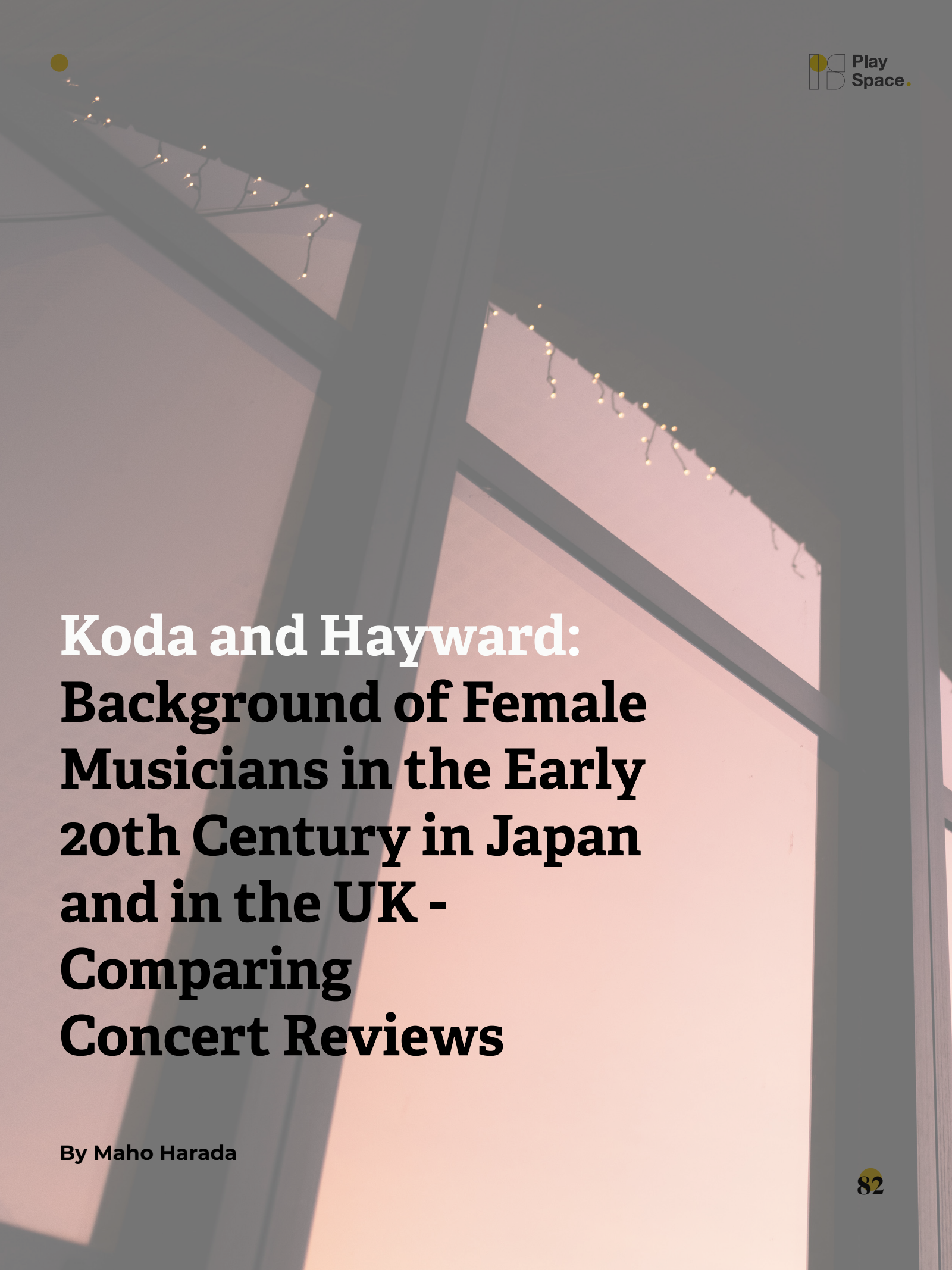




Koda and Hayward: Background of Female Musicians in the Early 20th Century in Japan and in the UK - Comparing Concert Reviews

By Maho Harada

Abstract

Throughout history, female musicians have often been expected to be charming, young, and look attractive, but not to demonstrate mastery greater than their male counterparts. One outcome of this emphasis on appearance rather than musical involvement is that after the death of female musicians, their impact is not nearly as documented as is the case for male musicians. 'She' is not recognised not only during her lifetime, but also posthumously.

This paper introduces two musicians from Japan and the UK who lived at the same time - Nobu Koda (1870-1946) and Marjorie Hayward (1885-1953). I use concert reviews to demonstrate their backgrounds, as case studies of female violinists of the time.

The first person in a community often receives an especially intense backlash - this was the case for Nobu Koda, the first composer of Western classical music in Japan. Koda was a violinist, a pianist, a teacher, and a composer, and was the first professional Japanese musician to study abroad. Despite her outstanding talent and career, she was forced to quit her job in the music institute because of a negative campaign by competitors for her position of head of the department.

Despite her 30-year contribution as an educator at the Royal Academy of Music, it is very hard to find information about the violinist Marjorie Hayward today. There are many recordings of the broadcasts she made, but further stories about her are not yet available. She started her professional career as a child prodigy, and many concert reviews in her childhood can be found, but the number of reviews decreased year by year.

Comparing these two, we can see what kinds of situations women have faced, and details of the differences in the philosophies towards music in these two countries at the dawn of Western classical music in Japan, and at the same time in the UK.

Keywords

Western classical music, violin, female musicians, Asian musicians, concert review

Introduction

In Freia Hoffmann's book *Instrument und Körper: Die musizierende Frau in der bürgerlichen Kultur* (2004), the author highlighted the depth of the historical misogyny in Western classical music. As it came to Japan in the late nineteenth century, the country might have had a chance to avoid the negative, centuries-long legacies that Western music had endured.

Advantageously, the first Japanese symphony orchestra was formed with both men and women (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1987), but the Yomiuri Nippon Symphony Orchestra, a professional orchestra established in the 1960s, employed only male musicians for its first few decades (Uechi, 2022, p. 232). Supposedly this was in imitation of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra or the Berlin Philharmonic (Bennett, 2016, Chapter 3). The misogyny inherent in the Japanese music industry might have been reflected by the misogyny belonging to the Western culture.

As a Japan-raised/UK-trained violinist, studying the historical background of Western classical music in the countries was necessary to understand their cultural specifics. In this research, I will feature two musicians: Nobu Koda (1870-1946), the first prominent Western classical musician in Japan; and Marjorie Hayward (1885-1953), who was a great British musician at the same time as Koda. To demonstrate the background of female violinists in the beginning of the twentieth century in two countries, I make critiques of the concert reviews about them. Comparing these, we can see the differences in the philosophies towards music in these two, at the dawn of Western music in Japan, and at the same time in the UK.

Gender norms in Western cultures have had a strong influence on music, but Asian cultures have their own gender norms, and they have also been applied to Western classical music in Asian countries.

Tamagawa (2023, Chapter 1) points out that 'playing the piano' has been seen as a typical activity for 'good girls' in Japan since the Meiji era.

My own experience suggests that learning the violin shares similar aspects with learning the piano. In fact, studying how to play the koto, a Japanese traditional instrument, was considered a suitable activity for ladies until early Meiji—but not as their profession—and later, either playing the piano or violin became an alternative (Tamagawa, 2023, p. 43, 57). Female artists of Western classical music in Japan are expected to be 'good girls' as Japanese women, but they also need to accept Western norms as Western music players—thus Japanese female musicians face dual sets of gender norms, both Eastern and Western.

Yoshihara points out that many instructors of the early Suzuki method were women (2007, 633), yet the names mentioned as successors of Suzuki in Yoshihara's book were all men (2007, Chapter 1). Female violinists were not rare, but those in the decision-making roles were almost all men. This overlaps with today's situation in Japan, in which the number of female violin students in the Tokyo University of the Arts from 2023 to 2027 (the number of estimated graduates) accounts for 77% of the total headcount in the major (Harada, 2024, p. 185), while 75.6% of concertmasters in Japan are men (Hyogen no Genba Chosadan, 2022). This ratio is a statistic from the 2020s, even a century after the time when Koda was a director of the Tokyo Music School (Takii & Hirataka, 2012, p. 20). Hence it is instructive to focus on Koda, who was one of the first graduates of the Institute of Music, the predecessor of the TMS and the TUA, to understand the historical context behind the gender inequality that still exists today.

At the same time as Koda founded her own piano school, in the UK a significant event happened—the Society of Women Musicians was established in 1911. Fuller explains the situation for women in the middle nineteenth century Britain: 'Basic musical skills were part of the set of accomplishments that middle- and upper-class women were expected to acquire for use within the private,' and the examples of 'graceful and ladylike' activities were singing or playing 'the harp, guitar and

especially the piano' (Fuller, 1998, p. 43). This superstition overwhelmed women many decades afterwards. Because 'the middle- or upper-class woman [...] was usually assumed to be an unskilled amateur' (Fuller, 1998, p. 135), female musicians rarely found places to undertake their professional activities, even after the Royal Academy of Music or the Royal College of Music started welcoming female students in a wider range of musicmaking in the later nineteenth century. About that time, female singers were gradually accepted as professionals after their endurance (Kennerley, 2015, p. 1007), but it seems that female instrumental players and composers were less acknowledged. That is the time when the Society was formed, and when Hayward lived.

Regarding this topic, concert reviews are valuable materials to discover what female musicians at the time were expected to behave. In this article, in addition to perusing reviews of their performances, I will also look at articles in newspapers that refer to their activities other than performing, thereby uncover the gazes from both Japanese and British societies towards outstanding female musicians in the early 20th century.

1 Nobu Koda - The Pioneer

Koda's Background

Western classical music was introduced to Japan for the first time in the sixteenth century. It was spread by missionaries and believers in Christianity, thus the genre of music spreading first was sacred music (Minagawa, 2004), but the shogunate of Edo (1603-1867) gradually prohibited this religion (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2007, s.v. "Kirisutokyo kinsei" [expulsion of all missionaries from Japan]) and observed an isolationist foreign policy from 1639 to 1853 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2007, s.v. "Sakoku" [isolationist foreign policy]). The Dutch were given limited access to enter the island of Dejima, Nagasaki even under the isolated period (Iwai, 1995) and they played some western music (Shibata, 2014). Aside from that exception, a culture of Western classical music in Japan was not established in this era.

“it was clear from her outstanding performance that she had worked diligently to polish her skills during the time”

A new wave of foreign cultural influx happened in the Meiji era, 1868 to 1912. At this time, Japan started to form the first modern democratic government in its history, trying to take on all kinds of European custom. This movement was called civilization (or civilization and enlightenment) 文明開化 (Fukuzawa, 1875), an influence that extended to everything in life, philosophy, custom, studies, clothes, and culture, including music. Isawa Shuij (1851-1917), a civil servant and educator, was in charge of a project to develop the music institute in Tokyo (Hagiya, 2003, p. 43). Because there was no one in Japan who was able to teach Western classical music, he worked to invite New England Conservatory of Music's Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896), who gave lectures to Isawa during his training from 1875 to 1878 in Boston (Hagiya, 2003, p. 46), to be the educator at the Investigations Concerning Music (the Institute of Music) Ongaku-Torishirabegakari 音楽取調掛 in 1880 for a two-year term of office. Franz Eckert (1852-1916), from the Kingdom of Prussia, was also employed by the institute from 1883 to 1886 when he was staying in Japan to supervise the Japanese navy band. After Eckert finished his assignment, Guillaume Sauvlet (1843-1902), from the Netherlands, worked from 1886 to 1888 as the successor of Eckert (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Daigakushi Shiryoshitsu [Historical records office of the history of the Tokyo University of the Arts], n.d.). Nobu Koda (1870-1946) was one of the students of the first generation who were educated by such professors from overseas.

Koda was expected by the government to introduce authentically classical music as the first governmentally despatched student, after her five-year study in Vienna (Takii & Hirataka, 2012, p. 20-21). After Mason left Japan in 1882, Rudolf Dittich (1861-1919) was the only teacher at the professional level in the institute, therefore Nobu was the hope for the government and the institute both. Because she hated that music might be put to commercial use, she did not actively perform in public, but she often performed on the stage of the Tokyo Music School, the successor of the Institute of Music

and the predecessor of the Tokyo University of the Arts (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, Vol. 1). In the concert series, she played not only the violin but also the piano and the viola, as well as singing. Because the Koda family were descendants of shogunate vassals, the Koda sisters had a great deal of pride, and thought that to earn any fees from their performance was a blasphemy to the arts (Hagiya, 2003, p. 144, 167); thus the most familiar stage for them was the music hall 奏楽堂 in the Tokyo Music School.

The change in the tenor of the reviews of Koda throughout her life shows us that the impressions of her performances were influenced by social prejudice against women, even though the audience was impressed by her performance in the early days. There are unfortunately no recordings of her performances, but her programmes tell us that she was a great talent of music who was a multiple instrumental player, a composer and an arranger.

Reviews of Nobu Koda

The records of Koda's concerts include the programmes from after she finished her studies in Boston and Vienna and returned to Japan. We can see an obvious change in reviewers' attitudes. For the first, in 1896, it appears that the reviewers were simply impressed by her performance:

Next up was the long awaited first performance by Miss Nobu Koda after her heroic return to Japan. Six or seven years had passed like a dream for the audience, but it was clear from her outstanding performance that she had worked diligently to polish her skills during the time. The “violin” solo was so wonderful that it is impossible for us, sentimentalists, to even try to judge it. The work of the hand holding the bow was amazingly skilful and beautiful, and the movement of the left fingers was precise. Everyone was struck with awe by the sound of the music powerfully running from the strings, and could even have felt a burning sensation in the ears. The piece was Mendelssohn's Concerto 1st move-

ment, accompanied by the great Miss Tachibana on the piano. Some people say that art is a jealous goddess. As she is young and has a long life ahead of her, I hope she inspires herself and dedicates her life to the sanctuary of this goddess of beauty.

- A review for the Doseikai Spring Concert on 18 April 1896 (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 29, 32)

Programme (Hagiya, 2003, p. 101):

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy,: Violin Concerto Op.64, first movement
F.J. Haydn: Quartet No. 43 in G major, Op. 54, No. 1, FHE No. 19, Hoboken No. III:58
Schubert: “Death and the Maiden” D 531; Op. 7, No. 3 (song part)
Brahms: “The May Night” Op. 43 (song part)
W.A. Mozart: Larghetto for Clarinet and Piano (piano part)
J. S. Bach: Fugue from Sonata No. 1 for Solo Violin, Arr. for four violins (arrangement)

However, in 1899 Nobu also performed the solo viola part of Mozart's ‘Sinfonia Concertante KV. 364’ with Ko, her younger sister who was also a violinist (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 83), when some articles about the sisters begin to show a faint negative attitude. Because Nobu's younger sister Ko had been selected for the opportunity to study in Europe as a national scholarship student in that year, some tabloid newspapers wrote that Ko gained the opportunity because of the over-promotion of her sister (Hagiya, 2003, p. 126). The article I quote here shows an obvious misogynistic stance while criticising the governmental decision.

There had been a rumour for some time that the music school would be sending a student abroad, and finally Miss Ko Koda was chosen. If the purpose of sending a student abroad is to stretch the talent of a gifted person, Miss Koda is the most suitable person, but if it is to train an influential leader of the school on his/her return, then I cannot agree with the choice of Miss Koda. It is unreasonable to expect a woman to

be in charge of organising a group of people in any field of study or art. However, only in the field of music, we tend to expect more from female performers, perhaps because it is still at the early stage of development.

This is partly because there are so few technically skilled male players, but in fact, the boys who are second class technically work much harder than the girls who excel them. Since

Western music is still in its infancy, I would say that it is more urgent to train people who are excellent at educating musicians than to nurture an outstanding performer ("Ongaku-kai [the Music Society]," 1899).

Initially, another article had said that Rentaro Taki (composer and pianist, 1879-1903) was the best person for the scholarship rather than Ko, because Taki was a male. An author also wrote about how useless it would be if female musicians were sent to Europe.

It goes without saying that it is difficult for women to reach the highest level in all fields of study and art. Especially in the field of music, it is an undeniable fact that their performance lacks vitality. Moreover, once they get married, they cannot be expected to make it big in the art world. This is why the government has the right to prohibit female students from having a romance and getting married.

The reason why the great Miss Nobu Koda is so successful and powerful as a woman is that she is a member of the extraordinary Koda family, and a woman who is just as capable as a man - if not more - with a unique feature; what she calls 'pushiness' ("Taki Rentaro Shi to Tachibana Itoe Joshi [Mr Rentaro Taki and Ms Shige Tachibana]," 1899).

This quote mentions Nobu's personality. Her performance was also commented on as 'masculine' in a rather negative tone, and it attracts my attention as well that this article mentioned the greatness of her family. The following review talks about her piano performance:

The next up is a piano solo, the first movement of a/the concerto by Moscheles, by Professor Nobu Koda,

who was once called the 'Teresina Tua of Japan' (Maddalena Maria Teresa Tua, 1866 - 1956, an Italian violinist).

The power of the 'forte,' which came at you before you had time to appreciate the tenderness of the fingers on the keys, made you forget that she was a woman.

Needless to say, her skills and knowledge of string music were unrivalled, but now she also has succeeded as a pianist. How could we not congratulate her on her success with the 'piano' and on the fact that we now have 'a musician' Nobu Koda in the strictest sense of the word?

- Review: The 8th Regular concert, 1st May 1903, I. Moscheles: Piano concerto No.1, F major, Op.45 (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 131-133)

The last review of her performance, which is found in the book 'Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi [History of the Tokyo University of the Arts for a hundred years]' is dated 1908 (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 83), and the tone of the article is not so favourable:

We could see not only the trace of her painstaking work, but also a number of mistakes. She hit two or three wrong chords on both days, which could happen to any of the greatest masters, I suppose. What I found more disappointing was that the overall impression of the piece was quite weak. There were some parts in which I admired the veteran performer, but I could not find any unified charm that should have run throughout the piece. The most important thing for performers to be aware of is to give their whole soul and spirit to the music. That is, the player's attitude towards the performance was too calm to allow her whole self to immerse into the music. In other words, she did not put her heart and soul into the piece. It will not be possible to go beyond human work when the attitude is that music is music and you are you. Nevertheless, it was a great pleasure for us that she willingly played in the concert.

- Review for the 18th Regular Concert on 7 June 1908, J.N. Hummel: Piano Concerto No. 2 in A minor, Op. 85 (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 243, 249)

1908 was the year in which the atmosphere of reviews changed (Hagiya, 2003, p. 163). This was a year after the new principal of the Tokyo Music School Motoishi Yuhara was appointed (Tokyo University of the Arts, n.d.). According to an article by the composer Kosaku Yamada, talking about how Yuhara worked to exclude Koda (2001, p. 40), 'the act played by Mr Yuhara and Mr Shimazaki was very awkward.' Shimazaki was an organist who studied in Leipzig, coming back to Japan in 1906 and taking up his new post in the Tokyo Music school in the same year (Takii & Hirataka, 2012, p. 18). Using various means, Yuhara and Shimazaki tried to remove Koda altogether. Koda had been a music director of the school since 1903, but Shimazaki was assigned to the same position in 1908. This personnel change was assumed to be a reflection of the journalism, which showed a negative stance towards the increasing of female music teachers in the institute (Takii & Hirataka, 2012, p. 66). Koda was targeted as a scapegoat.

After 1908, there were many criticisms of the Tokyo Music School, and each article said that Koda was the prime cause of the evils. In 1909, one of the authors wrote that 'It is incomprehensible to us that even today, in 1909, she has not made even a single composition public, which is absolutely necessary for any musician' (Muto, 1909). In fact, she performed her first composition 'Sonata for Violin and Piano in E flat major' in 1895, and it was performance in 1897 with piano by herself, and violin by Ko and their colleague Fukuko Suzuki (Hirataka, 2018). It shows us how inaccurate the comments were. But the negative campaigning showed no signs of slowing down, with some newspapers even implying scandals about relationships or bribery (Hagiya, 2003, p. 170-171, 177).

As Yamada wrote, he saw and knew that Yuhara and Shimazaki did many

things to drive Nobu Koda out of the school, and he thought that it was very disrespectful towards her. But even though Yamada 'had enough respect for Koda' (Yamada, 2001, p. 40), he also wondered 'if it was good for the school to entrust the development of the Japanese music to many females,' and he recognised that he himself sympathised with Yuhara and Shimazaki (Yamada, 2001, p. 40). Yamada's reminiscences show us that Koda's retirement was caused deliberately by that group of men (Takii & Hirataka, 2012, p. 12).

Hagiya points out that public opinion which felt unfavourable towards the success of female professors fuelled the dispute with a group of male professors (2003, p. 163). This topic was criticised concurrently with the disparagement of co-educationalism of the school. The music institute, formerly the Tokyo Music School, was first opened for everyone in 1880, including 10 men and 12 women. However, the prevailing reputation of co-educational systems, which was based on Confucianism ("Co-Education [Danjo Kyogaku]," 1994), was too robust to ignore, so from 1883 new female students were barred. But supporters of the music school advocated to the government strongly, and the school's gate opened for women again in 1887 (The Tokyo University of the Arts Archive Center, 2015, p. 53). This school was the only co-educational national school in Japan at that time, thus gaining a great deal of publicity (Tamagawa, 2023, p. 266).

Nobu Koda herself had no partner in her life, but her sister Ko married in 1908 and had five children. It seems that Ko was busy with the care of the babies at the time that Nobu was receiving severe criticism from journalists, which might have saved Ko from the barrage (Hagiya, 2003, p. 227). In the end, Ko continued to have her class in the school until 1942, when she was suddenly laid off; the reason remains a mystery. There is one article written by her son, which talks about how her dismissal was disrespectful and incomprehensible, the article's title being 'about the discourtesy' (Hagiya, 2003, p. 233).

Summary

One article on Nobu Koda pointed out that she was often said to be masculine (Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Editorial Committee, 1990, p. 131-133). In fact, composer Kosaku Yamada wrote about her in his autobiography that 'she was as blunt as a man' (2016). These types of words are also found in performance reviews.

There is just one interview article of Nobu Koda, from 1931, marking the 50th anniversary of Koda's first music lesson.

In the interview, Koda said 'my teaching life in the Tokyo Music School was very ordinary' (Koda, 1931). Reading the article about the event in which Koda was forced to resign from the institute, the environment around her seems to have been very hostile. She never spoke about the role of the resignation in her life (Hagiya, 2003, p. 178). We can never know Koda's intention, or how she felt about being so-described. It is, however, possible that she felt that she needed to be 'masculine' to succeed as a musician. 'Man-like behaviour' is not only consciously chosen by the person, but also unconsciously, in order to be acknowledged or to pretend to be strong.

As Hagiya has written, when we look up Nobu Koda in dictionaries, there is always a phrase such as 'Nobu is a sister of Rohan Koda, a literary master' (2003, p. 33). Although she herself was very well-known during her lifetime, today she is introduced as a sibling of the famous author, even though she was the first Japanese not only to compose chamber music in the style of Western classical music, but also to perform national premieres of works such as the Chaconne by J.S. Bach in Japan (Hagiya, 2003, p. 161). Women have often been recognised only in relation to men.

In Japan, many of the music rooms in primary and junior high schools have the same set of composers' portraits on the walls (Zen-On Music Co., Ltd., n.d.). This set includes five Japanese composers such as Taki and Yamada, but the Koda sisters are not included, although Taki and Ya-

mada were both students of Nobu. In practice, this portrait set has 36 musicians but has never included any women. Thanks to this portrait set, which has been sold up from c. 1960 until now (NHK ENTERPRISES, INC., 2018), young Japanese students are still taught that these 36 men are the most important composers in Western classical music history in the 2020s. This creates a bias, causing female musicians to lose their chances to meet new audiences even after their deaths.

2 Marjorie Hayward - The Mystery

Hayward's Background

Marjorie Hayward (1885-1953) was a British violinist and a violin teacher (Ward, 1954). She studied in the Royal Academy of Music from 1896 to 1903,ⁱⁱ re-entered in 1906,ⁱⁱⁱ and worked there from 1924 to 1952.^{iv} She also studied in Prague from 1903 to 1906 with Ševčík (Ward, 1954). There are many recordings of her, both solo and chamber music, released under the label of 'His Master's Voice,' plus broadcasts by the BBC (Wenzel, 2008). As a chamber music player, she played in the English String Quartet, the Virtuoso Quartet, the Marjorie Hayward Quartet, the English Ensemble Piano Quartet and in the Kaman Trio (Ward, 1954).

There is currently very little historical record available on her. I do not have much information about her life; however, I would like to refer to the reviews of her performances as a comparison with Koda's.

Even though Hayward worked at the Academy for 30 years, there is no obvious information about her pupils. The only pupil whose name I have been able to find is Barbara Strudwick, and her name appeared in a newspaper in a report of a concert she played with Hayward's daughter, Marjorie Lempfert ("Music in Miniature," 1950). There is very few information on Strudwick herself, except that she played for the Bromley Symphony Orchestra (Bromley Symphony Orchestra, 2021) and the Sevenoaks Symphony Orchestra (Miles, 2020) until just before her death in around 2018.

Hayward's daughter Marjorie Lempfert was a violist. She was born in 1921 (Ancestry | Genealogy, Family Trees & Family History Records, 2019), when Hayward was turning 36 years old. Many concert reviews in the 1920s, as in other decades, are found in The Times's Archives and the British Newspaper Archives. Moreover, Hayward started teaching at the RAM two years after this. She never stopped her career because of marriage or pregnancy.

In the environment around Hayward, there were many musicians who were involved in the activities of the Society of Women Musicians (Wenzel, 2008). For example, the violist Rebecca Clarke and the cellist May Mukle, who both were composers as well and often played together with Hayward, attended the first meeting of the SWM (Fuller, n.d.). Her ex-teacher from the RAM Emilie Sauret appeared in one of the regular concerts by the SWM in 1912 (Concert programmes, n.d.). Hayward performed Ethel Smyth's concerto for violin, horn and orchestra in Smyth's portrait concert in Berlin with the hornist Aubrey Brain and Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by the composer herself ("DAME ETHEL SMYTH in BERLIN," 1928), who was a suffrage activist, and an honorary vice-president of SWM from 1922 (Fuller, n.d.).

In fact, Hayward herself also performed for the SWM. Her name is found in a review of an SWM concert in The Daily Telegraph ("Recital by Mrs Stansfield Prior and Marjorie Hayward for SWM," 1932), in which she played on 9 May 1932. It is unclear whether she was a member of the SWM, but there is a high possibility that she was a member because she appeared in the concerts of the society, in which normally its members performed.

Hayward's daughter Lempfert also appeared in a concert of the SWM. One record showed that she played for one concert as a member of the English String Quartet. It had the same name as the quartet that her mother led ("English String Quartet," 1927), but restarted with different members.^v The version of the quartet of which Lempfert was a mem-

ber continued at least until the 1980s (Discogs, n.d.-a).^{vi} The Independent reports that she died in 1992 at age 70 ("Obituary: Marjorie Lempfert," 1992).

Reviews of Marjorie Hayward

Using The Times's archive and the British Newspaper Archive, I have collected concert information and reviews of Marjorie Hayward.

Hayward's first concert appearance was in 1897 when she was twelve years old, one year after her entrance into the Royal Academy of Music. Here are two reviews by different newspapers about the concert that took place on 1 November 1897:

It can hardly be said of the chamber concert given in St. James's Hall yesterday afternoon by the students of this institution that cheerfulness was its prevailing characteristic. [...] Among the students who more or less distinguished themselves as performers were Miss Marjorie Hayward a very young lady with the making of a good violinist ("ROYAL ACADEMY of MUSIC," 1897, n.d.-a);

The students' concert on Monday last at St. James's Hall was an interesting one, and several new compositions by the pupils were well received. [...] Some very excellent solo performances were given, none better than the execution of a portion of Rode's violin - Concerto, in B flat, No. 6, by Miss Marjorie Hayward, whose tone was pure and execution admirable. The young performer has scarcely passed childhood, but has acquired great proficiency on the violin ("ROYAL ACADEMY of MUSIC," 1897, n.d.-b).

Both reviewers were surprised by her talent and applauded her performance. It was her second year at the Academy. Both seem to emphasise that she was 'a young lady,' but her music was evaluated highly.

The next interesting reviews are for a concert on 27 March 1899. Here there are also two reviews, and the characters of these contrast with each other. Here is the first:

The annual orchestral concert of the students of the Royal Academy of Music took place yesterday afternoon at Queen's Hall, under the direction Sir A. Mackenzie. There was, of course, large attendance, the students and their friends forming a considerable portion of the audience. In the year 1823, when the Academy had been in existence only one year, there were but twenty students. Now, and for several years past, the number has amounted to 500. [...]

In the first orchestra formed of Royal Academy students there was probably not one single young woman. Yesterday afternoon at least half the strings were in the hands of girls. Instruments of the grosser kind are still, as a rule, left to men. But one young lady has already forced her way into the department of the cello; and noticed another with an oboe in her mouth. The harp, with its heavenly arpeggios for accompanying the songs of angels, is at Queen's Hall, as everywhere else, in the possession of a lady. No lady has yet played a solo in public in the character of either an oboist or a cellist. But an admirable male cellist, Mr. Dezsö Kordy, played at yesterday's concert, in finished style, Servais's interesting and even beautiful 'Morceau de Concert.' Among the prize students exhibited at yesterday's show there was certainly not one who was entitled to more favourable mention than Mr. Dezsö Kordy. [...] But the instrumental soloist who received most attention was a pretty little fair-haired girl of twelve — a pupil of Sauret's, we are told—who played the violin with much charm, and, in bravura passages, with wonderful executive power. Miss Marjorie Hayward, the child in question, is not of the 'infant phenomenon' type. She does not kiss her hands the audience, or pout like a baby, or trip on the platform like an uncontrollable schoolgirl. She is a youthful artist whose talent is already mature, and who, if she continues as she has begun, must attain great results ("ROYAL ACADEMY of MUSIC," 1899).

First, this reviewer mentions that Hayward was a 'girl of twelve,' but she was born in August 1885, and given this concert was held in March

1899, she must have been thirteen years old. Second, let us see how the reviewer mentions her looks. Three specific names are recognisable in this review besides Hayward, but the reviewer did not introduce how the others looked. Another thing restricted to how the reviewer wrote about Hayward was referring to the name of her teacher before her own name. The names of other students' teachers are not there. As the review shows, despite his positive assessment of Hayward, the reviewer seems to have had a bias against women.

In contrast, the other review is very simple. Although we should take into account the word limit of the space for that newspaper article, it is notable that this review did not talk about her looks or age, but rather only her performance:

The orchestral concert of the Royal Academy students was given on Monday afternoon, under the direction of Sir A. C. Mackenzie, at Queen's Hall, commencing with the "In Memoriam" overture of Sir Arthur Sullivan, as a tribute to the vice-president, Sir Joseph William Chitty, and the late Lord Herschell. [...] The most successful solo of the concert was that of Miss Marjorie Hayward, who, in Wieniawski's Violin Concerto in D minor, proved herself a performer of first-rate ability. The graceful Romanza was given with expression and delicacy, and the sparkling Rondo performed with the utmost brilliancy. The talented young violinist had such an enthusiastic reception that Sir A. C. Mackenzie could hardly restrain the applause ("ROYAL ACADEMY ORCHESTRAL CONCERT," 1899).

This review was published in *The Era*, which had previously reported on her great performance, so her age may already have been known.

A review published several months later mentioned the increasing number of female musicians. This is the review of a concert that took place on 20 November 1899:

A concert was given yesterday afternoon at the St. James's Hall by the students of the Royal Acad-

emy of Music. [...] The number of lady violinists is daily increasing. In Miss Marjorie Hayward we welcome a valuable recruit to the already crowded ranks of ladies who wield the bow, and one who is likely to win considerable distinction in her profession. Miss Hayward chose the difficult "Concertstück," Op. 20, of Saint-Saëns, and played it with astonishing brilliancy of execution. She was loudly and deservedly applauded, but owing to the rule which forbids the recall of a performer was unable to reappear on the platform ("CONCERTS," 1899).

It seems a positive way of writing, but it still highlighted that she was a 'lady.' The phrase 'ladies who wield the bow' is a particularly amusing way of describing violinists.

After leaving the Academy, Hayward constantly appeared in many concerts both as a soloist and as a chamber musician, and positive reviews appeared for a few decades. Even when other players in the concert were criticised negatively, Hayward was always praised.

A particularly interesting point is that she performed for the 'portrait' concert of Ethel Smyth on 19 December 1928 in Berlin. It was a few years after Smyth became an honorary vice-president of the Society of Women Musicians, and two years after Smyth became a DBE.

Dame Ethel Smyth gave her jubilee concert at the Philharmonie Hall in Berlin this evening, and met with a demonstrative appreciation from a large audience.

The programme, consisting entirely of her works, opened with the overture to *The Boatswain's Mate*, played by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Herr Bruno Walter. Dame Ethel Smyth herself, wearing her doctor's gown of cream and red silk, conducted her Concerto for violin, horn, and orchestra, in which Miss Marjorie Hayward and Mr. Aubrey Brain played the solo parts ("DAME ETHEL SMYTH in BERLIN," 1928).

Currently I have been unable to locate any concert reviews or re-

cordings of Hayward from the 1930s, but Hayward's name is again seen in reviews from the 1940s. Interestingly, some articles also talk about her social activities. The first one was written in 1941, talking about a meeting of 'the Nottingham Business and Professional Women's Club.'

When members of the Nottingham Business and Professional Women's Club met for their second anniversary meeting at the County Hotel, Nottingham, yesterday, they heard provocative speech by Miss Marjorie Hayward, of London, entitled "Leaders or Laughing stocks."

Miss Hayward outlined a "Fifty years' plan for living," which aroused much discussion ("Nottingham Business Women Meet," 1941)

In a 1943 newspaper article, 'Miss Marjorie Hayward,' who was a vice-president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, is quoted:

"It is firm opinion that women have a duty in educating themselves in the problems and issues of the day to cultivate a study of economics, so that they may be able to find answers to the many difficulties which people will be confronted with after the war."

These were the words of Miss Marjorie Hayward, vice-president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, at a meeting of the Boston and District branch at the Peacock and Royal Hotel on Saturday. Her subject was, 'Do Look New.'

She went on to say that the clubs have quality in their membership, knowledge of all types of government, and the intention of seeking truth. All these things are the attributes required by women to enable them to take their part in the post-war reconstruction of the world.

There have been many changes in our methods of employment which the war has brought about. British Restaurants and day nurseries have taken the burden off many a woman's mind. Women from remote parts of the country have gone into the most up-to-date war factories.

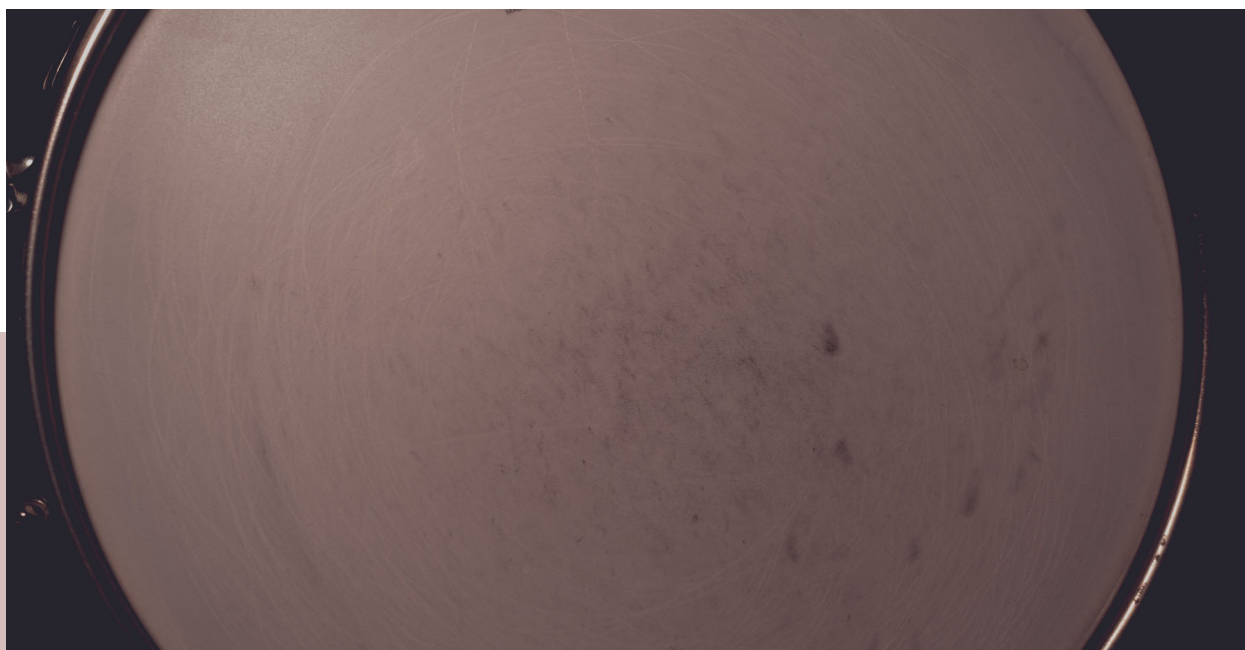


Foto: Tord F Paulsen

The only way to ensure decent reconstruction went on the speaker, was to ensure that there would be no unemployment after the war. There would be enough work in the world after the war for every man and woman.

[...] Miss Hayward was thanked by Mrs. W. Whaley. The Mayor seconded the proposal. ("POST-WAR WORK - Professional Women Meet at Boston," 1943)

There is still a small possibility that it was a different person, but when read alongside another article below, this suggests that it was the violinist. In the article on 'the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs' in 1953, a speaker called 'Marjorie Hayward' is recognisable, speaking about 'women artists.'

The fifth Congress of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, which was resumed at Central Hall, Westminster, yesterday, empowered their United Nations Committee to continue its work for the removal of discriminations which impede the contribution of women to the United Nations and relationships between nations.

In support of the continuation of the

Music and Fine Arts Committee, Miss Marjorie Hayward said there would not be many very good women artists until they were given confidence to develop their place in the community and some freedom from domestic responsibility to pursue their profession ("WOMEN SHOULD HELP U.N. - Rights Upheld at Congress," 1950).

It is not natural that one would become a vice-president suddenly, so it can be assumed that 'Miss Marjorie Hayward, of London' in the article in 1941 is she as well. Hence, she worked for the International Federation of Business and Professional Women in her later years.

Summary

Despite no obvious data which shows that Hayward was a member of SWM, it seems safe to assume that she cared about political and social issues.

When I looked at the student records of the Royal Academy of Music, I found that there were notes of the names of teachers for principal studies. Perhaps this record should be deciphered more, and now I am wondering if her name was also written in someone's record as a teacher.

It can be difficult to trace women in history because many women changed their family name on marriage. In the case of Hayward, even though she had been called 'Miss Marjorie Hayward' consistently until her death ("MISS MARJORIE HAYWARD," 1953), it was still difficult to find information about her.

Conceivably, she might have been unwilling to leave public information. Even her relationship with the Society of Women Musicians was not clear, unlike that of her colleagues Clarke and Mukle. Sometimes involvement in social activism can be used as an excuse for prejudice or even dismissal, because it is inconvenient for authority. Even in the 2020s, there are many difficulties in being a confident feminist.

Hayward, who married in 1916, gave birth in 1922, and became a staff member of the Royal Academy of Music in 1924. She could have felt the physical and psychological difficulties of committing to social activities, but it is also possible to think that she was simply not as interested in such activities when she was young, and came to consider social justice later. Much more research needs to be done on this fascinating figure.

“Here are two examples of the suppression towards marginalised people appearing by every possible means even though the location or the period is different”

3 Conclusion

Nobu Koda (1870 - 1946) and Marjorie Hayward (1885 - 1953) lived at a similar time, and both worked as educators at their alma maters. Reading the concert reviews of both while considering their social backgrounds, one finds many barriers for women at that time, which still exist, even though roughly a century has passed. While the historical background of the environments where Koda or Hayward was living were different, there is still a significance to comparing their situations. As a UK-based/Japan-raised female musician, I have felt that there is a tiny gap in comprehension for people in the UK when I share any frustrations of women. To know what is behind the dissonance, I have sought the reason in the histories in two countries, and investigated the reviews of Koda and Hayward to draw a parallel. Looking at these, some differences are easily to be recognised, but at the same time, I feel sympathy, empathy, and compassion to each.

In my opinion, the biggest difference is their stance around being musicians. As detailed above, Koda thought it was dishonest to play music for a commercial purpose and earn money by performance. Koda was from the family of an ex-retainer of the shogunate, which had its own economic system rather than that of Western capitalism, so 'labour' did not necessarily mean economic activities. Showing loyalty towards the soul was more important than making money. In addition, there appear not to be any recordings of

Koda; in contrast, Hayward performed in many concerts and was a keen recording artist and broadcaster as well.

The differences of the philosophies of musicians in Japan and the UK at the time of Koda and Hayward are also present today, for better and for worse. Each custom has its context; therefore, we must look at the historical background. In my hypothesis before researching Koda and Hayward, I thought that Japan might not imported the long history of gender bias belonging to Western classical music when it adopted the music. Because the Japanese government at that time allowed any people who were interested in learning Western classical music to do so rather than limiting the gender of participants, to improve the number of musicians in Japan, many female musicians appeared at the time of Koda. However, once the number of male musicians increased and there began to be a feeling of concern about competing for posts, discrimination against female musicians appeared. There was an opportunity in Japan to avoid sexism in this new music, but it was unfortunately missed. The misogyny that had existed in the past in Japan became entangled with the new culture, creating dual gender biases. In this article, I did not cover the aspects of hegemony, colonialism, orientalism, and religion (especially Christianity in music), but these could be explored in combination. This would need the perspective of intersectional feminism.

Being a female musician sometimes means facing unexpected reactions, including misogyny, lookism, and so on. It feels unlikely that the two musicians would not at least have noticed this gender bias. As a result, Koda gave up her academic career, and Hayward might have become involved in the activities of the Society of Women Musicians and the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. Both faced two world wars. Koda needed to diminish her teaching activities following the wartime anti-western policy of the government (otherwise she would have been arrested), while the social activities of Hayward can be seen from 1941 onwards. Living as musicians is always hard, but at least if Koda and Hayward had been male, they would have had to contend with less gender bias in their environment. And if they had been males, they would not have been forgotten as they are now. They would be widely remembered as great central figures of their times.

Throughout this research, I found that sharing the various case studies is more useful than comparing. Many readers might feel that the experiences of Koda and Hayward are not just about other people, but have echoes for themselves. Here are two examples of the suppression towards marginalised people appearing by every possible means even though the location or the period is different. After we learn many cases in history, we will find a further way to build better societies.

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