and recognized as an achievement of academic rigour and worth.

Chapter 6

The Lecturer

Stewart's first recorded public lecture, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', was delivered on 10 March 1862, just ten days before his election to the music professorship at Trinity College Dublin. The professorship provided Stewart with the perfect platform from which he could disseminate the results of his research on the historic, aesthetic, scientific, literary and social aspects of music that interested him and Stewart's lectures are listed in Appendix VIII.¹ Stewart delivered over fifty lectures between 1862 and 1894, penned not only for the external music students of the university but also for the wider university community and that coterie of the public with an interest in music.² Stewart's lectures encompassed a large variety of subject areas and themes included church music, Irish music and musicians, the harp, the bagpipe, stringed-keyed instruments, the history of the piano, Eastern music, the lyric drama, the preludes and fugues of J.S. Bach, the life and works of Handel, Mozart, Palestrina and Wagner.³ These varied topics indicate to some extent the diversity of knowledge (and lack of specialism) required of a Victorian music professor. Stewart's lectures were sometimes delivered as a single lecture on his chosen subject but between 1873 and 1877 his professorial lectures included five sets of six afternoon talks delivered to the public in the Examination Hall at Trinity College Dublin. These annual lectures established him as an erudite scholar of local

¹ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, p. 10.

² This chapter is an expanded version of an article on Robert Prescott Stewart's 1862, 1876 and 1881 lectures that appears in *Irish Musical Studies ix*. See Lisa Parker, 'For the purpose of public music education: the lectures of Robert Prescott Stewart', in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 187–210.

³ Despite the number of lectures written by Stewart there is no surviving evidence to suggest that any plans were made to publish them.

repute and ensured his prominence as one of the primary musical educators in Dublin. James Culwick in his *Works of Sir Robert P. Stewart*,⁴ compiled a list of Stewart's lectures which included the title of the lecture series, the main points discussed in each lecture, and the year the lectures were delivered by Stewart. He also briefly commented on the content of Stewart's 1872, 1874 and 1891 lectures in his *Fifty Years in the Life of a Great Irish Musician*.⁵ In researching the content of Stewart's lectures for this chapter, five of Dublin's newspapers, the *Daily Express*, *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Irish Times* and *Saunders's News-letter*, were searched for the review of each of Stewart's lectures delivered in Dublin. A comparison was then made of the reports from each newspaper which made it possible to present an evaluation of the contents of Stewart's lectures in detail.

This chapter will examine the majority of Stewart's lectures and will pose the following questions: what were the underlying motivations that encouraged Stewart to lecture (both in general terms and in relation to the specific subject-matter of his lectures); what were the sources that Stewart relied upon in preparation for his talks; how do his lectures reflect the opinions and attitudes of the second half of the nineteenth century; what was Stewart's personal lecture style, and what do Stewart's lectures tell us about his audience? The extent to which Stewart's lectures reflect contemporary views and ideas in issues including how music can affect the emotions and the origins of music will be assessed in his 1862 lectures entitled 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture'. Handel was the subject of his 1874 lectures and as a result of his interest in stringed-keyed instruments, Stewart delivered his 1875 lectures on this topic. The Dublin professor's opinion of Richard Wagner will be investigated by

⁴ Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, pp. 20–24.

⁵ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, pp. 9–13.

examining his 1877 lectures on the lyric drama which conclude with a summation of the composer's merits. Stewart's appraisal of the current state of the music education system in Ireland was presented in his 1881 lecture entitled 'Musical Education: By what means can native education in music be best promoted'. His 1876 lectures entitled 'Natural Music and its Relation to Modern Art', although out of chronological sequence, act as a link between his art music lectures and those on Irish music and musicians because his 1876 lectures also discuss indigenous and art music. Stewart's talks on Irish music, musicians, composers and instruments will also be considered.

Nicholas Temperley's account of the provenance of the music lecture in England extends back to John Bull who began lecturing in 1596 as the first Gresham professor of music in London.⁶ The eighteenth century saw the delivery of music lectures only on 'isolated occasions' until William Crotch, the next notable figure in the development of the music lecture, commenced his first lectures in 1798 at Oxford.⁷ From 1805 Crotch also delivered lectures at the Royal Institution and his successors included Samuel Wesley, Henry J. Gauntlett, Vincent Novello, Edward Taylor, Henry Bishop, William H. Monk and William Sterndale Bennett.⁸ Derek Collins confirms that Dublin was certainly not devoid of lectures in music during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1814 Johann Bernhard Logier delivered lectures on harmony and counterpoint at his home in Dublin and charged an admission fee of one guinea. These lectures proved highly popular and were repeated

⁶ Temperley and Yang, eds, *Lectures on Musical Life: William Sterndale Bennett*, p. 1. See also Jamie Kroy Kassler, *The Science of Music in Britain, 1714-1830: A Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions*, 2 vols (New York: Garland, 1979) and 'The Royal Institution Music Lectures, 1800-1831: A Preliminary Study', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 19 (1983-5), 1-30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

again in the following year. Logier delivered another series of twelve weekly lectures in 1829 and the topics discussed included an analysis of the music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.⁹ In 1821 Mr Philips gave two lectures on singing and two years later he offered two further talks contrasting the English and Italian styles of music.¹⁰ Towards the middle of the century, William Murphy, a MusB graduate of Trinity College Dublin, delivered six lectures with musical illustrations on ‘The National Music of Ireland’ at the Mechanics’ Institute in Dublin.¹¹ Professor John William Glover presented lectures entitled ‘National Music’, at the Female National School in Monasterevin, County Kildare in 1865 and at the Chelsea Literary and Scientific Institution in 1867.¹² In the second half of the nineteenth century even academics from other disciplines lectured on the more scientific aspects of music in Dublin. For example in 1876, the Professor of Botany at the Royal College of Surgeons, Humphrey Minchin delivered a lecture on ‘Musical Sounds and their Phenomena’, which he illustrated with musical instruments and scientific equipment.¹³

In order to evaluate the possible reasons that motivated Stewart to deliver his lectures it is important to examine both the impetus behind Stewart’s lectures in general and the specific reasons why certain topics were chosen by him for discussion. Trinity College Dublin offered weekly lectures in subjects such as Mathematics, Classics, Greek, Hebrew and other science subjects but the annual calendar of the university did not include the music professorship amongst its list of

⁹ Collins, ‘Music in Dublin, 1800–1848’, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 56.

¹² ‘Lecture on National Music’, *IT*, 4 September 1867, p. 3 and ‘Lecture on Irish Music’, *IT*, 5 January 1865, p. 3.

¹³ ‘Lecture on Musical Sound’, *IT*, 17 February 1876, p. 6.

lecturing positions.¹⁴ Under the terms of Stewart's professorship he was at liberty to deliver public lectures if he thought it appropriate, so his motivation was not a monetary one (except for the 1864 and 1878 sets of lectures organized to raise memorial funds) because his salary was not augmented in any way if he chose to lecture.¹⁵ This situation differed slightly to that experienced by those who lectured in England, including Vincent Novello, Samuel Wesley and Henry Bishop, in that for these individuals, lecturing was a 'typical means of earning money and status whilst spreading the knowledge of the "science" of music'.¹⁶

Public lectures on an enormous variety of subjects 'flourished abundantly' during the nineteenth century and were given by societies, institutions, professionals and 'local worthies'.¹⁷ The *Irish Times* remarked that Stewart's desire in giving his lectures 'was not merely to amuse the public, but to make them better', reflecting a popular view of educators in Victorian times that music should be 'more than a mere artistic experience or a form of amusement'.¹⁸ Music was viewed as the 'indirect means of aiding worship, temperance and culture, of holding young men and women among good influences, of reforming character, [and] of spreading Christianity'.¹⁹ From a letter written to George Bell in 1890 we see that Stewart retained this opinion throughout his career:

¹⁴ At Trinity College, undergraduate lectures were provided in Mathematics, Mathematical Physics, Classics, and History, Political Science, and English Literature three times a week in 1862. *DUC* (1862), p. 56.

¹⁵ Stewart was not obliged to teach or lecture because Trinity in a similar vein to Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and London did not contribute anything to the training of music degree candidates. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans*, p. 66. It was not until the introduction of an Honor School at Trinity College in 1974 that the role of the music professor included teaching duties in a full-time capacity. Brian Boydell, 'Dublin', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.08226.10>> [accessed 20 October 2003].

¹⁶ Fiona M. Palmer, *Vincent Novello (1781–1861): Music for the Masses* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 124.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851–75* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p. 212.

¹⁸ 'Sir Robert Stewart', *IT*, 26 March 1894, pp. 4–5.

¹⁹ Ronald Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 119.

I am quite at one with you on the wisdom of rescuing the lower classes from their dismal surroundings, and from brutal amusements. Music of all arts is the purest, and what evil thoughts can be engendered by it?²⁰

The ability to exhibit his all-round gentleman's education and academic astuteness was most likely another motivating factor for Stewart when delivering his lectures. For example, when Stewart examined the depiction of the bagpipes in literature in his 1873 lectures, he made passing references to the bagpipes in Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Henry IV* and *The Merchant of Venice*, the poem 'Tam o shanter' by Robert Burns and the fact that the miller from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* played the bagpipes.²¹ Stewart also referred to literary figures such as Dryden, Congreve and Dickens in his 1862 lectures, once again illustrating his attempt to portray his literary knowledge.

As noted above, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture' was delivered at a Dublin Young Men's Christian Association Meeting on 10 March 1862 and was repeated again four days later.²² An amended version of the lecture was delivered in 1882 under the title 'Musical Epochs and Styles'. The Dublin YMCA had as its aim the 'spiritual, mental and moral uplift of young men' in an effort to dissuade the workingmen from visiting 'unsuitable' establishments such as taverns and music halls for their enjoyment.²³ Lectures on literary, scientific and religious subjects organised by the association became popular not only because of the 'instruction and

²⁰ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Revd Dr George Bell, 9 March 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 184.

²¹ 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 3 February 1873, p. 3.

²² Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', pp. 107–71.

²³ Walter H. Godden and William N. Maslin, eds, *A Century of Service: 1849–1949* (Dublin: Earlsfort Press, [1949]), p. 27.

advantage' conveyed to the young men, but also because of the revenue generated by the admission fee to the talks.²⁴

Stewart's lecture comprised different topics relating to music including harmonics, temperament, the effect of music on the body and mind and the use of music as a cure for diseases. The talk briefly described the origin of music and provided a synopsis of the chronological development of western art music from ancient times to the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the main composers of each epoch up to and including Spohr and Mendelssohn.

Explaining the different role played by music in the life of a rich and poor person, Stewart remarked that to the rich person music 'furnishes a refined and intellectual pursuit'. Stewart quoted Hogarth when he claimed that to the poor classes, music provided a 'realization from toil that is more attractive than the haunts of intemperance'.²⁵ The Victorian belief in the ability of music to 'soften and purify the mind' is also reiterated by Stewart who informs his audience that music was incapable of suggesting a malicious thought or of corrupting the mind, except perhaps when speech was added to it.²⁶ The continuation of this opinion well into the second half of the nineteenth century is apparent in a paper written by George Alexander Osborne in 1885 which states: 'We may have specimens of painting, poetry, and sculpture which we would not exhibit in our family, not so with music, it may be trivial, it never can be offensive'.²⁷

²⁴ Godden and Maslin, eds, *A Century of Service: 1849–1949*, p. 27.

²⁵ Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', p. 110 and George Hogarth, *Music History, Biography and Criticism*, i (London: John W. Parker, 1835), p. 430.

²⁶ Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) A Lecture', p. 110.

²⁷ George Alexander Osborne, 'The Emotional Aspects and Sympathetic Effects of the Sister Arts: Poetry, Painting, and Music', *PMA*, 11th Sess. (1884–85), p. 92.

The alleged ability of music to affect the emotions of the listener ensured that it was ‘uniquely suited to the task of shaping men’s thought and actions’.²⁸ Music was described as ‘an object of social utility and balm for society’s many evils’, a perception that lasted into the early years of the twentieth century. This thinking centred on the middle-class wish to ‘destroy the potentially “dangerous” elements within working-class culture and to create a respectable, self-reliant collaborationist working class’.²⁹ Similar views are echoed in Charles Darwin’s *The Descent of Man*, which describes the effects of music and its ability to arouse various emotions. These feelings are not the ‘terrible ones of horror, fear [and] rage’ but instead are the ‘gentler feelings of tenderness and love, which readily pass into devotion’.³⁰

When referring to the use of music to cure diseases, Stewart discussed how in the days of the music historian Charles Burney, a French physician named Claude Burette believed that music could cure sciatica and how, according to another source, flute music could cure rheumatism. He further quoted Burney in relation to his discussion of the effects attributed to the music of the ancients who believed that Terpander was able to calm a sedition at Lacedaemonia ‘by singing to the mob’.³¹ Stewart claimed that much of the effect of music on the mind was attributed to the power of association and incorporated the Swiss national melody ‘Ranz des vaches’ as his case in point. When Jean-Jacques Rousseau referred to it in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1768) he commented that it was ‘so generally beloved among the Swiss, that it was forbidden to be play’d in their troops under pain of death, because it made

²⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History*, p. 18.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

³⁰ Charles Darwin quoted in Peter Kivy, ‘Charles Darwin on Music’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 12 (1959), p. 44.

³¹ Stewart, ‘Music: (with illustrations) a lecture’, pp. 121, 132–33; and Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, i (London: Payne & Son; Robson & Clark; G.G.J. & J. Robinson, 1789), pp. 172–73.

them burst into tears, desert or die, whoever heard it; so great a desire did it excite in them of returning to their country'.³² It is quite probable that Stewart borrowed his references to the 'Ranz des Vaches' from Rousseau's dictionary directly or from Burney's translation of some of Rousseau's articles contained in Abraham Rees's *Cyclopaedia*.³³ William Stafford refers to the tune in his history of music but he does not discuss it in the context of the Swiss soldiers deserting their post as Rousseau does.³⁴

Promising not to inflict upon his audience any stories of 'Mercury's discovery of a dead tortoise or the hammers of Pythagoras', Stewart attributed the origin of music to the speech of man, which, 'by a little raising of the sound, and prolonging it, at once becomes a song',³⁵ highlighting his awareness of some of the writings on the subject including Stafford's *A History of Music* and Herbert Spencer's essay 'The Origin and Function of Music'.³⁶ In his lecture, Stewart dismissed the theories that the origin of music should be attributed to 'man imitating the birds' and the 'winds whistling in hollow reeds on river banks', two theories according to Stewart that were 'equally stale and untenable'.³⁷ This statement demonstrates that he did not agree with the opinions of Diodorus Lucretius and other authors that Stafford referred to in his history of music who attributed 'the invention of wind instruments to observations made on the whistling of the wind in reeds, and

³² 'Ranz des vaches', *NG I*, xv, p. 586. Stewart is more likely to have read one of the English translations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's book such as Rousseau, *A Complete Dictionary of Music Consisting of a Copious Explanation of All Words Necessary to a True Knowledge and Understanding of Music*, trans. William Waring, 2nd edn (London: printed for J. Murray Fleet St; Dublin: printed for Luke White, Dublin, 1779).

³³ 'Ranz des Vaches', *The Cyclopaedia*, ed. Abraham Rees, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), xxix.

³⁴ William C. Stafford, *A History of Music* (Edinburgh: Constable; London: Hurst, Chance, 1830).

³⁵ Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', pp. 127–28.

³⁶ Herbert Spencer, 'The Origin and Function of Music', *Style and Music* (London: Watts, 1857; rev. edn 1950).

³⁷ Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', p. 127.

in the pipes of other plants'.³⁸ The similarity in language here suggests that Stewart referenced Stafford's book when writing his section on the origin of music but unfortunately Stewart does not seem to have written or discussed his thoughts on this topic in greater detail.

Of the composers treated in Stewart's lecture, Mendelssohn was referred to as 'the greatest musician of the present day'. Bach and Mendelssohn were the only composers of 'real' organ music and Beethoven, who had 'few imitators', was 'free from those mannerisms by which we can at once distinguish a work by Handel, Mozart or Mendelssohn'.³⁹ Motets by Tallis and Palestrina, the preludes of Bach, excerpts from Handel's *Messiah* (HWV56), Haydn's *Creation* (Hob HXXI:2), Mozart's Piano Sonata in C minor (K. 457) and Spohr's *The Last Judgment* are some examples of the music that was performed at Stewart's lecture. Stewart remarked that nothing dating before the fourteenth century was worthy of the name music but it is difficult to confirm whether Stewart sided with the opinion of those who favoured the music of the 'Renaissance-Baroque polyphonists' or the 'modern Italian opera and the new instrumental and symphonic style'.⁴⁰ His cathedral training as a chorister at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin suggests a preference for the former, however.

Stewart found it difficult to determine the direction that mid-century European art music would take. When commenting on the current developments in Germany, he had the following to say about Wagner's music:

³⁸ Stafford, *A History of Music*, p. 2.

³⁹ Stewart, 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', pp. 149, 159, 160–61.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 127. Leanne Langley, 'Criticism, §II, 3(i): Britain: To 1890', *GMO*, ed L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.40589.2.3.1>> [accessed 04 May 2006].

With the new German school, of which Richard Wagner is the apostle, I have no sympathy. This music not only lacks the melody essential to please the general ear; but is deficient in *form* which is an important element in the works of the great composers. Notwithstanding the partial success which has attended the efforts of the Wagnerites in Germany, and among some of the Germanized Americans, they have numbered very few converts in our own country.⁴¹

The ‘great composers’ in this quote are most likely a reference to composers such as Bach, Handel, Purcell and Mendelssohn, who were held in extremely high regard by Stewart. He explained to his audience how he was reared in the ‘very strictest school’ of the English cathedral writers and ‘taught from childhood to believe in Handel, and Handel alone’. Stewart does concede, however, that Bach’s organ fugues allowed him to ‘tower’ above all other musicians, ‘even Handel’.⁴² His openness to contemporary music (with the exception of Wagner’s output) is demonstrated when he remarked ‘I have yet learned to enjoy the music of all the modern writers of ability down to Verdi—a man of true talent and individuality of style’.⁴³ Although Stewart had formed a harsh opinion of Wagner’s music at the time of this lecture, his opinions changed quite dramatically after his first visit to the Bayreuth Festival in 1876. After this festival he became an ardent protagonist and defender of Wagner and his music and his revised opinion of Wagner is also discussed in his 1882 lecture on ‘Musical Epochs and Styles’. In this lecture Stewart referred to Wagner as ‘the most remarkable of living composers’ and a ‘transcendent genius’.⁴⁴ Stewart’s musical criticisms of the Wagner Festival written for the *Daily Express* newspaper demonstrate his loyalty to Wagner’s new style of composition which he heralded as the music of the future. This was, according to F.C.J. Swanton, a ‘bold thing to say in

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 126.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 164, 148.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 164.

⁴⁴ ‘Musical Epochs and Styles’, *FJ*, 19 June 1882, p. 3.

Victorian Dublin’, at that time the ‘shrine of the Messiah’.⁴⁵ Stewart concluded his lecture with an examination of the present state of music in Dublin. Pointing out that Ireland had neither the wealth to reward or encourage a composer, nor a resident aristocracy to patronise and protect him, Stewart criticised his fellow countrymen for not supporting performances by resident musicians:

It has been proved again and again by the surest test, – pounds, shillings, and pence, – that an oratorio or cantata, properly performed, with full chorus, full orchestra, and the best resident singers, has no attraction for our citizens when compared with an *olla podrida* of music executed by strangers.⁴⁶

Pessimistically illustrating that Ireland was not a ‘paradise of musicians’, he continued to explain that the Irish public was far behind that of London, ‘who sit out and warmly applaud those grand choruses and symphonies, of which people here scarcely take pains to conceal their dislike’.⁴⁷ As we shall see later in this chapter, Stewart continued to despair two decades later when in 1881 he delivered a talk on the status of music in Ireland to the Social Science Congress.

Stewart’s lectures on ‘The Life and Works of Handel’ took place on Saturday afternoons between 21 February and 28 March 1874 in the Examination Hall at Trinity College.⁴⁸ Focusing mainly on Handel’s opera and oratorio repertoire, his lectures also discussed Handel’s time in Berlin, Florence, Hanover, London and Dublin. Singers who were linked to Handel were also mentioned briefly including Bernardi Senesino, Margherita Duristani, Broschi (Farinelli), and the eighteenth-

⁴⁵ F.C.J. Swanton, ‘Has music advanced in Ireland during the last 50 years’, IRL-Dn, MS 21,800. The history paper set by Stewart for the Royal Irish Academy of Music examinations of 8 December 1888 was devoted to Wagner and included questions on the ‘chief works’ of the composer and his ‘claims’ as a vocal composer. It can be surmised that Stewart was neither a classicist nor a modernist but recognised the merits of both schools of composition.

⁴⁶ Stewart ‘Music: (with illustrations) a lecture’, p. 166.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴⁸ The first five lectures lasted for approximately one hour while the final lecture was extended to two hours in duration.

century sopranos Faustina Bordoni and Francesca Cuzzoni. The oratorios *Esther* (HWV50a/50b) and *Deborah* (HWV51) were especially prominent in Stewart's fifth lecture and *Saul* (HWV53), *Israel in Egypt* (HWV54) and *Messiah* (HWV56) were discussed in detail in the final lecture.⁴⁹ This set of lectures also stimulated a response from the *Irish Builder* in relation to Stewart's comments about Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral. The ensuing correspondence between the *Irish Builder* and Stewart (see pp. 241–42) illustrates that despite his eminent position within the music scene in Dublin, Stewart was not above public reproach and criticism. His interest in organology is also clearly reflected in these lectures.

Stewart devoted individual lectures to specific composers including Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Richard Wagner but the only composer who received a full set of six lectures was George Frideric Handel. The 'Victorian cult of Handel' ensured that he was 'a veritable household word' and composer worthy of emulation and veneration.⁵⁰ According to the *Freeman's Journal*, Stewart remarked that Handel's name held a 'peculiar fascination for the citizens of Dublin' because they felt 'naturally proud of the fact that it was here his mighty genius was first recognised and rewarded'.⁵¹ The traditional association of Handel's music with charitable purposes in Ireland also generated a certain 'feel-good' factor for those who patronised the concerts.⁵² In a letter written towards the

⁴⁹ *Messiah* and *Deborah* were utilized by Stewart to demonstrate Handel's recycling of musical material. 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Handel', *DE*, 9 March 1874, p. 3. The University of Dublin Choral Society performed *Esther* on 18 December 1851 in the Antient Concert Rooms, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin and the *DE* in its review of the concert remarked that 'It is nearly a century since it has been performed in any place'. 'Antient Concert Rooms', *DE*, 19 December 1851, pp. 2–3.

⁵⁰ Richard Lockett, *Handel's Messiah: A Celebration* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1992), p. 217; Robert Manson Myers, *Handel's Messiah: A Touchstone of Taste* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 233.

⁵¹ 'Trinity College', *FJ*, 23 February 1874, p. 3.

⁵² See Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 29–34; H. Diack-Johnson, 'Handel's London—British musicians and London concert life', *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge:

end of his career in 1892 (the 150th anniversary of the first performance of *Messiah*) it is apparent that Stewart's reverence for Handel had not subsided. His observation that Handel's visit to Ireland had been recently ignored by English authors is also of interest as it demonstrates Stewart's irritation at this omission and his sense of pride in the fact that Ireland provided a welcoming environment for Handel:

Last month at the desire of Mr. J. Spencer Curwen (apostle of Tonic Sol-fa), I have been defending Handel's influence upon the English nation, which Sir John Stainer and others think had a baneful effect on English music. The English critique writers have lately taken up the trick of ignoring Handel's visit to *Ireland* [...] in 1741–2. The British Lords nagged the poor man and drove him over to Ireland, and nearly killed him by paralysis caused by worry. *We* rescued and petted him, till the others grew ashamed of themselves.⁵³

The content of Stewart's opening lecture on Handel discussed the reasons why England 'was not a musical country':

The intractability of the language, the stolid character of the people, their greed of gain, &c, [...] the indifference of the English governing classes towards music, when compared with the attitude of the continental nobility [...] The upper class on the Continent of Europe, not being permitted to meddle in the government of their respective nations, had all the more time to devote to the arts. The English nation too, was nearly at all times occupied in colonial enterprise, in other words, we had an ugly practice of taking a fancy to other countries, turning out the people, and seizing their lands and goods.⁵⁴

Stewart's discourse then turned to the effect of music upon the body, and the employment of music to encourage happiness and to stimulate memory. The ability of music to promote health and cure diseases were topics also discussed by Stewart at length in his 1862 lectures. In relation to music's ability to stimulate memory, the *Dublin Evening Mail* recorded Stewart's comments as follows:

Nothing more vividly recalled the past and made it present before us with all the minute surrounding incidents of place and time than some familiar air, some

Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 69–70 and Denis Arnold, 'Charity Music in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 21 (1968), p. 163.

⁵³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lily Hutton, 28 March 1891, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 162. Stewart may have derived much of his information on Handel's visit to Dublin from Horatio Townsend, *An Account of the Visit of Handel to Dublin: With Incidental Notices of his Life and Character* (Dublin: James McGlashan; London: William S. Orr and J.A. Novello, 1852).

⁵⁴ 'Dublin University—Lectures on Music', *DE*, 23 February 1874, p. 3.

favourite song. The moment even the first few bars were struck, or the first few words sung, the melody conjured up, as almost no other mover could, sad or pleasant memories. The whole scene was re-enacted in the mind—the persons who were present before, and all the little trifles that made the picture complete.⁵⁵

Of the ‘many interesting details’ relating to Handel’s visit to Dublin that were relayed to his audience, Stewart discussed the composer’s residence at Abbey Street, his stay at Greenwood Park, St Doulough’s, Howth Road, and his visit to Lota in County Cork.⁵⁶ Stewart also discussed the members of the Irish State Band, who, along with members of the Smock Alley and Aungier Street theatres, formed the orchestra for the first performance of *Messiah* on 13 April 1742.⁵⁷ It is clear that some of the newspaper reporters present at this lecture may have become a little confused or distracted during their note-taking in relation to the first performance of *Messiah* because the *Dublin Evening Mail* and the *Freeman’s Journal* recorded that it took place on 18 November 1741, which is in fact the date that Handel is recorded by the Dublin newspapers to have arrived in Ireland.⁵⁸

Stewart’s interest in organology comes to the fore in his discussion of the organ displayed in a caricature of Handel, known as ‘The Harmonious Boar’ or ‘The Charming Brute’, that portrays the composer as a large boar sitting at a small organ. According to Stewart, ‘judging by the proportions of the figure in the picture’ the organ portrayed in the caricature corresponded exactly in size with one of the two organs that were in the possession of Handel during his stay in Dublin.⁵⁹ Stewart

⁵⁵ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lecture on Music’, *DEM*, 23 February 1874, p. 4.

⁵⁶ ‘Handel Lectures’, *SN*, 30 March 1874, p. 2.

⁵⁷ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Handel’, *DE*, 30 March 1874, p. 3.

⁵⁸ The *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal* and *Pue’s Occurrences* both recorded that Handel arrived in Dublin on 18 November 1741. Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), p. 74.

⁵⁹ ‘Lecture on Music’, *DEM*, 23 March 1874, p. 5. See also Brian Boydell, ‘Organs Associated with Handel’s Visit to Dublin’, *British Institute of Organ Studies and British Organ Archive*, 19 (1995), 54–72.

referred to ‘the good fortune’ that allowed him to examine one of these organs a couple of days previous to his fifth lecture and related the provenance of the organ as he understood it:

The Marquis of Ely had one of Handel’s organs at his castle at Rathfarnham [...] and the organ was bought by Mr Francis Johnson [...] who took it to his residence, 60 Eccles street, where it subsequently became the property of another gentleman, and was removed just four doors—namely, to No. 64 Eccles street, to the house of one of the most brilliant professors that ever filled the chair of political economy in that university, and one of the most prominent members of the present day—Mr. Isaac Butt.⁶⁰

Stewart continued to inform his audience that:

Mr. Butt had kindly given him every opportunity of examining this organ, which had one or two stops, and was built in Germany; but as the key was very stiff on the previous day, he did not wish to be Vandal enough to force the lock, and so he had postponed a more careful trial to the coming week, when he should endeavour to get at the pipes and play upon the organ one of the great composer’s famous organ concertos.⁶¹

Stewart finally managed to inspect the organ at Butt’s house ‘after a good deal of trouble and sundry oilings of locks, and other annoyances’ and he described the condition and features of the instrument as follows:

The quality of tone was extremely pleasant, although somewhat feeble. The compass was from violoncello C (without C sharp) to E above the treble stave. The touch was good, and answered rapidly to the player. The organ had not been “doctored,” with the exception of a new set of keys, which had replaced the white sharps and black naturals of Handel’s day.⁶²

In his fourth lecture the topic of discussion progressed from that of colour blindness to that of ‘music deafness’ and according to Stewart, some of those who ‘had been created incapable of receiving musical impressions’ included [William] Wordsworth,

⁶⁰ ‘Handel Lectures at Trinity College’, *DE*, 23 March 1874, p. 3.

⁶¹ ‘Lecture on Music’, *DEM*, 23 March 1874, p. 5.

⁶² ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Handel’, *DE*, 30 March 1874, p. 3. In 1887 Stewart visited the property of the former Duke of Chandos at Edgware and ‘saw and played on the Handel organ’ which he described as ‘most interesting’. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Lady Maryanne Stewart, 16 July 1887, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 179.

and [Alexander] Pope.⁶³ These figures could be forgiven for this condition because they ‘had the good taste to lament their want of a musical organization’.⁶⁴ Jonathan Swift, however, according to Stewart, ‘gloried in [his] defects—just like that fox who, being deprived of his tail in a trap, had tried to persuade his fellow-foxes that tails were a mistake’.⁶⁵ Stewart’s criticism of Swift can be traced back to his 1862 lecture, ‘Music: (with illustrations) a lecture’, in which he added to the statement that ‘it was a mistake to make [Swift] a clergyman’, by remarking that it was an ‘additional mistake to make him Dean of a Cathedral’.⁶⁶ An extract from Swift’s verse comparing Handel to a contemporary ‘musical nonentity’ was referenced by Stewart in his 1862 and 1874 lectures:

Strange that such difference these should be,
‘Twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee⁶⁷

The lecturer continued by commenting on Swift’s lack of musical taste and it was here that Stewart made one of his controversial remarks by stating that Handel:

would have conferred infinite honour on the dean by allowing him to brush his shoe!⁶⁸

These comments prompted the editor of the *Irish Builder* to jump to the defence of the illustrious dean and the publication produced an article entitled ‘About Swift and Handel’ in which it disagreed with Stewart’s comments on Swift.⁶⁹ In this article the *Irish Builder* conceded that Handel had ‘won a niche for himself in the history of his profession’, but pointed out that the composer could not stand beside Swift in terms

⁶³ ‘Fourth Lecture on Handel’s Life and Times’, *DE*, 16 March 1874, p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ Here Stewart is referring to one of Aesop’s Fables entitled ‘The Fox who had lost his tail’. ‘Fourth Lecture on Handel’s Life and Times’, *DE*, 16 March 1874, p. 3. See also Brian Boydell, ‘Jonathan Swift and the Dublin Musical Scene’, *DHR*, 47 (1994), 132–37.

⁶⁶ Stewart, ‘Music: (with illustrations) a lecture’, p. 146.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146. In his lecture, Stewart described this verse as almost ‘too trite for quotation’. ‘Fourth Lecture on Handel’s Life and Times’, *DE*, 16 March 1874, p. 3.

⁶⁸ ‘Fourth Lecture on Handel’s Life and Times’, *DE*, 16 March 1874, p. 3.

⁶⁹ ‘About Swift and Handel’, *IB*, 16 (1874), p. 93.

of ‘patriotism or charity’.⁷⁰ In his response a fortnight later, Stewart admitted to the charges thrown at him by the *Irish Builder*:

Perhaps I was too hard on Swift, but in the course of an extempore lecture a man may now and then utter words which were as well unsaid.⁷¹

This tactful approach intimated that the remainder of the article would follow in a similar apologetic tone, but instead Stewart staunchly defended his comments:

My lectures are not sermons, and I claim a fair amount of latitude in defending the greatest of musicians against one of the smallest of poets. Nor am I so imperfectly informed on the Swift controversy as you seem to imply. It was Swift’s way to scoff at musicians: thus we find him ridiculing his organist Rosingrave in what, by a ludicrous misuse of the term (which, of course, he did not really understand), he called ‘his cromatics.’ He coarsely stigmatised the Bull’s Head Society as ‘a club of fiddlers in Fishamble-street,’ and forbid his choir (who, to their honour, seem to have disregarded his tyrannical prohibition) from assisting them; and so I was justified in pointing out the folly of this assumed contempt for what this man could not really understand.⁷²

The journal nevertheless had the final word when it stated that its ‘love for music’ and ‘respect for many of its professors and exponents’ would not prevent it from speaking the truth about the music profession and this concluded the discussion between Stewart and the *Irish Builder*.⁷³

Stewart’s lectures on Handel demonstrate his active attempts to expand upon the knowledge and understanding of Handel’s visit to Dublin. The affection held by Dublin audiences for the *Messiah* is also highlighted by Stewart in his attempt to emphasise how important it was to Irish music history that Handel’s visit to Dublin was recognised and appreciated within its social and musical context. The response to Stewart’s lectures that was prompted in the *Irish Builder* demonstrates that even

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

⁷¹ ‘Swift and Handel’, Ibid., p. 112.

⁷² Ibid., p. 112.

⁷³ ‘About Swift and Handel’, Ibid., p. 108.

though he was the professor of music in Trinity College, Stewart was not beyond reproach and public correction in the media.

The title of Stewart's 1875 lectures was 'Stringed-keyed instruments' and they were delivered over six consecutive Saturday afternoons between 13 March and 17 April 1875 in the Examination Hall at Trinity College Dublin. The lectures were sixty to ninety minutes in duration and commenced at 2pm. Stewart placed these lectures 'at the disposal' of the editors of the *Orchestra* who published them in the April, May and June 1875 issues of the journal and the final lecture of the series was printed in the May issue of the *Monthly Musical Record*.⁷⁴ Both journals seem to have used an abridged version of the weekly newspaper reports of the lectures printed in the *Daily Express*.⁷⁵ The content of the lectures follows the development of keyboard instruments up to and including the piano and incorporates lively dialogue on the harp, dulcimer, zither, psaltery, citole, clavi-cytherium, clavichord, virginal, spinet, and harpsichord. Discussions on the pitch and compass of these instruments, noteworthy composers of keyboard music, virtuosi performers, keyboard manufacturers (including eighteenth-century instrument makers based in Ireland) and mechanical aids utilized in piano teaching also feature in the content of the lectures.

Stewart's ongoing interest in the construction of keyboard instruments is the most probable reason behind his choice of subject-matter for his 1875 lectures. The

⁷⁴ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', *Orchestra*, 1 (1875), 275–78 (lectures one and two); 307–10 (lectures three and four); 339–43 (lectures five and six). 'Summary of country news', *MMR*, 5 (1875), 74–75.

⁷⁵ 'Trinity College Dublin: Lectures on Music', *DE*, 15 March 1875, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Keyed Instruments', *DE*, 22 March 1875, p. 3; 'University of Dublin: Lectures on Keyed Instruments', *DE*, 29 March 1875, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 5 April 1875, p. 3; 'Trinity College Dublin', *DE*, 12 April 1875, p. 3; 'Dublin University—Lectures on Music', *DE*, 19 April 1875, p. 3.

collection of over 1,800 musical instruments exhibited in Hyde Park at the 1851 Great Exhibition would certainly have been of interest to Stewart and in 1857 on a Stewart met Cavallé-Col, Lefébure-Wély and Durand in France.⁷⁶ He also visited the Pleyel piano-making firm, and met with Charles Barker, the inventor of the pneumatic lever and organ-builder at the Ducroquet firm.⁷⁷ Likewise, a trip to London in 1862 included a visit to the Hill organ factory and the firm of Collard and Broadwood's where Stewart viewed the collection of spinets, clavichords, harpsichords, and early pianofortes which had been assembled for Ernst Pauer's lectures on the history of the piano.⁷⁸ In his fourth lecture on 'stringed-keyed instruments' Stewart referred to a visit he made to Erard's factory in 1874 and in the fifth lecture Stewart mentioned a 'recent visit' to the Streicher factory in Vienna.⁷⁹ These latter visits to the large manufacturing firms no doubt prompted him to decide upon his 1875 lecture topic. Stewart may also have found himself in the beneficial position (through various acquaintances and friends) of being able to obtain specimens of many of the keyboard instruments that he included in his lectures, thereby enhancing the artistic appreciation and enjoyment of his audience. Pauer's lectures on the history of the piano mentioned above, those on keyboard music and the art and science of pianoforte playing delivered at the South Kensington Museum in 1871 and 1874 respectively and indeed the lectures on 'The General History of

⁷⁶ Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, p. 8. Pianos on display at this exhibition included a Grand horizontal pianoforte by Messrs Collard, mounted in British mottled oak, with gold ornaments in the style of Louis XV, elegant semi-cottage pianos by Enever and Steedman in walnut marqueterie, Erard instruments decorated and carved in the Elizabethan style, 'extra-grand horizontal pianos' [one manufactured by Erard and the other by Broadwood], and 'expanding or collapsing' pianos for yachts, the saloons of steam-vessels and ladies' cabins. 'The Great Exhibition', *Times*, 7 May 1851, p. 7. Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 52.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁹ 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 5 April 1875, p. 3; 'Trinity College Dublin: Lectures on Keyed Instruments', *DE*, 12 April 1875, p. 3.

Music' that he delivered in the Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin in January 1874 may also have suggested the topic to Stewart.⁸⁰

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources that Stewart acknowledged in his 1875 lectures include Charles Burney, Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker, Friedrich Griepenkerl, George Hogarth, John Jebb, and Charles Salaman. However, *The Pianoforte: Its Origin, Progress, and Construction* (1860) by English musicologist Edward F. Rimbault appears to have been one of the most influential sources incorporated by Stewart in relation to his lectures on 'stringed-keyed instruments'.⁸¹ From Stewart's citation of Shakespeare and Chaucer to his evaluation of instrument makers including Cristofali [*sic*], Marius, Schröter, Silbermann, Erard, Shudi, Pleyel and Broadwood, the writings and opinions of Rimbault are clearly reflected in the discourse of the Dublin lecturer.

Burney and Hogarth are likely sources of information for the biblical references utilized by Stewart in his 1875 lectures, although there is a good chance that Stewart as a devout Protestant would have been familiar with these particular passages himself. The musical instruments referred to in Stewart's lectures are from Samuel 10 (psaltery, tabret, pipe and harp) and Daniel 3. The latter is recorded in Burney as follows:

⁸⁰ Ernst Pauer, 'Italian Writers for the Clavecin from a lecture at the South Kensington Exhibition', *MMR*, 1 (1871), 6–7; 16–18; 'Two pupils of Clementi, John Baptist Cramer and John Field, extracted from a lecture at the South Kensington Museum', *MMR*, 1 (1871), 29; 'Frederic Chopin, from a lecture at the South Kensington Museum', *MMR* 1 (1871), 72–73. 'Miscellaneous', *MT*, 16 (1874), p. 361. Pauer delivered six lectures in Dublin during the week of 26 January 1874 and the topics ranged from the value of the clavecin as a musical instrument to a discussion of music in Italy, France, England and Ireland. 'Mr Pauer's Lectures', *IT*, 24 January 1874, p. 5 and 'The General History of Music—Mr Pauer's Lectures', *IT*, 27 January 1874, p. 2.

⁸¹ Edward F. Rimbault, *The Pianoforte: Its Origin, Progress, and Construction* (London: Robert Cocks, 1860).

Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits. Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, *sacbut*, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up.⁸²

The knowledge of and interest in music displayed by Queen Elizabeth I is also discussed in Burney and Rimbault, and both sources include Sir James Melvil's account of a meeting between himself and Elizabeth.⁸³ It is possible that Stewart read Melvil's account as it appeared in Rimbault's text, stated below:

The same day after dinner, Lord Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some Musick, (but he said that he durst not avow it), where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, as soon as she turned about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand; alledging, she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to cure melancholy [...] She enquired whether my Queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise.⁸⁴

Likewise, the information that Stewart delivered relating to *Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book* is found in Burney and Rimbault.⁸⁵

When discussing the first piano designs by 'Cristofali', Marius and Schröter, Stewart once again relied on Rimbault as his source as the *Daily Express* records:

Within a few years of each other, in Italy, France, Germany and in England, were produced instruments closely resembling the pianoforte as we see it. The propriety of date, however, belongs to the Italian inventor Bartolomeo Cristofali, who in 1711 first struck the strings with hammers, and called his invention by an Italian name. Marius, of Paris, produced his "Clavecin a Maillets" in 1716. Schröter seems to have hit on his "Hammer Clavier" in the following year at Dresden. From the imperfect communication which then existed between various European countries, and from an examination of the evidence adduced, it is unlikely that any of these talented men

⁸² Burney, *A General History of Music*, i, p. 243. See also Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography and Criticism*, i, p. 6.

⁸³ Burney, *A General History of Music*, ii, p. 14ff and Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, pp. 55–56.

⁸⁴ Sir James Melvil, cited in Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, p. 56.

⁸⁵ Burney, *A General History of Music*, iii, pp. 15, 113; Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, pp. 58–60.

borrowed from the others. To Dr. Rimbault belongs the credit of fixing the date, and by him the evidence of the propriety of the Italian invention is clearly established.⁸⁶

Rimbault may also have been the source of Stewart's information regarding the first performance on the pianoforte in London and Dublin. Rimbault's book is dedicated to his friend Henry E. Dibdin and Rimbault attributed 'the merit of having first introduced the pianoforte to public notice in England' to Henry's grandfather, Charles Dibdin.⁸⁷ He performed publicly on the pianoforte on 16 May 1767 when accompanying a 'Miss Brickler'.⁸⁸ Stewart recorded that the pianoforte was first introduced upon the stage as a newly-invented instrument in Dublin by Michael Arne in 1779.⁸⁹ The source of this statement may have been Michael Kelly's *Reminiscences* or Rimbault's reference to Kelly in his *The Pianoforte*, when he describes the performance of *Lionel and Clarissa* at Dublin in 1779 at which Michael Arne presided at the pianoforte in the orchestra.⁹⁰

The eighteenth-century sources that are referenced in Stewart's lectures indicate the ease with which these writings were accepted (sometimes unquestionably) throughout the nineteenth century. Like William Sterndale Bennett, Stewart also relied unquestioningly on the writings of Burney and Hogarth.⁹¹ Stewart's listing of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century instrument makers

⁸⁶ 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 5 April 1875, p. 3. Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, p. 94..

⁸⁷ Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, dedication page.

⁸⁸ Virginia Pleasants, 'The Early Piano in Britain (c1760–1800), The Early Piano II', *EM*, 13 (1985), p. 40. See also Howard Schott, 'From Harpsichord to Pianoforte: A Chronology and Commentary, The Early Piano II', *EM*, 13 (1985), 28–38.

⁸⁹ 'Lectures in Trinity College: Music', *DEM*, 19 April 1875, p. 4.

⁹⁰ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ii (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), p. 161 and Rimbault, *The Pianoforte*, p. 139. Pleasants has pointed out, however, that the first performance on the 'Forte Piano' took place in Dublin on 19 May 1768 with Henry Walsh at the instrument. See Pleasants, 'The Early Piano in Britain (c1760–1800)', p. 40.

⁹¹ Temperley and Yang, eds, *Lectures on Musical Life: William Sterndale Bennett*, p. 6.

based in Ireland demonstrates how this tradition was in decline in Ireland and indicates the lecturer's attempt to compile an accurate record of substance:

It is interesting for Dublin people to recall those days when there were many makers of keyed instruments in that city [...] Now, with all our increased wealth and size here is not one. We find Ferdinand Weber, harpsichord maker, Marlborough-street, 1784. William Southwell, Fleet-street, 1784. Southwell's house appeared at Marlborough-street, Duke-street, and Abbey-street till forty years ago. There were Edmund Lee, harpsichord maker, Dame-street, 1787, Woffington, 9 William-street, 1788, and they went on till 40 years ago. We found Alex., James, and Robert McDonnell, harpsichord and piano makers, Church-lane, and Fleet-street, 1795, and for many years after. Jacob Pemberton, Fleet-street, 1797. David Schroeter, Townsend-street, 1793, Thomas Kenny, Mercer-street, 1794. Wm Cooke, Summerhill, 1797. He (the lecturer) could recollect Morland in Mecklenburgh-street but the trade must have long been languishing, for in 1822 it was stated that Morland did not make ten pianos per annum, whereas in London, each maker averages ten per week, and the aggregate amounts to more than 23,000 according to Herr Pauer.⁹²

The mechanical 'appliances' invented to promote independent finger playing were also discussed towards the end of Stewart's final lecture and he freely gave his opinion of these methods as recorded by the *Daily Express*:

The 'Chiroplast' of M. Logier, which had been first produced in Dublin about the year 1816, was familiar to many of those who were present. A portion of it had been subsequently made use of, as the 'guide-mains' of Kalkbrenner. The late Robert Schumann had, by the indiscreet employment of some mechanism of the sort, so injured his hand as for ever to debar him from playing in public. The Dactylion of Henri Herz, produced in Paris about 1836, consisted of a set of rings, one for each finger, suspended over the keys from springs, after the manner of a fishing-rod. The practice of one thousand exercises sold along with the Dactylion was further recommended. This machine had been satirised by the lively Parisians, who represented mice jumping through the rings. The Chirogymnast, which was vigorously puffed about 1842, consisted of a small frame some two feet by eighteen inches, on which were arranged various pieces of mechanism to develop power of stroke and independence of action. He (Sir R. Stewart) had purchased at Pleyel's, in Paris, one of the most usual mechanical aids called 'Piano Muet.' This dumb piano had been referred to in an amusing article from the *Leipzig Signale*, as 'an instrument for which, it is to be lamented, that so little has been composed!' Schumann had said of such things—'Try them, so as to see how little they avail; for you cannot learn speech from the dumb'. Cramer, Hummel, Moscheles, Czerny, and other artists generally disapproved of such mechanical aids, the employment of which might, however, in special instances, be attended with decided advantage.⁹³

⁹² 'Lectures in Trinity College: Music', *DEM*, 19 April 1875, p. 4. The various Dublin Directories were probably the source of Stewart's information relating to the instrument makers he listed in his lecture. For a more complete listing of Irish Instrument Makers see John Teahan, 'A List of Irish Instrument Makers', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 16 (1963), 28–32.

⁹³ 'Dublin University—Lectures on Music', *DE*, 19 April 1875, p. 3.

Stewart's lectures concluded with a short piano recital and a presentation to some pupils of Stewart who had performed at his lectures.

In a similar manner to Stewart's 1874 and 1875 lectures, his 1877 set of six lectures on the lyric drama were delivered on Saturday afternoons between 10 March and 21 April 1877 in the Examination Hall of Trinity College Dublin. Stewart's visit to the Bayreuth Festival took place in 1876,⁹⁴ and it is most likely that this trip, undertaken to attend the third performance of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (op.86), provided him with the idea to deliver a set of lectures on 'the dawning and later development of the Lyric Drama' that concluded with a discussion of Wagner's operas and music dramas. Stewart attended the performance of the complete 'Ring' cycle between 27 and 30 August 1876 at the first Wagner Festival, and was one of only four Irishmen present at the performance.⁹⁵ The first three lectures examined the origin of the miracle play while the development of Italian opera was discussed in detail in the fourth and fifth lectures with a focus on Vincenzo Galilei, Giovanni Bardi, the development of the da capo aria, the vanity of opera singers, contributions made to opera by Gluck and this composer's influence on Mozart. The operas of Weber, Auber, Rossini and Bellini were also mentioned and Wagner's innovative contributions to opera were discussed in the fifth and sixth lectures of the set. These lectures will be examined in order to demonstrate the sources that Stewart consulted in his research and will also investigate Stewart's opinion of Wagner's music by looking at both his 1877 lectures and his 1876 newspaper articles written at the Bayreuth Festival.

⁹⁴ Stewart visited Bayreuth five times between the years 1876 and 1892. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to John Spencer Curwen, July 1893, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 206.

⁹⁵ The other Irish attendees were Charles Villiers Stanford, Hercules MacDonnell and Raoul De Versan. Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 209.

Sources relating to miracle plays that Stewart referenced in his lectures include Adolphus William Ward's *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (1875), Warburton, Walsh and Whitelaw's *History of the City of Dublin* (1818) and Edward Holmes's *The Life of Mozart* (1845). When describing the 'origin of the drama' in his opening lecture, Ward's opinion is judged by Stewart to have been 'most worthy of adoption',⁹⁶ and this book provided Stewart with much information on topics discussed in his lectures including the writings of Hroswitha, the gradual change of miracle plays to the vernacular language and to settings outside of the church, the establishment of the Corpus Christi festival, miracle plays at Chester, Coventry, Townley, Dublin and Kilkenny, John Bale, and the performances at Oberammergau.⁹⁷ According to Warburton, Walsh and Whitelaw's *A History of the City of Dublin*, each of the active trades in the city of Dublin were assigned a particular play: the tailors performed 'Adam and Eve', the carpenters undertook the story of 'Joseph and Mary', the vintners 'Bacchus' and the smiths were in charge of performing 'Vulcan and Venus'.⁹⁸ When speaking of the miracle plays performed at Kilkenny Stewart referenced the *Red Book of the Corporation* of Kilkenny, a source that recorded the names and addresses of the actors who participated in the plays, along with the sums paid to them between 1584 and 1641.⁹⁹ The Kilkenny miracle plays took place during the celebration of Corpus Christi and were held at the Antient Market Cross while miracle plays were performed during the festival of

⁹⁶ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', *DE*, 12 March 1877, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Stewart also made a passing reference to Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry*, 4 vols (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871). Stewart mentioned that he himself had been 'fortunate enough' to witness the passion play at Oberammergau in the summer of 1871. 'Passion plays, Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', *DE*, 2 April 1877, p. 2.

⁹⁸ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', *DE*, 12 March 1877, p. 3. See Warburton, J. Whitelaw, J. and Walsh, Robert, *History of the City of Dublin, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time*, 2 vols (London: printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, by W. Bulmer, 1818), pp. 108–11. For a modern discussion of these plays see Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000).

⁹⁹ 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lectures', *DE*, 19 March 1877, p. 3.

Corpus Christi ‘in the streets of Dublin’.¹⁰⁰ The primary research undertaken by Stewart through his examination of the sources listed above is important to mention as it represents his endeavour to provide as accurate a picture of his lecture topic as possible. When discussing the Oberammergau passion play that took place in 1871, Stewart read extracts from the *London Times*, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, and even the ‘caustic *Saturday Review*’ and he concluded his lecture by introducing two choruses from the miracle plays of the Clothworkers’ Company at Coventry that were performed on the 13th of May 1591. The first chorus was ‘a quaint Shepherd’s song’ and the second was a lament.¹⁰¹

Stewart’s discussion of the lyric drama was concluded in the fourth lecture of the set and was followed by a detailed discussion of Wagner in his fifth and sixth lectures. He posed the following two questions in relation to the composer: what did Wagner wish to do in his operas and how did he propose to do it?¹⁰² Passing reference was made to Wagner’s preference for utilizing librettos of ancient legends and sagas,¹⁰³ and *Lohengrin* (op.75) and *Das Rheingold* (op.86a) were then discussed by the lecturer who briefly alluded to the subject of their librettos. Stewart played the organ in the gallery of the Examination Hall to give his audience ‘some idea of the sustained bass in the sinfonia in the opening of *Das Rheingold*’, and he continued to inform his audience that ‘the sunken Bayreuth orchestra’ was placed some ten feet below the stage and was therefore completely out of view.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ ‘Sir R.P. Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 19 March 1877, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lectures on Miracle Plays’, *IT*, 2 April 1877, p. 3. ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lectures, Trinity College’, *DE*, 2 April 1877, p. 3.

¹⁰² ‘Lectures on the Lyric Drama’, *DE*, 23 April 1877, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Stewart then described Wagner's 'hopes for the regeneration of the drama' which were based on two principles, 'a universal social regeneration' and 'the extraordinary progress made in the last century by the art of music'.¹⁰⁵ According to the lecturer, Wagner also abolished the 'tiresome recitative' and referred to the aria as an 'old, worn out form'.¹⁰⁶ Expanding on Wagner's utilization of myths and legends, Stewart claimed that the reason for Wagner's preference for this type of subject matter 'was not very clear' and quoted the composer in the following statement: 'History [...] cannot be turned into opera without mutilating it, and importing into it bye-plots [*sic*]; while mythic and legendary subjects lend themselves more readily to imaginative treatment than the love stories of every-day life'.¹⁰⁷ Stewart pointed out at this point that he had only met one or two persons who understood what *Der Ring des Nibelungen* was all about, and pointed out that:

It was the parts in that drama that dealt with human joys and sorrows interested us most, while the Scandinavian gods, as stupid, illogical, and immortal as those of Greece and Rome were regarded as a bore.¹⁰⁸

Stewart then discussed Wagner's incorporation of alliteration in his verses which 'greatly strengthened the rhythm of [the] music' before he undertook a discussion of the leit-motif or 'leading melody' incorporated by Wagner in his music. These leit-motifs 'taught the ear to recognise the passages and connect them with their positions in the drama' and according to Stewart, Wagner had succeeded in teaching the audience to 'listen to these ideas interpreted by a noble orchestra, which, like the Greek chorus, commented upon the action, and explained the dramatic situation'. The next portion of the lecture was devoted to the darkening device employed at the auditorium at Bayreuth which had the effect of 'concentrating attention' upon the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

stage and ‘putting an end to noddings, greetings, whisperings, and flirting among the audience’.¹⁰⁹ Apparently the Bayreuth audience did not have to endure disturbances such as the ‘clatter of locks’, the ‘dashing down of hinged seats or similar noises which made it so impossible to hear many passages of operas in Dublin’.¹¹⁰ Despite the ‘various ingenious stage contrivances’ incorporated at Bayreuth, the lecturer was sceptical about the financial viability of the festival:

I regret to say so, but I fear these dramas will never be performed again as we saw them at Baireuth. The generous devotion of the greatest German artists, mechanical, musical, and histrionic, the high prices charged for admission, all was in vain; the cycle of Baireuth dramas had entailed a loss of £3,000 or £4,000.¹¹¹

Returning to his opening questions on Wagner, Stewart surmised that Wagner had ‘effected a great deal’ at Bayreuth:

He had abolished clumsy scenery, traps, and the absurd prompter’s box, he had in a score of ways shown stage managers ‘how to do it,’ he had taught performers to attend solely to the scene and to disregard recalls and bouquets, doves, and bound volumes let down by strings to prima donnas, he had taught the public to let the actors alone while playing their part, and to listen for and comprehend the hidden meaning of a marvellous orchestral colour in that orchestra [...]¹¹²

Stewart concluded his lecture by reiterating that while he was not advocating a place for Wagner beside composers such as Handel, Beethoven and Mozart, Wagner should be recognized and appreciated for providing ‘an impulse to the growth of truthful dramatic beauty’.¹¹³ The lecture was concluded by a performance of two songs from *Tannhauser* (op.70) and the inspection of some photographs of the Bayreuth Festival by audience members.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Lectures on the Lyric Drama’, *DE*, 23 April 1877, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

As well as the 1876 Bayreuth performance of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, Stewart doubtless also attended the Dublin performances of *Lohengrin* (1875) and *Der fliegende Holländer* (op.63) (1878), performed in English by the Carl Rosa Opera Company.¹¹⁴ Stewart's musical criticisms of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* that appeared in the Dublin *Daily Express* a year earlier were described by Culwick as raising the standard of the paper to that of a 'musical classic', indicating the quality of Stewart's reviews.¹¹⁵ Stanford confirmed this opinion, and recorded that Stewart's articles were, along with those written by Hercules MacDonnell, 'almost the best which appeared in any of the public press', and he commended them for their 'freedom from prejudice and their fresh, but not inexperienced outlook'.¹¹⁶

Stanford informs us that another Dublin musical figure, Joseph Robinson, exhibited a 'broad-minded view' when it came to Wagner stating: 'He disliked him on paper, and cured himself of his prejudice by attending any performance of his operas which he could get to'.¹¹⁷ Stewart's accounts of the Bayreuth Festival on the other hand were both meticulous and well-written. A detailed summary of the plot of each of the four sections of the opera ensured the reader understood the story behind the German saga, while Stewart's comments on the particular orchestral effects produced helped the reader to construct a vivid and realistic account of the music

¹¹⁴ Joachim Fischer, 'Wagner, Bayreuth, and the Irish image of Germany', *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 298.

¹¹⁵ Stewart penned reports on three sections of the opera, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried* and *Die Götterdämmerung*. Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of his Life and Works*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, p. 50. Murphy asserts that MacDonnell's report of the event is 'disappointing' due to its 'scene-by-scene summary' of the work and its 'vacuous speculation as to how Wagner might have felt about the success of the whole enterprise'. Michael Murphy, 'The musical press in nineteenth-century Ireland', *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 266. See also 'The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth', *IT*, 21 August 1876, p. 6 and 'The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth', *IT*, 24 August 1876, p. 3. Both of these articles by MacDonnell are unsigned. See also Charles Villiers Stanford, *Interludes Records and Reflections* (London: John Murray, 1922), pp. 138–47 for Stanford's account of the 1876 Bayreuth Festival.

¹¹⁷ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Studies and Memories* (London: Archibald Constable, 1908), p. 125.

performed.¹¹⁸ The inventiveness of Wagner in his portrayal of the dragon in *Siegfried* (op.86c) was also praised by Stewart; the growls of this creature were expressed by the double bassoon and the double bass trombone, ‘the deepest and most appalling tones found in a noble orchestra’.¹¹⁹ Sporadic humour is also evident in Stewart’s articles when he informed any ‘zoological musicians’ reading his article that the prehistoric dragon’s growl consisted for the most part of diminished fifths.¹²⁰ Stewart described the ‘subterranean orchestra’ at Bayreuth as:

That marvellous poly-chromatic noun-of multitude; the arrangements for the well-going of the whole are most ingenious; the very lights are so shaded on top that not a ray escapes upwards into the dark well that divides the public from the stage.¹²¹

Amidst his critique on the events of the opera and the orchestral effects employed by Wagner, Stewart also included a brief commentary on the weather, the times of the various performances, the stage effects, the steam apparatus and the presence of notable guests in the audience.

In his review of *Siegfried*, Stewart discussed concisely the compositional process of Wagner, and explained the concept of the leit-motif. Emphasizing that Wagner was not the actual inventor of the technique he explained the utilization of this concept by Weber (*Der Freischütz*), Verdi (*Rigoletto*), Donizetti (*Lucia di Lammermoor*) and Mendelssohn (*Elijah*). Stewart also mentioned Wagner’s avoidance of ‘trite’ harmonies of thirds and sixths in his duets, which, according to Stewart, are ‘mostly pure dialogue.’ Wagner had been criticized for his ‘apparent’ inability to create melody—an accusation totally dismissed by Stewart, who pointed out that there was an abundance of melody in Wagner’s music, especially in the love

¹¹⁸ ‘The Wagner Festival’, *DE*, 1 September 1876, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ ‘The Wagner Festival’, *DE*, 2 September 1876, p. 3.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹²¹ ‘The Wagner Festival’, *DE*, 1 September 1876, p. 3.

scene between Sieglinde and Siegmund. This melody he described as graceful and original, neither awkward nor unvocal and found in the orchestral writing, more so than in the vocal lines.¹²²

Even though Stewart was one of the first Irish musicians to listen to, acknowledge, and defend the ‘novel genius’ of Wagner, he did express some reservations about the work when he first heard the music at Bayreuth. He described the third act of *Die Walküre* (op.86b) as Wagner’s ‘acme of power and originality’, but then remarked:

I can stand a good deal of discord—*fortissimo* frights me not, diminished intervals, and suspended discords I enjoy, but certainly anything to equal this Walkure [*sic*] meeting in the way of noise, I never heard. There is great, nay, tremendous power in the conception; I think I can, even on the one hearing, follow the harmony; of course a trained ear knows what notes are produced, and is not shocked at sounds used in a double capacity at which the ear will be startled for a moment until the chord changes; it is not this that shocks me in the Walkure meeting and riding away, but the screaming (it is not singing) of nine strong women against a tremendous band, and constantly clashing their semitones together as if they were shields and swords; this cannot count for music and I am inclined to believe that the magnificent scene to which I allude would be just as effective if [...] simple cries—warlike shouts—were substituted for what Wagner may perhaps, call singing. It would then be pure drama, backed up by grand scenery, and a band which is of peerless quality and tremendous force.¹²³

In a letter written by Stewart on 19 September 1876 he portrayed a more objective opinion of the composer, writing: ‘Wagner is not so bad as the English press will have him, nor so good as his own [...] pretend to consider him’.¹²⁴ Time certainly seems to have softened Stewart’s disapproval of some of Wagner’s harmonies: in 1879 he referred to the performance at Bayreuth as ‘that marvellous four days performance [...] it was wonderful’.¹²⁵ This opinion contrasts strongly with Stewart’s remarks made twenty years earlier in his 1862 lecture, ‘Music: with illustrations’, in

¹²² ‘The Wagner Festival’, *DE*, 2 September 1876, p. 3.

¹²³ ‘The Wagner Festival’, *DE*, 1 September 1876, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 117.

¹²⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 123.

which he claimed that he had ‘no sympathy’ with the German school represented by Wagner.¹²⁶

Stewart’s lectures demonstrate that he was able to appreciate the innovative qualities that Wagner brought to the vocal genre and he was certainly not dismissive of Wagner’s methods or artistic ambitions. His determination to promote Wagner’s music in Ireland was one of his main concerns and he strongly defended Wagner against his hardened critics. The most obvious approach that Stewart could take to enhance the musical appreciation of the Irish people was to write and lecture on the non-conventional composer and his music.

Stewart’s paper on education was written for the Social Science Congress that took place at Trinity College Dublin in October 1881. Entitled ‘Musical Education: By what means can native education in music be best promoted’, Stewart examined the present state of music in Ireland and discussed systems of music teaching and a plan to promote the national education of music in Ireland. By dividing music into three sections, historic, scientific and social, Stewart listed nine reforms and improvements that would ensure the best possible way of promoting music education in Ireland.

Commencing with a discussion of patronage in music, he cited works such as Handel’s *Acis and Galatea* (HWV49a), Haydn’s symphonies and quartets and Beethoven’s *Mass in D* (op.123) as examples of music that would not have been composed but for the support of patrons. Stewart emphasised how important it was

¹²⁶ See pp. 236–37 of this chapter.

for artists to be nurtured and protected in order for their craft to be encouraged. Stewart could not see where funding of this nature could come from in his modern society, however, and he only wished that there were more ‘gentlemen’ to help the cause of music in Ireland with the same generosity as Henry Roe, who had donated £250,000 to restore Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (1871–78).

Stewart then proceeded to make nine suggestions about how music education could be structured both in terms of how music is taught and performed in the public and private institutions: (1) The introduction of historical concerts and lectures to teach the history of the art and the instruments of past times by examples. Dividing the history of music into three subsections, ‘History of the Art’, ‘National music and its influence on society’, and ‘Invention, structure and use of musical instruments’, Stewart called for the introduction of lectures or concerts on the history of music. He also encouraged the collection of music of all countries and nations and lectures and catalogues on musical instruments, similar to those by Carl Engel in relation to the instruments held at the South Kensington Museum.

(2) Lectures on the scientific and philosophical aspects of music. Stewart believed that the introduction of these lectures would lead to an increased appreciation of music among the Irish concert audience. The scientific aspect of music was divided into two subsections by Stewart, ‘Acoustics’ and ‘The physical effects of music in the treatment of diseases’. Lectures to the public on acoustics should be given free of charge (or at a nominal fee) and the talks given by the Royal Dublin Society and other similar organisations in Ireland should be better promoted and encouraged. The second subdivision on how music could be used in the

treatment of diseases was also an interesting one, worthy of further research according to Stewart.

(3) A better style of pianoforte teaching that embraced a knowledge of musical form and increased attention to playing at sight.

(4) The inclusion of sight-singing (not singing by ear) at every school in the country. Stewart suggested this in order to improve the sight-reading ability of the church-going public which would in turn improve the standard of church music in Ireland.

(5) The establishment of a resident orchestra in Dublin of sixty instruments, to refine and guide the taste of the public which he believed was incapable of comprehending instrumental music of large calibre. Stewart recorded that the absence of a resident orchestra in Dublin had been noticed by Henry Chorley of the *Athenaeum* and by Charles Hallé and recorded that this was attributable to ‘political economy’. Apparently many musicians in Dublin had left the capital because they earned more money in Manchester or London. Stewart had researched the matter and believed that for £4,000 a year (a sum which was not a third of what some of Dublin’s merchants had given to the city) a full orchestra could be maintained for ever, resident in Dublin, but available at a nominal cost for service in the provincial towns such as Cork, Limerick, and Belfast. According to the *Daily Express* Stewart criticised current policy in the following terms:

But if £4,000 a year seemed an extravagant sum to indoctrinate a nation in the noblest format that music could assume, in the symphony, the concerto, the oratorio, what should be said of the £100,000 a year devoted by the Government at present to

encourage music in elementary schools, of which some was merely given to encourage singing by ear, and was therefore little better than thrown away?¹²⁷

It cannot be doubted that Stewart had a valid point here and the remaining reforms in his schedule were as follows:

(6) A good concert hall, with a really fine organ, on which public performances could take place at stated times, and at low admission fees.

(7) The inclusion of music as a voluntary subject in the curriculum of the Universities.

(8) An authorized qualification for teachers of music, whereby ‘quacks’ would be discountenanced, and finally

(9) Some means whereby the works of young composers might be adequately produced in public.¹²⁸

Under these new terms and conditions, the musical public would benefit culturally from the frequent opportunity of hearing the great works of classical music performed by a competent orchestra and this would in turn introduce a ‘refining influence on public taste similar to that exhibited by the arts of sculpture and painting’.¹²⁹ Stewart’s recommendations, including his suggestion in relation to the

¹²⁷ ‘Social Science Congress, “Art Section”’, *DE*, 8 October 1881, p. 6. It is interesting to note in this quotation that the symphony, concerto and oratorio appear to be treated as equal genres but this is not the case today.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* and ‘Social Science Congress, “Art Section”’, *IT*, 8 October 1881, p. 6.

¹²⁹ ‘Social Science Congress’ “Art Section”, *IT*, 8 October 1881, p. 6.

establishment of a resident symphony orchestra and a good concert hall did not come to fruition during his lifetime.

The 1876 group of lectures entitled 'Natural Music and its relation to Modern Musical Art' proved very popular with Stewart's Dublin audience. Delivered on Saturday afternoons between 11 March and 15 April in the Examinations Hall at Trinity College Dublin, Stewart's lectures introduced an exotic, mysterious and exciting element to his mundane Dublin audience through his discussion of the music of the untamed 'savages' of other countries. The indigenous music of Africa, Australia, China, Egypt and Russia was explored and the vocal and instrumental illustrations, taken from a number of sources, were provided by a group of performers from the University of Dublin Choral Society. Microtones, instruments, drones, snake charmers, cannibals, folk music incorporated into art music and writings on Eastern music were all discussed at length in the lectures.

So what enticed Stewart to compose these lectures in the first instance? In the opening lecture Stewart recorded how it was his communications with former members of the University Choral Society working abroad that had sparked his interest in the native music of other countries and was the reason why he decided to research the subject further. Some of the members of the University of Dublin Choral Society may have been students of oriental languages at Trinity, who hoped upon graduation to work in India with the civil service. The reforms in the British civil and colonial service recruitment procedures introduced in the mid-nineteenth century recommended that the members of the Indian Civil Service should be recruited by competitive examination, and Sanskrit and Arabic were recommended as suitable

subjects.¹³⁰ Having visited the Great Exhibition in 1851, Stewart had seen and heard the many performers who had travelled to London for the event, and so had some idea of the concept of westernised versions of eastern music that were performed in the West. As a member of the establishment Protestant class in Dublin, he felt that he was at the centre of colonial expansion (as a ‘coloniser’ and not as one of the ‘colonised’). People in this section of society also considered themselves ‘full citizens and redoubtable defenders of the Empire’.¹³¹ The stimuli for the huge interest in the Orient during the 1870s included the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1876 and the title of Empress of India that was bestowed upon Queen Victoria in January 1877. Throughout the set of six lectures, Stewart examined the aborigines of ‘still uncivilized countries’, with a view to ‘tracing the connection between these aboriginal musical efforts and the best music of modern times in Europe’.¹³²

In his first lecture, Stewart referred to the University of Dublin Choral Society as ‘a sort of musical missionary association’, and listed the foreign experiences of some of the past members of the society. Apparently one former member had played the harmonium for a native Hindu choir; another had ‘drilled four “black fellows”, Queenslanders, in [C.F.W.] Müller’s little glee, *Spring’s delights*’; and a third sent home a ‘queer’ Burmese instrument [a wooden harmonicon], which had been taken from two natives who were fighting over its possession.¹³³

¹³⁰ The first chair in Arabic was introduced at Trinity in 1855 and the chair in Sanskrit in 1862. See Mc Dowell and Webb: *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, p. 232. After the introduction of these chairs at Trinity a number of students became attracted to the prospect of adventure and travel to distant lands that a career in the Indian Civil Service offered.

¹³¹ David Fitzpatrick, ‘Ireland and the Empire’, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, iii, ed. Andrew Porter, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 508.

¹³² ‘Lecture on Music’, *IT*, 13 March 1876, p. 7.

¹³³ ‘Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 13 March 1876, p. 3.

Stewart described accounts of the music of the South Pacific and the ‘horrid din’ of drums and gongs of a ‘cannibal’s song’ that was performed at the lecture illustrated the music of a ‘savage degraded race’. Stewart then read portions of a letter referring to the ‘cannibals’ of Fiji and the ‘peculiar beat of drums with which they invariably accompanied their horrid rites’.¹³⁴ This emphasises a point made by Rana Kabbani where the East is described as ‘a place of lascivious sensuality, and [...] a realm characterised by inherent violence’ since medieval times.¹³⁵ The travel writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries maintained this stereotype so it is not surprising to find references to this opinion in Stewart’s lectures.¹³⁶

A number of sources were referred to by Stewart in his talks, including essays on oriental music by writers such as Thomas Edward Bowdich, Charles Burney, William Chappell, Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, François-Joseph Fétis, Edward William Lane, Carsten Niebuhr and Guillaume-André Villoteau. When speaking of the music of Africa, Stewart used the musical examples from Thomas Edward Bowdich’s *A Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, published in 1819.¹³⁷ On his visit to Africa, Bowdich met with members of the Fanti and Ashanti tribes of Ghana and recorded information on the society and culture of these people. The Fanti dirge performed at Stewart’s lecture was described by the *Daily Express* as ‘a few mournful thirds on flutes, followed by strokes on a gong and a drum’, and the vocal

¹³⁴ ‘Sir R. P. Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 20 March 1876, p. 3.

¹³⁵ Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe’s Myths of Orient* (London: Pandora an imprint of Harper Collins, 1986), p. 6.

¹³⁶ For further discussion on this topic see Bennett Zon, “‘Violent Passions’ and ‘Inhuman Excess’: Simplicity and the Representation of Non-western Music in Nineteenth-century British Travel Literature”, *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire 1780s–1940s* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 209–235.

¹³⁷ Thomas Edward Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London: John Murray, 1819).

Ashanti song as ‘music, consisting first of local dialogue and harmony of the voices, also in thirds’.¹³⁸

La Borde and Lane were Stewart’s trusted sources on the music of the Egyptians and Arabs, having written *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* and *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* respectively.¹³⁹

Stewart quoted from La Borde in relation to the unfavourable opinions with respect to music held by the upper classes of the East:

The higher class of Turks and Arabs deem it beneath their dignity to study music or dancing; just so the Chinese, seeing a dance of the officers attached to Lord Macartney’s Embassy, enquired ‘Could you not let your servants do all this for you?’¹⁴⁰

La Borde also wrote how music, deemed profitless if not dangerous among Orientals, was condemned by the prophet Mahomet.¹⁴¹ When discussing the call to prayer used in the Egyptian cities of Aleppo and Cairo, Stewart paraphrased Lane with reference to the Cairo style:

The manners and customs of its inhabitants are peculiarly interesting, being a combination of those which prevail in the towns of Arabia, Syria, and the whole of Northern Africa; customs which not all the Frankish proclivities of Mehemet-Ali were quite able to destroy.¹⁴²

The ‘Cairo Call to Prayer’ from Lane’s book and an excerpt from the Koran were then performed by one of the tenor singers in attendance.

¹³⁸ ‘Sir R. P. Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 20 March 1876, p. 3.

¹³⁹ Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780) and Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: Charles Knight, 1836). Lane was the great-uncle of Stanley Edward Lane-Poole (1854–1931) who became Professor of Arabic at Trinity College Dublin from 1898 until 1904.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Sir R.P. Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 20 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁴² ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 27 March 1876, p. 3.

That Islam has been treated with caution by the West over the centuries cannot be doubted; Islam was judged as a ‘fraudulent new version of some previous experience, in this case Christianity’, and Europe tended to view it with caution, scepticism and even hostility.¹⁴³ While the nineteenth-century missionary and orientalist shared a common belief that Islam might be transformed through ‘westernization’ or ‘modernization’, or ‘reformation’,¹⁴⁴ attitudes that viewed Muslims as the intellectual inferiors ruled by the Westerner in his role as enlightener (not exploiter) were commonplace and exemplified by Lord Cromer, England’s Representative in Egypt (1882–1907), in his *Modern Egypt*:

Let us, in Christian charity, make every possible allowance for the moral and intellectual shortcomings of the Egyptians, and do whatever can be done to rectify them.¹⁴⁵

This missionary tone is not unusual for the time and echoes the opinion of Stewart and his audience towards the music of the indigenous countries that he refers to in his lectures. To Stewart, this music was simplistic because it originated in cultures that were considered far behind the West in terms of artistic merit, culture and development and the music performed was a subject of interesting amusement.

Villoteau is also employed by Stewart as an expert source on Egyptian music as he accompanied Napoleon to Egypt in 1798.¹⁴⁶ Stewart quoted some interesting remarks by the French writer on the absence of the ‘sensible’, or semitone at the top of the scale in Oriental music.¹⁴⁷ Villoteau described the difficulties he experienced

¹⁴³ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁴ A.L. Tibawi, ‘English-speaking Orientalists’, *Orientalism: A Reader*, ed. A.L. Macfie (Cambridge: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 60.

¹⁴⁵ Lord Cromer quoted in Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁶ Guillaume-André Villoteau’s writings include *Mémoire sur la possibilité et l’utilité d’une théorie exacte des principes naturels de la musique* (Paris: 1807) and *Recherches sur l’analogie de la musique avec les arts qui ont pour objet l’imitation du langage* (Paris and Geneva: 1807).

¹⁴⁷ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lecture on Music’, *IT*, 27 March 1876, p. 6.

in ‘making the Orientals sing the scale of C major, with the semitone of B to C at the top’.¹⁴⁸ This proved an all but insuperable barrier to these people and Stewart quoted from Villoteau’s account before the choir sang a transcription of an air sung for Napoleon at Cairo in 1799:

Truly the grimaces and contortions that these good people were obliged to make in order to reach with their voices to our B natural (which they tried, however, and with the best faith in the world, to, sound, but always unsuccessfully), appeared to me so singularly laughable that I believe it would have been impossible for me to look at them unmoved if the motive which determined me to make the experiment had not then occupied all my attention.¹⁴⁹

In the last three lectures, Stewart introduced examples of art music that demonstrated the incorporation of indigenous music from Eastern and Arabic countries. The main composers that Stewart focused his attention on included Beethoven and his incorporation of Russian folk music in the ‘Razumovsky’ Quartets (op.59), and the ‘Turkish Dance’ and ‘Chorus of Dervishes’ in his *Die Ruinen von Athen* (op.113), Félicien David’s incorporation of the Arabic air *Ikki Belbol* in *Le Désert*, the employment of eastern music in Weber’s *Oberon*, *Preciosa*, *Der Freischütz* and *Turandot* and the appearance of an Eastern chant in Macfarren’s *The Sleeper Awakened*.

The Arabic air *Ikki Belbol* was performed in Stewart’s third, fourth and fifth lectures and apparently Stewart had heard this song for the first time in London in 1851 when it was performed by a group of Arabs who travelled to the Great Exhibition and performed at the Egyptian Hall at Piccadilly, where they had coffee, pipes, and a little humpbacked storyteller pacing up and down reciting tales in

¹⁴⁸ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 27 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Villoteau, *Recherches*, ii, pp. 46–47; ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 27 March 1876, p.3. Stewart does add that this semitone is not completely absent from Eastern music in his lecture.

genuine Arabic.¹⁵⁰ As the dulcimer was the main instrument of this group of musicians, Stewart displayed two diagrams, one of the modern instrument and the other of the ancient Assyrian dulcimer.¹⁵¹ In the fourth lecture, Stewart pointed out that the French composer Félicien David had used this tune in his symphonic ode *Le Désert* (1844).¹⁵² This piece in three movements contains sections entitled ‘desert storm’, ‘prayer to Allah’, ‘caravan’, ‘*rêverie du soir*’ and ‘the muezzin’s call’.¹⁵³ According to Stewart, the silence of the desert is imitated in the long sustained notes on the violins and violas in the orchestral introduction that precede the *Ikki Belbol* tune played on the horns.¹⁵⁴ In David’s composition, the strings copy the Kemengeh, ‘a rude sort of fiddle with three strings and a horsehair bow’¹⁵⁵ and Stewart had a drawing of the instrument by the German traveller and writer Carsten Niebuhr on display. According to Niebuhr who refers to the instrument as a ‘Semenge’, a coconut shell is attached to a long-bodied viol in order to increase the resonance of the instrument.¹⁵⁶ Stewart compares this instrument to the Tingadee (an instrument that has three gourds), and showed a picture of the instrument from the *Illustrated London News* to his audience.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lecture on Music’, *IT*, 27 March 1876, p. 6; ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 27 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 27 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁵² An article entitled ‘Music at Leipsig’ published in the *MW* describes the composer Ferdinand David. The author of the article warns the reader to ‘be careful not to confound him with Félicien David, who since he wrote the “Desert” has received his desert and is deserted’. Stewart added the following comment to his copy of the journal: ‘Oh JWD! [presumably JW Davison, the author of the article] Lying ass The Desert is very clever’. ‘Music at Leipsig’, *MW*, 21 (1846), pp. 633–34. Volumes of the *MW* owned by Robert Prescott Stewart are located in IRL-Dn, 7805 M6.

¹⁵³ John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 149.

¹⁵⁴ Stewart is the only source to mention this tune in relation to David’s *Le Désert*.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 3 April 1876, p.3.

¹⁵⁶ Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia, and other countries in the East*, trans. Robert Heron (Dublin: Gilbert, Moore, Archer & Jones, 1792), p. 134.

¹⁵⁷ The picture entitled ‘A Strolling Minstrel at Madras playing the Tingadee’ was included in the *Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1876. See ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 3 April 1876, p. 3.

Weber was noted by Stewart to have enriched his works with Spanish, Bohemian, and Arab airs and his music was discussed in relation to his employment of folk music in his classical composition.¹⁵⁸ According to Stewart, Weber endeavoured to impart a local colour to the Oriental adventures of Sir Huon of Bourdeaux in *Oberon* by introducing an Arabic melody notated in Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie* into the first finale in C major, 'Now the evening watch is set'.¹⁵⁹ The other Arabic air introduced into *Oberon* is played on the magic horn, and 'by thus compelling the black slaves to dance to its sounds', Sir Huon and his lover Reiza can make their escape.¹⁶⁰ According to Stewart, this air is to be found in La Borde's *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* and in *Specimens of Various Styles of Music referred to in a Course of Lectures* by William Crotch as 'Danse Turque'.¹⁶¹ 'Now the evening watch is set' and the finale to the third act, 'Hark! What notes are swelling' containing the second Arabic air were then performed.¹⁶² Weber's *Preciosa* is another example of a composition in which national tunes had been interwoven and Stewart performed the 'Gipsy March' air that is present throughout the Allegro section of the overture to demonstrate this technique. Similarly, *Der Freischütz*, set in Bohemia, illustrates Weber's incorporation of Bohemian airs in the bridesmaid's song, and according to Stewart, 'the wafts in the first scene may or may not be a dance tune of that country'.¹⁶³ Stewart concluded his section on Weber's music by referring to the Chinese influence in *Turandot*. Briefly describing the pentatonic characteristic of Chinese music Stewart deferred the performance of the Chinese air

¹⁵⁸ 'Sir R. Stewart's Lecture on Music', *DE*, 10 April 1876, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Stewart is referring to the 'March of the Harem Guards' at the end of Act I.

¹⁶⁰ 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Music', *DE*, 3 April 1876, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, and William Crotch, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music referred to in a Course of Lectures* (London: R. Birchall, [c1807–15]).

¹⁶² 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Music', *DE*, 3 April 1876, p. 3.

¹⁶³ 'Sir R. Stewart's Lecture on Music', *DE*, 10 April 1876, p. 3.

from *Turandot* by wind and string instruments until the end of the lecture because the March was ‘simply grotesque’ and would only excite laughter’.¹⁶⁴

The language and terminology employed in Stewart’s lectures to describe the natives of various countries is interesting to examine. It was of course representative of the attitudes adopted by Western countries towards the indigenous people of non-Western countries (especially those countries that were colonised by the British) who were seen as savages. The Australian Aborigines were reported to have been described by Stewart as ‘the aborigines of still uncivilized countries’,¹⁶⁵ as ‘black fellows’ and ‘savage tribes’,¹⁶⁶ and the music recorded in the South Pacific Islands was referred to by Stewart as the music of a ‘savage degraded race’.¹⁶⁷ The recitations of the Arabs were reported as ‘the vain repetitions of the heathen’,¹⁶⁸ reflecting the western attitude towards Muslims as a demonic people of ‘hated barbarians’.¹⁶⁹ However, as John MacKenzie reminds us, the word ‘barbaric’ should be read not in its modern one-dimensional meaning but in its nineteenth-century context ‘with its suggestions of the sublime, lack of restraint, an attractive colourful and dramatic approach, liberating new sensations on a grand scale’.¹⁷⁰ Yet for citizens of nineteenth-century Britain and France, empire was a major topic of unembarrassed cultural attention.¹⁷¹ Stewart also shared this thinking of ‘belief and

¹⁶⁴ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lecture on Music’, *DE*, 10 April 1876, p. 3. This Chinese air was taken up by Hindemith at a much later date for a series of variations, see MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 154. The ‘grotesque’ march from Weber’s *Turandot* was performed by the Philharmonic Society under Stewart’s direction on 23 March 1876, ‘Philharmonic Society’, *SN*, 20 March 1874, p. 5.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Lecture on Music’, *IT*, 13 March 1876, p. 7.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 13 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Sir R.P. Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 20 March 1876, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lecture on Music’, *IT*, 27 March 1876, p. 6.

¹⁶⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; Peregrine Books, 1985), p. 59.

¹⁷⁰ John M. MacKenzie, ‘History, Theory and the Arts’, *Orientalism: A Reader*, ed. A.L. Macfie, p. 331.

¹⁷¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), pp. xi–xii.

pride'¹⁷² in the Empire that included 'notions about bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples',¹⁷³ that the Empire was 'the embodiment and expression of a British character comprising of individuality, stoicism, a sense of duty, a sense of humour and a sense of superiority' and ultimately that Britain conducted the Empire 'for the good of its native peoples'.¹⁷⁴

In a time before Puccini's *Turandot* and *Madame Butterfly*, and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Schéhérazade* Stewart was certainly familiar with the orientalist works of Weber and David's *Le Désert* that were performed in Dublin by the University of Dublin Choral Society and the Antient Concerts Society.¹⁷⁵ That Stewart was also familiar with Verdi's operas is evident from Hercules MacDonnell's remark: 'Thus when Verdi's operas were first introduced, he was the only professional musician in Dublin who agreed with me in my high estimation of the composer's gifts'.¹⁷⁶ Stewart may also have known Bizet's *Carmen* and Delibes' *Lakmé*. Other compositions displaying elements of the exotic and performed at University of Dublin Choral Society concerts included Verdi's *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, Beethoven's *Die Ruinen von Athen* and Macfarren's *The Sleeper Awakened*. Despite his interest in the indigenous music of eastern countries, Stewart did not incorporate any elements of orientalism into his own compositions. His allegiance to the British Empire manifests itself in his composition of a song called 'The Saving of the

¹⁷² Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 14.

¹⁷³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. xi–xii.

¹⁷⁴ Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁵ Selections from Weber's *Der Freischütz*, *Oberon* and *Preciosa* appeared in the University Choral Society concerts between 1847 and 1862 and *Oberon* and David's *Le Désert* were performed by the Antient Concerts Society on 1 February 1856; see 'Antient Concerts Society', *FJ*, 2 February 1856, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 209.

Colours (Isandula)’ (RS94) to words by Mrs M. Gorges.¹⁷⁷ This song was written in memory of the members of the 24th Regiment who were killed by the Zulus at the Battle of Isandhlwana on 22 January 1879.

Two lectures on ‘Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century’ were delivered by Stewart on 20 and 22 April 1864 in the Metropolitan Hall, Abbey Street, Dublin. The purpose of these lectures was to raise money for a memorial window to John Stevenson at St Patrick’s Cathedral and Stewart’s endeavour raised a total sum of £80. An entry in the Trinity College Board Books one month earlier proposing to take twenty-five copies of Stewart’s lectures on Irish music implies that copies of Stewart’s lectures were offered for sale to raise funds for the memorial window, and this is further reinforced by a reference in the *Daily Express* to a ‘synopsis published for the purpose of enabling the audience to follow this course of the lecture’.¹⁷⁸

The content of the 1864 lectures, despite their century-specific title, included a discussion of ancient Irish minstrels, the harp, the bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland, foreign musicians (including Dubourg and Geminiani) who resided in Ireland during the eighteenth century, the origin of the state band, music societies (including the Bull’s Head Society and the Hibernian Catch Club) and eminent amateur performers of the day (exemplified by the Earl of Mornington and Surgeon John Lee).¹⁷⁹ Irish composers Thomas Carter, Philip Cogan, Thomas Cooke, John

¹⁷⁷ This song was published by John Blockley of London [1879].

¹⁷⁸ Board Meeting, 19 March 1864. TCD Board Books, 1858–62, Mun/v/5/11/2, p. 98. Unfortunately the amount paid for these lectures is not recorded in the Board Books and no copies of the lectures that were for sale are known to survive. ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures’, *DE*, 19 April 1864, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures on Irish Music’, *FJ*, 21 April 1864, p. 4 and ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures on “Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century”’, *SN*, 21 April 1864, p. 2.

Field, Thomas Augustine Geary, Michael Kelly, and John Stevenson were then discussed in the second lecture and illustrations of their music were performed by Stewart, members of the University of Dublin Choral Society and some guest performers.

Stewart extended and enhanced his discourse on ancient Irish minstrels and their instruments prepared for his 1864 lectures into a set of six talks entitled ‘Ancient Irish Music’, which he presented in the Examination Hall, Trinity College Dublin on Saturday afternoons between 18 January and 1 March 1873.¹⁸⁰ These lectures discussed the harp, the bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland, Irish instruments, collectors and traditional melodies.

The 1878 ‘Balfe Memorial Lectures’ were organized as a set of evening lectures to help finance a memorial window to Michael Balfe at St. Patrick’s Cathedral and were delivered in the Ancient Concert Hall, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin on 29 May and 5 and 12 June 1878. The content of these talks evolved from Stewart’s lectures on eighteenth-century music and musicians delivered fourteen years beforehand to which the author adjoined information on nineteenth-century Irish composers William Michael Rooke, Joseph Augustine Wade and William Vincent Wallace. The series was concluded with a detailed summary of the life and music of Michael William Balfe.

The 1864 and 1878 lectures on Irish music and musicians were prepared initially to raise funds for memorials to Stevenson and Balfe, but they also exhibit

¹⁸⁰ Stewart’s lectures took place on the following dates: 18 and 25 January, 1, 8, 22 February, and 1 March 1873.

Stewart's attempt to construct an inclusive account of Ireland's musical culture and the composers that contributed to it.¹⁸¹ A pursuit of this kind was viewed by Stewart as being of the utmost importance as the following quote from an article he wrote in connection with Wade illustrates:

It is wonderful how soon the Irish people forget their talented countrymen [...] I found the same unaccountably dull forgetfulness about the memory of Stevenson, Rooke, and Balfe. A silly bias towards politics, an appreciation of religious asperity, seems alone to animate our people; they never forget the leaders of religious or political party, but about a Carolan, a Hogan [*sic*], a Rooke, a Bary [*sic*], or an Augustine Wade, they never seem to trouble their heads.¹⁸²

It was not only musicians of a past age that Stewart wanted to document in his lectures: he considered nineteenth-century Irish composers such as Michael William Balfe, who died in 1870, equally important. In an attempt to promote the lectures to as wide an audience as possible Stewart distributed printed pamphlets advertising his 'Balfe Memorial Lectures':

With a view of erecting in St. Patrick's Cathedral — where monuments already exist to Swift, Curran, Carolan and Samuel Lover, Sir John Stevenson and other distinguished Irishmen — a stained glass window to the memory of Michael William Balfe, I propose to deliver, on the above evenings, three illustrated lectures upon Irish Music and Musicians, ending with Balfe himself. I propose that this Memorial should be in addition to that intended by the Balfe Memorial Committee, who are about to place in our National Gallery a Bust of Balfe, executed by Mr. Thomas Farrell. Aided by your personal attendance at these lectures, I trust to succeed in my object, in which I think the Irish Nation should feel interest.¹⁸³

A memorial statue to Balfe was unveiled in September 1874 at Drury Lane in London and Stewart was determined to ensure that a similar monument was funded in one of Dublin's cathedrals. The *Dublin Evening Mail* recorded Stewart as saying:

Let it be no longer said that in London Balfe's statue [*sic*] adorned Drury-lane, and his name was perpetuated by a musical scholarship, while they in Ireland, went

¹⁸¹ Stewart no doubt received a degree of acknowledgment from his peers for his efforts to raise funds for the Stevenson and Balfe memorials but it is unlikely that this was the primary incentive in his assembling the 1864 and 1878 lectures.

¹⁸² 'Irish Musical Biography', *IB*, 22 (1880), p. 96.

¹⁸³ Pamphlet located in C.L. Kenny, *Memoir of Michael William Balfe* (London: Tinsley Bros, 1875), boxed copy owned by Stewart located in IRL-Dn.

about mooning of their patriotism, and calling themselves a musical people, and they had not a scholarship, a statue, a tablet, nor even a brass plate in one of their churches to show that Balfe was an Irishman, born within five minutes walk of this hall.¹⁸⁴

A Balfe commemoration ceremony took place on 6 July 1878 at which a ‘modest marble bust’ of the composer was unveiled at the National Gallery, Dublin. At this event Stewart gave a brief account of the integration of Balfe’s music into France, Germany and Italy.¹⁸⁵ A memorial window to Balfe was eventually unveiled by the Duchess of Marlborough at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin on 12 April 1879.¹⁸⁶ The *Daily Express*, reporting on the event, paid tribute to Stewart’s idea to organise a suitable memorial to Balfe:

To Sir Robert Stewart is due credit of originating the design to erect in our National Cathedral the window which was on Saturday unveiled, and to him is also due the credit of carrying the design to a successful issue out of the proceeds of lectures delivered by him last year in the Antient Concert Rooms.¹⁸⁷

The sources that Stewart consulted to compile his lectures on Irish music and musicians will be considered, although the information contained within the lectures was not always as accurate as it might have been. Apart from obituaries of Field and Wade that appeared in the *Musical World* in 1837 and 1845 respectively and an article on Stevenson that appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1851, very little seems to have existed in print in terms of information on Cogan, Cooke, Geary, Kelly or Wallace. We know that Stewart came into possession of an incomplete set

¹⁸⁴ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Balfe Lectures’, *DEM*, 13 June 1878, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Miscellaneous Concerts, Intelligence, &c.’, *MT*, 19 (1878), p. 450. Stewart was also a member of the Balfe Memorial Fund Committee but only towards the very end of the fund-raising process. ‘The Balfe Memorial’, *IB*, 20 (1878), p. 210.

¹⁸⁶ ‘The Balfe and Moore Memorial Windows’, *IB*, 21 (1879), p. 138. William Alexander Barrett records the date of the unveiling of the memorial window as 14 April 1879 in *Balfe: His Life and Works*, 2nd edn (London: Reeves, 1883), p. 285. The following inscription appears below the window: In memory of Michael William Balfe, born in Dublin, May 15th, 1808; died at Rowney Abbey, Hertfordshire, October 20th, 1870; the most celebrated, genial, and beloved of Irish musicians. Erected April, 1879, by R.P. Stewart, Knt. Mus.D., one of the Vicars Choral.

¹⁸⁷ ‘The Balfe Memorial Window’, *DE*, 14 April 1879, p. 3.

of the 1836 to 1856 issues of the *Musical World* in which he would have read the aforementioned obituaries of Field and Wade.¹⁸⁸ Stewart owned a copy of C.L. Kenny's *Memoir of Michael William Balfe*, published in 1875, which was almost certainly used for his 1878 lectures.¹⁸⁹ Other sources available to Stewart for his 1864 and 1878 lectures included *The Biographical Treasury: A Dictionary of Universal Biography* which had reached its tenth edition by 1856, *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography* published in 1865 and *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary* published from 1867 to 1869. It is unlikely that Stewart utilized these sources, however, as he presents a different year of birth for Michael Kelly to that recorded in the three dictionaries above, and the information he conveyed on Thomas Carter does not correspond with that printed in these publications either.¹⁹⁰ This suggests that Stewart did not consult the more recent publications containing information on Irish music and musicians that were in circulation to check if there had been any revision of the birth and death dates of the composers discussed in his 1878 Balfe lectures.

Apart from some factual errors relating to the years of birth of Cogan, Geary, Kelly, Logier and Wallace, where Stewart's reported year of birth is incorrect by no more than a couple of years, the main inaccuracy within his 1864 and 1878 lectures

¹⁸⁸ The issues of the *MW* previously owned by Stewart are located in IRL-Dn at 7805 M6. The comments and indexes found intermittently within the pages of the issues are in Stewart's handwriting but it is most likely that Stewart acquired these issues at a later stage because he was only twelve years of age in 1837 and the hand-written comments match his adult hand-writing.

¹⁸⁹ This book is located in IRL-Dn, at IR 92 B3.

¹⁹⁰ According to the newspaper reports of Stewart's lecture, Michael Kelly's year of birth was given as 1765 whereas *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography*, and *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary* both list Kelly's year of birth as 1762. Edward F. Rimbault, 'Kelly, Michael', *The Imperial Dictionary of National Biography*, iii, ed. J.F. Waller (London, Glasgow and Edinburgh: Mackenzie, 1865), p. 79; 'Kelly, Michael', *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary* (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1867–1869), p. 830.

presents itself in Stewart's discussion of Thomas Carter.¹⁹¹ According to Stewart, Carter was born in Dublin in 1735, was the composer of the song 'Oh Nannie, wilt thou go with me!', was appointed organist at St Werburgh's Church in 1751 and was supplied with funds to visit the Continent by the Earl of Inchiquin. At Naples, Carter was reported to have met with the British Diplomat Sir William Hamilton and through this contact in turn met Mozart. He is also recorded by Stewart to have worked as a conductor in Calcutta for a time. It has been known since at least the publication of Grattan Flood's *A History of Irish Music* in 1905 that there were in fact two separate Thomas Carters, one who was born in 1735 and died in 1804, and a second who was born in 1769 and died in 1800. While Stewart was correct in reporting that the first Thomas Carter was organist at St Werburgh's Church, it was the second Thomas Carter who went to the Continent, met Mozart and worked as a conductor in Calcutta for a time. It appears that Stewart did not consult either *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography* or *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary* for his 1878 lectures (where Carter's dates are listed as 1758–1800 and c1758–1800 respectively). Stewart is listed as one of the thirteen contributors to *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary*, so the discrepancy in terms of Carter's dates confirms that Stewart was not the author of the Thomas Carter article for this dictionary. The only other source that has come to light that also confuses the existence of two Thomas Carters is *The National Music of Ireland*, written by Michael Conran and based on lectures delivered by him at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution in 1842 and

¹⁹¹ Stewart concedes that Wallace may have been born about 1812 or 1814 in his article on this composer for Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 'Wallace, William Vincent', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, iv, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1889), p. 377. He also admits that there is no evidence to support the claim that Wade was a clerk in the Irish Records Office. 'Wade, Joseph Augustine', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, iv, ed. George Grove, (London: Macmillan, 1889), p. 343.

published three years later.¹⁹² This suggests that Stewart may have employed Conran as a source when compiling his research on Irish composers.

Stewart records that music degrees were awarded by Trinity College Dublin to Geary and Cogan but he may not have fully verified these assertions. According to the newspaper reports of his 1864 and 1878 lectures Stewart claimed that Geary received a MusB in 1790 and that Cogan received a MusD in 1798. Even though Cogan was often referred to as ‘Dr Cogan’ there is no surviving evidence in the Trinity College ‘Registers of Degrees Conferred’ to suggest that these awards were granted by the university.¹⁹³ It is difficult to conjecture from whence Stewart might have retrieved this information: perhaps it was a rumour disseminated by word of mouth or an anecdote obtained from an unreliable source. It seems that the general public, accessed by writing to the newspapers, served as another source investigated for information. This method of enquiry never failed to attract a reply, although the accuracy of any such response called for a certain amount of caution, recollections of past events being one of the most difficult sources to accept objectively. It has already been mentioned that Stewart wrote to the *Daily Express* in 1874 when compiling his lectures on Handel to enquire as to whether anyone was aware of the exact house in Abbey Street that Handel resided at during his time in Ireland.¹⁹⁴ He also penned a letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* and the *Daily Express* in March 1880 requesting information on the birth, life and death of ‘our talented countryman, Joseph Augustine Wade’ when he was preparing his article for Grove’s *A Dictionary*

¹⁹² Michael Conran, *The National Music of Ireland, Containing the History of the Irish Bards, the National Melodies, the Harp, and Other Musical Instruments of Erin* (Dublin: Edward Bull, 1846).

¹⁹³ Register of Degrees Conferred 1742–1834 (modern copy), Mun/v/10/2.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Handel’s Visit to Dublin’, *IB*, 16 (1874), p. 338.

of *Music and Musicians*.¹⁹⁵ It was also possible for Stewart to contact the surviving relatives of some of the composers involved and he did this in the cases of Geary and Wade.

The key sources that Stewart incorporated into his 1873 lectures on ‘Ancient Irish Music’ are easily discernible and include Joseph Cooper Walker’s *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (1786), Edward Bunting’s *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1796 and 1809) and *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (1840) and Eugene O’Curry’s *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, edited by W.K. Sullivan (1873).¹⁹⁶

Walker was Stewart’s most prominent source in his first 1873 lecture when he discussed the Irish kings Ollamh Fodla and Cormac, Dubhthach (a chief bard who converted to Christianity), Fin Maccool and his son Ossian.¹⁹⁷ Walker’s comparison of the Irish caoine with the *conclamatio* of the women over the body of Dido from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the lament for Hector by his wife and female members of his family, and David’s lament for Jonathan is also utilized by Stewart and was followed in his lecture by a performance of a *caoine* that recounted a peasant mourning the death of his wife.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ ‘A Talented Irishman’, *IT*, 1 March 1880, p. 6 and ‘An Irish Composer’, *DE*, 1 March 1880, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph Cooper Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (London: T. Payne and Son and G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1786), Edward Bunting, *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (London and Dublin: W. Power, 1796), *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (London: Clementi and Comps., 1809) and *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1840). Eugene O’Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish: A Series of Lectures Delivered by the Late Eugene O’Curry, MRIA, Professor of Irish History and Archaeology in the Catholic University of Ireland*, ed. W.K. Sullivan, 3 vols (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate; Dublin: W.B. Kelly; New York: Scribner, Welford, 1873).

¹⁹⁷ All of these figures are discussed in Walker’s *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* between pages 22 and 46. ‘Lecture on Irish Music’, *DE*, 20 January 1873, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, pp. 16–19.

Stewart's lectures also cited authors referenced by Walker in his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. One such instance includes Stewart's reproduction of Giraldus Cambrensis's opinion of Irish musicians at the turn of the twelfth century in lecture six: 'our music was admitted by Giraldus to be superior to that of any nation he was acquainted with'.¹⁹⁹ Other sources that Stewart quoted, including O'Halloran and Stanihurst, are referenced by Walker and Bunting so it is probable that Stewart did not actually consult these original sources himself. Stewart referred to secondary sources only in his 1873 lectures on account of the fact that he could not speak Irish and it is here that he differed from O'Curry who did consult primary sources. Stewart's avoidance of sentiment and emotion and his tendency to portray events in a matter-of-fact way are more in line with O'Curry's processes of recording information than Walker's.

The tale of the invention of the harp or lyre as told by Charles Burney in his *General History of Music* appears in a number of Stewart's lectures including his 1862 lecture 'Music: (with illustrations) a lecture', the second of his 1873 lectures, the first of his 1875 lectures on 'stringed-keyed instruments', and his 1882 lecture entitled 'Musical Epochs and Styles'.²⁰⁰ The story, which is also contained in O'Curry's *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, describes how Mercury, while walking along the banks of the Nile happened to strike his foot against the decaying shell of a tortoise, and was inspired by the sound produced by the nerves and cartilage in the shell to invent the lyre. O'Curry gives the version of how the Irish harp or *cruit* was invented and this is also discussed by Stewart in his

¹⁹⁹ 'Lecture on Irish Music', *DEM*, 3 March 1873, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Burney, *A General History of Music*, i, p. 199. Stewart's 1862 lectures took place on 10 and 14 March 1862 and his 1882 lecture took place on 17 June 1882. Charles Burney quoted in O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, 216.

second lecture. The story recounts how a woman walking along the sea shore at Camas came upon a skeleton of a whale and as the wind passed through the sinews, she fell asleep from the sounds produced.²⁰¹

In his description of ancient Irish instruments Stewart drew from the writings of Walker and O'Curry when he described the *horn* or *benn-buabhill*, the *buinne* or *beann*, described by Walker as a kind of trumpet and a third instrument, the *corn*, which was a very large curved tube of which the Royal Irish Academy Museum had several in its possession.²⁰² The *stoc* was a smaller and shriller trumpet and the *sturgan* resembled the *stoc*. Stewart emphasised the point that no straight pipe similar to a clarinet or oboe had been discovered in Ireland. He noted that some of these curved horns were remarkable for the embouchure being placed at the side of the instrument in a similar manner to the Ashantee trumpet held at the South Kensington Museum. The different styles of music alluded to in the old Irish manuscripts were then discussed by Stewart and included the *aidbsi*, which was a sort of union of all voices, the *certan*, which was a chirping sound produced by female singers and the *dordfiansa* which was a sort of warlike song that was prevalent among the Fianna. The final type of music was a *cronan* or vocal drone bass. Other elements referred to in Stewart's talks and taken from Walker and

²⁰¹ This tale is told through a conversation between a recluse named Marbhan and a harper named Casmael. 'There once lived a couple [a man and his wife], Cuil the son of Midhuel was the man, and Canoclach Mhor was his wife. And the wife conceived a hatred to him, and she was [always] flying from him through woods and wildernesses; and he continued to follow her constantly. And one day that the woman came to the sea shore of Camas, and was walking over the strand, she met a skeleton of a whale on the strand, and she heard the sounds of the wind passing through the sinews of the whale on the strand; and she fell asleep from the sounds. And her husband came after her [and found her asleep]; and he perceived that it was from the sounds the sleep fell upon her. And he then went forward into the wood, and made the form of the *Cruit*; and he put strings from the sinews of the whale into it; and that was the first *Cruit* that was ever made.' O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, p. 236. 'Lectures on Irish Music', *DE*, 27 January 1873, p. 3.

²⁰² These instruments may refer to some of the horns now located in the National Museum of Ireland. For a modern discussion of horns and trumpets from Stone Age Ireland to medieval times see Simon O'Dwyer, *Prehistoric Music of Ireland* (Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, 2004).

O'Curry include the description of three species of musical composition used by the ancient Irish to encourage feelings of happiness, sadness and sleep/relaxation, described in Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* as 'Golltraidheacht', 'Geanttraidheacht' and 'Suantraidheacht'.²⁰³ While Stewart referred to Walker (and indeed the sources that Walker included in his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*) as a source in his 1864, 1873 and 1878 lectures, he changed his opinion of this text by 1886 and referred to the source as 'an amusing but most unreliable book'.²⁰⁴ One of the main reasons for this is probably O'Curry's criticism of Walker in his own writings.

Elements of Stewart's 1873 lectures were to re-surface in lectures delivered in 1884, 1890, 1893, and 1894 and in a letter written in 1886. For example, the third lecture of the 1873 series, based on the bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland, was delivered on 27 March 1884, under the auspices of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. A single lecture entitled 'Irish Music', which was a synopsis of his fifth and sixth 1873 lectures, was delivered on 2 January 1890 in Cork, and on 24 November 1893, and 21 February 1894 in Dublin. His article on 'Irish Music' published in Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 1880 contained elements of his 1864, 1873 and 1878 lectures in which we see a liberal (and often unacknowledged) utilization of Walker, Bunting and O'Curry.²⁰⁵ These sources are evident when Stewart discussed the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, the earliest publications of Irish traditional music, the harp of Brian Boru, the Dalway Harp, celebrated harpers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the different types of Irish wind

²⁰³ Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, p. 66, O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, p. 214.

²⁰⁴ Robert Prescott Stewart, 'Irish Church Music', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, (1895), p. 129.

²⁰⁵ Robert Prescott Stewart, 'Irish Music', *A New Dictionary of Music and Musicians A.D. 1450–1880*, ii, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan, 1880), pp. 18–22.

instruments and some characteristic features of Irish airs. An article entitled ‘Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach’, published in the *Daily Express* on 23 December 1889, was also based on the second lecture of the 1873 series.²⁰⁶

Emma Costello argues that writings on Irish music history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries conform to three paradigms.²⁰⁷ The first paradigm, represented by Walker and Bunting, exhibits a ‘reverence for the past’ whereby music was seen as ‘an artefact worthy of preservation, rather than rejuvenation or development’, and demonstrates the influence of the antiquarian movement. The second paradigm reflects the nineteenth-century tendency of using history as ‘a tool which could be used to illustrate the injustice of colonialism and forward the nationalist argument.’ Authors in this category interpreted the Anglicisation of Ireland and the fate of Irish music in more political terms than the first and third paradigms. Costello argues that scholars such as O’Curry and Joseph Hardiman and books aimed at non-academic audiences by Michael Conran, Laurence Ranehan and Thomas Mooney all fall under this section. Her final paradigm relates to scholars and historians in the early-twentieth century who exhibit a ‘defensive attitude toward Irish cultural matters, evident in the constant efforts to assert greatness in cultural spheres, including music’.²⁰⁸ She cites an inability among early twentieth-century historians to adopt modern methods of research and presentation (including the growing recognition of musicology) as one of the primary reasons for the existence of the third paradigm.

²⁰⁶ Robert Prescott Stewart, ‘Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach’, *DE*, 23 December 1889, p. 12.

²⁰⁷ Emma Costello, ‘Paradigms of Irish Music History’ (unpublished MA diss., NUI Maynooth, 1998).

²⁰⁸ Costello, ‘Paradigms of Irish Music History’, p. vi.

If Costello's three categories of paradigms are accepted, to which does Stewart's style of recording Irish music history belong? As the only extant information relating to Stewart's lecture on Irish music and musicians presents itself in the newspaper reports of his talks, it is difficult to surmise which of the three paradigms Stewart would fall under. However, if we accept that the newspaper articles are a relatively accurate transcription of Stewart's talks it is possible to discuss how we may compare and contrast Stewart's research methods and opinions with those of Walker, Bunting and O'Curry.

Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* displays not only an antiquarian approach to Irish music history, but elevates the standing of the bards of Ireland to figures of esteemed intellectual importance. From the reports of Stewart's lectures, it is evident that Stewart followed a more factual approach and certainly avoided any sentimentality in the facts that he borrowed from Walker. When Stewart referred to the Irish nation as being a musical people from an 'early period' in his lectures on Irish music,²⁰⁹ he imitated closely the 'constant reference to and exaggeration of Ireland's cultural and musical prowess' apparent in Walker who described how 'Ireland has long been famed for its Poetry and Music'.²¹⁰

Stewart's discussion of the 'Brian Boru' harp in lecture two was described by the *Daily Express* as a 'detailed account' that encompassed the writings of Vallancey, Petrie and O'Curry. Although the newspapers did not go into detail in recording this information, it is highly probable that Stewart's section on the Boru

²⁰⁹ 'Professor Stewart's Lectures on "Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century"', *SN*, 21 April 1864, p. 2; 'The Balfé Memorial – Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', *IT*, 30 May 1878, p. 6; Stewart, 'Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach', *DE*, 23 December 1889, p. 12.

²¹⁰ Costello, 'Paradigms of Irish Music History', p. 132. Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 67.

harp was a synopsis of Bunting's *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* and *The Ancient Music of Ireland* and O'Curry's *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*.²¹¹ The editor of O'Curry's writings, W.K. Sullivan, was also publicly thanked for allowing Stewart to use the proof sheets of his edition of O'Curry's lectures. Described by Stewart as 'the most ancient and [...] most beautifully shaped harps in Europe', a wire strung model of the Boru harp was on display at the lecture and Ossianic songs, caoines and tunes including 'The Coolin', 'The Valley Lay Smiling', 'Remember the Glories of Brian the Brave' and 'Weep on!' were performed upon it. A plaster of Paris model of the Dalway harp and diagrams of the scales utilized in Irish traditional music and the advantages of the Irish bagpipe over the Scottish pipes were exhibited. This indicates that Stewart's belief was not that traditional Irish music was a dying custom being performed for the last time, but on the contrary was a living entity, worthy of rejuvenation. Stewart's invitation to performers such as Mrs. Mackey [Emilie Glover], professor of harp at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Mr Hingston, a Scottish piper (and steward at Trinity College) and Mr Bohun (Bowen), an Irish piper to perform at his lectures highlights his attempt at rejuvenation. Bunting's arrangement of harp and traditional music for the piano in his collections of music contrasts with Stewart's approach. The piano was an instrument of increasing popularity in the drawing rooms of the nineteenth century, and as Costello asserts, Bunting's choice of piano arrangements in favour of those for harp provide 'the sense that he is discussing harping and traditional music as a dead or dying art, rather than something capable of revival'.²¹² David Cooper points out the validity of the argument that although

²¹¹ See Bunting, *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 23; George Petrie, 'Memoir of Ancient Irish Harp Preserved in Trinity College', *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 40 and O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, iii, p. 267.

²¹² Costello, 'Paradigms of Irish Music History', p. 42.

Bunting was writing his arrangements for the piano ‘he was drawing on the characteristics of the harping tradition in his arrangements’.²¹³ Stewart’s treatment of the harps and their repertoire also contrasts strongly with that of O’Curry, who as Costello writes:

Still treats musical history as an ‘artefact’, displaying the facts in the same manner and avoiding stylistic developments. Nowhere are his antiquarian leanings so prevalent as in the section on musical instruments.²¹⁴

In his 1889 article entitled ‘Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach’ Stewart commented in a rather defeated tone that the Irish harp was ‘irretrievably gone’. Stewart attributed the loss of the harp to the ‘greater portability of flutes and violins’, and to the ‘totally changed tastes of the people and the vast consequent emigration which followed’ after the 1847 famine.²¹⁵ The Royal Irish Academy of Music engaged one of the ‘first English harpists’ to visit Dublin to offer harp lessons free of charge to any girls willing to learn the ‘national instrument’ according to Stewart and his willingness to continue the legacy of the harp (albeit with modern interpretations) reflects a positive approach in his attempt to preserve the instrument and its music. Stewart concluded his article by recording his hopes that in the near future the Academy would offer another harp class.²¹⁶

As Costello notes, chapter five of Bunting’s 1840 collection provides an example of one of the few places where he equates the decline of Irish music with the colonisation and Anglicisation of Ireland.²¹⁷ In his 1893 lecture, delivered in

²¹³ David Cooper, “‘Twas one of those Dreams that by Music are Brought’: the development of the piano and the preservation of Irish traditional music”, *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 78.

²¹⁴ Costello, ‘Paradigms of Irish Music History’, p. 87.

²¹⁵ Stewart, ‘Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach’, *DE*, 23 December 1889, p. 12.

²¹⁶ Stewart, ‘Ancient Irish Music: The Clarseach’, *DE*, 23 December 1889, p. 12.

²¹⁷ Costello, ‘Paradigms of Irish Music History’, p. 43.

conjunction with the Church Ladies' Association, Stewart apportioned the blame for the disappearance of Ireland's cultured civilization on the Norman invasion:

Among the wonderful things connected with our country is the almost total disappearance after the Norman conquest of that civilization and refinement which Ireland once enjoyed. It was only a short time since that our English neighbours not only looked upon us as objects of barbarism, but believed that we never had been anything else, and all this in disregard of our beautifully illustrated manuscripts of the sixteenth [*sic*] century.²¹⁸

Further on in the lecture Stewart referred to the wars 'which desolated Ireland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' and led to the 'languish and decay' of all the arts.²¹⁹ These statements imply that Stewart favoured the 'Phoenician model' of the origins of the Irish, discussed in detail by Joep Leersson. Leersson explains that with this model 'ancient Ireland had a native tradition of high civility, which was [...] lost owing to the violent destruction and wholesale ruin that was brought upon the country in modern times'.²²⁰ The Phoenician model contrasts with the more conservative anglocentric 'Scytho-Celtic model' which 'saw the Irish as savages and the English presence as a force of civility'.²²¹ Stewart alluded to the attitude of the Scytho-Celtic model in the final lecture of the 1873 set when he discussed how Moore's *Melodies* became very popular in the drawing room of middle- and upper-class England, 'amongst whom it was the fashion at that time to regard Ireland as a country of barbarians, without a history or any traditions of art'.²²² Stewart was the archetype of the establishment Victorian gentleman in Dublin. He was knighted in 1872 and it was not uncommon for his more popular lectures to be attended by the family of the Lord Lieutenant. As a result of this, Stewart was conscious not to dwell

²¹⁸ 'Lecture by Sir R. Stewart on Irish Music', *DE*, 25 November 1893, p. 5.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²²⁰ Joep Leerssen, 'The Challenge of the Past: History and Antiquity', *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), p. 74.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²²² 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 3 March 1873, p. 3.

on too much negative comment on the Anglicisation of Ireland in his public lectures but it is also likely that he simply did not have much negative feeling on the topic.

When delivering his public lectures on Irish music and musicians (both ancient and modern) Stewart's motivations were not only to demonstrate his own level of knowledge on the subject or to raise funds for the Stevenson and Balfe memorials. His aim was to circulate as much information as possible on largely forgotten musicians such as Cogan, Cooke, Field, Geary, Kelly, and Stevenson and to ensure that an awareness of these composers was promoted and maintained.

Stewart's style of delivering his lectures and the inclusion of anecdotes display an attempt to popularise his lectures by adding an element of light-hearted entertainment to his talks. This in turn indicates that his audience were well-informed amateurs who appreciated tales and yarns of amusement. The impression gathered from the newspaper reports of his lectures is that Stewart, standing on the podium or raised area of the lecture hall, read his lectures *verbatim* from written notes, mirroring the format exhibited by his counterpart at Cambridge, William Sterndale Bennett, whose lectures consisted of a written text interspersed with musical illustrations performed by the lecturer and/or guest musicians.²²³ Temperley notes that this method itself was borrowed from William Crotch, music professor at Oxford from 1797 to 1847, who referred to the musical illustrations as live 'specimens' of music.²²⁴ Howard Irving asserts that the format of lecture-recital that Crotch utilized presented the opportunity to illustrate points of importance in the musical examples

²²³ Temperley and Yang, eds, *Lectures on Musical Life: William Sterndale Bennett*, pp. 5, 8. In the case of Stewart's lectures, the musicians were taken from the amateur and professional spectrum of singers and instrumentalists in Dublin.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

and this in turn ‘made them arguably a superior, though admittedly a more ephemeral, vehicle for criticism in any case’.²²⁵ This structure remained popular throughout the nineteenth century and was well established when Stewart, Sterndale Bennett and Ouseley came to lecture in public.²²⁶

Stewart appears to have been quite comfortable in the public arena and was certainly not shy when faced with a large audience. Writing to Bell in 1890 he recalled his own mistakes in his earliest lectures:

I found after all I had begun the lecture in 1862 with two grave faults; 1st, speaking too fast; 2nd, I dropped my voice at the end of some sentences, whereby very often the verb, or some other important word, was lost. Of course, there are some places (like St. Patrick’s) where every word is easily heard; others (like Christ Church) [...] I need hardly remark that to unduly raise your voice, or develop into shouting is a grave fault; it makes everyone who listens unhappy, lest the speaker should exhaust himself.²²⁷

Once these errors were addressed, Stewart grew in confidence as a public orator. There is no evidence to suggest that Stewart was dictated to by the board of Trinity College Dublin in relation to the themes that he chose for his lectures, reflecting the autonomy that he experienced in his role as music professor. Unfortunately, neither Stewart’s notebooks nor his diaries exist today making it difficult to examine his writing processes in much detail. What is certain, however, is that Stewart did not baffle his audience with an over-indulgence in technical terms; instead he presented

²²⁵ Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 14.

²²⁶ Sterndale Bennett’s biographer (who was also his son) described the methods of his father William when preparing for his lectures: ‘He took great pains over the selection of musical illustrations. He wrote concisely and clearly. His voice was singularly expressive, and he had an excellent delivery. He always rehearsed his lectures by reading them aloud to his friend George Hogarth. His opinions, however, on music and musicians were given with his habitual restraint, and for that reason the lectures which he left in manuscript are unsatisfying. They give the impression that he often checked himself just as he was on the verge of letting out something very interesting. There are sentences scratched out which confirm this impression’. J.R. Sterndale Bennett, *Life of William Sterndale Bennett*, p. 333.

²²⁷ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to Revd George Bell, 27 November 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 186.

his discourse in a clear and concise manner that was fully accessible to all members of his audience. Stewart's approach to humour and anecdotes, his utilization of visual aids in the form of paintings, diagrams and instruments, and his incorporation of live musical illustrations in his lectures indicate that he provided talks notable for their academic merit and, perhaps more importantly to his audience, their entertainment value.

The dissemination of anecdotal information is a characteristic that was utilized successfully by Stewart when incorporating an element of entertainment into his lectures and the device is particularly evident in his 1873, 1875, 1878 and 1884 lectures. With this particular method, the lecturer was popularizing the content of his talks thereby ensuring and maintaining the attention of the majority of his mostly well-informed, non-specialist audience.

The anecdotes incorporated into Stewart's 1875 lectures reflect the type of humour that was well-received by a nineteenth-century audience and provide an insight into one element of Stewart's approach to lecturing. Lamenting the fact that there was only a small number of extant eighteenth-century keyboard instruments in Ireland, Stewart explained to his audience how some instruments that did manage to survive into the nineteenth century were put to alternative use by their respective owners. This was recorded by the *Daily Express* as follows:

Those who possess specimens [...] have either permitted the 'jacks' to be pulled out by the children, or converted the instruments to even baser uses. One lady I know to have employed the case of her harpsichord as a pantry-press, and kept butter and eggs in it, the jacks and strings being destroyed. [...] Again two of my former pupils had married into ancient Irish country families; both ladies thought there was a harpsichord somewhere. At length one was found in a harness-room in a remote part of the building—the other in a dark cellar. Both the instruments had been utterly destroyed by damp and neglect. I trust, however, that by directing attention to the matter, some of these once-valued old instruments (for in some families spinets were

left by will to particularly musical individuals), may yet be rescued from their neglected state and rendered playable. Many harpsichords had been destroyed for the sake of their beautifully painted panels. I myself was witness to this process of destruction, for when visiting Erard's factory last year, I saw a set of panels, representing nymphs, shepherds, and satyrs, about to be fastened outside the works of a new grand piano. I thought how much better to have left the antique instrument in its own quaintly ornamented case, and to have enclosed the magnificent Erard works in their usual plain but elegant envelope of rosewood.²²⁸

When Stewart traced the progress of Irish music from early times to the nineteenth century in his 1878 lectures he spoke specifically about a certain incident relating to a double bass player in the Crow Street Theatre orchestra:

In Crow Street Theatre there was a double bass which was said to have been bought over here at the visit of Handel, of rather small size, but peculiarly excellent tone. It met its end in a ludicrous way. The orchestra was lighted with candles, and the performers used to snuff them with their fingers; and the double-bass player used to drop the snuff of the candle through one of the holes in the soundboard of his instrument into its interior. A wag observed this, and dropped a quantity of gunpowder into the hole unperceived. The next time the player snuffed his candle the double bass was blown to pieces.²²⁹

Likewise, when discussing the biography of William Rooke, Stewart described how Rooke attracted the notice of John Fallon, 'the Levey of those days', who gave him violin lessons and introduced him to an amateur society consisting of Fallon's own pupils, whereupon Rooke's multifarious talents would be called into practice:

It was there that Rooke acquired his skill on various instruments, so as to be ready to supply the place of any absent member. Thus if Mr. Bass-clef happened to be away, Fallon would exclaim to Rooke 'Billy, you are bassoon to-night'. If Mr. Double-tongue, the flautist, failed to appear, the cry would be 'Where are you, Billy? Where's your flute? When Mr. Thumbshift happened to be not present, Bill might be seen mounted on the stool, with his instrument between his knees. In like manner the double bass of Mr. Strongbow, the Frenchhorn of Mr. Dramcrook, the viola of Mr. Longstop, and the clarionet of Mr. Squeakreed, were no longer silent in the absence of their respective owners.²³⁰

²²⁸ 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 5 April 1875, p. 3.

²²⁹ 'The Balfé Memorial: Irish Music and Musicians', *DE*, 13 June 1878, p. 3.

²³⁰ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', *IT*, 13 June 1878, p. 7.

His 1884 lecture on the bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland recounts a passage from Daniel Defoe's *History of the Plague of London* that described a piper, mistaken for a dead body who:

Lay drunk in the street amongst the dead bodies, was forked up in the usual way and pitched into the dead cart, pipes and all; but the fresh air and the jolting of the cart awakened him, and wondering where he was, he sat up in the cart and began to play with all his might and main, whereupon the cart-men fled in terror. The piper continuing to play, the people approached the cart, and saw the piper seated upon the dead bodies. He roared out, "Where am I?" "In the dead cart" was the reply. "But I am not dead, am I?" roared the piper, who, being helped out, went about his business, doubtless a wiser if not a better man, and thoroughly sobered by his grim adventure.²³¹

Culwick's summation of Stewart as a humorous lecturer who used pleasantry to 'work his audience to a high state of merriment' certainly seems to have been the case based on his incorporation of humour into his talks and yet he managed to intersperse his moments of fun between serious facts and reasoning.²³²

Musical illustrations were essential to Stewart's lectures on music and were provided not only by the lecturer himself, but also by amateur male and female members of the University of Dublin Society, piano pupils from the Royal Irish Academy of Music and on occasion members of the Strollers' Club. Stewart played extracts from the *Water Music* (HWV348–50), *Nero* (HWV2), *Almira* (HWV1) and *Siroe* (HWV24) in his 1874 lectures on Handel and this pleased the reporter of the *Saunders's News-Letter* in particular, who reported that Stewart's performance at the piano was 'a real treat, as the instrument was thus touched by a master-hand'.²³³ The 'Hallelujah' chorus was performed by twenty-five or thirty voices, accompanied by a band consisting of an oboe, four violins, two violas, two violoncellos, a double bass

²³¹ 'The Bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland Compared', *CE*, 28 March 1884, p. 3.

²³² Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: With Reminiscences of His Life and Works*, p. 11.

²³³ 'Handel Lectures', *SN*, 23 March 1874, p. 2.

and a fine Erard grand piano that was probably hired by the lecturer for the set of six lectures.²³⁴ According to the same newspaper, ‘perhaps the most interesting’ musical illustration throughout Stewart’s lectures on Handel was the performance of the first of the six [organ] concertos (op.4) ‘by a young lady amateur, accompanied by a small but complete band [...] the concerto was delightfully played on as fine-tone an Erard piano as it has ever been our lot to hear’.²³⁵ N.P. Healy’s violin solo from *Berenice* was described by the *Saunders’s News-Letter* as ‘exquisitely performed [...] amid a silence so deep that one might hear a pin drop’.²³⁶

For his lectures on ‘stringed-keyed instruments’, Stewart performed Bull’s *Variations on the six notes of the hexachord*, and Byrd’s *The Carman’s Whistle* from *Queen Elizabeth’s Virginal Book* (the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*),²³⁷ a portion of one of Handel’s concertos on the Weber harpsichord, an adagio in E flat by Mozart and a prelude in C minor from Bach’s forty-eight preludes and fugues. Some of Stewart’s piano pupils were also invited to perform at these lectures.²³⁸ Elena Norton and Mrs Mackey provided some of the musical illustrations in his 1878 Balfe Memorial Lectures.²³⁹

Another fundamental ingredient to Stewart’s lecturing-style consisted of the exhibition of portrait paintings, diagrams, instruments and period instruments. These lecture aids enhanced the experience of the audience through their ability to see

²³⁴ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Handel’, *DE*, 30 March 1874, p. 3.

²³⁵ ‘Handel Lectures’, *SN*, 30 March 1874, p. 2.

²³⁶ ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Handel’, *DE*, 30 March 1874, p. 3.

²³⁷ Stewart utilizes *The Carman’s Whistle* in the tenth movement of his 1892 *Tercentenary Ode*, the text of which refers to the establishment of Trinity College by Queen Elizabeth in 1592. See chapter three for more information on Stewart’s *Tercentenary Ode*.

²³⁸ ‘Lectures in Trinity College, Music’, *DEM*, 19 April 1875, p. 4. See pp. 157–58 for details of the piano music that these students performed at Stewart’s 1875 lectures.

²³⁹ ‘The Balfe Memorial: Irish Music and Musicians’, *DE*, 30 May 1878, p. 3.

images of the composers and performers that Stewart discussed and to examine some of the instruments that were exhibited at the lectures. In his third lecture of the 1873 group on Irish music, Stewart proceeded to discuss a large drawing in Indian ink which was on display on the dais. The description of the picture, drawn by James Rogers for the occasion, confirms that it is the same picture from Derrick's *The Image of Irelande* (1581),²⁴⁰ reproduced by George Petrie in Bunting's 1840 *The Ancient Music of Ireland*.²⁴¹ According to the *Daily Express* Stewart concentrated on the 'interesting' elements of the illustration: the unusually large pipes, the shoes of leather, the flowing sleeves, sword, *glib* (bushy head of hair) and *crommeal* (moustache) of the piper.²⁴²

J.C. Smith, described in the *Saunders's News-Letter* as a 'noted print collector' and the possessor of a 'fine collection of engravings', loaned a number of portraits and prints to the college for the purpose of Stewart's lectures on Handel.²⁴³ Stewart had also managed to locate 'two very scarce' caricatures of Handel that dated from 1730 and 1754 and according to the lecturer, the caricatures on display were 'probably the only copies of the original cartoons which could be found at that moment in the whole of Ireland'.²⁴⁴ Revd Richard Johnson of Kilmore Rectory,

²⁴⁰ John Derrick, *The Image of Irelande, With a Discoverie of Woodkarne* (London, 1581).

²⁴¹ Petrie, 'Memoir of Ancient Irish Harp Preserved in Trinity College', p. 57.

²⁴² Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, p. 134.

²⁴³ 'Handel Lectures', *SN*, 30 March 1874, p. 2. Stewart may have been referring to John Chaloner Smith (1827–1895), a civil engineer and writer on art and author of *British Mezzotinto Portraits ... with Biographical Notes* (1878–1884). See D.J. O'Donoghue, rev. Lucy Dixon, 'Smith, John Chaloner (1827–1895)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25855>> [accessed 29 March 2008]. Portraits on display at Stewart's lectures included those of Farinello, Bononcini, Anastasia Robinson, Carestini, Senesino, Mrs Cibber and Heidegger. 'Fourth Lecture on Handel's Life and Times', *DE*, 16 March 1874, p. 3. Paintings that formed part of the display at the 1875 lectures included those of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Henry Purcell, Marie Antoinette, Bach, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Mozart, Purcell, Lully, Stanley, Samuel Wesley, Rev W. Mason (of York), Mrs Anastasia Robinson, Mrs. Billington, Princess Czartoryski, and others associated with keyed instruments.

²⁴⁴ 'Lecture on Music', *DEM*, 23 March 1874, p. 5. Even though Stewart attributes two caricatures of Handel to Joseph Goupy, the *DE* only describes one caricature of Handel, known as 'The Harmonious

Armagh, W.J. Fitzpatrick, George Finlayson, Mr. Pigott,²⁴⁵ Mr Mathews of Winetavern Street and ‘many of the Dublin musicians and the most eminent amateurs’ were thanked by Stewart for their contributions in his final lecture.²⁴⁶

Instruments on display in the Examination Hall for Stewart’s lectures on stringed-keyed instruments’ included an Indian harmonicon of ironwood, a dulcimer, two zithers,²⁴⁷ a Steinway piano, an Erard grand piano, a bagpipe, a viola d’amour, and a spinet made by Stephen Keene,²⁴⁸ the tone of which caused ‘much amusement’ among Stewart’s audience.²⁴⁹ A harpsichord built by Dublin-based maker Ferdinand Weber was on display at the third lecture,²⁵⁰ and the *Daily Express* recorded that ‘by

Boar’ or ‘The Charming Brute’ in which he was portrayed as a boar with an enormous wig playing a small organ. Stewart is not recorded as having mentioned the owner(s) of these caricatures in his lecture. ‘Handel Lectures at Trinity College’, *DE*, 23 March 1874, p. 3. See David Hunter, ‘Patronizing Handel: inventing audiences’, *EM*, xxviii (2000), p. 32. See the National Portrait Gallery website for details on Thomas Hudson’s engraving of Handel, National Portrait Gallery, ‘George Frideric Handel’, <<http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/person.asp?LinkID=mp02016&role=sit&page=2>> [accessed 14 April 2008]. Stewart also exhibited several engravings of Thomas Hudson’s portrait of Handel, a bust, a mask from the cast belonging to Revd Mr Evans of Gloucester, a medal, and many other representations of Handel including Francis Kyte’s picture of the composer. ‘Sir R. Stewart’s Lectures on Handel’, *DE*, 30 March 1874, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ Mr. Pigott was possibly a son or relative of Samuel J. Pigott (c1800–1853), a cellist, music and instrument seller and publisher located at 112 Grafton Street, Dublin. Upon Samuel J. Pigott’s death the business was taken over by his wife and family and appears as Pigott and Co. in the 1867 edition of *TD*, p. 1748. See Lisa Parker, ‘Pigott, Samuel J.’, and ‘Pigott and Co.’, *EMIR*, gen. eds Barra Boydell and Harry White, forthcoming.

²⁴⁶ ‘Handel Lectures’, *SN*, 30 March 1874, p. 2.

²⁴⁷ These zithers were on loan to Stewart from two ladies whom he described as ‘almost strangers’. ‘Trinity College Dublin: Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 15 March 1875, p. 3.

²⁴⁸ This spinet may have been built by Keene in collaboration with Edward Blunt or Charles Brackley. See Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*, ed. Charles Mould (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 413–19, 677–78 and Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2003), p. 195. The location of these instruments is not known today.

²⁴⁹ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’s Lectures on Keyed Instruments’, *DE*, 22 March 1875, p. 3.

²⁵⁰ Writing to James Culwick one week before his death, Stewart informed him that the University of Dublin Choral Society hoped to perform Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas* ‘*nello stilo antico!*’ with strings and harpsichord only and the society members had contacted Kilbey and Kenny to transport a harpsichord from the house of Mr. Smyth to their premises in Kildare Street. In the letter Stewart requested Culwick’s assistance in playing the harpsichord as he had done at the Tercentenary Festival two years beforehand. The performance was cancelled due to the death of the society’s conductor. Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to James Culwick, 17 March 1894, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 216. Kilbey and Kenny owned a piano warehouse and offered a tuning and instrument repair service specialising in pianos, harmoniums and American organs. In 1892 they were located at 14 Kildare

the kindness of the great London firms' Stewart was able to exhibit 'working models' of the Hopkinson, Erard, and Broadwood mechanisms, which were according to the newspaper, 'most ingenious examples of engineering on a minute scale'.²⁵¹

Diagrams on 'large sheets of drawing paper' representing players of the kinnor and dulcimer, the spinet, clavichord, a female figure playing the virginal and a king or crowned figure playing the psaltery were on display at the second of his 1875 lectures.²⁵² Photographs of the harp, lyre, dulcimer, spinet and virginal were also on display and nearly forty mounted photographs relevant to Stewart's lecture topic were loaned by R.H. Soden Smith of the National Art Library of the South Kensington Exhibition.²⁵³ A 'Mr Rogers' of Limerick Cathedral and Ouseley loaned photographs of a 1741 spinet and a 1773 harpsichord respectively.²⁵⁴ At the conclusion of the lecture when Stewart spoke of the instruments contained in Daniel 3, 'Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra', consisting of a flute, dulcimer, bagpipe and Chinese gong, performed one of Napoleon's marches in an attempt to demonstrate the ensemble referenced during the time of Nebuchadnezzar.²⁵⁵

Stewart's lectures educated his audiences on the music and musicians of Ireland, the indigenous music of 'savage' cultures, the current trends in European art music and the music of composers including Handel and Wagner. Members of the

Street, Dublin and by 1913 they had moved to 17 Nassau Place, Dublin. *IT*, 5 April 1892, p.1 and *TD* (1903), p. 1913.

²⁵¹ 'Trinity College Dublin', *DE*, 12 April 1875, p. 3.

²⁵² 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Keyed Instruments', *DE*, 22 March 1875, p. 3.

²⁵³ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to the editor of the *Times*, 15 July 1875, 'South Kensington and Dublin', *Times*, 16 July 1875, p. 11.

²⁵⁴ In a letter from Robert Stewart to Charles Salaman dated June 1883 by Vignoles, Stewart wrote: 'When I spent a week with Sir F. Gore Ouseley he had an old harpsichord, in good condition, on which I took pleasure in playing that 'tootle-tootle' school of music!', Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 142.

²⁵⁵ 'String-keyed Instruments', *DEM*, 22 March 1875, p. 4.

university choral society, music degree applicants, officials and singers associated with Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, members of the university community amateur music makers, and other prominent members of the public with an interest in music all constituted Stewart's audience. His lectures were almost always reported as having been densely crowded by a 'numerous and most respectable audience,' an expression employed by many reporters in relation to lectures held at Trinity College at the time. Most of the reports from the various daily Dublin newspapers introduced their critique of Stewart's lectures by describing how 'every nook and corner [was] seemingly occupied by eager listeners'.²⁵⁶ The fellows, professors and students of Trinity College also attended Stewart's lectures, and occasionally a guest such as the wife of the Lord Lieutenant would also attend adding to the social status of the occasion.

As a consequence of the large number of people who could not gain entry to Stewart's lecture on the bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland (1873), it was decided that he would repeat a sizable portion of the talk again at his fourth lecture the following week. A 'vast crowd' that extended 'many yards into the College courts' had assembled to gain admission to Stewart's third lecture on 'The Life and Works of Handel' (1874) and several ladies had to be removed from the Examination Hall 'in a fainting state' as a result of 'crushing and squeezing' that took place in the hall.²⁵⁷ In fact, sometimes it was impossible for the reporters themselves to gain entry as this anecdote from the reporter of the *Irish Times* demonstrates in relation to Stewart's fourth lecture on Handel:

²⁵⁶ 'Professor Stewart's Lectures', *IT*, 23 April 1864, p. 3.

²⁵⁷ 'Lecture on Handel—Trinity College', *SN*, 9 March 1874, p. 3. 'Trinity College: Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', *FJ*, 9 March 1874, p. 3.

There was a crowded attendance. A representative from the *Irish Times* applied for admission *before* the hour announced for the lecture, and was refused admission by a College porter on the ground that the hall was full. It might be worthwhile for Sir Robert Stewart or the College authorities to consider whether it would not be well to reserve a place for reporters on such occasions.²⁵⁸

The *Daily Express* recorded that the venue for Stewart's 1875 lectures had a capacity of between six and seven hundred people and the attendance seems to have increased with each lecture delivered.²⁵⁹ The fourth lecture was allegedly:

The most fully attended of the series [...] The body of the hall was filled, also the platform reserved for the families of the College dons and the performers who illustrated the lecture. The crowd still increasing, however, the organ gallery was opened and soon occupied.²⁶⁰

By lecture five, the *Irish Times* reported how 'latecomers had to leave in scores, in consequence of not being able to gain mere standing room inside the doors,'²⁶¹ and the newspaper reports of the *Dublin Evening Mail* relating to the final lecture described that:

A considerable time before the hour announced for the delivery of the lecture the building was crowded—chiefly by ladies—and it was found necessary to make increased accommodation on the platform, the gallery, and other parts of the hall.²⁶²

At the conclusion of Stewart's final lecture the audience showed their appreciation and the students gave 'three cheers' for their music professor.²⁶³

In the 1880s it is evident that Stewart was becoming frustrated with the refusal of his Dublin audiences to come to lectures which involved an entrance fee in order to raise funds for memorials to other Dublin musicians. In a letter dating from 1883 Stewart wrote:

²⁵⁸ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Musical Lectures', *IT*, 16 March 1874, p. 2.

²⁵⁹ 'Trinity College Dublin: Lectures on Music', *DE*, 15 March 1875, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ 'Lectures on Music', *DE*, 5 April 1875, p. 3.

²⁶¹ 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', *FJ*, 12 April 1875, p. 7.

²⁶² 'Lectures in Trinity College: Music', *DEM*, 19 April 1875, p. 4.

²⁶³ 'Lectures in Trinity College: Music', *DEM*, 19 April 1875, p. 4.

But after delivering about six annual sets of lectures – 36 in all, I got disgusted with the Dubliners, who flocked in great crowds to *gratis* lectures, but attended very badly when I wanted to raise funds for my two memorial windows to Stevenson and Balfe, although I kept the tickets so low that 6d. admitted to hear my lectures, illustrated by specimens of the best musicians and full of local chat of days gone by, without any political or religious tint (or *taint* if you prefer the word). Feeling after this that it was only whiskey and furious political harangues that the Irish want, I made a resolution never to give them another free lecture, and I won't!²⁶⁴

Stewart no doubt softened in his opinion as time went by because he did deliver at least seven lectures in Cork and Dublin during the next decade.

It is interesting to note that the content of six articles entitled 'Music Past and Present in Ireland' published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* between 1 March and 5 April 1875 is similar to that found in Stewart's lectures on 'Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century' and 'Ancient Irish Music'. The articles were written specially for the newspaper but are unfortunately unsigned. It is unlikely that Stewart wrote the articles for two reasons: the birth date for Michael Kelly is given as 1762 and Stewart recorded Kelly's birth date as 1765 in both his 1864 and 1873 lectures, and it is highly unlikely that Stewart would have written the following praiseworthy section about himself that appeared in the same article:

Certainly if ever the right man was in the right place Sir Robert Stewart is. He is thoroughly devoted to his art. He by his tact awakens curiosity in its history and development, and he satisfies that curiosity by the rare resources of his highly informed and cultivated mind. As a musician he holds a high place amongst the foremost in these kingdoms [...] Seldom, indeed have so many qualities of the musician been found in one man.²⁶⁵

Similar topics of discussion that appeared in Stewart's lectures and the 'Music Past and Present in Ireland' articles include the bards of ancient Ireland, Ollamh Fodhla, Tara, Ossian, the Danish invasion, the Brian Boru harp, Denis Hempson, Carolan,

²⁶⁴ Letter from Robert Stewart to Miss [Edith Oldham] dated 24 November 1883, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 147.

²⁶⁵ 'Music Past and Present in Ireland VI', *DEM*, 5 April 1875, p. 3.

the Earl of Mornington and other amateur instrumentalists of the nobility, the Academy of Dublin, the Anacreontic Society, the Hibernian Catch Club, Michael Kelly, Thomas Carter, John Andrew Stevenson and John Smith. Needless to say if one was to summarise the writings of Walker, Bunting and O'Curry, many of these topics would be mentioned so it is not unusual that the subject matter above is common to Stewart's lectures and the newspaper articles. This makes the conjecture that the author of the newspaper articles may have referenced the content of Stewart's articles difficult to prove.

Stewart was not the only musician in Ireland who lectured on music. F. St John Lacy's article: 'Notes on Irish Music' delivered on 2 June 1890 demonstrates another synopsis of the writings of Bunting and O'Curry.²⁶⁶ Its subject matter consists of the musical instruments of ancient Ireland, the harp of Brian Boru, the earliest published collection of Irish music, the Belfast Harp Festival and the scales employed in Irish traditional music. These topics also appear in Annie Patterson's (see Appendix V) lecture on the 'Harp and Irish Music', delivered in November 1895, her 1897 article on 'The Characteristic Traits of Irish Music', 'The Native Music of Ireland' that appeared in *The Weekly Irish Times* in 1900, and her 1920 article 'The Folk-Music of Ireland: Its Past, Present, and Future Aspects'.²⁶⁷ Likewise a lecture entitled 'Irish Music and Musicians of a Past Age' delivered by Revd John Low at a Waterford Young Men's Christian Association meeting in April 1882 is an

²⁶⁶ F. St John Lacy, 'Notes on Irish Music', *PMA*, 16th Sess. (1889–90), 171–198.

²⁶⁷ Patterson delivered her lecture on the 'Harp and Irish Music' in the Coffee Palace Hall on 16 October 1895. 'Dublin News', *Musical Herald*, 572 (1895), p. 335. See also Patterson, 'The Native Music of Ireland', *WIT*, 14 April 1900, p. 4; 'The Characteristics Traits of Irish Music', *PMA*, 23rd Sess. (1896–97), 91–111; 'The Folk-Music of Ireland: Its Past, Present, and Future Aspects', *MQ*, 6 (1920), 455–67.

obvious summation of Bunting's 1840 volume.²⁶⁸ An assessment of Stewart's articles, those entitled 'Music Past and Present in Ireland', and those penned by St John Lacy and Patterson illustrate that Stewart's utilization of Walker, Bunting and O'Curry reflects a common practice during the second half of the nineteenth century that saw these sources regarded as the foremost authorities on the subject of Irish music and musicians. The fact that Walker was being used as a reference text throughout the nineteenth century illustrates that the Victorian attitude towards research was still willing to accept eighteenth-century sources without much criticism.

John Dunne, a music graduate of Trinity College Dublin also appears in the Dublin newspapers as a lecturer between 1874 and 1882. His 1874 lecture entitled 'Musical Knowledge' was delivered in Molesworth Hall, Dublin to the students of the Queen's Institute and was most probably delivered again in 1876 at the Literary and Scientific Association of Gloucester as the lecture presented by him at this venue had the same title.²⁶⁹ The purpose of the 1874 lecture was to demonstrate that 'music should be studied as an art, in order to obtain that mental power which enables a performer to send intelligence and life into what is performed'.²⁷⁰ A lecture delivered by Dunne at the Queen's Institute in May 1875 presented 'a very intelligent and felicitous description of the meaning character and intention' of selections from a number of compositions including: Haydn's *Creation*, Mendelssohn's *St Paul* and

²⁶⁸ 'Irish Musicians of a Past Age', *DE*, 3 April 1882, p. 2. Robert Malone, DMus graduate of Trinity College Dublin also delivered a lecture on ancient Irish music on 21 September 1896 and 10 February 1898. 'The Ancient Music of Ireland', *IT*, 8 February 1898, p. 4 and 'Ancient Irish Music', *IT*, 18 September 1896, p. 5.

²⁶⁹ 'Musical Knowledge', *SN*, 21 November 1874, p. 2. 'Musical and Dramatic Gossip', *IT*, 11 November 1876, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ Other elements of his lecture included his discussion of genius, the 'necessity for aesthetical knowledge', the careful study of the construction, character and description perceived in music, and the factors of adaptability, 'daily, systematic work [...] faith and patience' necessary for the teacher of music. 'Musical Knowledge', *SN*, 21 November 1874, p. 2.

Hymn of Praise, a Beethoven sonata, and the adagio from Mendelssohn's 'Scotch' symphony.²⁷¹ His 1878 lecture was delivered in Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford and examined ancient musical instruments and music.²⁷² A lecture delivered in the Parochial Hall, Westland Row, Dublin in 1882 was organized in connection with the Dublin branch of the London Society of Science, Letter, and Art.²⁷³ This lecture traced the development of instruments from their 'simplest and most primitive forms' and discussed musical instruments of the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, and Orinoco Indians of South America before concluding his talk with a 'sketch' on the organ.²⁷⁴ Although Stewart was not the only musician lecturing on various music topics in the latter half of the nineteenth century, he was the only music professor lecturing at this time and this may account for the popularity of his lectures among the citizens of Dublin with an interest in music.

Stewart's overview and criticism of the musical education system in Ireland delivered in 1881, was also the topic of much debate in England. John Stainer and Charles Villiers Stanford also felt the need to voice their opinion in relation to the shortcomings of the current musical education system in England. Stewart's fourth reform, 'to include sight-singing (not singing by ear) at every school in the country', also appears as an important discussion point in Stainer's 1884 lecture entitled 'Musical Education in Elementary Schools' and delivered at the International Health

²⁷¹ The musical illustrations were performed by Bessie Craig, Miss Taylor, Barton McGuckin and Thomas Grattan Kelly while Mr [John] Horan provided the piano accompaniment. 'Gossip', *IT*, 17 May 1875, p. 2.

²⁷² 'Musical and Dramatic Gossip', *IT*, 11 February 1878, p. 6.

²⁷³ 'The History, &c, of Musical Instruments', *FJ*, 6 December 1882, p. 7.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Exhibition²⁷⁵ and Stanford's article entitled 'The place of national music in national education', published in the *Daily Express* in 1889.²⁷⁶

The status of amateur and professional music teachers was a common topic of debate within musical circles during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Stewart suggested reform in relation to an 'authorized qualification for teachers of music, whereby "quacks" would be discountenanced'. The 'amateur' and 'unqualified' music teacher was the subject of Stainer's talk delivered at the 13th annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians.²⁷⁷ The commercial aspect of music that attracted unqualified music teachers was discussed by Stainer who commented:

But when the commercial side of an art tempted into the ranks of its votaries men or women who were without general education and thoroughly inartistic, and who had solely an eye to the profit to be made of it, then it behoved them to face a great source of danger to the future educational welfare of the country.²⁷⁸

Stainer's suggestion that a representative body should be formed 'with statutory power of licensing teachers after duly testing their qualifications' is a debate that is still valid in instrumental teaching today.

When we compare the themes of Stewart's lectures to those delivered by Sterndale Bennett at Cambridge, parallel topics of discussion include the development of Italian Opera, music of the present time and the prominence of Handel as a composer of veneration. Similarly, the lectures of Sterndale Bennett's

²⁷⁵ John Stainer, 'Musical Education in Elementary Schools', *The Health Exhibition Literature, Conference on Education*, xiii (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1884), 394–400.

²⁷⁶ Charles Villiers Stanford, 'The Place of National Music in National Education', *DE*, 23 December 1889, p. 14. See H.H. Statham, 'National Musical Education', *MT*, 19 (1878), pp. 257–60 for a discussion of Statham's suggestions on how the system of musical education in England could be improved.

²⁷⁷ 'Sir John Stainer on the Musical Profession', *Times*, 5 January 1898, p. 12.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

successor, Macfarren, display analogous topics to those presented by Stewart in areas such as the origin and development of the lyrical drama, English church music, musical form and Handel. This suggests that the music professors at Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin kept an observant watch on the lecture-topics of their corresponding counterparts through reviews in music journals and newspapers. Macfarren's *Six Lectures on Harmony* delivered at the Royal Institution and his *Addresses and Lectures* delivered to students of the Royal Academy of Music emphasise the lack of similar publications at Trinity College Dublin for the music candidates.²⁷⁹ It is most likely that a synopsis or syllabus of Stewart's lectures was printed for each set of lectures but unfortunately most of his lectures were not issued in an edited published format and only survive as newspaper reviews.

At Oxford, Ouseley lectured at least once each term. These lectures were accompanied by practical illustrations and were provided either by Ouseley himself, or by some of his 'Oxford friends' on the piano, organ or spinet and on some occasions a small amateur string band assisted with the illustrations.²⁸⁰ Joyce asserts that Ouseley 'kept very strictly to the line of his subjects', and was conscious of maintaining 'a distinct school of English music'.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ George Alexander Macfarren, *Six Lectures on Harmony Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867) and *Addresses and Lectures by George Alexander Macfarren: Address to the Students of the Royal Academy of Music on the Opening of the Academical Years 1878–1887* (London: Longmans, Green, 1887).

²⁸⁰ Joyce, *The Life of Sir F.A.G. Ouseley*, p. 144.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145. Ouseley delivered lectures in London and at various church congresses and the subject of some of his lectures included: seventeenth-century Italian and Spanish treatises on music, the musical education of the clergy, the position of organs in churches, Purcell and his contemporaries, stage music in England from 1660 to 1710, the history of fugue, Spanish music and dance music. See Joyce, *The Life of Sir F.A.G. Ouseley*, p. 145 and in the same source, T.L. Southgate's summary of four lectures delivered at the church congress and four lectures delivered to the Musical Association, pp. 163–73. See also 'The Musical Education of the Clergy', *MT*, 13 (1867), 194–200; 'Considerations on the History of Ecclesiastical Music of Western Europe', *PMA*, 2nd Sess. (1875–76), 30–47; 'On the Early Italian and Spanish Treatises on Counterpoint and Harmony', *PMA*, 5th Sess. (1878–79), 76–99; 'On Some Italian and Spanish Treatises on Music of the Seventeenth

For Stewart's Oxford and Cambridge counterparts, it is true to say that their motivation in delivering lectures whether in the public sphere or to private societies was linked to their own personal endeavour to disseminate their knowledge and to encourage the next generation of music scholars into the profession. They were also eager to use their positions of prominence 'to exhort and admonish the government and society at large to give more support to English [and Irish] music and musicians'.²⁸² Faced with hectic daily schedules it was difficult for the music professor in the nineteenth century to find the time to prepare lectures between their teaching hours, organist and conductor duties, concerts and administrative work. The financial incentive (where it existed) was not very appealing and as Temperley affirms, it was unlikely that the payment for lecturing compensated the lecturer for the amount of time spent on the preparation of the talks.²⁸³

Stewart's lectures reflect his interest in the origin of music, Handel, Irish music and musicians, stringed-keyed instruments, orientalism, Wagner and the music education system in Ireland. The sources referenced in Stewart's lectures varied from the histories of Burney, Hogarth, Chappell, and Stafford to the writings on oriental music by Bowdich, Lane and Villoteau to a discussion of traditional Irish music by Walker, Bunting and O'Curry and these texts contributed to Stewart's well-informed lecturing approach. Culwick's apposite summation of Stewart's merits as a lecturer is worthy of inclusion here:

His general aim seemed to have been to beguile people already well informed to give more attention to the interests and studies connected with music, and to show good

Century', *PMA*, 8th Sess. (1881–82), 83–98; 'On the Position of Organs in Churches', *PMA*, 12th Sess. (1885–86), 75–90.

²⁸² Temperley and Yang, eds, *Lectures on Musical Life: William Sterndale Bennett*, p. 6.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

reason why music, as a subject of study, investigation, and historical research, was well worthy of the closest application of the keenest intellects.²⁸⁴

As a music educator Stewart's intention was to 'raise the musical taste of his fellow-citizens' and although he was little known outside of Ireland as an educator, between the years 1873 and 1878 in particular, Stewart was one of a handful of suitably educated people who lectured on music in an interesting and informative way.²⁸⁵ He successfully provided musical entertainment for his audience through the performance of musical examples, the presentation of busts, portraits and instruments and the humorous use of anecdotes that were an ever-present feature in his lectures. The delivery of his lectures represents an important ingredient in his legacy as a music educator of the utmost importance in Dublin's musical sphere.

²⁸⁴ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, p. 10.

²⁸⁵ 'A Distinguished Irishman, Sir Robert Stewart', *The Pittsburgh Chronicle*, 1872, quoted in Vignoles, *Memoir*, 105.

Part III: Reception and Conclusion

Chapter 7

Public Opinion of Stewart

Throughout Stewart's lengthy career he received a very positive response from the Irish public as a composer, conductor, performer and educator. When the board of Trinity College Dublin held a meeting on 16 March 1872 to re-elect Stewart to the music professorship, the *Irish Times* remarked that such a meeting was 'only a matter of formality',¹ indicating that it had been taken for granted among the musical public that Stewart would continue into another term as professor of music.

As one of the forerunners in the active development and dissemination of music in Ireland, Stewart's compositions were generally received with warm commendations and enthusiastic reviews, and the Dublin newspapers never failed to emphasize his talent and capabilities in the diversity of areas within which he operated. Not all of his compositions were enthusiastically awarded an outright seal of approval, however, as *A Winter Night's Wake* (RS33, 1858) and the *Ode to Shakespeare* (RS72, 1870) illustrate. The newspapers were unanimous in their criticism of the first performance of *A Winter Night's Wake* and commented in detail how the work was 'too long', how 'pages of the score might have been compressed', and how the numerous characters lessened the dramatic effect of the performance 'by the necessity of occasionally entrusting to one vocalist several parts, and so

¹ 'University Intelligence', *IT*, 18 March 1872, p. 6.

destroying the scenic individuality of emotion'.² This was a fair comment considering that there were only seven soloists and fourteen characters. The *Saunders's News-Letter* reporter criticized the apparent 'anachronism of style' evident in the production because the composer had not been successful in linking the music to the poetry, and 'personages supposed to be our Saxon ancestors' expressed 'their feelings and passions in strains which often are identified with the modern opera'.³ On the positive side of the first performance, Stewart's competent contrapuntal skill was acknowledged and the 'charming sections' contained within the work that exhibited the composer's 'ability, grace [...] expression, and telling sensibility' were also praised.⁴ The skilful orchestration and 'constantly flowing melody' of the composer were praised by the correspondent of the *Daily Express*.⁵ The *Saunders's News-Letter* reported on the 'transitory glimpses' of composers such as Mendelssohn, Weber, Balfe, Wallace and Costa in his oratoria *Eli* evident in the work.⁶ Several years after Stewart's death, the 1898-99 report of the choral society committee mentioned plans to publish *A Winter Night's Wake* by subscription but despite this entry the complete work does not seem to have been printed in either full or vocal scores.⁷ Culwick records that only three songs from the cantata were published individually by separate publishers.⁸ Perhaps it was considered more appropriate (and cost effective) to publish the most popular songs from the cantata

² 'University Choral Society', *SN*, 10 April 1858, p. 2; *Dublin [Evening] Express*, 10 April 1858 in UDCS Minute Books, 1853-65, Mun/Soc/Chora/1/5.

³ 'University Choral Society', *SN*, 10 April 1858, p. 2

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2

⁵ 'A Winter Night's Wake', *DEM*, 12 April 1858, p. 3.

⁶ 'University Choral Society', *SN*, 10 April 1858, p. 2

⁷ 1898-99 Report of the Committee of the University of Dublin Choral Society, 20 November 1899, UDCS Minute Books, 1891-1944, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/10.

⁸ These songs were 'Bid the thrush forsake the grove' (published under the title 'I must love thee still, Marion'), 'Love leads us captive' and 'Ah! well-a-day the Cypress Tree'. Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, p. 7.

but it is also possible that the publishing of the full work was put aside to finance a painting of Stewart that was chosen as a fitting memorial to the conductor in 1895.⁹

According to contemporary reports the libretto of Stewart's *Ode to Shakespeare*, written by Henry Toole, was 'woefully dull', and the author did not succeed in putting 'more than a small share of his spirit' into the composition.¹⁰ Despite the *Dublin University Magazine* reporting that the work 'won the approval both of the entire press and the public who heard it,' the review from the correspondent in the *Times* presented a more objective assessment and considered the good and bad merits of the work as a whole.¹¹ The libretto was described as 'scarcely more needed in the present day than a fresh ode to *Maecenas*', while the music 'not remarkable for originality of inventions [...] written with fluency, all well voiced, and all effectively scored for the orchestra' demonstrated those elements of the musical language of Handel and Mendelssohn that appealed to Stewart. The *Times* printed a portion of Toole's ode which allows us to see the standard of the libretto that Stewart had to work with:

His was the song: Ah, more than Earth divine!
A god-like spell is wrought by every line.
Great Nature spread her treasures to his view,
And Knowledge tended as each scene he drew.
The locked-up secrets of man's wily heart
He opened with the magic key of art;
Showed him in naked majesty sublime
Upheld by virtue or debased by crime.¹²

⁹ 'Considerable discussion then took place on the form of the memorial to Sir Robert Stewart, and eventually Mr. Maxwell proposed and Mr. Drury seconded "that the memorial to Sir Robert Stewart, do take the form of a picture. This was carried unanimously". Committee Meeting, 28 November 1895, UDCS Minute Books, 1891–1944, Mun/Soc/Choral/1/10. The picture referred to here may be one of two portraits of Stewart located in Trinity College Dublin.

¹⁰ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: with Reminiscences of his Life and Works*, p. 12.

¹¹ 'Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus. D.', p. 270.

¹² 'Birmingham Musical Festival', *Times*, 2 September 1870, p. 5.

The worst was yet to come, however, in the form of the review of the ode in the *Musical Times* written by Henry C. Lunn:

The dull respectability of this composition was as painful to listen to as the carefully correct essay of a schoolmaster is to read. There was nothing to offend—nothing to please: three or four consecutive fifths would have produced a real sensation, and a few chords of ‘the future’ might have stimulated some hearers to determine their roots; but Professor Stewart invited no such criticism, and was evidently content if he retired from the Hall without a strain upon his musical character. The work consists of a mild orchestral prelude and six vocal pieces, all of which are written well for the voices, and scored with a good knowledge of the orchestra, although in many parts the singers had but little chance of making themselves heard against the powerful instrumentation which accompanied them. Madame Sherrington, Madlle. Drasdil, Mr. Vernon Rigby, and Signor Foli, exerted themselves to the utmost in the solos, and the chorus was fairly efficient throughout. The Ode was conducted by the composer, who received a most enthusiastic greeting (a custom which, so indiscriminately applied, may shortly cease to be considered a compliment) and Professor Stewart quitted the orchestra, leaving those coldly critical persons who were not carried away by the excitement of the moment, to wonder, in the first place, why the work which they had just listened to was called an ‘Ode to Shakespeare,’ and, in the second place, how it came to be performed at a Birmingham Festival.¹³

This damning review may have been one of the factors that contributed to the composer destroying the work shortly after its first performance.

In contrast, *The Eve of St John* (RS39), the *Installation Ode* (RS50), *How Shall We Close Our Gates?* (RS85) and the *Tercentenary Ode* (RS141) were received with positive reviews following their first Irish performance demonstrating the respect with which Stewart was revered as a composer and musician of high academic merit. The *Irish Times* in 1894 claimed ‘the “Eve” [...] is well known to every scholarly musician, and the magnificent lyrics that it contains have excited enthusiasm in many a concert room’.¹⁴ Vignoles described the work as ‘a very bright pleasing cantata’ and ‘most admirably orchestrated’, while Grattan Flood referred to

¹³ Henry C. Lunn, ‘The Birmingham Musical Festival’, *MT*, 14 (1870), p. 617.

¹⁴ ‘Sir Robert Stewart’, *IT*, 26 March 1894, p. 3.

it as a composition of ‘more than average merit’.¹⁵ The overture to *The Eve of St John* manifested Stewart’s proficiency in his orchestral writing, as well as his ‘exquisite taste and his skill in harmonic treatment’.¹⁶ The work was often referred to as ‘an example of Sir Robert Stewart’s genius’, but most of all it seemed to suit precisely the taste of the public: ‘It was neither too “fine”, nor too “simple”, but combines, as it were, a healthful vigour and determination, with a pleasing waywardness’.¹⁷

It is reported that approximately six hundred people attended the installation ceremony of the Earl of Rosse as chancellor of the University of Dublin, held on 17 February 1863 in the Examination Hall at Trinity College.¹⁸ The proceedings were performed with great pomp and ceremony and distinguished guests including the lord lieutenant, the lord mayor of Dublin and the Dean of St Patrick’s Cathedral were in attendance as the new chancellor was awarded the honorary degree of LLD. Stewart is recorded by the *Irish Times* to have conducted close to one hundred vocalists and an orchestra of fifty members at the occasion. A second performance took place at a University of Dublin Choral Society concert on 22 April 1863. The soloists employed for the installation were renowned performers living in Dublin: Julia Cruise (soprano), Dr Francis Robinson (tenor) and Dr Richard Smith (bass), and the Revd John Finlayson was the speaker in the symphony section.¹⁹ The additional sopranos employed for the sixth movement ‘Thro’ endless time’, were Miss Herbert,

¹⁵ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 205, and W.H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1905), p. 332.

¹⁶ ‘The Feis Ceoil’, *FJ*, 20 May 1897, p. 6.

¹⁷ ‘The University Choral Concert’, *FJ*, 30 June 1887, p. 6. ‘University of Dublin Choral Society’, *SN*, 13 April 1861, in *Mun/Soc/Choral/1/5*, 1853–65.

¹⁸ William Parsons is perhaps best known for the telescope that he built on the grounds of Birr Castle, Co. Meath which was the largest telescope in the world for half a century. Mc Dowell and Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952: An Academic History*, p. 205.

¹⁹ The alto soloist is not named in the newspaper articles despite the alto recitative section entitled ‘Toll, toll the bell’ in the first movement of the work.

Miss Thomas and Miss Flynn. Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner and other instrumentalists including Mr Wilkinson, Mr Hardy, Mr Clement, Mr Riley, Mr Wood and Mr Scates, under the leadership of R.M. Levey, were employed as members of the orchestra.²⁰

Stewart's *Installation Ode* received positive reviews in the Dublin newspapers.

The *Irish Times* stated that the work was a 'magnificent composition' and recorded that:

The ode, the music, and the singing of it could scarcely be surpassed, and the applause with which Dr. Stewart was greeted on his first entering to take his place, and that which resounded at the close of the performance was certainly well-merited.²¹

The *Saunders's News-Letter* also had a positive review of the performance:

The attendance was numerous, and the performance possessed considerable merit. The 'Installation Ode' is a clever, tasteful, and in many points effective composition. The construction evinces both taste and judgment by the way in which the solos and chorus are connected with each other. The first solo, Symphony and Chorus constitute the most striking part. The entire is well put together and accompanied. Dr. Stewart makes the most of his melodies, which, if not the expressions of earnest and passionate enthusiasm, are generally pretty, sometimes brilliant and striking, and almost always easy and graceful.²²

The *Daily Express* recorded that 'no exertion' had been spared on the part of the university authorities or the professor of music 'to insure the efficient and masterly execution' of the production.²³

At the second performance of the *Installation Ode* in April 1863, The *Irish Times* referred to the composition as:

²⁰ 'Installation of the Earl of Rosse', *DE*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

²¹ 'Installation of the Earl of Rosse as Chancellor of the University of Dublin', *IT*, 17 February 1863, p. 3; 'Installation of the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosse', *IT*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

²² 'University Choral Society', *SN*, 23 April 1863, p. 2.

²³ 'Installation of the Earl of Rosse', *DE*, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

A work in which Dr. Stewart has displayed rare powers as a composer. We would especially notice a very pleasing duet 'As the light dispels the darkness' [...] and the chorus 'oh marvellous sight' which is grand and lightly dramatic, the orchestral work being most elaborate. The chorale for four trebles 'Through endless time' came in after this with peculiar and beautiful effect.²⁴

How Shall We Close Our Gates? was performed on 22 November 1873 in the large concert hall at the Exhibition Palace and an estimated audience of three thousand people attended the concert.²⁵ The chorus of four hundred performed with popular soloists Pauline Rita (soprano), Mr Pearson (tenor) and Mr Winn (baritone). The chorus parts were lithographed in two days and the New Philharmonic Society members attended bi-weekly rehearsals before the public performance. These rehearsals were not attended by the soloists, who, due to a 'blundering' of the English concert agent, did not attend a single rehearsal and so the first performance of the cantata was more or less left to chance.²⁶ The cantata contains four sections and is scored for soprano, tenor and baritone solo, chorus and orchestra. Described as the 'principal object of musical attraction' at the concert by the *Daily Express*, the *Irish Times* expressed its hope that the 'sublime' music of the cantata would be 'immediately issued in a permanent form' and offered further encouragement by stating that the work was 'without doubt, the finest and noblest production of a man whose reputation as a sound and scientific musician is known wherever really good music is valued'.²⁷

The *Tercentenary Ode* with its 'vivid and picturesque orchestration' demonstrated the skill of a mature composer, freshly inventive and displaying highly

²⁴ 'University of Dublin Choral Society', *IT*, 23 April 1863, p. 3.

²⁵ 'The Exhibition Palace', *DE*, 24 November 1873, p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁷ 'The Exhibition Palace', *DE*, 24 November 1873, p. 3; *IT*, 25 November 1873, p. 2.

polished part-writing.²⁸ C.H.H. Parry explained his surprise at the sense of style exhibited by Stewart, and commented on his free and artistic treatment of voices, and thoroughly effective orchestration which was not ‘merely instrumentalism of organ or piano passages, but genuinely orchestral in the form of the ideas and fugues and phraseology’.²⁹ The *Tercentenary Ode* was heralded as a triumph of musical genius and was received with extremely favourable reviews in Ireland: ‘The life of the whole thing was electrifying, and it was no wonder that those who were first engaged in its production experienced a sharp attack of enthusiasm’.³⁰ Stewart’s critics in England were slightly less enthusiastic about the work as this review from the *Musical Times* demonstrates:

It is to be doubted, however, whether an ‘occasional’ work of this nature could by any possibility show a composer at his very best; and Sir Robert Stewart, whilst revelling in the opportunities which the poet afforded him for the classic, melodramatic, and even humorous effects which he knows so well how to achieve, seems occasionally to have been led by the text into a species of imagery which leaves something to be desired in the matter of clearness.³¹

The critic described Stewart’s combination of Irish airs the ‘Coulin’ and ‘Sios agus sios liom’ in ‘Behold the men are with us still’ (Chapter three, Example 4) as a ‘strange effect’ but did not comment upon the success or failure of this amalgamation. The autograph full score of the *Tercentenary Ode* was loaned by Stewart’s second wife to the Musical Loan Exhibition held in the National Library in 1899 and is located in the Manuscripts Room of Trinity College Dublin today.³²

²⁸ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, 5.

²⁹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 205.

³⁰ Culwick, *Sir Robert Stewart: with Reminiscences of his Life and Work*, p. 13.

³¹ ‘Music in Dublin. Tercentenary of Dublin University’, *MT*, 33 (1892), p. 490.

³² *Catalogue of the Musical Loan Exhibition in the National Library, Dublin*, compiled by D.J. O’Donoghue (Dublin: Robert T. White, published at the office of the Feis Ceoil, 1899), p. 30. See page 72 also.

Even though Stewart's Service in E flat (RS15) has been described by Bumpus as 'one of the most masterly specimens of the early period of what may be called the modern dramatic school of church-service music' and 'in advance of any of the works of the kind produced by his English contemporaries', not all critics shared the biased view of Bumpus. J. Frederick Bridge believed that Stewart's Service in E flat was inferior to those services of his English contemporaries and had this to say:

I think in the case of Cathedral music he did not seem to rise to a great height. There are many parts of that service in E flat that I do not think would be looked upon as absolutely in good taste [...] From the point of view of the higher styles of Cathedral music you could not compare it with Wesley's, or even with Walmisley's music that was put out at the same time.³³

Bridge did acknowledge, however, that Stewart was probably the first Irish composer of cathedral music to demonstrate any particular eminence. It was generally accepted by Stewart's peers that his sacred compositions were productions of merit and ability, and were 'broad and elevated' with a 'dignified expression of solid confidence, bright hope, and firm faith'.³⁴ The Service in E flat in particular was well received in 1851, and placed Stewart in a position 'second to none of his contemporaries', and it is true to say that this service and the anthem *Thou O God Art Praised in Sion* (RS53) in particular, illustrate the skill and contrapuntal resources at Stewart's command, resulting in sacred compositions that are effective, varied and dignified.

On 4 February 1868 the *Freeman's Journal* reproduced an article from the *Musical World* reporting that it was 'likely' that Francis Robinson was to be

³³ J.S. Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals Part II', *PMA*, 26th Sess. (1899), p. 156.

³⁴ Culwick, *Fifty Years*, p. 5.

conferred with a knighthood.³⁵ This article prompted debate as to the other Irish musicians who were also worthy of this esteemed accolade. Due to the fact that an Irish musician had not received a knighthood since John Stevenson in 1803 the newspaper emphasized that another award of this kind would be received with much gratification ‘amongst all classes and parties [...] both in the musical profession and out of it’.³⁶ The merits of Stewart as a possible recipient were commented upon in the *Freeman’s Journal* and the discussion then spread to the *Daily Express* and the *Saunders’s News-Letter*. A letter from a BA graduate of Trinity College, printed in the *Daily Express*, indicated that it would be a ‘just tribute to Irish musical talent’ if the Lord Lieutenant conferred the honour of a knighthood upon Stewart.³⁷ A similar opinion was exemplified in a letter to the *Saunders’s News-Letter* four days later.³⁸ This letter focused on Stewart’s performing and interpretative abilities on the organ, of which the ‘great mass of players’ could not ‘enter into competition with him at all’, while his abilities in ‘varied composition’ and his ‘literary acquisitions’ were of an impressive ‘range and variety’.³⁹

On 15 February the *Orchestra* picked up on the Irish knighthood debate and letters to the editor from no less than ten people were printed on the subject every week until the editor called for the closure of the correspondence on 14 March 1868. According to the *Orchestra*, arguments in favour of Stewart prompted ‘objections and interrogatories and depreciations’ from other quarters:

What had Professor Stewart done? Went the cry; who was Professor Stewart? He is organist of the Cathedrals, he is professor at Trinity College, he has won a few prizes in part-songs, he has written a service or two, he has published pianoforte variations

³⁵ ‘Dr Francis Robinson’, *FJ*, 4 February 1868, p. 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³⁷ ‘Honour to the Musical Profession’, *DE*, 8 February 1868, p. 3.

³⁸ ‘Professor R.P. Stewart Mus.D.’, *SN*, 12 February 1868, p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.2.

a la Brinley Richards, he once delivered a lecture on ordinary topics of musical history and criticism. *Et puis*. The Irish are a warm, impulsive, hero-worshipping nation; but is *this* the kind of man on whom knighthood shall descend? (We are here simply quoting Irish opinion).⁴⁰

A third contender for a knighthood, Joseph Robinson, was introduced into the knighthood debate by the *Orchestra*. Both Joseph and Francis were singers who had spent ‘long and honoured lives in devotion to art and its interests: men whose liberality of services and money is not narrowed or restrained by that pecuniosity which can scarcely be tempted, even by philanthropy, to engage in anything that will not add wealth to the pocket’.⁴¹ Opinions of support and objections were expressed in relation to the Robinson brothers and Dublin was divided by ‘professional jealousy and detraction’.⁴² Letters in favour of all three Dublin musicians were printed in the *Orchestra* a week later along with a letter signed by ‘an Amateur and Englishman resident in Dublin’ who concentrated on the merits of Stewart and Joseph Robinson in particular. In relation to the former musician, he had the following encouraging remarks to make:

As professor to the University he is, ‘head of the musical profession in Ireland’, he is a most able theorist, has great facility and versatility of style in writing; a solo organist of superior talent, and one of the few organists who does accompany. His masterly performances in accompanying many of the great works in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and elsewhere, were, to those who heard them, treats of no ordinary kind, and prove him to be able to do as much as any to make the organ supply the place of a band. As to his writings, he has [...] written several cantatas of considerable length and importance, which are clever and interesting works.⁴³

A letter from ‘Fair Play’ in the same issue was equally commendatory in relation to Stewart’s reputation although he did find him ‘guilty’ of writing ‘easy pianoforte pieces’ and placed his ‘reputation’ on the composition of his church music. ‘Fair Play’ also paid tribute to Stewart’s charitable nature:

⁴⁰ ‘Honour for Ireland’, *Orchestra*, 9 (1868), p. 331.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

No man is more unselfish or liberal, he never refuses to play, or conduct, when either a public charity or a needy professional brother is in question. I appeal to the Irish public for the truth of this assertion. And further I state, as a fact, that he recently gave £200, earned by lectures on music, towards public objects.⁴⁴

The assertion made by ‘an Amateur Englishman resident in Dublin’ that Stewart was the head of the musical profession in Ireland prompted much criticism from a contributor who described himself as ‘An Irish Professor’. This contributor made it abundantly clear that Stewart was neither ‘nominated’ nor ‘elected’ by the music profession in Ireland and was elected to the professorship through the nominations of the university authority:

The profession no more select[s] or recognise[s] such a one as their *chief* than they would think of the man in the moon. Some basis for ‘Englishman’s’ assertion would have been afforded if Professor Stewart had been elected by his professional brethren, or even if his countrymen did not pass by his chair to graduate in music at English universities.⁴⁵

The additional insult implying that Irish music candidates preferred to graduate in music at Oxford and Cambridge indicates that ‘An Irish Professor’ clearly had a number of issues with Stewart’s nomination to the music professorship at Trinity College and the fact that he was being publicly spoken of as a potential nominee for a knighthood. The disparagement was to continue, however, as the author pointed out that the Irish music profession had a ‘score of equally clever men’ and he felt it necessary to criticize the fact that Stewart’s compositions were performed at concerts of the University of Dublin Choral Society and at the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick’s:

Now there is scarcely a concert given by the former that is not the channel for producing some new work by R.P. Stewart, and of no other native composer, and the programmes of the cathedral services, duly advertised each week in the local journals, contain at least for three Sundays out of five, Stewart in G, or Stewart in E, Stewart’s cantata, or Stewart’s anthem, this, that, or the other. This monopoly would be avoided, did the professor’s liberality induce him to invite native composers to

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 342.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 360.

write for his choral society, or the cathedrals; also undertaking to get the works, if sufficiently meritorious, might be indirectly laid the foundation of a school of Irish church and secular music, as the founder of which, the professor would ensure and perpetuate a grateful and honoured memory.⁴⁶

This diatribe prompted defensive responses from three close acquaintances of Stewart on 7 March 1868: Edward Seymour, Prebendary of Christ Church Cathedral, John Finlayson, Succentor of the same cathedral, and John Pentland Mahaffy, Precentor of the chapel and Fellow at Trinity College Dublin. Seymour, as a member of the University of Dublin Choral Society for more than twenty years, sought to clear the accusation that Stewart used the society to promote the regular performance of his music:

I can state as a fact that never even upon one single occasion was Dr. Stewart known to ask to have one bar of his music performed, and he often [...] when the Committee unanimously wished to perform his compositions, was the sole person to make any objection. The fact is that the Committee [...] [is] solely guided in [its] selection of music by its own intrinsic merit, and [is] quite satisfied that, in performing Dr. Stewart's compositions, [it is] producing works that will stand the test of comparison with any compositions of their style.⁴⁷

Defending Stewart's appointment to the chair of music, Seymour described it as 'the reward of hard and successful labour' and reported that only the other day, Stewart vacated his post at the Cathedral organ to play at a Dublin parish church 'to enable a rising young composer to produce his compositions in Christ Church Cathedral'.⁴⁸

Finlayson challenged the statements made by 'An Irish Professor' relating to Stewart holding the position of director of music in the cathedrals of Dublin, and the

⁴⁶ Letter from 'An Irish Professor', *Orchestra*, 9 (1868), p. 364.

⁴⁷ 'Dr. Stewart and the Profession in Ireland', *Orchestra*, 9 (1868), p. 379. While it may be true that Stewart never approached the UDCCS to have his own compositions performed, it cannot be denied that it was a huge advantage for Stewart as a composer in Ireland to have been the conductor of this society, therefore allowing for a second performance of occasion-specific compositions for events in Dublin's calendar.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

apparent influence he held on the selection of music for the services at Christ Church Cathedral and St Patrick's:

I beg to say in reply, that neither of the allegations in that statement is correct, at least as regards Christ Church [...] nor, so far as I know, St. Patrick's either. As assistant to the precentor of Christ Church, it is *my* duty, and not that of Dr. Stewart to construct the 'Weekly Table of Services and Anthems;' and so far is Dr. Stewart from interfering for the purpose of bringing forward his own music, that I have frequently found difficulty in prevailing upon him to furnish the Cathedral with a copy of some of his works, which would, I know, be popular.⁴⁹

Mahaffy also defended the allegation that Stewart influenced the concert programmes of the University of Dublin Choral Society as the following extract demonstrates:

As a member of the University of Dublin Choral Society for some years past, and as being mainly responsible for the music selected, I can say positively that upon no occasion has the real professor thrust himself forward in the way the self-styled professor has alleged [...] every composition of Dr. Stewart's performed by us for the last three years has been suggested by me [...]⁵⁰

In relation to the music performed at the choral services of the chapel of Trinity College, Mahaffy explained that the music was chosen by Francis Robinson and Mahaffy himself, and that Stewart was not aware of the chosen music until he saw it in the monthly list. Mahaffy concluded by requesting the readers of the *Orchestra* to reconcile these facts with the 'insinuations' of the 'Irish Professor'.⁵¹

'An Irish Professor' responded to Seymour, Finlayson, Mahaffy and 'an Amateur Englishman resident in Dublin' a week later pointing out that his 'hypothesis' relating to a head of the music profession in Ireland and the 'apparent monopoly' that Stewart attained had not been refuted by any of their correspondences.⁵² Referring to Mahaffy as Stewart's '*factotum*', he sarcastically

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 379.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 379–80.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 379–80.

⁵² 'That Irish Professor', *Orchestra*, 9 (1868), p. 395.

thanked him for informing the readers that it was Mahaffy and not Stewart who censored the works of young Irish composers, and ‘pooh-pooh’d those untried “indifferent composers”’.⁵³ ‘An Irish Professor’ strongly disagreed with Seymour’s assertion that Stewart had left the organ stool at Christ Church to allow a young Irish composer a chance to perform some of his compositions at the cathedral and claimed that it was Stewart’s deputy organist whom he allowed to perform at the service in question.⁵⁴

In the following week Benjamin Mullen reported to the *Orchestra* that he had inspected the concert programmes for the 1866 and 1867 seasons of the University of Dublin Choral Society and he only found two concerts where a composition of Stewart formed part of the programme. *The Eve of St John* was one of these works but Mullen does not name the second work in question.⁵⁵

The irony behind this comprehensive and detailed discussion of the merits and disadvantages of Stewart’s musical character was that the Lord Lieutenant did not award a knighthood to any Irish musician in 1868. In fact, Ireland had to wait a further four years before Stewart was bestowed with the honour. However, the various letters penned to the Dublin newspapers and to the *Orchestra* demonstrate that while the opinion of the majority of the Irish public was in favour of Stewart, there were some Dublin citizens who for a variety of reasons did not believe that Stewart should hold such a position of dominance over the Dublin musical scene.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 395.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 395.

⁵⁵ ‘Ireland and the Musical Profession, *Orchestra*, 9 (1868), p. 412.

Stewart received several accolades from the University of Dublin Choral Society throughout his tenure as its conductor. In 1848 members of the society commissioned a silver gilt baton from one of Dublin's leading silversmiths, Edmond Johnson.⁵⁶ The baton was presented to Stewart after the Ladies' Concert in June 1848 along with an address signed by the subscribers of the society.⁵⁷ The adulation and respect held by the society members for Stewart was once again demonstrated when the committee requested the awarding of the degrees of MusB and MusD to Stewart in 1851.⁵⁸ According to Vignoles, it was Stewart's 'undoubted genius and skillful instruction' that had gained the unanimous admiration of the society and prompted them to pay such an admirable tribute to their conductor.⁵⁹ At the close of the Tercentenary Concert on 5 July 1892, the society presented a gold-mounted baton to Stewart.⁶⁰

When Stewart was awarded the knighthood in 1872 the *Freeman's Journal* described him as 'an amiable and gifted gentleman, a fertile composer, and an unsurpassed instrumentalist'.⁶¹ When we take into account the correspondence of 1868 discussed above, it would not have been a surprise for Dublin's musical circle to find out that Stewart had been chosen to receive a knighthood. Stewart's eminence and high standing reputation did not diminish as he got older and this is demonstrated by the fact that the *Irish Times* suggested that it might be appropriate

⁵⁶ See Illustration 5 in Appendix I for a photograph of this baton.

⁵⁷ This baton is in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland and was donated by Lady Marie Stewart.

⁵⁸ The university charges amounted to £33, and the fees for college dues, stamp duties, and robes met by the University Choral Society amounted to £50. UDCS Minute Books, 1844–52, TCD Mun/Soc/Choral/1/2. See chapter one for further details.

⁵⁹ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ Unfortunately the location of this baton is not known. *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Dublin held 5th to 8th July 1892*, p. 100.

⁶¹ 'Sir Robert Stewart, Mus.Doc.', *FJ*, 29 February 1872, p. 2. See chapter one for details relating to the bestowal of a knighthood upon Stewart.

for Stewart to deliver some lectures on ancient Irish music at the forthcoming Irish Exhibition at Olympia in London in 1888:

There could be nothing more attractive than lectures with illustrations of ancient Irish music and musical instruments by Sir Robert Stewart—somewhat upon the plan of his lecture in Cork some years ago, which was entertaining and profitable in a high degree. On that occasion the Irish and Scotch bagpipes were compared, and a large variety of curious musical lore brought before the audiences. The repetition of such an entertainment in London, with our best gentlemen pipers to perform, could not fail to gratify people of any country present, and would exhibit Irish sentiment and poetry and Irish skill and taste in a charming manner. The hint that we throw out to the Committee may possibly be considered worthy of attention.⁶²

Stewart's popularity and the degree of veneration with which he was held in Dublin is also reflected in the newspaper obituaries. The *Daily Express* remarked that 'few men could boast of so widespread a popularity' and in the opinion of the journalist, it had been 'a long time, indeed' since a funeral cortege of such large dimensions passed through the streets of the metropolis'.⁶³ The 'artistic and literary skill' with which Stewart's musical subjects were discussed in his lectures was also commended by this newspaper along with the fact that Stewart 'attained a commanding position' as a teacher in Dublin at a comparatively early age.⁶⁴ The *Irish Times* referred to Stewart as 'Ireland's chief musician', and stated that 'every Irishman is grateful to him who won for the community such musical renown'.⁶⁵ Stewart's untiring energy was also mentioned and George Francis Savage-Armstrong composed an 'In Memoriam' in his honour.⁶⁶ In general, the public opinion of Stewart rested in the belief that Stewart was an extremely competent musician. His talent as an organist, the awards he won as a composer of glee compositions, the fact that he was chosen to represent Ireland at the Boston Peace Festival of 1872, and the accolade of a knighthood that he received in the same year all emphasize the different aspects of

⁶² *IT*, 7 May 1888, p. 5.

⁶³ 'Funeral of the Late Sir Robert Stewart', *DE*, 28 March 1894, p. 6.

⁶⁴ 'Death of Sir Robert P. Stewart', *DE*, 26 March 1894, p. 5.

⁶⁵ 'Sir Robert Stewart', *IT*, 26 March 1894, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5; 'In Memoriam', *IT*, 27 March 1894, p. 4.

his talent and musical activities. His introduction of progressive change in terms of the music degree requirements at Trinity College and the fact that he was not prepared to treat the position like a sinecure were also recognized by people operating in the musical sphere in Dublin. The endeavour on the part of Dublin's public to commemorate Stewart after his death further indicates the extent of the positive public opinion that existed for the musicians during his lifetime. The arrangements to fund a public memorial to Stewart are discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The musical environment within which Stewart functioned was populated by other prominent musicians who also attained distinguished careers of musical variety. The brothers Francis and Joseph Robinson, Richard Michael Levey, Friedrich Wilhelm Elsner and John William Glover were close contemporaries of Stewart and represent his musical colleagues and rivals and some of Dublin's most important musical assets. Levey [O'Shaughnessy] was a violinist and conductor, Glover enjoyed a career as a conductor, composer, lecturer and teacher, Elsner was a prominent cellist in Dublin, and the Robinson brothers had successful careers as singers, conductors and composers.¹ By comparing their musical activities to the different aspects of Stewart's career, we can gain a wider appreciation of the reasons behind Stewart's prominence in Dublin's musical life. This chapter will also examine what made Stewart different from these five contemporaries and why Stewart was singled out to receive a biography and a public statue after his death. The teaching, conducting and lecturing experience of the five musicians above, their involvement in charity concerts, and their compositional repertoire will all be compared to Stewart's achievements in the same areas.

¹ Levey (1811–1899) had twin sons, Richard M. Levey (1837–1911) who was also a virtuoso violinist famous for his 'Paganini Redivivus' act in which he impersonated Paganini's ghost, and William Charles (1837–1894), musical director at the Drury Lane, Covent Garden and Adelphi Theatres in London and composer of some operettas and songs. See William H. Grattan Flood, *et al.*, 'Levey, Richard M. (2)', *GMO, OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16513pg2>> [accessed 20 August 2008] and 'Levey, Charles William (3)', *GMO, OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16513pg3>> [accessed 20 August 2008]. Glover was born in Dublin in 1815 and died there in 1899. Elsner (1826–1884) was originally from Frankfurt, Germany and he arrived in Ireland in 1851.

As a member of the staff at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin, instrumental teachers enjoyed a respectable reputation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Stewart's career at the Academy commenced in 1869 where he held the positions of professor of piano, harmony and organ until 1892 and director of chamber music from 1880 to 1888. Levey, Elsner and Joseph Robinson were also associated with the Academy as teachers for lengthy periods of time while Francis Robinson served on some of its committees. Levey was linked to the Academy since its establishment in 1848 and he taught the violin until 1897 and directed the orchestra from 1881 to 1884.² Elsner was a cello teacher there between 1851 and 1884 and he directed the orchestra from 1881 to 1883.³ Joseph Robinson taught singing at the Academy from 1856 to 1875 and from 1887 to 1895 and piano from 1856 to 1875. He also directed the orchestra from 1889 to 1894.⁴ Glover taught piano at the Royal Institution and piano and singing at his school of music at 7 North Cumberland Street, Dublin.

As discussed in chapter two, Stewart's career as a conductor included directorships of the University of Dublin Choral Society, the Bray Philharmonic Society, the [Dublin] Philharmonic Society and the Belfast Vocal Union. Levey was director of the Theatre Royal and like Stewart at Christ Church Cathedral, he was closely associated with this institution for half a century, the year 1876 marking his fiftieth anniversary at the theatre.⁵ His annual benefit concerts produced Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*, Beethoven's 'Pastoral' Symphony, selections from Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, Henry Bishop's setting of *Guy Mannering* and various songs and overtures.

² Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 522, 528.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 523, 528.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 524–28.

⁵ 'Theatre Royal, Dublin', *IT*, 19 April 1876, p. 4.

These concerts included the participation of instrumentalists such as Stewart, Elsner, Carl Berzon, Theodore Werner, J.F. Rudersdorff and prominent singers of the day including Miss Herbert and Bessie Craig.⁶ Levey and Joseph Robinson conducted at the 1882 Irish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures.⁷ Glover also enjoyed a career as a conductor and in 1851 he conducted the first concert to commemorate Thomas Moore's 'birthnight' and, as Ita Beausang has recorded, these concerts became an annual musical event in Dublin.⁸ He directed an evening concert at the Moore Centenary on 28 May 1879 and conducted a concert at the O'Connell Centenary in 1875.⁹ Along with Stewart, Levey, Elsner and other Dublin musicians he participated in the Irish Harp Revival Festival that took place on 6, 8, and 10 May 1879.¹⁰ Glover was director of music at the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street and in 1851 he founded the Choral Institute of Dublin 'for the public performance of the highest class of choral music both sacred and secular'.¹¹ Joseph Robinson established the Antient Concerts Society at the age of eighteen and acted as its director from 1834 to 1862. He was the first conductor of the University of Dublin Choral Society, holding the post for nine years and he founded the Dublin Musical Society in 1875 for the 'production of the Choral and other Works of the Great Masters'.¹² By 1877 the

⁶ 'Theatre Royal—Mr. Levey's Concert', *IT*, 22 March 1872, p. 5; 'Theatre Royal', *IT*, 23 April 1877, p. 4; 'Mr R.M. Levey's Benefit Concert', *IT*, 16 April 1889, p. 6; 'Gaiety Theatre', *IT*, 27 March 1890, p. 4; 'Mr R.M. Levey's Annual Benefit Grand Concert', *IT*, 22 March 1893, p. 4.

⁷ *IT*, 23 June 1882, p. 4; 'The Irish Exhibition', *IT*, 24 August 1882, p. 6.

⁸ 'Moore's Birthnight', *IT*, 30 May 1871, p. 3; 'Moore's Birthnight Concert' *IT*, 26 May 1874, p. 6; Ita Beausang, 'From national sentiment to nationalist movement, 1850–1900', *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, ed. Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 38.

⁹ 'Moore Centenary Committee', *IT*, 5 April 1879, p. 2.

¹⁰ *IT*, 7 August 1875, p. 1; *IT*, 3 May 1879, p. 2; Beausang, 'From national sentiment to nationalist movement, 1850–1900', pp. 41–42.

¹¹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 53, 123 and J.A. Fuller Maitland and Joseph J. Ryan, 'Glover, John William', *GMO, OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11296>> [accessed 20 August 2008].

¹² See Rodmell, 'The Society of Antient Concerts', Dublin, 1834–64', pp. 211–233; Beausang, 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900', pp. 169–78; Caitriona Doran, 'The Robinsons: a Nineteenth-Century Dublin Family of Musicians, and their Contribution towards the Musical Life in Dublin',

Dublin Musical Society boasted a chorus and band of three hundred members and seven years later this number had increased to three hundred and fifty performers.¹³ Francis Robinson was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to ‘superintend and direct’ the music for the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick held in St Patrick’s Cathedral in April 1868.¹⁴

Contemporary reports of Stewart attest to his exceptional memory for music and his skill and talent for extemporization on the organ. Of Stewart’s five contemporaries, Francis and Joseph Robinson were noted organists and vocalists of distinction and Glover held a sound reputation as a piano player. Levey was a reputable violinist and was leader of the orchestra at the Theatre Royal in Dublin and a member of the Dublin Quartette Union.¹⁵ Stanford described Levey as ‘a rough player, but an admirable leader of an orchestra’.¹⁶ Levey and Elsner ‘continued to provide the orchestral backbone of many concerts’ in Dublin including those of the Philharmonic Society, the University of Dublin Choral Society and the Bray Philharmonic Society.¹⁷ Another organizer of annual benefit concerts, Elsner received the ‘assistance’ of his daughters Alex (see Appendix V) and Pauline, Stewart, Joseph Robinson, Levey, and Alexandre Billet (a piano teacher at the Royal Irish Academy of Music). Elsner was a member of the Dublin Chamber Music Union

(unpublished MA diss., NUI Maynooth, 1998); Patrick J. Stephenson, ‘The Antient Concert Rooms’, *DHR*, 5 (1942), 1–14 and ‘Dublin Musical Society’, *IT*, 6 November 1875, p. 1.

¹³ *IT*, 21 April 1877, p. 4 and 6 March 1884, p. 2. The concerts of the Dublin Musical Society took place in the Exhibition Palace, Earlsfort Terrace. This building became known as the Royal University Building from 1883 and marks the location of the National Concert Hall today.

¹⁴ *IT*, 8 April, 1868, p. 3.

¹⁵ Francis Robinson had a tenor voice and Joseph was a baritone. William H. Grattan Flood *et al*, ‘Levey, Richard Michael (1)’, *GMO*, *OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16513pg1>> [accessed 20 August 2008]. Levey was associated with the Theatre Royal until it was destroyed by a fire in 1880. Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 46.

¹⁶ Stanford cited in Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 46.

¹⁷ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 49, 139 and *FJ*, 3 February 1854, cited in Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 54.

and was a regular participant along with Joseph Robinson in the ‘musical at-home’ gatherings held at the residences of musical families in Dublin.¹⁸

Stewart’s compositions varied from secular odes, cantatas, songs and part-songs to sacred anthems and services. His instrumental compositions included some small-scale piano and organ pieces and approximately five orchestral pieces. The Robinson brothers, Levey and Elsner also engaged in composition throughout their respective careers. Levey composed music for the plays and pantomimes produced at the Theatre Royal and his compositions include *The Banjo Quadrilles* [c1845], *The Aladdin Quadrilles* [1862], *The Celebrated National Medley Overture* (to the pantomime of *O’Donohue of the Lakes*) [c1840], *The Great Ka-foozle-um gallop* [1866] and *The Robinson Crusoe Galop* [c1870]. Levey also published a *Collection of the Dance Music of Ireland* in 1858 and he wrote a quadrille on Irish airs entitled *Kerry* c1880 with ‘Pay the Reckoning’, the ‘Kerry Reel’, ‘Billy Byrne’ and ‘Donnybrook’ appearing as the principal airs.¹⁹

Glover composed an ode to Thomas Moore entitled *One Hundred Years Ago* (1879), a cantata entitled *St Patrick at Tara* (1870), and two operas: *Erin’s Matin Song* (1873), *The Deserted Village* (1880). He also composed some church music, songs and concertos.²⁰ He provided the harmonies to P.W. Joyce’s settings of one hundred ‘ancient’ Irish airs published in 1873²¹ and edited a version of Moore’s *Melodies* that was published c1859. The sacred music output of Glover includes a

¹⁸ ‘Dublin Chamber Music Union’, *IT*, 12 November 1875, p. 1. Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 45.

¹⁹ ‘New Music’, *IT*, 2 March 1882, p. 6.

²⁰ Fuller Maitland and Ryan, ‘Glover, John William’, *GMO, OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11296>> [accessed 20 August 2008].

²¹ Patrick Weston Joyce, *Ancient Irish Music* (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1983).

sacred song entitled ‘Have mercy upon me O Lord’ [1866], approximately six mass settings for four voices [c1860 to 1872], and an arrangement of Responses at High Mass [1865]. He also wrote an organ book [1870] and Voluntaries for the Organ, published c1892.

Francis and Joseph Robinson also composed secular and sacred vocal music and arranged songs from Moore’s *Melodies*. Joseph’s compositional output is probably the most similar to Stewart’s in that he wrote songs, small piano pieces, and sacred music. His songs number over forty and include: ‘Do you ever list to music?’ [1850], ‘In dreams when sleep falls o’er me’ [1853], ‘Night Watchers’ [1860], ‘Rich and rare were the gems she wore’ [1872] and ‘’Tis merry o’er the mountain’ [1859]. He also composed eight easy waltzes for the violin [1845], and his piano pieces include *The Magnolia Polka* [1855], *The Aztec’s Polka* [1853], a nocturne [1871] and an étude [1872]. He arranged voluntaries, choruses, movements, interludes for the *Organist’s Friend* [1859–78], and his sacred compositions include an anthem ‘Bow down thine ear’ [n.d.] and a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in D [n.d.].

In terms of music lectures, only those delivered by Glover on ‘Moore’s Melodies’ and the ‘national music of Ireland’ in 1859, 1860, 1865 and 1867 have come to light.²² At these lectures Glover explained the ‘history’ of ancient Irish minstrelsy and the Irish melodies and then provided performances of some of the songs at the piano. According to the *Irish Times*, the entertainment was ‘most deserving of public support’ and the information presented by Glover could not fail

²² ‘Professor Glover’s Entertainment’, *IT*, 13 December 1859, p. 2; ‘Professor Glover’, *IT*, 17 December 1859, p. 2; ‘Professor Glover’s Readings’, *IT*, 20 December 1859, p. 2; ‘Professor Glover’s Readings’, *IT*, 31 December 1859, p. 2; ‘Mechanics’ Institute’, *IT*, 17 January 1860, p. 3; ‘Professor Glover’s National Entertainment’, *IT*, 10 October 1865, p. 3; ‘Professor Glover’s National Entertainment’, *IT*, 13 October 1865, p. 4; ‘Lecture on National Music’, *IT*, 4 September 1867, p. 3.

to ‘prove highly instructive to every member of the community’.²³ At one of his 1865 lectures on the same topic the audience apparently joined in the singing of several of the songs ‘in great spirit and precision’ proving the popularity of such a topic in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴

Of Stewart’s five contemporaries discussed in this chapter, all were regular performers and participants in charity concerts. On 23 March 1838 the Antient Concerts Society, directed by Joseph Robinson organized a concert to raise funds for the ‘distressed poor’ of the city of Dublin and raised £110 for the Mendicant Society and in 1879 he directed a chorus of two hundred in aid of the building fund of the Adelaide Medical and Surgical Hospitals on Peter Street, Dublin at which Elsner was solo cellist and Levey was the leader of the orchestra.²⁵ Four years later Robinson conducted an afternoon concert in aid of the fund for Theodore Logier, the blind son of Johann Bernard Logier.²⁶ Three of the Robinson brothers (Francis, Joseph and William) performed at a concert organized to raise funds for the restoration of the organ at St Michan’s Church, Dublin and Stewart provided the piano accompaniment for the event.²⁷ Joseph was responsible for the renovation of the Antient Concerts Society Rooms in Great Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street), which along with the Rotunda, was Dublin’s chief concert platform from 1843 until 1916.²⁸ Robinson retired in 1891 after fifty-six years service to music in Dublin. Glover’s participation in charity concerts in Dublin included the first production of his cantata *St Patrick at*

²³ ‘Professor Glover’s Readings’, *IT*, 20 December 1859, p. 2.

²⁴ ‘Professor Glover’s National Entertainment’, *IT*, 10 October 1865, p. 3.

²⁵ Rodmell, ‘The Society of Antient Concerts’, Dublin, 1834–64’, pp. 215–16 and *IT*, 24 April 1879, p. 2.

²⁶ *IT*, 8 March 1883, p. 2.

²⁷ ‘Concert’, *IT*, 20 April 1863, p. 1.

²⁸ Joseph J. Ryan, ‘Nationalism and Music in Ireland’ (unpublished PhD diss., St Patrick’s College, Maynooth, 1991), p. 609.

Tara (1870), which was performed for the benefit of Mercer's Hospital in 1870 and again in aid of the Mansion House Coal Fund three years later.²⁹

It appears that Stewart and Joseph Robinson in particular were regular companions as Edith Boxwell's reminiscences indicate:

One day after class a few of us remained. The door opened and an old gentleman with white hair and a long beard entered and asked 'Are you ready yet, Bob?' Sir Robert: 'In ten minutes, Joe' and Mr Joseph Robinson, Professor of Singing – for it was he came in, clutching a pile of music. Sir Robert sat down at the piano, and Mr Robinson sang English and French songs delightfully to Sir Robert's delicious accompaniment. Suddenly Sir Robert began to whistle in clear birdlike notes, still playing. When he finished he told us he had whistled an obbligato and proceeded to explain it to us. This is a delightful memory.³⁰

Stewart presided at the organ while Robinson conducted the choir and instrumentalists of one thousand at the opening of the 1853 Dublin Industrial Exhibition and Robinson also directed the opening of the 1865 Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in Dublin.³¹

The close association between the instrumentalists and singers in Dublin in terms of charity and benefit concerts is an important feature of nineteenth-century musical life and even though Stewart was not the only musician to lend his services, it is clear that he was one of a core number of performers and conductors along with Joseph Robinson, Elsner and Levey who were a constant feature in the scheduling of Dublin concerts.

²⁹ *IT*, 17 May 1870, p. 1; 'Antient Concert Rooms', *IT*, 17 March 1873, p. 2.

³⁰ Boxwell, 'Memories of the Academy', p. 44. See Appendix V for further information on Edith Boxwell.

³¹ Robert Pascall, 'Robinson (ii)', *GMO*, *OMO*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23595pg1>> [accessed 20 August 2008].

Although Stewart was proficient in each of the diverse areas in which he practised, his talent for organ playing and lecturing were clearly the areas within which he excelled. He held the most important establishment positions in Dublin through his association with Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals, Trinity College Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy of Music and this is a significant factor in his attainment of such a successful career. It is highly likely, however, that if one of the Robinson brothers had been appointed professor of music at Trinity College or organist at the Dublin cathedrals, they might have been as prominent as Stewart in Dublin's musical scene and subsequently remembered in a similar way after their death. While his training in the cathedral tradition, moving in the right social circles and good fortune may account for Stewart's appointments at the Dublin cathedrals, Trinity College and the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Stewart's exceptional skills as an improviser and executant on the organ cannot be doubted and it is here that he exceeded the skills of his contemporaries. It must also be remembered that the superiority attributed to the nineteenth-century organist or piano player (above all other instrumentalists) in establishment musical life in Dublin was clearly a factor in the development of Stewart's career which commenced with his first organ appointment at Christ Church Cathedral. Through the positions that Stewart attained at Trinity College in particular, he clearly had an advantage over his contemporaries in terms of the facilities available to him to deliver music lectures. He was required to compose music for events of importance in university life and the University of Dublin Choral Society provided him with the medium through which he could ensure the performance of his vocal music. Likewise his association with Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals provided a suitable environment in which his sacred music could be performed. Despite these benefits, Stewart also demonstrated a desire to

make a successful career for himself as a musician and clearly felt a strong obligation to educate his Dublin and Cork audiences through his lectures. He also attempted to raise the standard of music in the capital city and used his position as an instrumental teacher to put this into effect.

While the musical world lamented the deaths of Anton Rubinstein, Hans von Bülow, Madame Alboni and Adolphe Sax in 1894, Ireland lost a most impressive musician when Robert Prescott Stewart died on 24 March. Dublin's prominent musicians did not waste any time in organizing a committee and series of meetings to discuss what form a national memorial to Stewart might take, demonstrating a conscious attempt on their part to choose an appropriate memorial to him. The first meeting was attended by such figures as Jozé, Culwick, Joseph Robinson, Esposito, Joseph Smith and the Deans of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals and was held in the Mansion House only six days after Stewart's death.³² At this meeting it was resolved to convene a public meeting on 11 April to consider proposals for the establishment of a national memorial to 'perpetuate the name of this eminent Irishman'.³³ The sub-committee received a letter from Leopold Dix suggesting the foundation of a Royal College of Organists in Stewart's memory, while Jozé, writing to the committee in his capacity as honorary secretary of the Leinster Section of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, suggested that the memorial should take the form of a public monument.³⁴ An official committee was appointed on 11 April and monetary contributions were received from over two hundred people. Other

³² 'Proposed National Memorial to Sir Robert Stewart', *FJ*, 31 March 1894, Minute Books of the Sir R.P. Stewart National Memorial (1894–98), IRL-Da, MS23 H46.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Letters from Leopold Dix and T.R.G. Jozé to the provisional committee of the Stewart National Memorial. Meeting of provisional committee, 9 April 1894, Minute Books of the Sir R.P. Stewart National Memorial (1894–98).

suggestions as to the form of the memorial were proposed including: a bronze or marble statue with pedestal; a new organ or the renovation of an existing organ (either in the large hall of the Royal University of Ireland or in the theatre at Leinster Hall); the publication of a collection of Stewart's music; a musical scholarship for the instruction of pupils in the Royal Irish Academy of Music; a music library; and an institute containing a concert hall, rooms for musical society meetings, an organ, and music library that was to be self supporting through subscriptions and the hire of the concert room.³⁵ The merits of each of the proposed memorials were discussed by the committee and on 5 April 1895 its members chose a marble statue, to be sculpted by Thomas Farrell, as the memorial.³⁶ The eight foot statue was made of carrera marble with a pedestal of coloured marble and was unveiled on 15 March 1898.³⁷

Stewart's legacy is manifold and extends beyond the modest and somewhat limited summation that appears in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. As a performing musician and conductor in Dublin he constantly aspired to raise the standard of performance so that it matched that in England or on the Continent. He was 'ever ready to hear and appreciate what was new' as a conductor and was responsible for the Irish premières of approximately eighteen choral works including Mendelssohn's *Athalie* (op.74), (1849), Handel's *Esther* (HWV 50a/50b), (1851), Verdi's *Requiem* (1876) and Bach's *St John Passion* (BWV245), (1878).³⁸ Generously contributing

³⁵ Report of Sub-committee to the Executive Council of the Stewart National Memorial Committee, 19 June 1894, Minute Books of the Sir R.P. Stewart National Memorial (1894–98).

³⁶ Committee Meeting, 5 April 1895, Minute Books of the Sir R.P. Stewart National Memorial (1894–98). With the relevant permission the statue was to be placed on Leinster Lawn, Kildare Street, Dublin.

³⁷ The quotation received from Thomas Farrell for the statue was £1250. Letter from Thomas Farrell to the Committee of the Stewart National Memorial, 31 May 1894, Minute Books of the Sir R.P. Stewart National Memorial (1894–98).

³⁸ Hercules MacDonnell cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 209.

his time and talent to fund-raising concerts for hospitals (including the City of Dublin Hospital and Mercer's Hospital), famine victims, war victims and orphanages, Stewart and the other musical figures of Dublin (discussed above) were popular participants in these events.

Fondly remembered by his former pupils, Stewart's merits as an instrumental teacher and a teacher of harmony at the Royal Irish Academy of Music included his ability to put himself in the place of a child and to be able to explain technical terms in an accessible and fun way. His preference for students to attend the end of the previous lesson and to remain for the beginning of the next lesson was also an advantageous aid to his pupils. Stewart's importance to the Academy was substantial in that it took three people to replace him after his death: Joseph Robinson as professor of piano, and Jozé and Marchant as organ professors.³⁹

Occupying the chair of music at Trinity College Dublin, Stewart could initiate the changes needed to bring about a re-assessment of the value of a music degree when compared to a bachelor's degree in medicine, law or theology. His clarification and expansion of the MusB and MusD syllabus resulted in a more detailed assessment of the degree candidates and his introduction of a literary examination for the MusB degree in an attempt to raise the standard of education of the music graduate was imitated in the introduction of 'responsions or an equivalent' at Oxford and a 'previous examination' at Cambridge in 1876 and 1877 respectively.

³⁹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 119.

Stewart's public lectures were assembled to enhance the musical appreciation and education of Dublin's citizens and he acknowledged the importance of the public lecture as a tool of education in the Victorian attempt to eradicate the alleged immoral distractions from the lives of the poorer classes, and to replace them with the incorruptible force of music. Charles Kitson, professor of music at Trinity College Dublin from 1920 to 1935, delivered a talk on Stewart in 1926 at which he paid tribute to the fact that his subject:

Laid special stress on the point that music was well able to hold its own with other spheres of intellectual activity, as being worthy of the attention of the keenest intellects.⁴⁰

His endeavour to record and commemorate Irish musicians of a past age exhibits his attempts to remind the nineteenth-century Irish citizen of their musical heritage and to ensure that the names of Carter, Cogan, Field, Geary, Kelly, Stevenson, Wallace, and Balfe were not sentenced to a life-time in oblivion. Likewise Stewart's efforts to raise funds for memorials to Stevenson and Balfe represent his sense of responsibility to his fellow countrymen and his lack of confidence in the ability of the relevant Dublin authorities to construct a memorial without turning it into a long-overdue politicized action. He referred to Stevenson's contemporaries as 'Irish in their generation' because they 'dealt in talk, but not in action' in relation to their organization of a commemoration to Stevenson.⁴¹ Describing the marble statue that was organized at Christ Church Cathedral as a 'wretched affair', Stewart pointed out that it was missing the figure of a chorister at one side and remarked that no memorial was placed to Stevenson in this cathedral.⁴² This prompted Stewart to deliver his set of 1864 lectures entitled 'Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth-

⁴⁰ Kitson, 'Sir Robert Prescott Stewart 1825–1894', p. 240.

⁴¹ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to unknown recipient, 1 September 1881. I am grateful to Peter Horton for providing me with a copy of this letter.

⁴² Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to unknown recipient, 1 September 1881.

Century' and with the funds raised, a stained glass window depicting David 'singing and accompanying himself on the harp' was unveiled within one year.⁴³

Similar antics were recorded by Stewart when the 'flowery Paddies' elected 'some Fenian fellow' as secretary of the Balfe Memorial Committee who apparently 'botched' the memorial.⁴⁴ In the meantime Stewart had organized another window in St Patrick's Cathedral to Balfe. The committee commissioned a bust of Balfe from Thomas Farrell and invited Stewart to unveil it to acknowledge his efforts.

Stewart's comfort zone was undoubtedly his native city where he was often appointed to act as a committee member or an adjudicator at a music competition. He held the most prestigious positions of his career in Dublin and along with Joseph Robinson commanded the most influence of all the professional musicians active in the city. Outside of Ireland he was viewed as a type of paternal head of the musical sphere in Dublin and was, as John O'Donovan so aptly described, the 'big fish in a little pond'.⁴⁵ This of course had its downside and despite Stewart's success, it appears that he was not as self-confident in private as his public persona may have portrayed. In a letter to Bell written in 1890 Stewart indicates that he considered applying to the Reid Professorship of music at Edinburgh upon the death of John Donaldson but upon further consideration changed his mind. This source indicates a lack of confidence in Stewart's own abilities as this quote highlights:

I had some thoughts of trying, and I got a few letters from people of influence here. But old George Wood dissuaded me. He said: 'You are liked here, and happy; but if you were chosen there you would find a mass of coteries who would worry you.' He

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ O'Donovan, 'Big Fish in a Little Pond', p. 10.

added sundry other considerations, and the consequence was I never sent in my application.⁴⁶

This lack of confidence also manifests itself in Stewart's opinion of his compositions which are generally conventional in character with an apparent preference for uncomplicated-writing in terms of key structure and melodic lines. While his music is pleasant and agreeable, it does not exhibit an attempt to transcend his restrictions in favour of music of a more innovative character. Although a composer of limited ability, Stewart's functional music served its purpose extremely well and suited the taste of the audiences in attendance at the noteworthy events at Trinity College Dublin or at the Dublin and Cork Industrial Exhibitions.

Stewart was undoubtedly a product of his time. An accomplished musician of exceptional all-round talent, he emulated the careers of his English contemporaries and continuously attempted to match or even surpass their standards and he was therefore justly described by Bumpus as 'that most illustrious of Irish musicians'.⁴⁷ Vignoles paid tribute to Stewart's 'marvelous unselfishness, and his unfailing readiness to afford advice, help, explanation, information of every kind, local, professional, musical or literary, to every correspondent' and his 'large-hearted willingness to do a good turn to all who desired his assistance, no matter what might be the nature of the request, or what labour on his part might be involved'.⁴⁸ Described in the *Irish Times* as a musician who had 'reached the pinnacle of eminence', Vignoles rather subjectively referred to Stewart as 'one of the greatest

⁴⁶ Letter from Robert Prescott Stewart to George Bell, 9 March 1890, cited in Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 184.

⁴⁷ Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers and the Irish Cathedrals, Part II', p. 138.

⁴⁸ Vignoles, *Memoir*, p. 94.

musicians' that Ireland had produced in the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ While the popularity that he experienced throughout his lifetime contributed to this rather grand and somewhat exaggerated statement, a modern reassessment of his merits confirms that he was not deserving of the total neglect that he received after his death. Although Stewart was not the only talented musician working in Dublin during the second half of the nineteenth century, he was certainly one of the most dedicated. Stewart's achievements in attaining the most prominent positions in the Dublin music profession and the high regard in which he was generally held in Ireland reveal as much about the limitations of Ireland's musical and cultural experience in the nineteenth century as they do about Stewart himself. His significant contribution to Dublin's musical life accounts for his substantial legacy as a music educator and promoter of eminence in particular and when considered alongside his impressive activities as a performer, conductor and composer, confirms that Stewart truly was a 'Victorian musician' in all sense of the term.

⁴⁹ 'Dublin Music in the Olden Time', *IT*, 7 June 1890, p. 12. Vignoles, 'Reminiscences of Sir Robert P. Stewart', p. 318.

Appendix I

Images and photographs of Robert Prescott Stewart

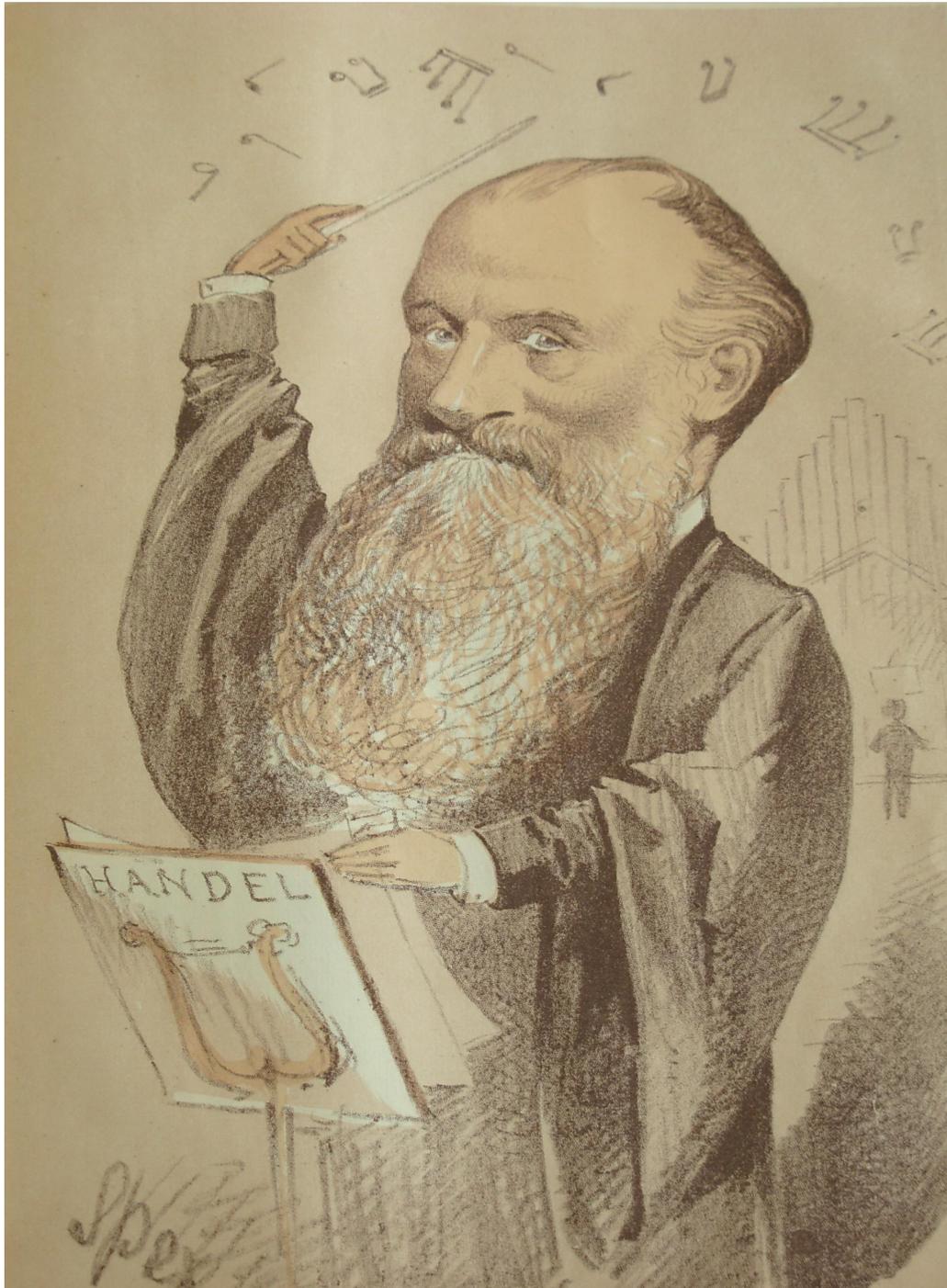


Illustration 1. A caricature of Stewart by Fergus O'Hea (1850–1922) who worked under the pen-name of 'Spex' taken from *Ireland's Eye*, 6 June 1874. The caption underneath the picture reads: 'Handel-er of the T.C.D. Baton, Master of the Organ, the "Choir", and the "Orchestra"'.

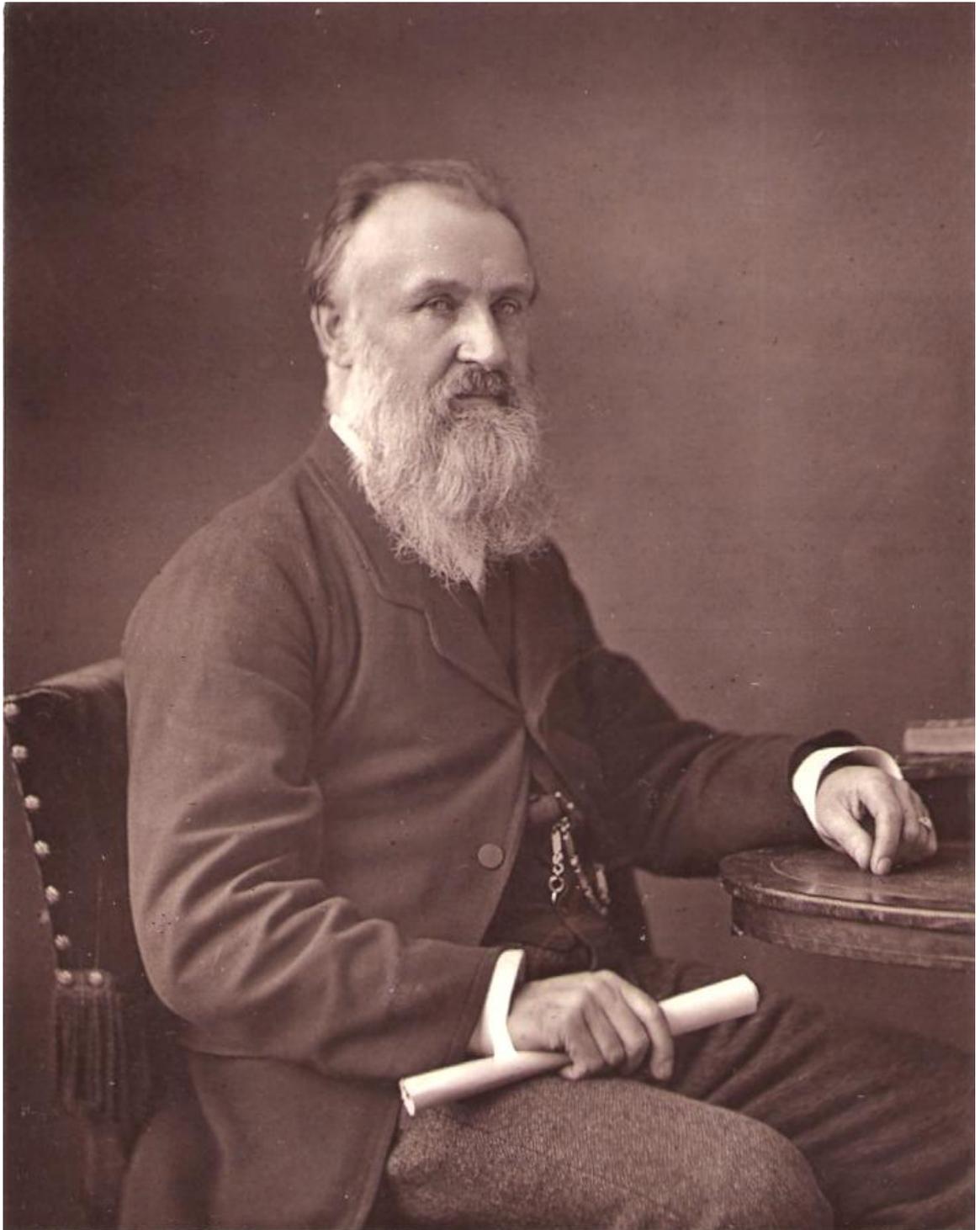


Illustration 2. Photograph of Stewart c1875 taken from 'Our Portrait Gallery, Second Series, No. 14, Sir Robert Prescott Stewart, Mus. D.', *DUM*, 85 (1875), opposite p. 266.



Illustration 3. Carte-de-visite photograph of Stewart (taken before 1884) located at GB-Lerm CPH/Macnutt Album.

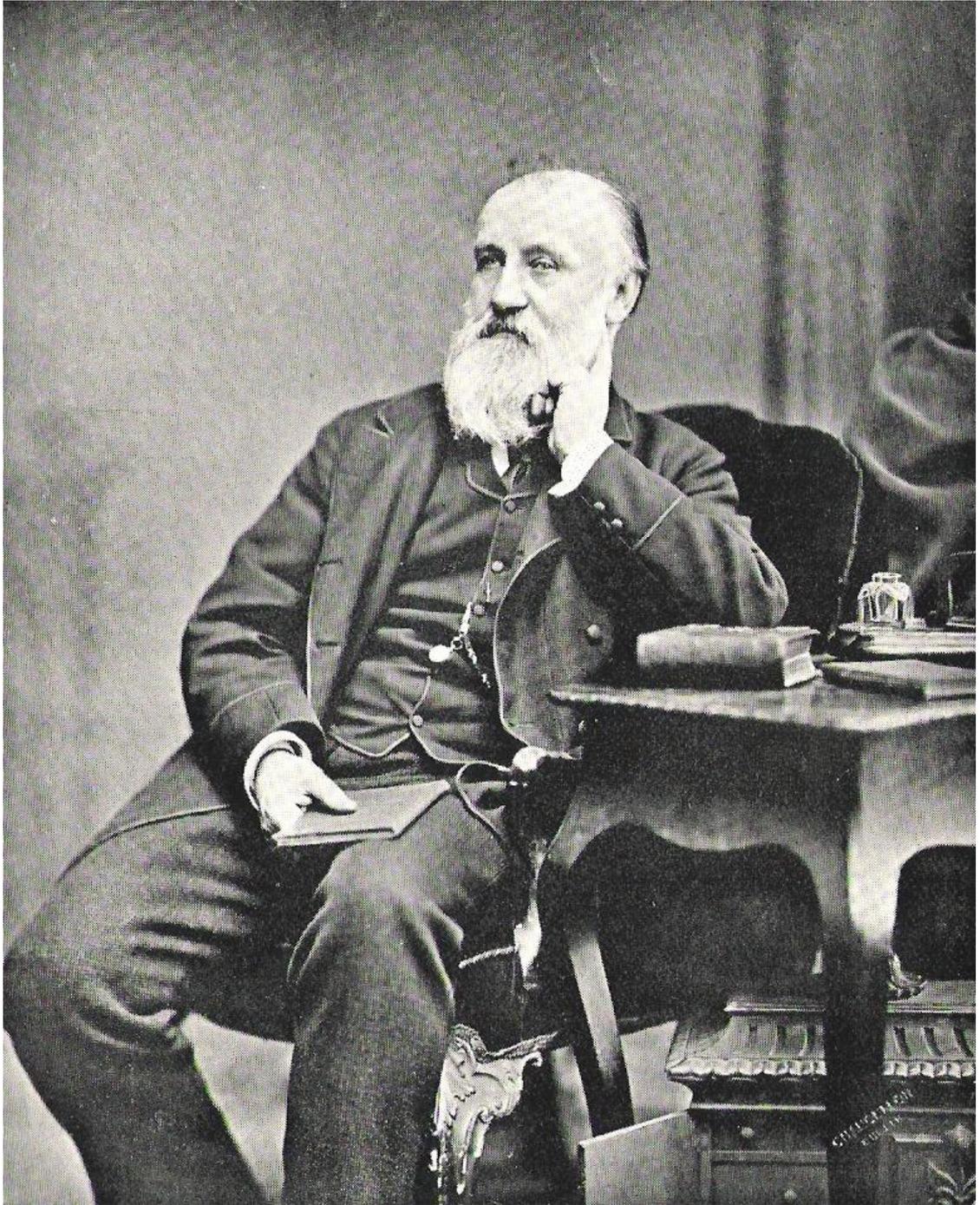


Illustration 4. Photograph of Stewart taken from Vignoles, *Memoir*.



Illustration 5. Silver gilt baton by Edmond Johnson presented to Stewart by the committee and members of the University of Dublin Choral Society in 1848. Photograph taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland. © The National Museum of Ireland, 2005.

Appendix II

Examination Papers from the Royal Irish Academy of Music: 1873, 1879, 1880–85, 1888¹

Taken from the Minute Books of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, NA 1120/1-6

1873

Harmony Examination

13 December 1873, NA 1120/1/6

1. Bar the above melody in two different ways and give your reasons?



Harmony Examination, NA 1120/1/7
21 December 1878
First Class (Senior)

1. Give the names of the degrees of the scale.
2. What is the difference between $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$?
3. Write down and explain the various forms of the minor scale.
4. Give the closest related keys to any scale.
5. Harmonize in four parts, any major scale: the C clef may be used, 7ths, 9ths, and suspensions employed.
6. Modulate from G to E minor, C. A minor, F D flat, G flat, and G; ending by cadence, employing double suspensions, the added sixth: interrupted resolution, inverted basses; at discretion, all or any of them.
7. Harmonize the minor descending scale in four parts, after the pattern of No. 5.

Second Class (Junior), NA 1120/1/7

1. What is the cause of sound?
2. How does sound differ from noise?
3. On what does pitch depend?
4. Explain the stave and all the clefs.
5. What is incorrect in the terms so usually employed – bass clef, tenor clef?
6. Write down all the intervals you can think of, and describe them.
7. Harmonize any major scale, not only avoiding parallel 5ths and 8ths, but explaining the process of doing so.

Harmony Examination
 December 1879
 Second Class (Junior), NA 1120/1/8

1. Write out the major scale of A, marking the semitones
2. And the minor scale of A in different forms.
3. And a common chord in different positions.
4. Why is a bass necessary to the latter?
5. Why do Sharps occur?
 Why do double sharps and double flats occur?
6. What are major, minor and augmented intervals?
7. Modulate through all the twelve keys.

Harmony Examination
 December 1879
 First Class (Senior)

1. Draw a diagram of the clefs and their derivation.
2. Harmonize the following in four parts; C clefs may be used:-



3. Modulate through all the keys and their relative minors.
4. What is a sequence of 7ths? Give an example.
5. What are pedals in harmony?
6. What are cadences? Give examples.
7. What are the various parts of a fugue?
 Does the subject ever differ from itself?
8. Give roots and resolutions of the following



1881

Harmony Examination
10 December 1881, NA 1120/1/8
Senior Class

6 6̂ 6 6 6 6 6 7 6̂ 5- 9 8 5 6 7 8
4 4 4 4 4- 3 4 3 3 4 4 3
2 3 3 3 3 3 3 2

1. Express the above figured harmonies in chords.
2. Write a short sketch of the nature and derivation of the German Sixth.
- 3.

Canto Fermo

Add counterpoint (forming two parts) of the first, second, third, fourth and fifth species, below this Canto Fermo.

4. Treat the same in *three-part* counterpoint, add a bass of the third species.

Harmony Examination
10 December 1881
Junior Class

1. Harmonize in four parts the above.
2. Draw a diagram of the staff and clefs.
3. Modulate from D to F sharp minor, E minor, G, A, to D.

1882

Harmony Examination

22 November 1882, NA 1120/1/8

First Class

1. Modulate from C to G flat, using successively the inversions of the dominant chord in the bass.
2. Harmonize in four parts the scale of A major employing suspensions and figure the bass.
3. Employ successively in the following exercise the French, German, Italian, Neapolitan and added sixths



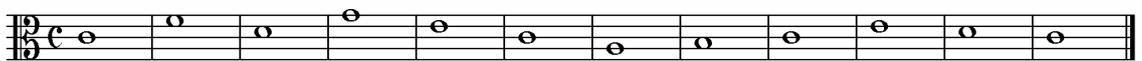
4.



Treat this melody by sequence of sixths in four part harmony.

Counterpoint Examination

First Class



5. Above this canto fermo write successively examples of all five species of counterpoint (two parts only).
6. Express these chords in notes.



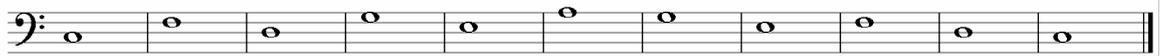
Harmony Examination, NA 1120/1/8
29 November 1882
Second Class

1. Draw a diagram of the stave and clefs.
2. Modulate from C, taking the 3rd for Dominant continually until C minor is reached. Figure the bass.
3. First write out the simplest cadence of F sharp major and then repeat the same device making any alterations or additions you consider advisable.
4. Harmonize the scale of B flat, first in dispersed and then in close harmony.

1883

Harmony Examination, NA112//1/8
10 December 1883
Counterpoint

A. Treat the following Canto Fermo. in all the five species (two-parts):



B. Place the Canto Fermo in Alto
Add Soprano in 2nd order
Tenor in 1st order
Bass in 3rd order



Harmony Examination
Senior Class
Transposition and Figured Bass

[Candidates are requested to bring Beethoven's Sonata in A flat Op.26 with them, to the Academy]

1. The harmonies of the theme to be expressed in Figured Bass.
2. The theme to be transposed to G major.

Modulation

From G to A flat by 1st inversion; to E natural by 2nd inversion; to A natural by 3rd inversion, ending with cadence of A interrupted, and introducing the German 6th towards the close.

Harmony

Junior Class

Harmonize in four parts and in four staves the scale of E flat major.

Modulate from C by the dominant chord through all the circle of keys returning to C.

1885

Harmony Examination
5 December 1885, NA 1120/1/9
Harmony First Class

To be harmonized in five parts—soprano, alto, tenor, baritone or upper bass

A single staff of music in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of the following notes: F2, G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F#3, G3, A3, B3, C4. Below the staff, the following figured bass notation is provided: #7, 6, #6, 6, b7, 5, 7. The numbers 4, b7, 5, 4, and 7 are positioned below the corresponding notes in the sequence.

To be harmonized in the usual four parts

A single staff of music in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of the following notes: F2, G2, A2, B2, C3, D3, E3, F#3, G3, A3, B3, C4. Below the staff, the following figured bass notation is provided: 5 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 8, 4, 3, 2.

Analysis and History
First Class

Analyze the first movement of Beethoven's first sonata in F minor, both first and second parts, and add any remarks which seem applicable to the history of the work itself, or to the instrument for which it was composed.

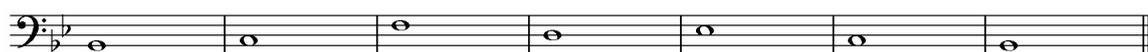
A grand staff (treble and bass clefs) showing six chords labeled (a) through (f).
(a) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.
(b) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.
(c) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.
(d) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.
(e) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.
(f) Treble clef: F4, A4, C5; Bass clef: F2.

Describe these chords, especially giving the treatment of (e) and (f), and adding any information you possess about them.

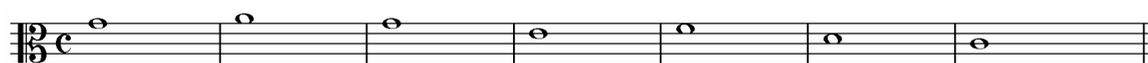
Modulation
First Class

From C to D flat by first inversion; C to A natural by second inversion; C to D natural by third inversion; End with Interrupted Cadence of D, introducing the German Sixth towards the close.

Counterpoint
5 December 1885
Treat the following in all the five species (Two parts)

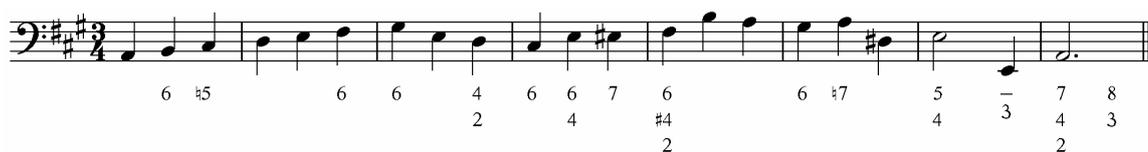


To this alto part add
Soprano in second order
Tenor in first order
Bass in third order



Harmony Examination
5 December 1885
Second Class

1. Give examples of augmented 2nd, major and minor 3rds, diminished 5ths, and of the 'Tritone.'
2. Add the usual three upper parts to this figured bass.



3. Modulate as follows:
B flat to F by second inversion; to C minor by chord of Diminished Seventh; to G minor by third inversion; here introduce the Descending Scale of B flat major, figuring every note with a 6; end with the cadence of B flat.

Harmony Examination
5 December 1885
Third Class
Theory of Music

1. Give examples of augmented 2nd, major and minor 3rds, and of the 'Tritone.'
2. Explain the staff, and the clefs derived from it.
3. What are the general faults in writing harmony?
4. Is there any objection to crossing the Voice-Parts?
5. Add an alto part to the following:

The musical notation consists of two staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb and Eb) and a common time signature (C). It contains a melody of quarter notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. The bottom staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It contains a harmonic accompaniment of chords: G4-Bb4, A4-C5, Bb4-A4, G4-F4, A4-G4, Bb4-A4, G4-F4, G4-Bb4.

Harmony Examination , NA 1120/1/9

8 December 1888.

History Paper

Modern Music

1. When was Richard Wagner born?
2. What are his chief works?
3. What was his theory of Opera and Drama?
4. What were his objections to the operas existing before his time?
5. Was Wagner celebrated for anything but his musical compositions? Give details
6. What was that department of the musical art in which even his enemies admit his supremacy?
7. What are his claims as a vocal composer?
8. In what departments is he generally admitted to have been excelled by Mozart, Beethoven and even Weber?
9. What famous musician was Wagner's great helper?
10. What Phrase was devised by Wagner's opponents to prejudice the World of Music against him, and what was in reality, the expression used by Wagner himself?
11. When and where did Wagner die?

Appendix III

The 1874 MusB and MusD Examinations at Trinity College Dublin

Dublin University Musical Examinations

The following examination papers in music for the present year will probably interest our readers:—

Examination for Mus.B.

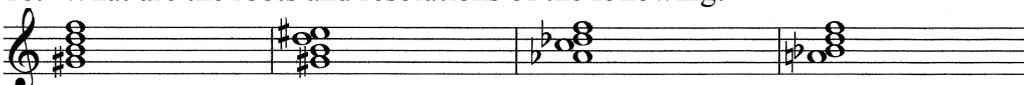
Sir Robert Stewart

1. What is false relation?
2. What is double counterpoint, in the 8va, 10th, 12th?
3. What is the true meaning of the term 'thorough bass'?
4. Describe the ancient modes: What two choruses in Handel's *Israel* are supposed to be written in any of them?
5. Did the old masters (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) ever use different signatures from modern composers?
6. Upon what depends the pitch of musical sounds?
7. Explain the derivation of the stave and the clefs?
8. Give some of the names and values of ancient notes.
9. What are the meanings of the word 'cadence', and how many cadences are there?
10. Various forms of the minor scale exist; explain and justify them.
- 11.



Bar the above melody in two different ways.

12. What is the principle of time-signatures?
13. The fractions $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$ are generally equal; why do they represent different effects to the musician?
14. What is a diatonic semitone? A chromatic semitone? What are the relative properties of perfect, augmented, and diminished intervals?
15. What are the meaning and derivation of the term *appoggiatura*? Is it employed generally at present?
16. What are the roots and resolutions of the following:



17. Give, as nearly as you can recollect, the date of birth and death of Handel, J.S. Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Mendelssohn.

18.



Treat the above choral in four-part harmony, employing the proper clefs.

1st as the melody, accompanied with florid counterpoint in one of the parts

2nd as a tenor part

3rd as the bass

Mr. Mahaffy¹

1. What are Gregorian tones? Give instances where they are introduced with effect by modern composers.
2. If required to add a fifth part to a simple vocal quartet, on what general principles would you proceed?
3. What examples are there of different times being used simultaneously in concerted music?
4. Compare the effects of alto and contralto voices in musical composition.

In addition to the above there was a portion of the day devoted to a *viva voce* examination.

Examination for Mus.D.

Sir Robert Stewart

1. What are the chords of the added ninth; diminished seventh; added sixth; Neapolitan, French and German sixths; eleventh; and thirteenth?
2. Modulate from C through A, F sharp major, E flat, D flat, G minor, F major, G, to C.
3. Add a bass and inner part to the melody of a chromatic scale descending from C# to C#, one octave.
4. Express the following figured harmony by chords:



5. What are (briefly) the laws of fugue? May the pedal be ever introduced on any note save the dominant? Is it ever found in any part except the bass?

¹ John Pentland Mahaffy (1839–1919) was Precentor of Trinity College Chapel and became the Provost at the age of seventy-five in 1914.

Appendix IV

Music Degree Examinations at the Royal University of Ireland, 1887 and 1889

Royal University of Ireland Music Examinations 1887¹

Examination for the Degree of Bachelor in Music

First Paper

October 11 – Morning

1. Write a short description of Day's theory of the analysis of chords. Mention also the principal objections that have been urged against it.
2. What is meant by the term *falso bordonne*? Illustrate your answer by means of a musical example.
3. What was the object which J.S. Bach had in view in composing the well-known Forty-eight Preludes and Fugues? Mention also what was the original title of the work, and what bearing it had upon a very important musical problem.
4. Handel and Bach are commonly bracketed together by musical historians. Can you assign any reason of the very marked difference of style which presents itself, in comparing the works of the two masters?
5. Write a short account of the English school of Madrigal composers of the sixteenth century. Give also a description of the purport, title, and scope of a famous collection of compositions of this class which appeared at the above-named period.
6. Describe an English church organ of the time of the Restoration. Give also a brief account of the celebrated English organ-builders of the time.
7. What is meant by the following expressions as applied to organ-building: old temperament, mean tone system, equal temperament? Give an approximation to the various dates at which these methods of tuning successively prevailed.
8. Write out a complete specification for a modern church organ consisting of thirty sounding stops (with accessories) distributed over three manuals and pedal.
9. What important instrument of the modern orchestra is found to be absent from the scores of Handel? What other important instrument is found, to have been but very sparingly employed by him? Mention a few of the instances in which this latter instrument is brought into requisition.
10. Enumerate the usual instruments employed in a modern orchestra. Give also the numerical proportions in which they are commonly used.
11. Describe the following instruments: ophicleide, serpent, contra-fagotto, octo-bass, corno di bassetto, corno inglese, bass-clarinet, glockenspiel, tuba. Give the names of some important musical compositions in which one of other of the foregoing instruments is employed.

¹ *The Royal University of Ireland Examination Papers, Supplement to the University Calendar 1887* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1888), pp. 149–53.

Second paper
 October 11 – Afternoon

- Complete the harmonies, in five vocal parts, of the subjoined figured bass.

- Harmonize the following melody for soprano, alto, first and second tenor, and bass; making use of the appropriate clef in each case: —

Lento

- Score the same melody for clarinet, corno di bassetto, horn, and two bassoons.
- To the Canto Fermo given below add alto, tenor, and bass parts; the alto to be in counterpoint of the fourth species, the tenor in florid counterpoint, and the bass in counterpoint of the second species.

- Write a fugal exposition for four voices on the above subject, making such alterations in the length of the notes as may serve to make the phrase rhythmical and melodious.
- Describe the features of difference between a tonal and a real fugue. Explain your answer by means of original musical examples. Also cite from the “Messiah” an instance of each.
- What is meant by the terms: - augmentation, diminution, reversion, *per arsin et thesin*? Illustrate your explanation by reference to well-known musical works.
- Explain the chords numbered in the subjoined example, giving the derivation and the name (not the figures) of each.

9. Re-write the musical sentence given below, taking care to correct all the faulty progressions and grammatical errors.

The musical notation consists of two staves in common time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with several chromatic and intervallic errors, including a half-step descent from G4 to F#4, a half-step ascent from F#4 to G4, and a half-step descent from G4 to F4. The lower staff contains a bass line with similar errors, including a half-step descent from G3 to F#3, a half-step ascent from F#3 to G3, and a half-step descent from G3 to F3. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

10. Give a short historical account of the origin of the metronome, and describe the contrivance which it superseded.

Third Paper
October 12

1. What are the various definitions of vibrations current among musicians in France, Germany, and England?
2. Who was Chladni? For what interesting facts are we indebted to him?
3. Give examples of unvocal part-writing for a choir.
4. What do you know of musical flames?
5. Describe briefly Helmholtz's explanation of the existence of that feature of musical sound designated *timber*, or quality.
6. In the reed-pipe of an organ the tube and the reed discharge each a special function. State briefly what it is.
7. A Diapason, organ-pipe and a clarinet or *Vox humana* organ-pipe, emitting the same note, are of different lengths. How do you account for this fact?
8. The CCC Violone pipe of an organ is 14' 8" in length; the same note of the Pedal Diapason is 14' 3". State what will be the length of the BB \flat pipe of each stop.
9. State briefly what is meant by the quality in chords known as roughness, and what influence is exercised upon it by the phenomena of *beats*.
10. Give in musical notation both the summation tones and the difference tones of the following chords:

The musical notation shows five chords on a single staff in G major (one sharp). The chords are labeled as follows: 'a' is a G major triad (G4, B4, D5); 'b' is a G minor triad (G4, Bb4, D5); 'c' is a G major triad (G4, B4, D5); 'd' is a D major triad (D4, F#4, A4); and 'e' is an E major triad (E4, G#4, B4). Each chord is represented by a single chord symbol on the staff.

Royal University of Ireland Music Examinations 1889²

First Examination in Music
October 15, 16 Pass Examinations

First Paper.– Elements of Acoustics

1. Give arguments to show that the velocity of a sound in air is the same whatever be its pitch. Does the velocity depend on the pressure and temperature of the air, and how?
2. How does the intensity of a sound propagated in an open space vary with the distance from the sounding body?
3. State precisely the effect on the pitch of altering the length of a violin string by fingering. Give an explanation.
4. How would you adjust two C tuning-forks to perfect unison?
5. Explain the modes of vibration of bells.
6. Explain the reflection of sound at the open mouth of an organ-pipe.
7. In what respect does a compound tone differ physically from a simple one? How would you experimentally analyze the constitution of a given compound tone?
8. What is the cause of beats of musical tones? Explain a theory of their influence on consonance.

Second Paper - Elements of Music

1. Write down examples of the following intervals-
 - (a) augmented second
 - (b) minor third
 - (c) tritone
 - (d) augmented sixth
 - (e) diminished seventh
2. What modern composer has discarded the clefs for capital letters?
3. Write out the so-called harmonic minor scale of



affixing the separate accidentals to each note, and employing this clef and staff.

4. What is the Neapolitan sixth? Give an example in the key of D.
5. Give roots and resolutions of these chords:



² *The Royal University of Ireland Examination Papers, Supplement to the University Calendar 1889* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1890), pp. 122–127.

6. What is the name of the following melody? Bar it in different ways and compare them.



7. Write down all the time-signatures with which you are acquainted, giving examples of the employment of those most unusually met with.

8. Express the following figures in four-part harmony above the given bass



9. Give examples of faulty notation in any of the pianoforte sonatas of Beethoven.

10. Correct whatever needs alteration in the following piece of four-part harmony.



Third Paper – Musical History

1. Give the names and dates of those persons to whom the invention of the pianoforte is ascribed.
2. What was the date and duration of Handel's visit to Ireland?
3. What are the most famous of Gluck's operas?
Who was Gluck's rival? For what was Gluck celebrated? Give approximate dates.
4. What was the date and name of Johann Sebastian Bach's greatest instrumental work?
5. Who invented the swell-organ?
6. Who was Tartini, and how has his name come to be associated with acoustics?
7. What was the Italian opera called when first established in England?
8. Who was the most celebrated musical theorist in England, during the 18th century?
9. Give the meaning and derivation of the term, *sonata-trace* also the corresponding word in vocal music, and account for its use.
10. Explain the terms – *binary form*, *cantabile*, *free fantasia*.
11. Give examples of some novel points introduced into the Sonata by Beethoven.
12. What modern composer for the stage is supposed to have followed in the steps of Gluck?
13. What composer may be described as the originator of romantic opera?
14. Omitting the setting by Gounod, give a short acc of other musical treatments of the Faust legend.
15. With what modern examples of the choral and orchestral cantata are you acquainted?

Examination for the Deg of Doctor of Music
First Paper – Acoustics

1. What is Helmholtz's theory of Consonance?
2. What, according to Euler, was the metaphysical reason for the consonance of the smaller ratios?
3. What well-known Musico-literate has combated the Helmholtz theories, and upon what grounds?
4. Give the vibrational numbers of the following consonances within the octave:-
Octave
Fifth
Fourth
Major Third
Minor Third
Minor Sixth
5. What is the cause of Dissonance?
6. What are partials, differentials, and summation tones? Were any of these known by different names formerly?
7. Explain how the extinction of one sound by another can be made manifest in the case of two tuning forks, or two organ-pipes.
8. How do you account for the irregular and apparently false harmonics of large bells?
9. What may be sought for, and what is the practical result from an acoustic point of view, when a string is plucked or struck at any chosen point?
10. What is the difference respectively in the harmonics given by an open organ pipe, a stopped pipe, an oboe, a clarinet, and a bassoon?
11. What do you know of the accessory resonance tones, as defined by Helmholtz and Donders, in their researches after the vowel-sounds of different nations.
12. Give a short musical example of two tuning schemes, which will in the simplest way exemplify the so-called "common comma".

Second paper – Counterpoint and fugue

1. How many sorts of Double Counterpoint are feasible, and of these, which are most generally employed?
2. Give the preliminary scheme for the guidance of those who practise Double Counterpoint.
3. Add to the following Tenor Canto Fermo seven parts:



Let three be in the fifth species, and five in the first species of Counterpoint-

And make use of the following Countersubject, subject if necessary to tonal alteration—



4. Write a short fugue in five parts upon the following subject:



Third paper – History of Music

1. Name the ecclesiastical modes in their order, giving the first note of each, and a short sketch of their origin.
2. What is the meaning of the terms “Ambitus” and “Repercussion”?
3. According to Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, what is the distinction between “Symphony” and “Diaphony”?
4. Give the names and shapes of the nine notes used in ancient music.
5. The “organum” of Hucbald has been much ridiculed: what explanation of the device is that which would prove to be free from the faulty motion generally assigned to it?
6. What were the defects of the Neumae as a guide to singers?
7. Write out the Hymn of St. John, as sung by the pupils of Guido D’Arezzo.
8. Organs of two kinds were known to the ancients: write a short note descriptive of them.
9. What orchestra was employed in the first oratorio, “L’Anima e Corpo”, and where were the instruments placed?
10. Explain the Musica Ficta of mediaeval times, and the phrase “Mi contra fa est Diabolus.”
11. The old Minuet and the modern Scherzo were in triple measure: do you know of any exception to either or both?
12. Whence arose the German custom of expressing B natural by the letter H; and what modern German musician has entered a protest against this custom, as peculiar to Germany, and unmeaning?

Appendix V

Biographical Information on Some of the Former Pupils of Robert Prescott Stewart

Edith Boxwell (née French)

Boxwell studied with Robert Stewart, Michele Esposito and Margaret O’Hea at the Royal Irish Academy of Music where she won the Coulson Scholarship at the Academy at the age of twelve.¹ She was involved with the radio station 2RN and she was a performer and accompanist in Dublin.² She taught piano at the Academy until 1925.³

Annie Curwen (née Gregg) (1845–1922)

Born in Dublin, Curwen received her early music education at the Royal Irish Academy of Music. She taught the piano in Dublin for a time and then moved to Scotland where she was introduced to the tonic sol-fa system, which she incorporated into her own teaching methods.⁴ In 1877 she married John Spencer Curwen, the son of the proponent of tonic sol-fa and she wrote *The Child Pianist* (1886) (which became known as *Mrs Curwen’s Pianoforte Method*) and *Psychology Applied to Music Teaching* (1920).⁵

¹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 503.

² ‘Mrs. Edith Boxwell’, *IT*, 16 August 1935, p. 2; ‘Music in Ireland’, *MT*, 67 (1926), p. 69.

³ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 526.

⁴ ‘Curwen, Mrs.’ *BMB*, ed. Brown and Stratton, pp. 112–13.

⁵ H.C. Colles/Peter Ward Jones, Bernarr Rainbow, ‘Curwen: (3) Annie Curwen’, *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.06973.3>> [accessed 07 May 2008]. See O’Connor, ‘The Growth of Female Piano Pedagogy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin and Annie Curwen’s Pianoforte Method’, pp. 59–77.

Patrick Delany

A distinguished violinist, Patrick Delany was a member of the Dublin Orchestral Society, the Chamber Music Union and the RDS Quartet from 1892 to 1896.⁶ He studied harmony and composition with Stewart at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, won the Academy and Vandeleur Scholarships in 1891 and 1892 respectively, and was also a Local Centre examiner for the Academy where he taught from 1896 to 1946.⁷ At the 1901 Feis Ceoil he was awarded a prize for his composition and he was one of the violinists at the first performance of Stewart's *Tercentenary Ode* in 1892.⁸

Alexandrina Elsner (1865–1942)

Alexandrina Elsner was one of seven children of Wilhelm Elsner, who joined the Academy as professor of violoncello in 1851 from Frankfurt. Her sisters Pauline, Emily, Vivien and Ida were also musically trained. Alexandrina studied with Stewart and Joseph Robinson at the Royal Irish Academy of Music before moving to London to continue her studies at the Royal College of Music in London.⁹ She was one of the leading contralto vocalists in Dublin and performed with the University of Dublin Choral Society, St Patrick's Opera Society and the Dublin Musical Society.¹⁰ In 1898 she married Abraham McCausland Stewart and she was one of the founders of the Feis in Derry in 1899.¹¹

⁶ 'Music in Dublin', *MT*, 42 (1901), p. 332.

⁷ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 253, 460.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁰ 'University of Dublin Choral Society', *IT*, 27 February 1890, p. 4; 'St Patrick's Oratorio Society', *IT*, 5 March 1890, p. 4; *IT*, 18 December 1890, p. 5; 'University of Dublin Choral Society', *IT*, 27 February 1890, p. 4; 'Dublin Musical Society', *IT*, 18 December 1890, p. 5; 'The Elsner Concert', *IT*, 30 September 1892, p. 3.

¹¹ 'Marriage of Miss Alex Elsner', *IT*, 29 June 1898, p. 6. Pine and Acton, eds., *To Talent Alone*, p. 141.

William Henry Gater (1849–1928)

Gater attended organ lessons with Stewart at the Royal Irish Academy of Music and he graduated with a MusD from Trinity College Dublin in 1886. He was the official organist at the Dublin Exhibition Palace (1872–73) and he occupied the positions of organist at St Stephen's Church in Dublin and grand organist of the Dublin Freemasons. During his career Gater directed the Bray Choral Union (1871–73), St Andrew's Choral Society and the East Meath Diocesan Association.¹² A member of the Incorporated Society of Musicians (Leinster branch), he was elected president of the Leinster Society of Organists for the 1925/1926 year.¹³

Annie Irwin

A piano student of Stewart, Irwin's name is included in the list of harmony candidates for the years 1879 and 1880, which makes it likely that Stewart was also her teacher in harmony and composition. On 12 February the following year, she was awarded a harmony scholarship at the Academy and received £6 from the Vandeleur Fund.¹⁴ Irwin was one of the first pupil-teachers employed at the Academy, and was a member of the Board of Studies, receiving a Fellowship in 1938.¹⁵ Continuing a tradition of long periods of association between the Academy and its staff, Irwin retired in 1939 after fifty-two years association with the RIAM.¹⁶

¹² See Lisa Parker, 'Gater, William Henry', *EMIR*, gen. eds Barra Boydell and Harry White, forthcoming; 'Gater, William Henry', *BMB*, ed. Brown and Stratton, p. 157 and Humphreys and Evans, 'Gater, Dr. William Henry', *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 124 and Appendix VI.

¹³ 'Incorporated Society of Musicians', *IT*, 16 October 1903, p. 6. 'Music in Ireland', *MT*, 67 (1926), p. 69.

¹⁴ RIAM Minute Books 1879-1883, NA 1120/1/8.

¹⁵ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 456–57.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 257, 456, 457.

Louisa Kellett

Daughter of the registrar of the Dental Hospital in Beresford Place, Dublin, Kellett won three prizes at the Academy in 1882: second prize in the second violin class, the Vandeleur Scholarship in piano and joint first prize piano in scale playing, first class.¹⁷ She won the Vandeleur Scholarship again in 1883, the same year that she was one of three successful candidates from the Royal Irish Academy of Music to have been awarded scholarships to study at the Royal College of Music in London.¹⁸ Her potential was quickly apparent as George Grove reported in a letter written in 1886 :

The p.f. has been very good. All have made great improvement, but the ‘red-haired girl’ [Kellett] is far above all. She really *astonished* us all with her performance of Schumann’s *Études Symphoniques*. Dannreuther said it was the finest performance he had ever heard in a school, and that she was ready to go before the public at once [...]¹⁹

She died of tuberculosis on 15 March 1888 at the age of twenty-two.²⁰

Margaret O’Hea (1843–1908)

Known as ‘little Miss O’Hea’, Margaret commenced her studies at the Academy in 1856.²¹ She was a member of the Incorporated Society of Musicians and read a paper on ‘The Responsibilities of a Music Teacher’ at the general meeting of the society attended by members of the English, Scottish and Irish sections in January 1895.²² She taught piano at the Academy from 1873 to 1928 and was made a fellow of the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1931.²³

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113; ‘Royal Irish Academy of Music’, *IT*, 24 February 1882, p. 7.

¹⁸ ‘Royal Irish Academy of Music’, *IT*, 27 February 1883, p. 6.

¹⁹ Letter from George Grove to Mrs Wodehouse, 10 April 1886 in Charles L. Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove* (London: Macmillan, 1903), p. 311.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 333–34.

²¹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 292.

²² ‘Incorporated Society of Musicians’, *IT*, 5 January 1895, p. 6 and ‘Tenth Annual Conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians’, *MT*, 36 (1895), pp. 98–99.

²³ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, pp. 526, 453.

Edith Oldham (1865–1950)

In 1883 Oldham won a scholarship to study at the Royal College of Music, London, where she met George Grove.²⁴ In London she studied piano with Ernst Pauer and Franklin Taylor, and Gertrude Mayfield and Eliza Mazzucato were her singing teachers.²⁵ Upon her return to Dublin she was the first professor at the Royal Irish Academy of Music to be listed as the holder of an ARCM diploma in music. She was involved in the administration of the Feis Ceoil as an honorary secretary and was made a Fellow of the RIAM in 1938. A member of the Leinster branch of the Incorporated Society of Musicians, Oldham taught at the Royal Irish Academy of Music for forty-six years.²⁶

Annie Wilson Patterson (1868–1934)

Patterson represents the only student of Stewart to imitate his career almost to the point of duplication. No doubt drawing on Stewart's influence, she followed a similar trail and became an organist, conductor, composer, lecturer, professor and leading musical figure not only in Dublin, but also in Ireland. Patterson was educated at the Alexandra School in Dublin, she commenced piano lessons at the Academy in 1873, and she eventually attended harmony and organ lessons with Stewart.²⁷ He was quite fond of Patterson because he composed and dedicated 'some half-dozen original voluntaries in manuscript' to her, one of which Patterson named *Entreaty*.²⁸

²⁴ See 'Intermezzo: Edith Oldham and George Grove', *To Talent Alone*, Pine and Acton, eds, pp. 166–79.

²⁵ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 115.

²⁶ 'Tenth Annual Conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians', *MT*, 36 (1895), p. 99.

²⁷ *IT*, 2 October 1879, p. 8. See also O'Connor, 'Fanny Arthur Robinson and Annie Patterson: The Contribution of Women to Music in Dublin in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century'.

²⁸ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 287.

Patterson was chosen as the recipient of an RIAM organ scholarship in 1888 and she embarked on an extremely successful academic career when she left the Academy. In 1887 she received the degrees of BA and BMus and two years later she became the first woman in the British Isles to receive the degree of DMus from the Royal University of Ireland. She was one of the music examiners at this institution between 1892 and 1895.²⁹ In 1891 she became the conductor of the Dublin Choral Union and she co-founded the Feis Ceoil between 1895 and 1897. She contributed many articles to the *Weekly Irish Times* between 1899 and 1901.³⁰ In 1924, she was appointed professor of Irish Music at University College, Cork and was an enthusiastic folk-song collector and arranger, and like Stewart, she also lectured publicly on the subject of Irish music. Her compositions include two operas, cantatas, and arrangements of Irish airs. Organist of St Anne's Church, Shandon, Co. Cork from 1909, Patterson was the author of several books including: *The Story of Oratorio* (1902), *How to Listen to an Orchestra* (1913) and *The Profession of Music* ([1926]).³¹

Linda Scates (b. 1855)

The second daughter of the instrument maker Joseph Scates, Linda Scates was a pupil of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and performed in public in Dublin on at least one occasion.³² A scholarship recipient and bronze and silver medallist at the Royal Academy of Music, Scates retired from public life after her marriage to E. Dutton Cook in 1874 but she returned to the teaching and performing profession

²⁹ Humphreys and Evans, 'Patterson, Dr. Annie Wilson (1868–1934)', *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 259

³⁰ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 289.

³¹ Humphreys and Evans, 'Patterson, Dr. Annie Wilson (1868–1934)', p. 259

³² According to the advertisement, Scates was to perform the following repertoire on a Cadby grand piano: Regondi's Concerto, *Les Oiseaux*; Blagrove's *Fantasia* and *Martha* and selections from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. 'Fashionable Intelligence', *IT*, 1 July 1865, p. 3.

upon his death in 1883.³³ She was subsequently appointed a professor at the Guildhall School in London and she married her second husband, Charles Dickens in 1885.³⁴

George Robertson Sinclair (1863–1917)

Born in Croydon in 1863, Sinclair studied with Stewart, an old college friend of his father's, at the Royal Irish Academy of Music at the age of eight. In 1873 he received a choral scholarship at St Michael's College Tenbury where he met Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley.³⁵ He was appointed assistant organist at Gloucester Cathedral in 1879 and in 1889 he was elected organist and master of the choristers at Hereford Cathedral. Conductor of the Hereford Musical Festivals between 1891 and 1912,³⁶ Sinclair commenced his conductorship of the Birmingham Festival Choral Society in 1899, the same year the he received a DMus. Sinclair performed at organ recitals at the Royal Dublin Society between 1901 and 1910.³⁷ He was made an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Organists in 1904. His friendship with Edward Elgar resulted in the eleventh of his 'Enigma' Variations which immortalized Sinclair's 'impetuous character, his skilful organ pedalling and the barking of his dog'.³⁸

³³ 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *MT*, 12 (1866), p. 399; 'Miscellaneous Intelligence', *MT*, 13 (1867), p. 151; 'Royal Academy of Music', *MT*, 14 (1869), p. 174.

³⁴ Brown and Stratton, 'Scates, Linda', *BMB*, p. 364.

³⁵ 'Dr G.R. Sinclair', *MT*, 41 (1900), p. 661.

³⁶ J.A. Fuller Maitland/Christopher Kent, 'Sinclair, George Robertson', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.25852>> [accessed 07 May 2008].

³⁷ See Roisin Walpole, 'Concert Programmes in Dublin: 1900–1910 (unpublished MA diss., NUI Maynooth, 1997), pp. 147–169.

³⁸ Fuller Maitland/Kent, 'Sinclair, George Robertson', *GMO*, ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.25852>> [accessed 07 May 2008].

John Millington Synge (1871–1909)

Synge was an Irish playwright and his most famous play is *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907). Having taken violin lessons from Patrick Griffith, Synge enrolled at the Royal Irish Academy of Music at the age of eighteen. From November 1889 to 1894 Synge attended lectures in music theory and composition given by Stewart. He composed a number of works, including airs in E flat and G, an *Andante* in F and a Violin Fugue in G and Synge often brought his compositions to Stewart for advice and instruction. His extant compositions, including a scherzo for string quartet, and movements of violin sonatas, indicate that Synge was ‘above average’ as a composer.³⁹ He was awarded the scholarship in counterpoint in 1892 at the Academy and in the following year he travelled to Germany to study the violin and piano. Although Synge had originally contemplated a career in music he abandoned the idea in 1895.⁴⁰

Adeline Wheeler

The earliest reference to Adeline Wheeler as a student at the Royal Irish Academy of Music appears to be an afternoon concert that took place in November 1871 whereby she performed a piano duet (with horn accompaniment) by Dussek with Miss Montgomery.⁴¹ At one of Stewart’s lectures on ‘stringed-keyed instruments’ in 1875, aged only fourteen, she performed Mendelssohn’s Piano Concerto in D minor (op.40)⁴² and she seems to have attained substantial prowess as a performer. In 1877 she was awarded second prize in Pianoforte, First Class at the Royal Irish Academy

³⁹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 207.

⁴⁰ See Ann Saddlemeyer, ‘Synge’s Soundscapes’, *Irish University Review*, 22 (1992), p. 62; David Greene and Edward Stephens, *J.M. Synge 1871-1909* (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 44.

⁴¹ Pine and Acton, eds, *To Talent Alone*, p. 143.

⁴² ‘Dublin University—Lectures on Music’, *DE*, 19 April 1875, p. 3.

of Music.⁴³ Wheeler attended the Conservatoire at Leipzig where she studied with Reinecke and Maas and she was back in Dublin by 1881.⁴⁴ Her ‘first concert’ was advertised for 23 April 1881 at which she performed piano pieces by Chopin, Schumann, Scarlatti and Thalberg.⁴⁵ Wheeler moved to London and advertised as a piano teacher between 1885 and 1892 including both her maiden and married name (Mrs. Brittan) in the advertisement.⁴⁶

Hermione Wilhelmina Duncombe, Duchess of Leinster (1864–1895)

Hermione was the daughter of the First Earl of Feversham and she married Gerald Fitzgerald, the Fifth Duke of Leinster in 1884. They had residences at Carton Court, Maynooth and Kilkea Castle, Castledermot. Both died young, Fitzgerald died in 1893 at the age of forty-two from typhoid fever and Hermione died two years later at the age of thirty.⁴⁷

⁴³ ‘Royal Irish Academy of Music’, *Times*, 6 February 1877, p. 7.

⁴⁴ ‘Musical and Dramatic Gossip’, *IT*, 16 June 1879, p. 6; *Times*, 21 April 1885, p. 3.

⁴⁵ *IT*, 20 April 1881, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *Times*, 19 June 1885, p. 14 and 23 June 1892, p. 16.

⁴⁷ ‘Obituary’, *Times*, 2 December 1893, p. 10; Darryl Lundy, ‘Lady Hermione Wilhelmina Duncombe’, <<http://www.thepeerage.com/p1207.htm#i12064>> [accessed 20 May 2008].

Appendix VI

The Music Degree Graduates of Trinity College Dublin (1847–1894)¹

1847 to 1861

Date

1 July 1851

8 March 1859

26 June 1861

Bachelor of Music Recipient

Robert Prescott Stewart

John William Rogers

William Spark

Date

1 July 1851

3 July 1855

21 February 1860

26 June 1861

Doctor of Music Recipient

Robert Prescott Stewart

Henry Spencer Harrison

John William Rogers

William Spark

Date

7 February 1852

6 July 1852

Doctor of Music (*honoris causa*) Recipient

Chevalier Sigismund Neükomm

Francis Robinson

¹ The information in this appendix is based on entries in the *DUC* (1847–94), *A Catalogue of Graduates Who Have Proceeded to Degrees in the University of Dublin from the Earliest Recorded Commencements to July 1866* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Foster; London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869), *A Catalogue of Graduates of the University of Dublin: Containing the Names of Those Who Proceeded to Degrees from the Year 1868 to the Winter Commencements of the Year 1895* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis; London: Longmans, Green, 1896) and *Trinity College Dublin Record Volume 1951* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis; London: Longmans, Green, 1951). Details of the music graduates at Trinity College Dublin between 1862 and 1894 also appear in Lisa Parker, 'For the purpose of public music education: the lectures of Robert Prescott Stewart', *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, IMS ix, pp. 206–08.

1862 to 1894

Date	Bachelor of Music Recipient
29 June 1864	Cyril William Bowdler Bell
27 June 1866	John Dunne
30 June 1869	John Greenhill
30 June 1869	Leo Kerbusch
30 June 1869	Frederick Smythe
30 June 1869	Revd Edward Synge
15 December 1869	Arthur Wolfe Hamilton
6 July 1870	John William Hinton
14 December 1870	George William Röhner
21 February 1871	Revd George Fortescue Reade
13 February 1872	Revd David Henry Ellis
26 June 1872	Henry Dawson Stanistreet
25 June 1873	Duncan Thackeray
24 June 1874	Revd John Harpur
24 June 1874	Thomas Osborne Marks
16 December 1874	Stephen Henry Edward Chamier
	Revd Savile Richard William L'Estrange
	Malone
16 December 1874	TRG Jozé
30 June 1875	William Hodgson Telford
30 June 1875	Albert Frederick Otho Hartmann
15 December 1875	William Henry Gater
20 December 1876	Horton Claridge Allison
20 October 1877	Charles Robinson
4 July 1878	Revd George William Torrance
25 June 1879	Revd John Bulmer
10 February 1880	Thomas Gick
30 June 1880	Frederick William Haydock
30 June 1880	William Henry Smart
30 June 1880	Joseph Smith
15/16 December 1880	Robert Henry Allen
15/16 December 1880	Francis Bates
15/16 December 1880	Benjamin Hobson Carroll
15/16 December 1880	Arthur Hamilton Collyer
15/16 December 1880	Walter Peake Fairclough
15/16 December 1880	John Francis Fitzgerald
30 June 1881	Revd Frederick Augustus Glover
29 June 1882	George Bell
2 May 1883	Robert Malone
29 June 1883	Ebenezer Goold
26 June 1884	Charles Edward Allum

26 June 1884	William Alexander [Houston] Collison
26 June 1884	Charles George Marchant
25 June 1885	Edward Cooney
9 March 1886	Henry Theodore Brunard
9 March 1886	John Edward Green
9 March 1886	John William Jackson
1 July 1886	David John Jeduthin Mason
30 June 1887	Revd Henry George Bonavia Hunt
15 December 1887	John Warriner
15 December 1887	Revd Ernest Hamilton Whelan
28 June 1888	Frank Merrick
9 December 1888	Arthur Thomas Froggatt
27 June 1889	Revd Samuel James Rowton
18 February 1890	Albert Ham
26 June 1890	Samuel McBurney
26 June 1890	Bartholomew Warburton Rooke
18 December 1890	Henry Crane Perrin
17 December 1891	William Henry Barrow
17 December 1891	George Henry Pugh
23 June 1892	Joseph Seymour
15 December 1892	Robert Henry Earnshaw
15 December 1892	Edward Emmanuel Harper
28 June 1894	William John Parish

Date	Doctor of Music Recipient
30 June 1869	Revd Edward Synge
June 1870	John Dunne
14 December 1870	George William Röhner
26 June 1872	Henry Dawson Stanistreet
25 June 1873	Duncan Thackeray
24 June 1874	John William Hinton
24 June 1874	Thomas Osborne Marks
15 December 1875	Albert Frederick Otho Hartmann
28 June 1877	TRG Jozé
20 October 1877	Horton Claridge Allison
25 June 1879	Revd George William Torrance
30 June 1881	Joseph Smith
29 June 1882	Thomas Gick
26 June 1884	Francis Bates
18 December 1884	Benjamin Hobson Carroll
25 June 1885	Robert Malone
1 July 1886	William Henry Gater
1 July 1886	John Edward Green
30 June 1887	Charles Edward Allum
30 June 1887	Edward Cooney
30 June 1887	Revd Henry George Bonavia Hunt
28 June 1888	Revd George Bell
26 June 1890	Revd Samuel James Rowton
18 December 1890	William Alexander Houston Collison
18 December 1890	Samuel McBurney
10 February 1891	Frederick William Haydock
17 December 1891	William Henry Barrow
17 December 1891	John William Jackson
23 June 1892	John Warriner
15 December 1893	Robert Henry Earnshaw
15 December 1893	Albert Ham
6 February 1894	Arthur Thomas Froggatt

Date	Doctor of Music (<i>honoris causa</i>) Recipient
30 June 1887	Herbert Oakeley
30 June 1887	Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley
30 June 1887	George Alexander Macfarren
25 June 1891	John Pentland Mahaffy
6 July 1892	Charles Hubert Hastings Parry
31 June 1893	James Cooksey Culwick

Appendix VIIa

The Compositions of Robert Prescott Stewart Listed Chronologically¹

The key of the music, place, publisher and year of composition are included where known.

- RS01. Service in B flat, 1836, destroyed
RS02. Anthem, title unknown, 1838, lost
RS03. Plead thou my cause, verse anthem, 1843, unpubd, RCB
RS04. Service in C, 1846, MS
RS05. Cantata beginning 'Hence melancholy, with thy dreary train', S, SATB, orch, 1847, destroyed
RS06. Arrangement of the overture to Handel's *Samson*, [1847], org, MS, IRL-Dpc
RS07. The Skylark/Go tuneful bird (W. Shenstone), glee, A, 1847, (London: Addison and Hollier [1854]), IRL-Dam, GB-Lbl
RS08. Nicene Creed in A to complete the Morning and Evening Service by Boyce, 1848, unpubd, RCB
RS09. O Nightingale, part-song, male vv, 1848, (London: Addison & Hollier [n.d.]), lost
RS10. Hear me O Lord, sacred song, 1849, lost
RS11. A Maid reclined beside a stream, part-song, SATB, 1850, lost
RS12. The Dream (A.T.), part-song, F, SSTB, pf, 1851, (London: Novello [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS13. The Haymaker's Song, part-song, C, SSTB, pf, (Mrs Newton Crosland), 1851, (London: Novello [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS14. I do not mourn over vanished years, ballad (Waller), (London, [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS15. Morning and Evening Service in E flat, solo vv, SSAATTBB, orch, 1851, voc. score (London: Novello, [1881]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dtc
RS16. My Ladye Fayre (Waller), madrigal, 1851, lost
RS17. Psalm 107, S, T, B, SATB, orch, 1851, destroyed
RS18. Inauguration Ode/Ode to Industry (Waller), ode, SATB, orch, 1852, voc. score (Cork, J.J. Bradford; Dublin: James McGlashan, 1852), GB-Lbl, GB-Lcm, IRL-Dn
RS19. Responses for the Obsequies of the Duke of Wellington, 1852, lost
RS20. The Exhibition Grand March, military and string band, 1853, lost
RS21. The Exhibition Grand March, pf, C, 1853, (London: Addison, [1854]), GB-Lbl
RS22. Arrangement of the Exhibition Grand March, harmonium, 1853, lost

¹ This appendix is based on the following sources: James Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart* (Dublin: Ponsonby and Gibbs, 1902) and the music catalogues of the British Library, the National Library of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy of Music and Trinity College Dublin.

- RS23. The Fairest Flower/The Dawn of Day is far away, part-song, G, SATB, pf, (Waller), 1854, (London: Novello, [1875]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS24. Who shall raise the bell?/The Belfry Cantata (John Francis Waller), cantata, solo v, SATB, orch, 1854, probably destroyed
- RS25. Echo and the Lovers (Waller), song, c1855, vn part in IRL-Dtc, GB-Lcm
- RS26. Earth, fling off thy wintry wildness, glee, 1855, lost
- RS27. The Hawthorn Tree, cantata, S, SATB, orch, 1856, lost
- RS28. O Phoebus (Dr. S. Johnson), glee, ATBB, 1856, (London: Curwen, [1902]), GB-Lbl
- RS29. Summer, glee, 1856, lost
- RS30. In the heat of Summer noon, part-song, c1857, lost
- RS31. O Life is but Death, from a set called Angels' Songs, 1857, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS32. Up with ye, up with ye, song, 1857, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS33. A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), cantata, solo vv, SATB, orch, 1858, lost
- RS34. Ah! well-a-day, the Cypress Tree', S, from A Winter Night's Wake, 1858, lost
- RS35. Love leads us captive, terzetto, E flat, SST, pf, from A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), 1858, (London: Stanley Lucas, Weber, 1873), GB-Lbl
- RS36. The Hawthorn in Berry, cantata, S, SATB, orch, 1859, lost
- RS37. O Lord my God, full anthem, C, SATB, c1859, (Bussell, [n.d.]), IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dtc
- RS38. Sanctus, Kyrie and Creed to complete the Service in D by Walsh, 1859, MS, RCB
- RS39. The Eve of St John (Waller), cantata, 9 solo vv, SATB, orch, 1860, full score, unpubd, voc. score (London: Blockley, 1884), IRL-Dtc
- RS40. At Dead of Night by the Pale Starlight from The Eve St John (Waller), A, pf, 1860, (London: Blockley [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
- RS41. I must love thee still, Marion, D flat, ballad from A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell [1860]), GB-Lbl
- RS42. Tints of Evening, part-song, 1860, lost
- RS43. A composition (title unknown) in Musical Album of the London Irish Rifle Volunteers, (Bussell, 1862)
- RS44. Four Piano Fantasias:
 When the rosy morn, (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
 Thou art coming with the sunshine (on a ballad by Francis Robinson), (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
 Dormi pur, (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
 My thoughts will wander far away (on a ballad by F. Robinson), (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
- RS45. Let your light so shine, offertory sentence, anthem, 1862, IRL-Dpc
- RS46. Andante, org, B flat, 1863, (Lloyd-Fowle, [n.d.]), lost
- RS47. Andante con moto, org, E flat, 1863, (Lloyd-Fowle, [n.d.]), lost
- RS48. If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments, full anthem, C major, SATB, 1863, (London: Novello, 1885), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dtc

- RS49. In the Lord Put I My Trust, full anthem, B flat, S, SATB, 1863, (London: Novello, 1876), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
- RS50. Installation Ode (Waller), ode, S,A,T Bar, SATB, orch, 1863, unpubd, IRL-Dtc
- RS51. March for the Installation of the Earl of Rosse as Chancellor of the University of Dublin, orch, 1863, lost
- RS52. Ode for the Inauguration of Lord O'Neills Music Hall, ode, solo vv, chos, org, 1863, lost
- RS53. Thou O God art praised in Sion, verse anthem, G, T, SATB, 1863 (London: Novello, [1876]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
- RS54. A Voice from Heaven/I shine in the light of God, sacred song, T, 1863 (London: Novello, [1897]), GB-Lbl
- RS55. In this hour when every Zephyr, part-song, 1864, lost
- RS56. Ode for the opening of the 1864 Dublin Exhibition (Waller), ode, SATB, orch, 1864, destroyed
- RS57. Far away on the billow/The Reefer, song, 1865, (London: Cramer, [1865]), GB-Lbl
- RS58. When the world-worn Wanderer slumbers/Dreamland, part-song, ATTB, 1865, lost
- RS59. Morning and Evening Service in G, 1866, (London: Novello, [1866]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dtc
- RS60. Behold, a door was opened wide in Heaven, anthem, 1867, lost
- RS61. We sing the praise of Him who died, anthem, 1867, lost
- RS62. Concert Fantasia, org, d, 1868 (London: Novello, [1887]), GB-Lbl
- RS63. Jubilate Deo in G, [1869], (London: Novello, 1869), IRL-Dtc
- RS64. Jubilate Deo in D, 1869, MS, Bass part only, MS, IRL-Dcc
- RS65. Organ Fantasia on a chorale by Ascher, org, composed for the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick, 1869, lost
- RS66. The Song of the Fairies in the Ruins of Heidelberg (from Lytton's novel The Pilgrims of the Rhine), glee, B flat, ATBB, 1869, (London: Patey & Willis, 1897), IRL-Dam
- RS67. When Spring adorns the dewy scene, part-song, 1869, lost
- RS68. The Bells of St Michael's Tower (William Knyvett), D, glee, SATBarB, pf, 1870, (London: Novello [1880]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS69. The Bells of St Michael's Tower (Knyvett), D, glee, SS, pf, 1870, (London: Novello [n.d.]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS70. The Cruiskeen Lawn (Thomas Moore), f, part-song, SATBar.B, pf, 1870, (London: Novello, Ewer [1880]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS71. Dame Durden, part-song, 1870, lost
- RS72. Ode to Shakespeare (H. Toole), ode, S,A,T,B, SATB, orch, 1870, Birmingham, 1870, destroyed
- RS73. A Voiceless Sigh (Charles Salaman), sacred song, arr for SATB, pf, 1870 (London: Lamborn Cock, [1876]), GB-Lbl, GB-Lcm
- RS74. The Wine Cup is Circling in Almhin's Hall, D, part-song, SATBarB, 1870, (London: Novello [1886]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS75. Descend, ye Muses Nine, glee, ATBB, 1871, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS76. From Visions sad awaking, 1871, lost
- RS77. I met my love at morning, part-song, ATBarB 1871, lost

- RS78. Follow the drum, part-song, male vv, c1872, lost
- RS79. Six Two-Part Songs:
 Joy and Sorrow, A, 1872 (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Sleep (Wellington Guernsey), G, 1872, (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 What is love? (Guernsey), E flat, 1872, (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Harp that wildly wreathing sounds (Guernsey), B flat, 1872,
 (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Religion (Guernsey), 1872, (London: Stanley Lucas [1881]), GB-Lbl
 Night hurrying on (Guernsey), SA, pf, 1872, (London: Stanley Lucas,
 Weber, [1881]), GB-Lbl
- RS80. Orchestral Fantasia, orch, Boston, 1872, lost
- RS81. Veni Creator in B flat for double choir, 1872 (Metzler & Co., [n.d.]),
 lost
- RS82. Blessed is he that considereth, full anthem, c1873, (Fowles, 1873),
 lost
- RS83. Boat Song/Here we will sit, glee, SATBB, 1873, lost
- RS84. The Flower of Love, so fair, so sweet/Memory's fairest scene, song,
 1873, (Gunn, [n.d.]), lost
- RS85. How shall we close our gates? (Waller), cantata, S,T, Bar, SATB,
 orch, 1873, partially extant, unpubd, IRL-Dtc
- RS86. Comic/Committee Cantata (Waller), cantata, 7 solo vv, orch, 1874,
 (reconstructed in 1889), lost
- RS87. The Reason Why (Waller), AATTBarBarBB, unaccomp, C, 1874,
 (Dublin:Pohlman, [n.d.]), IRL-Dn
- RS88. An Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team (Waller), ode, TTBB,
 pf, 1875, (Dublin: Morrison, 1875), IRL-Dtc
- RS89. Arrangement of the Adagio from Symphony No. 4 by Beethoven,
 harmonium, 1875, lost
- RS90. There's sunshine still upon my sail, T, 1875, lost
- RS91. Achora Machree (Joseph Martin Emerson), song, A major, (London:
 Chappell, [1878]), GB-Lbl
- RS92. My Father (Lilla C.), song, (London: Novello [1878]), GB-Lbl
- RS93. Love that hath us in the net, part-song, ATBB, 1879, lost
- RS94. The Saving of the Colours/Isandula, song, F, 1879, (Blockley [n.d.]),
 IRL-Dam
- RS95. Carmen Foyliense, song, [c1880], GB-Lbl
- RS96. Arrangement of God save the Queen for three pianos and strings,
 c1881, lost
- RS97. That voice is hushed, Bar, 1881, (Cramer, Wood [n.d.]), lost
- RS98. How shall I think of thee?/The Question (R.W. Cooke-Taylor), song,
 A flat, S, 1881, (Dublin: Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
- RS99. How should'st thou think of me?/The Answer (Cooke-Taylor), song,
 f, S, 1881, (Dublin: Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
- RS100. Sweet morn of May, T, 1881, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS101. Accompaniment to A Winter Night's Wake, harmonium, 1882, lost
- RS102. Introduction and Fugue, org, F, 1882 (London: Broadhouse, [1883]),
 lost
- RS103. Cor cordium, org, andante, A, c1882, lost
- RS104. O Could I fly on Morning's Wings, duet, S,T, 1883, (Patey & Willis
 [n.d.]), lost

- RS105. The Roll Call, song, 1883, (Pigot [n.d.]), lost
- RS106. Six Voluntaries, org, one entitled 'Entreaty', c1883, lost
- RS107. Thee, only Thee, song, 1883, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS108. In the hours of Morn and Evening, sacred song, trio, 1884, lost
- RS109. Incomplete Service in B flat, 1884, (completed by J. Culwick), lost
- RS110. Man goeth forth, verse anthem, 1884, lost
- RS111. The Vine, glee, ATBB, 1884, lost
- RS112. Allegro, org, E flat, 1885, lost
- RS113. Arrangement of the Danish National Anthem, org, 1885, lost
- RS114. Fair daughter of the Sea-King, Danish folksong, part-song, ATBB, 1885, lost
- RS115. Helen/With thee my thoughts are calm and sweet, 1885, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS116. I walked in the joyous Morning/The Wild Roses, song, 1885, lost
- RS117. A Little Organ School, org, 1885, ed. A.M. Henderson (London: Bayley and Ferguson, 1946), IRL-Dtc
- RS118. Sleep, my love sleep/Lullaby, song, 1885, lost
- RS119. God sent his singers, glee, SATB, 1886, lost
- RS120. When the doors were closed and the curtains drawn, song, 1886, lost
- RS121. O Lovely Night (Waller), song, A flat, TTBB, (Augener [1886]), GB-Lbl
- RS122. It is thy name I whisper, song, 1887, (London: Hutchings, [1887]), GB-Lbl
- RS123. The King Shall Rejoice, verse anthem, E flat, SATB, org, 1887, (London: Novello, [1887]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
- RS124. The Queen Shall Rejoice, anthem, E flat, SATB, orch, 1887, GB-Lbl, some parts lost
- RS125. The Breastplate of St Patrick, sacred song, B solo, SATB, 1888, (APCK, [n.d.]), IRL-Dpc
- RS126. Arrangement of the Funeral March by Chopin, orch, c1888, lost
- RS127. Three Four-Part Songs,:
The Glorious Spring, (Hammond, 1888), lost
A Hundred Years Ago, (Hammond, 1888), lost
'Tis May-Time, (Hammond, 1888), lost
- RS128. Could I keep time from flying (T. Smith), part-song, TTBB, 1889, (London: Novello, [1889]), GB-Lbl
- RS129. Arrangement of the Finale from Symphony No. 3 by Mendelssohn, org, c1889, (Novello, [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
- RS130. Robin Redbreast, song, 1889, (H. Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS131. What of the night?, song, 1889, lost
- RS132. Bridal Song, 1890, lost
- RS133. Chorale in A, org, c1890, lost
- RS134. Credat Judaeus (Temperance song) for Fr Matthew's birth centenary, c1890, lost
- RS135. Postlude in D, org, c1890, lost
- RS136. Suite, 3 vn, G, 1890, MS, IRL-Dam
- RS137. A Wedding Anthem, 1890, lost
- RS138. Water pure! To thee we sing!, song, 1890, (Ascherberg [n.d.]), lost
- RS139. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis to complete the Service in E flat, 1891, (London: Novello, [1891]), GB-Lbl

- RS140. The meadows look cheerful, glee, SSATB, 1891, lost
 RS141. Tercentenary Ode (George Francis Savage-Armstrong), ode, 1892, S,T,B, SATB, orch, full score, unpubd, voc. score (London: Novello [1892]), IRL-Dtc
 RS142. Three organ pieces in E flat, g and d, org, 1892, lost
 RS143. Arrangements of Sixteen Irish Airs for Curwen's National Part-songs, 1893, (London: Curwen, [1907–09]), GB-Lbl
 RS144. Where shall the lovers rest?, part-song, TTBB, 1893, lost
 RS145. Father and fount of life, National Anthem for the State of Gondol India, A flat, SATB, 1893, originally scored for SATB and military instruments, IRL-Dam
 RS146. Arrangement of Colleen das Cruthen A Mo, and The Song of the Woods, vn/vc, pf, from Five Irish Melodies with T.R.G. Jozé (London: Moore, Smith, [1899]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dn, IRL-Dtc
 RS147. Merry Bells, part-song, (A. Russan) [1907], GB-Lbl

Compositions: Date Unknown

- RS148. All the world around, song (T.D. Sullivan), A, SATB, pf, (Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 RS149. Come up hither, anthem, [n.d.], lost
 RS150. Flowers that I wreathed, song, (Blockley [n.d.]), lost
 RS151. I bind unto myself today, anthem, [n.d.], lost
 RS152. Lord who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, anthem, [n.d.], MS, RCB
 RS153. Lovers should not part in June, song, (Blockley [n.d.]), lost
 RS154. Mabel, song, (William MacIlwaine), C, (Novello [n.d.]), IRL-Dn
 RS155. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in C, Alto voice only, [n.d.], IRL-Dcc
 RS156. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from Service in G, Tr.ATB, pf, (Novello, [n.d.]) IRL-Dtc
 RS157. The Minstrel Boy, F, Irish Air, SATB, (London: Curwen [1919]), GB-Lbl
 RS158. Murmur low, ye winds of Evening, S, [n.d.], lost
 RS159. The Office for the Holy Communion, G, (Novello, [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
 RS160. On the Banks of Allan Water, part-song, [n.d.], lost
 RS161. Organ Prelude in C, org, [n.d.], lost
 RS162. The Schoolmaster's Love Song, [n.d.], lost
 RS163. Sketch for Organ, org, [n.d.], lost
 RS164. Settings to complete services by various composers:
 Creed, Kyrie and Sanctus to complete the Service in A by Aldrich, [n.d.], MS, RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Boyce, [n.d.], MS, partbooks, RCB
 Trio to replace that by Boyce (from Give the king thy judgements), [n.d.], MS, IRL-Dpc
 Sanctus to complete the Services in F, G and g by Child, [n.d.], MS, partbooks, RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Farrant, [n.d.], MS, RCB
 Sanctus and Kyrie to complete the Service in G by Farrant, [n.d.], partbooks, MS, partbooks, RCB

- Sanctus to complete the Services in C, D and F by King, [n.d.], MS, partbooks, RCB
 Sanctus for King in B flat and C, [n.d.], RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Nares, [n.d.], MS, partbooks, RCB
 Venite in the style of Tallis, [n.d.], lost
 Sanctus to complete the Service in E, e, and F by Wise, [n.d.], MS, partbooks, RCB
- RS165. Te Deum Laudamus, G, (Novello, [n.d.]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dpc
 RS166. Arrangement of the trio from Jonathan Battishill's O Remember not the sins and offences of my youth, [n.d.], ATB and org., IRL-Dcc
 RS167. Walsh's Morning Service in D for organ, [n.d.], MS, RCB
 RS168. A Winter Night's Wake, arrangement for 4 hands piano, [n.d.] lost
 RS169. Yes, loving is a painful thrill, part-song, [n.d.], lost

Hymn Tunes

Over thirty hymn tunes have come to light and are contained in the following:

The Choralist, [c1852]; The Hymn and Tune Book [1863]; The Praise Book [n.d.]; The Anglican Hymn Book [1871]; The Irish Church Hymnal [1876]; The Hymnal Companion [1877]; The Psalter [1880]; The Children's Hymnal [n.d.]; The Scottish Hymnal [n.d.]; Hymns Ancient and Modern, [1888]; The Book of Common Song [1890]; Chants Ancient and Modern, (Dublin: APCK, 1868); Church Hymnal [...] set to appropriate tunes under the musical editorship of Sir R.P. Stewart (Dublin: APCK, 1874)

- RS170. Adrian
 RS171. Albert
 RS172. All Hallowes
 RS173. Audi Jesum
 RS174. Blessed be God, our God
 RS175. Brandiston
 RS176. Christ Church
 RS177. Coeli enarrant Gloriam
 RS178. Congleton
 RS179. Edelweiss
 RS180. Elmwood
 RS181. Eucharistica
 RS182. Father most high, be with us
 R183. Godfrey
 RS184. Hark, ten thousand
 RS185. Hoylrood
 RS186. Kingscroft
 RS187. Mount Calvary
 RS188. O God, in whose all-searching eye
 RS189. O splendour of the Father's might
 RS190. Omega
 RS191. Ora, Labora
 RS192. Phos Hilaron

RS193. Rutland Square
RS194. St. Audeon
RS195. St. Columb
RS196. St. Corngall
RS197. St. Helen's
RS198. St. Patrick
RS199. St. Werburgh
RS200. University
RS201. Veni Creator
RS202. Venite ad me
RS203. Vespers
RS204. Voca me cum Benedictus
RS205. Westlands
RS206. Whately
RS207. Wyddiall

RCB: Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

Appendix VIIb

The Compositions of Robert Prescott Stewart Listed by Genre

The key of the music, place, publisher and year of composition are included where known.

Secular Vocal

Cantatas

- RS05. Cantata beginning 'Hence melancholy, with thy dreary train', S, SATB, orch, 1847, destroyed
- RS24. Who shall raise the bell?/The Belfry Cantata (John Francis Waller), solo v, SATB, orch, 1854, probably destroyed
- RS27. The Hawthorn Tree, S, SATB, orch, 1856, lost
- RS33. A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), solo vv, SATB, orch, 1858, lost
- RS36. The Hawthorn in Berry, S, SATB, orch, 1859, lost
- RS39. The Eve of St John (Waller), 9 solo vv, SATB, orch, 1860, full score, unpubd, voc. score (London: Blockley, 1884), IRL-Dtc
- RS85. How shall we close our gates? (Waller), S,T, Bar, SATB, orch, 1873, partially extant, unpubd, IRL-Dtc
- RS86. Comic/Committee Cantata (Waller), 7 solo vv, orch, 1874, (reconstructed in 1889), lost

Odes

- RS18. Inauguration Ode/Ode to Industry (Waller), SATB, orch, 1852, voc. score (Cork, J.J. Bradford; Dublin: James McGlashan, 1852), GB-Lbl, GB-Lcm, IRL-Dn
- RS50. Installation Ode (Waller), S,A,T Bar, SATB, orch, 1863, unpubd, IRL-Dtc
- RS52. Ode for the Inauguration of Lord O'Neills Music Hall, solo vv, chos, org, 1863, lost
- RS56. Ode for the opening of the 1864 Dublin Exhibition (Waller), SATB, orch, 1864, destroyed
- RS72. Ode to Shakespeare (H. Toole), S,A,T,B, SATB, orch, 1870, Birmingham, 1870, destroyed
- RS88. An Irish Welcome to the American Rifle Team (Waller), TTBB, pf, 1875, (Dublin: Morrison, 1875), IRL-Dtc
- RS141. Tercentenary Ode (George Francis Savage-Armstrong), 1892, S,T,B, SATB, orch, full score, unpubd, voc. score (London: Novello [1892]), IRL-Dtc

Church Music

Anthems

- RS02. Title unknown, 1838, lost
RS03. Plead thou my cause, verse anthem, 1843, unpubd, RCB
RS37. O Lord my God, full anthem, C, SATB, c1859, (Bussell, [n.d.]), IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dtc
RS45. Let your light so shine, offertory sentence, 1862, IRL-Dpc
RS53. Thou O God art praised in Sion, verse anthem, G, T, SATB, 1863 (London: Novello, [1876]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
RS49. In the Lord Put I My Trust, full anthem, B flat, S, SATB, 1863, (London: Novello, 1876), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dcc, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
RS48. If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments, full anthem, C major, SATB, 1863, (London: Novello, 1885), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dtc
RS60. Behold, a door was opened wide in Heaven, 1867, lost
RS61. We sing the praise of Him who died, 1867, lost
RS82. Blessed is he that considereth, full anthem, c1873, (Fowles, 1873), lost
RS110. Man goeth forth, verse anthem, 1884, lost
RS123. The King Shall Rejoice, verse anthem, E flat, SATB, org, 1887, (London: Novello, [1887]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dpc, IRL-Dtc
RS124. The Queen Shall Rejoice, anthem, E flat, SATB, orch, 1887, GB-Lbl, some parts lost
RS149. Come up hither, [n.d.], lost
RS151. I bind unto myself today, [n.d.], lost
RS152. Lord who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, [n.d.], MS, RCB

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- RS170. Adrian
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RS176. Christ Church
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RS178. Congleton
RS179. Edelweiss

- RS180. Elmwood
- RS181. Eucharistica
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- RS183. Godfrey
- RS184. Hark, ten thousand
- RS185. Hoylrood
- RS186. Kingscroft
- RS187. Mount Calvary
- RS188. O God, in whose all-searching eye
- RS189. O splendour of the Father's might
- RS190. Omega
- RS191. Ora, Labora
- RS192. Phos Hilaron
- RS193. Rutland Square
- RS194. St. Audeon
- RS195. St. Columb
- RS196. St. Corngall
- RS197. St. Helen's
- RS198. St. Patrick
- RS199. St. Werburgh
- RS200. University
- RS201. Veni Creator
- RS202. Venite ad me
- RS203. Vespers
- RS204. Voca me cum Benedictus
- RS205. Westlands
- RS206. Whately
- RS207. Wyddiall

Sacred Songs

- RS10. Hear me O Lord, sacred song, 1849, lost
- RS54. A Voice from Heaven/I shine in the light of God, song, T, 1863
(London: Novello, [1897]), GB-Lbl
- RS73. A Voiceless Sigh by Charles Salaman, arr for SATB, pf, 1870
(London: Lamborn Cock, [1876]), GB-Lbl, GB-Lcm

Services

- RS01. Service in B flat, 1836, destroyed
- RS04. Service in C, 1846, MS
- RS08. Nicene Creed in A to complete the Morning and Evening Service by Boyce, 1848, unpubd, RCB
- RS15. Morning and Evening Service in E flat, solo vv, SSAATTBB, orch, 1851, voc. score (London: Novello, [1881]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dtc
- RS38. Sanctus, Kyrie and Creed to complete the Service in D by Walsh, 1859, MS, RCB
- RS59. Morning and Evening Service in G, 1866, (London: Novello, [1866]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam, IRL-Dtc
- RS63. Jubilate Deo in G, [1869], (London: Novello, 1869), IRL-Dtc
- RS64. Jubilate Deo in D, 1869, MS, Bass part only, MS, IRL-Dcc

- RS109. Incomplete Service in B flat, 1884, (completed by J. Culwick), lost
 RS139. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis to complete the Service in E flat, 1891,
 (London: Novello, [1891]), GB-Lbl
- RS155. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in C, Alto voice only, MS, IRL-Dcc
 RS164. Settings to complete services by various composers:
 Creed, Kyrie and Sanctus to complete the Service in A by Aldrich,
 [n.d.], MS, RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Boyce, [n.d.], MS, partbooks,
 RCB
 Trio to replace that by Boyce (from Give the king thy judgements),
 [n.d.], MS, IRL-Dpc
 Sanctus to complete the Services in F, G and g by Child, [n.d.], MS,
 partbooks, RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Farrant, [n.d.], MS, RCB
 Sanctus and Kyrie to complete the Service in G by Farrant, [n.d.],
 partbooks, MS, partbooks, RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Services in C, D and F by King, [n.d.], MS,
 partbooks, RCB
 Sanctus for King in B flat and C, [n.d.], RCB
 Sanctus to complete the Service in F by Nares, [n.d.], MS, partbooks,
 RCB
 Venite in the style of Tallis, [n.d.], lost
 Sanctus to complete the Service in E, e, and F by Wise, [n.d.], MS,
 partbooks, RCB
- RS166. Arrangement of the trio from Jonathan Battishill's O Remember not
 the sins and offences of my youth, [n.d.], ATB and org., IRL-Dcc
 RS156. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from Service in G, Tr.ATB, pf,
 (Novello, [n.d.]) IRL-Dtc
 RS165. Te Deum Laudamus, G, (Novello, [n.d.]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dpc
 RS159. The Office for the Holy Communion, G, (Novello, [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
 RS167. Walsh's Morning Service in D for organ, [n.d.], MS, RCB

Other Sacred

- RS17. Psalm 107, S, T, B, SATB, orch, 1851, destroyed
 RS19. Responses for the Obsequies of the Duke of Wellington, 1852, lost
 RS81. Veni Creator in B flat for double choir, 1872 (Metzler & Co., [n.d.]),
 lost
 RS108. In the hours of Morn and Evening, trio, 1884, lost
 RS125. The Breastplate of St Patrick, B solo, SATB, 1888, (APCK, [n.d.]),
 IRL-Dpc

Orchestral

- RS20. The Exhibition Grand March, military and string band, 1853, lost
 RS51. March for the Installation of the Earl of Rosse as Chancellor of the
 University of Dublin, 1863, lost
 RS80. Orchestral Fantasia, Boston, 1872, lost
 RS126. Arrangement of the Funeral March by Chopin, c1888, lost

- RS96. Arrangement of God save the Queen for three pianos and strings, c1881, lost

Chamber and Solo Instrumental Violin

- RS136. Suite, 3vn, G, 1890, MS, IRL-Dam
RS146. Arrangement of Colleen das Cruthen A Mo, and The Song of the Woods, vn/vc, pf, from Five Irish Melodies with T.R.G. Jozé (London: Moore, Smith, [1899]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dn, IRL-Dtc,

Piano

- RS21. The Exhibition Grand March, pf, C, 1853, (London: Addison, [1854]), GB-Lbl
RS44. Four Piano Fantasias:
When the rosy morn, (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
Thou art coming with the sunshine (on a ballad by Francis Robinson), (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
Dormi pur, (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
My thoughts will wander far away (on a ballad by F. Robinson), (London: Bussell, 1862), lost
RS168. A Winter Night's Wake, arrangement for 4 hands piano, [n.d.] lost

Organ

- RS47. Andante con moto, E flat, 1863, (Lloyd-Fowle, [n.d.]), lost
RS46. Andante, B flat, 1863, (Lloyd-Fowle, [n.d.]), lost
RS62. Concert Fantasia, d, 1868 (London: Novello, [1887]), GB-Lbl
RS65. Organ Fantasia on a chorale by Ascher, composed for the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick, 1869, lost
RS102. Introduction and Fugue, F, 1882 (London: Broadhouse, [1883]), lost
RS103. Cor cordium, andante, A, c1882, lost
RS106. Six Voluntaries, one entitled 'Entreaty', c1883, lost
RS113. Arrangement of the Danish National Anthem, 1885, lost
RS117. A Little Organ School, 1885, ed. A.M. Henderson (London: Bayley and Ferguson, 1946), IRL-Dtc
RS112. Allegro, E flat, 1885, lost
RS129. Arrangement of the Finale from Symphony No. 3 by Mendelssohn, c1889, (Novello, [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
RS133. Chorale in A, c1890, lost
RS135. Postlude in D, c1890, lost
RS142. Three organ pieces in E flat, g and d, 1892, lost
RS161. Organ Prelude in C, [n.d.], lost
RS163. Sketch for Organ, [n.d.], lost
RS06. Arrangement of the overture to Handel's Samson, [1847], MS, IRL-Dpc

Harmonium

- RS22. Arrangement of the Exhibition Grand March , 1853, lost
RS89. Arrangement of the Adagio from Symphony No. 4 by Beethoven, 1875, lost
RS101. Accompaniment to A Winter Night's Wake, 1882, lost

Songs, Gleees and Part-songs

- RS07. The Skylark/Go tuneful bird (W. Shenstone), glee, A, 1847, (London: Addison and Hollier [1854]), IRL-Dam, GB-Lbl
RS09. O Nightingale, part-song, male vv, 1848, (London: Addison & Hollier [n.d.]), lost
RS11. A Maid reclined beside a stream, part-song, SATB, 1850, lost
RS12. The Dream (A.T.), part-song, F, SSTB, pf, 1851, (London: Novello [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS13. The Haymaker's Song, part-song, C, SSTB, pf, (Mrs Newton Crosland), 1851, (London: Novello [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS16. My Ladye Fayre (Waller), madrigal, 1851, lost
RS14. I do not mourn over vanished years, ballad (Waller), (London, [1851]), GB-Lbl
RS23. The Fairest Flower/The Dawn of Day is far away, part-song, G, SATB, pf, (Waller), 1854, (London: Novello, [1875]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
RS25. Echo and the Lovers (Waller), song, c1855, vn part in IRL-Dtc, GB-Lcm
RS26. Earth, fling off thy wintry wildness, glee, 1855, lost
RS28. O Phoebus (Dr. S. Johnson), glee, ATBB, 1856, (London: Curwen, [1902]), GB-Lbl
RS29. Summer, glee, 1856, lost
RS30. In the heat of Summer noon, part-song, c1857, lost
RS31. O Life is but Death, from a set called Angels' Songs, 1857, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
RS32. Up with ye, up with ye, song, 1857, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
RS34. Ah! well-a-day, the Cypress Tree', S, from A Winter Night's Wake, 1858, lost
RS41. I must love thee still, Marion, D flat, ballad from A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell [1860]), GB-Lbl
RS42. Tints of Evening, part-song, 1860, lost
RS40. At Dead of Night by the Pale Starlight from The Eve St John (Waller), A, pf, 1860, (London: Blockley [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
RS55. In this hour when every Zephyr, part-song, 1864, lost
RS57. Far away on the billow/The Reefer, song, 1865, (London: Cramer, [1865]), GB-Lbl
RS58. When the world-worn Wanderer slumbers/Dreamland, part-song, ATTB, 1865, lost
RS66. The Song of the Fairies in the Ruins of Heidelberg (from Lytton's novel The Pilgrims of the Rhine), glee, B flat, ATBB, 1869, (London: Patey & Willis, 1897), IRL-Dam

- RS67. When Spring adorns the dewy scene, part-song, 1869, lost
- RS68. The Bells of St Michael's Tower (William Knyvett), D, glee, SATBarB, pf, 1870, (London: Novello [1880]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS69. The Bells of St Michael's Tower (Knyvett), D, glee, SS, pf, 1870, (London: Novello [n.d.]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS74. The Wine Cup is Circling in Almhin's Hall, D, part-song, SATBarB, 1870, (London: Novello [1886]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS70. The Cruiskeen Lawn (Thomas Moore), f, part-song, SATBar.B, pf, 1870, (London: Novello, Ewer [1880]), GB-Lbl, IRL-Dam
- RS71. Dame Durden, part-song, 1870, lost
- RS75. Descend, ye Muses Nine, glee, ATBB, 1871, (London: Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS76. From Visions sad awaking, 1871, lost
- RS77. I met my love at morning, part-song, ATBarB 1871, lost
- RS79. Six Two-Part Songs:
 Joy and Sorrow, A, 1872 (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Sleep (Wellington Guernsey), G, 1872, (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 What is love? (Guernsey), E flat, 1872, (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Harp that wildly wreathing sounds (Guernsey), B flat, 1872, (Hammond [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
 Religion (Guernsey), 1872, (London: Stanley Lucas [1881]), GB-Lbl
 Night hurrying on (Guernsey), SA, pf, 1872, (London: Stanley Lucas, Weber, [1881]), GB-Lbl
- RS78. Follow the drum, part-song, male vv, c1872, lost
- RS35. Love leads us captive, terzetto, E flat, SST, pf, from A Winter Night's Wake (Waller), 1858, (London: Stanley Lucas, Weber, 1873), GB-Lbl
- RS84. The Flower of Love, so fair, so sweet/Memory's fairest scene, song, 1873, (Gunn, [n.d.]), lost
- RS83. Boat Song/Here we will sit, glee, SATBB, 1873, lost
- RS87. The Reason Why (Waller), AATTBarBarBB, unaccomp, C, 1874, (Dublin:Pohlman, [n.d.]), IRL-Dn
- RS90. There's sunshine still upon my sail, T, 1875, lost
- RS91. Achora Machree (Joseph Martin Emerson), song, A major, (London: Chappell, [1878]), GB-Lbl
- RS92. My Father (Lilla C.), song, (London: Novello [1878]), GB-Lbl
- RS93. Love that hath us in the net, part-song, ATBB, 1879, lost
- RS94. The Saving of the Colours/Isandula, song, F, 1879, (Blockley [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
- RS95. Carmen Foyliense, song, [c1880], GB-Lbl
- RS97. That voice is hushed, Bar, 1881, (Cramer, Wood [n.d.]), lost
- RS98. How shall I think of thee?/The Question (R.W. Cooke-Taylor), song, A flat, S, 1881, (Dublin: Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
- RS99. How should'st thou think of me?/The Answer (Cooke-Taylor), song, f, S, 1881, (Dublin: Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dtc
- RS100. Sweet morn of May, T, 1881, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS104. O Could I fly on Morning's Wings, duet, S,T, 1883, (Patey & Willis [n.d.]), lost
- RS105. The Roll Call, song, 1883, (Pigot [n.d.]), lost
- RS107. Thee, only Thee, song, 1883, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS111. The Vine, glee, ATBB, 1884, lost

- RS114. Fair daughter of the Sea-King, Danish folksong, part-song, ATBB, 1885, lost
- RS115. Helen/With thee my thoughts are calm and sweet, 1885, (Pohlmann [n.d.]), lost
- RS116. I walked in the joyous Morning/The Wild Roses, song, 1885, lost
- RS118. Sleep, my love sleep/Lullaby, song, 1885, lost
- RS119. God sent his singers, glee, SATB, 1886, lost
- RS120. When the doors were closed and the curtains drawn, song, 1886, lost
- RS121. O Lovely Night (Waller), song, A flat, TTBB, (Augener [1886]), GB-Lbl
- RS122. It is thy name I whisper, song, 1887, (London: Hutchings, [1887]), GB-Lbl
- RS127. Three Four-Part Songs,:
The Glorious Spring, (Hammond, 1888), lost
A Hundred Years Ago, (Hammond, 1888), lost
'Tis May-Time, (Hammond, 1888), lost
- RS128. Could I keep time from flying (T. Smith), part-song, TTBB, 1889, (London: Novello, [1889]), GB-Lbl
- RS130. Robin Redbreast, song, 1889, (H. Bussell [n.d.]), lost
- RS131. What of the night?, song, 1889, lost
- RS137. A Wedding Anthem, 1890, lost
- RS134. Credat Judaeus (Temperance song) for Fr Matthew's birth centenary, c1890, lost
- RS138. Water pure! To thee we sing!, song, 1890, (Ascherberg [n.d.]), lost
- RS132. Bridal Song, 1890, lost
- RS140. The meadows look cheerful, glee, SSATB, 1891, lost
- RS144. Where shall the lovers rest?, part-song, TTBB, 1893, lost
- RS143. Arrangements of Sixteen Irish Airs for Curwen's National Part-songs, 1893, (London: Curwen, [1907-09]), GB-Lbl
- RS147. Merry Bells, part-song, (A. Russan) [1907], GB-Lbl
- RS145. Father and fount of life, National Anthem for the State of Gondol India, A flat, SATB, 1893, originally scored for SATB and military instruments, IRL-Dam
- RS148. All the world around, song (T.D. Sullivan), A, SATB, pf, (Pigot [n.d.]), IRL-Dam
- RS150. Flowers that I wreathed, song, (Blockley [n.d.]), lost
- RS153. Lovers should not part in June, song, (Blockley [n.d.]), lost
- RS154. Mabel, song, (William MacIlwaine), C, (Novello [n.d.]), IRL-Dn
- RS158. Murmur low, ye winds of Evening, S, [n.d.], lost
- RS160. On the Banks of Allan Water, part-song, [n.d.], lost
- RS157. The Minstrel Boy, F, Irish Air, SATB, (London: Curwen [1919]), GB-Lbl
- RS162. The Schoolmaster's Love Song, [n.d.], lost
- RS169. Yes, loving is a painful thrill, part-song, [n.d.], lost

Other

- RS43. A composition (title unknown) in Musical Album of the London Irish Rifle Volunteers, (Bussell, 1862)

RCB: Representative Church Body Library, Dublin

Appendix VIII

The Lectures and Articles of Robert Prescott Stewart

Lectures¹

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1862	‘Music: (with illustrations) A Lecture’ 1 lecture (repeated) 10, 14 March 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Abbey Street	‘Young Men’s Christian Association’, <i>DE</i> , 11 March 1862, pp. 2–3; ‘Young Men’s Christian Association in Connection with the United Churches’, <i>SN</i> , 11 March 1862, p. 2; ‘Young Men’s Christian Association’, <i>IT</i> , 11 March 1862, p. 3; ‘Young Men’s Christian Association—Lecture by Dr. R.P. Stewart’, <i>IT</i> , 15 March 1862, p. 3; Robert Prescott Stewart, ‘Music: (with illustrations) a lecture’, <i>Lectures Delivered before the Dublin Young Men’s Christian Association</i> (Dublin: Hodges Smith, 1863), 107–71
1864	‘Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century’ 2 lectures 20, 22 April 1864	Metropolitan Hall, Abbey St, Dublin	‘Professor Stewart’s Lecture’, <i>DE</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3; ‘Professor Stewart’s Lecture’, <i>DE</i> , 23 April 1864, p. 3; ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures on Irish Music’, <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 4; ‘Professor Stewart’s Lecture on Irish Music’, <i>FJ</i> , 23 April 1864, p. 3; ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures on “Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century”’, <i>SN</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 2; ‘Irish Musicians of the Last Century’, <i>SN</i> , 23 April 1864, p. 2; ‘Lecture by Professor Stewart’, <i>IT</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3; ‘Professor Stewart’s Lectures’, <i>IT</i> , 23 April 1864, p. 3; ‘Irish Music and Musicians of the Eighteenth Century’, <i>Orchestra</i> , 2 (1864), p. 487

¹ James Culwick records the year, title and key points of discussion in the majority of Stewart’s lectures and this information provided the starting point for my research into the newspaper article reports of Stewart’s lectures. See Culwick, *The Works of Sir Robert Stewart*, pp. 20–24.

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1868	'Church Music' 1 lecture (repeated) 3, 17 October 1868	Exhibition Palace, Dublin	<i>IT</i> , 13 October 1868, p. 1; <i>IT</i> , 14 October 1868, p. 2
1871	'Musical Form' 2 lectures 18, 25 November 1871	Lecture one, Dining Hall, TCD Lecture two, Examination Hall, TCD	'Trinity College', <i>FJ</i> , 20 November 1871, p. 3; 'Musical Lectures', <i>DE</i> , 21 November 1871, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College', <i>IT</i> , 20 November 1871, p. 3
1872	'Musical Form' 3 lectures 9, 16, 23 March 1872	Examination Hall, TCD	'Trinity College', <i>FJ</i> , 11 March 1872, p. 3; Lectures on Music', <i>FJ</i> , 18 March 1872, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>DE</i> , 11 March 1872, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music—Trinity College', <i>DE</i> , 18 March 1872, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music—Trinity College', <i>DE</i> , 25 March 1872, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 9 March 1872, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', 11 March 1872, p. 6; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 18 March 1872, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 23 March 1872, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 25 March 1872, p. 2

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1873	'Ancient Irish Music' 6 lectures 18, 25 January 1873 1, 8, 22 February 1873 1 March 1873	Lecture two, Lecture Hall of New Building, TCD Lectures three, four and six, Examination Hall, TCD	'University Intelligence: Lecture on Music', <i>DE</i> , 20 January 1873, p. 3; 'Lecture on Irish Music'. <i>DE</i> , 27 January 1873, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i> , 3 February 1873, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>DE</i> , 10 February 1873, p. 3; 'Lectures on Irish Music', <i>DE</i> , 24 February 1873, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music'. <i>DE</i> , 3 March 1873, p. 3; 'The Bagpipes of Ireland and Scotland Compared', <i>DEM</i> , 3 February 1873, p. 4; 'Lecture on Irish Music', <i>DEM</i> , 3 March 1873, p. 4; 'Lectures on Irish Music', <i>FJ</i> , 10 February 1873, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College', <i>FJ</i> , 24 February 1873, p. 6; 'University Intelligence', <i>FJ</i> , 3 March 1873, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 1 February 1873, p. 2; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 8 February 1873, p. 5; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 22 February 1873, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 1 March 1873, p. 2; 'Lecture on Irish Music', <i>IT</i> , 3 March 1873, p. 2; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>SN</i> , 3 February 1873, p. 3; 'Ancient Irish Music', <i>SN</i> , 10 February 1873, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture on Music', <i>SN</i> , 24 February 1873, p. 2; 'Lecture on Music—Dublin University', <i>SN</i> , 3 March 1873, p. 2

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1874	'The Life and Works of Handel' 6 lectures 21, 28 February 7, 14, 21, 28 March 1874	Lectures one, two, three, four and six, Examination Hall, TCD Lecture five, Dining Hall, TCD	Culwick, <i>Fifty Years</i> 'Dublin University—Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i> , 28 February 1874, p. 3; 'Dublin University—Lectures on Handel', <i>DE</i> , 2 March 1874, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Handel', <i>DE</i> , 9 March 1874, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Fourth Lecture on Handel's Life and Times', <i>DE</i> , 16 March 1874, p. 3; 'Handel Lectures at Trinity College', <i>DE</i> , 23 March 1874, p. 3; 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Handel', <i>DE</i> , 30 March 1874, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>DEM</i> , 23 February 1874, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Handel', <i>DEM</i> , 2 March 1874, p. 4; 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lectures on Handel', <i>DEM</i> , 9 March 1874, p. 4; 'Lectures on Music', <i>DEM</i> , 16 March 1874, p. 4; 'Lecture on Music', <i>DEM</i> , 23 March 1874, p. 5; 'Lecture on Music', <i>DEM</i> , 30 March 1874, p. 4; 'Trinity College', <i>FJ</i> , 23 February 1874, p. 6; 'University Intelligence: Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>FJ</i> , 9 March 1874, p. 2; 'Trinity College', <i>FJ</i> , 16 March 1874, p. 2; 'Lectures on Handel', <i>FJ</i> , 30 March 1874, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>IT</i> , 9 March 1874, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Musical Lectures', <i>IT</i> , 16 March 1874, p. 2; 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lecture on Music', <i>IT</i> , 23 March 1874, p. 7; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>IT</i> , 30 March 1874, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Handle', <i>SN</i> , 23 February 1874, p. 2; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture—Trinity College', <i>SN</i> , 2 March 1874, p. 2; 'Lecture on Handel—Trinity College', <i>SN</i> , 9 March 1874, p. 2; 'Handel Lectures—Trinity College', <i>SN</i> , 16 March 1874, p. 2; 'Handel Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 23 March 1874, p. 2; 'Handel Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 30 March 1874, p. 2

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1875	'Stringed-Keyed Instruments' 6 lectures 13, 20, 27 March 3, 10, 17 April 1875	Lectures one and six, Examination Hall, TCD	'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>DE</i> , 15 March 1876, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Keyed Instruments', <i>DE</i> , 22 March 1875, p. 3; 'University of Dublin', <i>DE</i> , 29 March 1875, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i> , 5 April 1875, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Trinity College, Dublin', <i>DE</i> , 12 April 1875, p. 3; 'Dublin University – Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i> , 19 April 1875, p. 3; 'String-Keyed Instruments', <i>DEM</i> , 22 March 1875, p. 4; 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lectures on String-Keyed Instruments', <i>DEM</i> , 5 April 1875, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>DEM</i> , 12 April 1875, p. 4; 'Lectures in Trinity College: Music', <i>DEM</i> , 19 April 1875, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', <i>FJ</i> , 12 April 1875, p. 7; 'Gossip: Music and the Drama', <i>IT</i> , 8 March 1875, p.6; 'Gossip: Music and the Drama', <i>IT</i> , 15 March 1875, p. 6; 'Gossip: Music and the Drama', <i>IT</i> , 22 March 1875, p. 6; 'Gossip Music and the Drama', <i>IT</i> , 19 April 1875, p. 3; 'Lecture on Music', <i>SN</i> , 19 April 1875, p. 2; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', <i>Orchestra</i> , 1 (1875), 275–78; 307–10; 339–43

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1876	<p>'Natural Music and Its Relation to Modern Art' 6 lectures 11, 18, 25 March 1, 8, 15 April 1876</p>	<p>Lectures one, three, four, five and six, Examination Hall, TCD</p>	<p>'Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i>, 13 March 1876, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Sir R.P. Stewart's Lectures', <i>DE</i>, 20 March 1876, p. 3; 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i>, 27 March 1876, p. 3; 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i>, 3 April 1876, p. 3; 'Sir R. Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>DE</i>, 10 April 1876, p. 3; 'Lecture on Music', <i>DE</i>, 17 April 1876, p. 3; 'Lecture on Music', <i>DEM</i>, 13 March 1876, p. 4; 'Sir R.P. Stewart on Ancient and Barbaric Music', <i>DEM</i>, 20 March 1876, p. 4; 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lecture on Eastern Music', <i>DEM</i>, 27 March 1876, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music', <i>DEM</i>, 3 April 1876, p. 3; 'Sir R.P. Stewart on Music', <i>DEM</i>, 10 April 1876, p. 4; 'Lectures on Music', <i>DEM</i>, 17 April 1876, p. 4; 'Lecture on Music', <i>IT</i>, 13 March 1876, p. 7; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture on Music', <i>IT</i>, 27 March 1876, p. 6; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Eastern Music', <i>IT</i>, 3 April 1876, p. 6; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Eastern Music', <i>IT</i>, 10 April 1876, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Music', <i>IT</i>, 17 April 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 13 March 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 20 March 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 27 March 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 3 April 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 10 April 1876, p. 5; 'Lectures on Music', <i>SN</i>, 17 April 1876, p. 5</p>

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1877	'The Dawning and Later Development of the Lyric Drama' 6 lectures 10, 17, 31 March 7, 14, 21 April 1877	Lectures one and two, Examination Hall, TCD	'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>DE</i> , 12 March 1877, p. 3; 'Sir R.P. Stewart's Lectures', <i>DE</i> , 19 March 1877, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures, Trinity College', <i>DE</i> , 2 April 1877, p. 3; 'Lectures on the Lyric Drama', <i>DE</i> , 9 April 1877, p. 3; 'Lectures on the Lyric Drama', <i>DE</i> , 16 April 1877, p. 3; 'Lectures on the Lyric Drama,' <i>DE</i> , 23 April 1877, p. 3; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>DEM</i> , 12 March 1877, p. 2; 'Passion-Plays: Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>DEM</i> , 2 April 1877, p. 2; 'Sir R. Stewart's Lecture', <i>DEM</i> , 9 April 1877, p. 2; 'Sir R. P. Stewart's Lectures', <i>DEM</i> , 23 April 1877, p. 4; 'Lecture on Miracle Plays', <i>FJ</i> , 19 March 1877, p. 2; 'Lectures on Music', <i>FJ</i> , 2 April 1877, p. 6; 'Sir Robert Stewart on the Lyric Drama', <i>FJ</i> , 9 April 1877, p. 3; 'Lectures on Music', <i>FJ</i> , 16 April 1877, p. 3; 'Lectures by Sir Robert Stewart', <i>IT</i> , 12 March 1877, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures on Miracle Plays', <i>IT</i> , 2 April 1877, p. 3; 'University Intelligence: Lectures on the Lyric Drama', <i>IT</i> , 7 April 1877, p. 5; 'Trinity Collge, Dublin', <i>IT</i> , 14 April 1877, p. 6; 'University Intelligence', <i>IT</i> , 21 April 1877, p. 6; 'Lecture by Sir R. Stewart on the Drama', <i>SN</i> , 12 March 1877, p. 5; 'Miracle Plays', <i>SN</i> , 19 March 1877, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 16 April 1877, p. 5;

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1878	'Irish Music and Musicians' 3 lectures 29 May, 5, 12 June 1878	Antient Concert Hall, Great Brunswick St, Dublin	'The Balfe Memorial: Irish Music and Musicians', <i>DE</i> , 30 May 1878, p. 3; 'The Balfe Memorial: Irish Music and Musicians', <i>DE</i> , 6 June 1878, p. 3; 'The Balfe Memorial: Irish Music and Musicians', <i>DE</i> , 13 June 1878, p. 3; 'The Balfe Memorial Lectures', <i>DEM</i> , 30 May 1878, p. 2; 'The Balfe Memorial', <i>DEM</i> , 6 June 1878, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Balfe Lectures', <i>DEM</i> , 13 June 1878, p. 3; 'Sir R. Stewart on Irish Music and Musicians', <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1878, p. 7; 'Sir Robert Stewart on Irish Musicians', <i>FJ</i> , 6 June 1878, p. 6; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Balfe Lectures', <i>FJ</i> , 13 June 1878, p. 6; 'The Balfe Memorial—Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures', <i>IT</i> , 30 May 1878, p. 6; 'The Balfe Memorial—Sir Robert Stewart's Lectures' <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1878, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture', <i>IT</i> , 13 June 1878, p. 7; 'Balfe Memorial Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 30 May 1878, p. 3; 'Balfe Memorial Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 6 June 1878, p. 3; 'Balfe Memorial Lectures', <i>SN</i> , 13 June 1878, p. 3;
1881	'Musical Education, By What Means Can National Education in Music Best be Promoted?' 1 lecture 7 October 1881	Social Science Congress Conference, Dublin	'The Social Science Congress', <i>DE</i> , 8 October 1881, pp. 6–7; 'Social Science Congress, "Art Section"', <i>IT</i> , 8 October 1881, p. 7.

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1882	'Musical Epochs and Styles' 1 lecture 17 June 1882	Examination Hall, TCD	Trinity College Lectures: Music', <i>DE</i> , 19 June 1882, p. 3; 'Music', <i>DEM</i> , 19 June 1882, p. 4; 'Musical Epochs and Styles', <i>FJ</i> , 19 June 1882, p. 3; 'Music', <i>IT</i> , 19 June 1882, p. 7
1884	'The Bagpipes of Scotland and Ireland' 1 lecture 27 March 1884	Imperial Hotel, Cork	'The Bagpipes of Scotland and Ireland Compared', <i>CE</i> , 28 March 1884, p. 2
1886	'Musical Epochs and Styles' 1 lecture	Cork?	
1886	'Natural Music in Connection with Modern Musical Art' 1 lecture 23 June 1886	Examination Hall, TCD	'National Music in Connections with Modern Musical Art', <i>IT</i> , 24 June 1886, p. 6
1889	'Ancient Music' 1 lecture (Notes recorded by J.M. Synge, 18 November 1899)	[Royal Irish Academy of Music?]	

Year	Title, Number of Lectures, Date	Venue	Sources
1890	'Irish Music before the Norman Conquest (MS)' 1 lecture 2 January 1890	Imperial Hotel, Cork	'Cork Literary and Scientific Society: Lecture by Sir Robert Stewart', <i>CE</i> , 3 January 1890, p. 2
1891	'Mozart' 1 lecture 28 November 1891		<i>DE</i> , 30 November 1891, p. 4; 'Sir Robert Stewart on Mozart', <i>DE</i> , 30 November 1891, p. 5; 'Lecture by Sir Robert Stewart on "Mozart"', <i>IT</i> , 30 November 1891, p. 5
1893	'Palestrina' 1 lecture 18 March 1893		'Sir Robert Stewart on Palestrina', <i>DE</i> , 20 March 1893, p. 5
1893	'Irish Music' 1 lecture 24 November 1893 For the Church Ladies' Association	Sackville Hall, Dublin	'Sir Robert Stewart's Lecture on Irish Music', <i>DE</i> , 24 November 1893, p. 5; 'Lecture by Sir R. Stewart on Irish Music', <i>DE</i> , 25 November 1893, p. 5; 'Sir Robert Stewart on Irish Music', <i>IT</i> , 25 November 1893, p. 6
1894	'Irish Music' 1 lecture 21 February 1894	Royal Dublin Society	'Sir Robert Stewart on Irish Music', <i>DE</i> , 22 February 1894, p. 6; 'Irish Music: Lectures by Sir Robert Stewart', <i>DEM</i> , 22 February 1894, p. 2; 'Irish Music', <i>FJ</i> , 22 February 1894, p. 6;
1895	'Old Flemish Composers'	[RIAM?]	

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- 1860s** Articles in *Cassell's Biographical Dictionary* William Sterndale Bennett, J.S. Bach, Hector Berlioz
- 1874** 'Swift and Handel', *IB*, 15 April 1874, pp. 112, 115
- 1879ff** Articles for Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Irish Music, Thomas Moore, Turlough O'Carolan, Joseph Augustine Wade, William Vincent Wallace
- 1876** Articles written from the 1876 Wagner Festival 'The Wagner Festival', *DE*, 1 September, 1876, p. 3; 2 September 1876, p. 3; 4 September 1876, p. 3
- 1880** 'Irish Musical Biography', *IB*, 1 April 1880, pp. 96, 99
- 1886** Letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* in relation to Liszt's visit to London 'Franz Liszt', *IT*, 16 March 1886, p. 5
- 1886** Analytical Notes to the Afternoon Recitals of Chamber Music at the Royal Dublin Society, 1886 *Programme of the Afternoon Recitals of Chamber Music, Autumn Course, 1886, with analytical notes by Sir Roberts Stewart* (Dublin: Ponsonby & Weldrick, 1886), IRL-Dn, P935

1888 'Organs – Christ Church Cathedral', *IB*,
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1889

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Summary

Appointed to the most eminent of musical establishment positions, Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894) was held in high regard by Dublin’s musical public and was seen as the ‘figurehead’ of music in Ireland by his English contemporaries. His career as an organist of exceptional talent saw a lengthy association with the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick’s. As a conductor, he directed several music societies including the University of Dublin Choral Society and the Bray Philharmonic Society and conducted the first Irish performances of choral works including: Mendelssohn’s *Athalie* (1849), Verdi’s *Requiem* (1876), and Bach’s *St John Passion* (1878). Composition occupied a reasonable amount of Stewart’s time but because of his daily teaching responsibilities, his output indicates a composer of average merit, happy to remain within a style that is straightforward and polite in character. His appointment to the music professorship at Trinity College Dublin in 1862 allowed him to expand the music degree requirements and attempt to displace the commonly held view that that music was not a respectable degree for a Victorian gentleman to follow. The music lectures that Stewart delivered between 1862 and 1894 confirm his interest in a variety of areas popular in the nineteenth century including organology, orientalism, the origin of music, stringed-keyed instruments, and the ancient music of Ireland. Associated with the Royal Irish Academy of Music from 1869 as a teacher of piano and harmony and composition, Stewart’s multi-faceted career is examined in this thesis in an attempt to provide a modern evaluation of his significance as a figure in Dublin’s music life in the second half of the nineteenth century.