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EDITOR: Katharine Hogg

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EDITORIAL

Katharine Hogg

2014 marks a double jubilee in the history of IAML (UK & Ireland) as we celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the branch and the fiftieth volume of its journal, *Brio*. The branch was inaugurated in March 1953, only two years after the international body was formed, and its first constitution was adopted in October that year. Celebrations of the Diamond Jubilee have already begun during the annual study weekend in Leeds, which included a celebratory reception and a fascinating talk by Susi Woodhouse about key players in the establishment of the branch. The IAML (UK & Irl) website will list all the Jubilee events for the 'long anniversary year', which extends until 2014, as plans develop, so do make sure any celebrations in your libraries are included.

I have before me a copy of the first issue of *Brio*, published in Spring 1964, which ran to 24 pages and included contributions from Alec Hyatt King, C.D. Batty, Meredith Moon, Christel Wallbaum and O.W. Neighbour. While Moon's article on 'Coloured cards for music in the Bodleian', explaining the use of colours in the card catalogue, may seem of little interest other than historical to us, in essence the author was seeking to facilitate access for readers as we do today; although his description of the collection as 'from the greatest rarities to rock bottom ephemera' does perhaps underline the changed status of ephemera in many collections in the twenty-first century. Neighbour's description of 'Some American Music Libraries' was based on a six-week visit to various libraries in 1963, and neatly summarises major collections which still dominate the music library world in the USA. Perhaps most illuminating is the section by W.H. Stock, then the branch Secretary and Treasurer, entitled 'Notes & news', which describes visits to the Performing Rights Society (then, as now, in Berners Street), the BBC Gramophone Library, and Southwark Central Library. It mentions topical issues – problems of copyright, the need for specific training for music librarians, ways to serve a changing community – which will be familiar to us all, and underlines the remarkable vision and achievements of our predecessors in a pre-digital age.

The current issue includes articles focused on major centres of British musical life; Matthew Spring introduces music shops and the music trade in Georgian Bath, Susi Woodhouse describes some of the programme collections

at Cambridge University Library, and Katy Hamilton explores the role played by Hans Gál in establishing the Edinburgh Festival. In addition Richard Turbet unravels a puzzling question of misattribution in the works of William Hayes, and Chris Larner describes a performance/exhibition which you still have plenty of time to visit.

Alec Hyatt King's introduction to the first *Brio* in 1964 states that it aims to be 'lively, varied, informative and progressive - a household word wherever music librarians meet and work'. With this in mind I can only echo his final sentence: 'So let us have your active support, your ideas and constructive criticism, and BRIO cannot fail to live up to its name'.

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MUSIC SHOPS AND THE MUSIC TRADE IN GEORGIAN BATH

Matthew Spring

Introduction

On the first of April 2011 *Duck, Son and Pinker* closed its doors, selling the accumulated stock of music, instruments and accessories in the months that followed. With it the tradition of Bath's grand music shops ended, killed off by the internet and decreasing sales of traditional instruments and music. The business founded by William Duck in 1848 was the last and longest surviving remnant of a once crowded music business scene situated in Bath's Georgian centre, and in particular the area around Milsom Street, Bond Street, Pulteney Bridge and the Orange Grove just north of the Abbey. In the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, Duck's business alone extended across the whole of the north side of Pulteney Bridge. In the decades before William Duck started his business the situation was particularly vibrant with the businesses of the two Loders (Andrew and John David), John White, Matthew Patton and George Packer, to be joined by that of Charles Milsom, a business that closed only a few years before Duck, Son and Pinker. Indeed in 1830 Milsom Street alone, arguably one of the most prestigious shopping streets in Britain, had three music warehouses at nos.1, 28 and 46 (White, Patton, J. D. Loder). These shops, music warehouses, or music repositories blossomed in the early nineteenth century with the increasing popularity of domestic pianos, expensive instruments that needed a good deal of expert salesmanship, and space for storage, display, and trial.

The subject of Bath's music shops has been little studied, though they are touched upon in several articles by Trevor Fawcett, and in his book *Bath Commercialised*. Michael Kassler's *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (2011) is, despite its title, a very London-centric study, and an influential and long-lasting firm like Linterns has but one mention in the book.[1] The research for this article is largely based on newspaper advertisements and city directories, and not on any exhaustive trawl through the hundreds of advertisements, but rather by dipping in and sampling across periods.

[1] M. Kassler, ed., *The Music Trade in Georgian England* . Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, p. 139*;*
Trevor Fawcett, *Bath Commercialis'd: Shops, Trades and Market at the 18th-Century Spa.* Bath : Ruton, 2002.

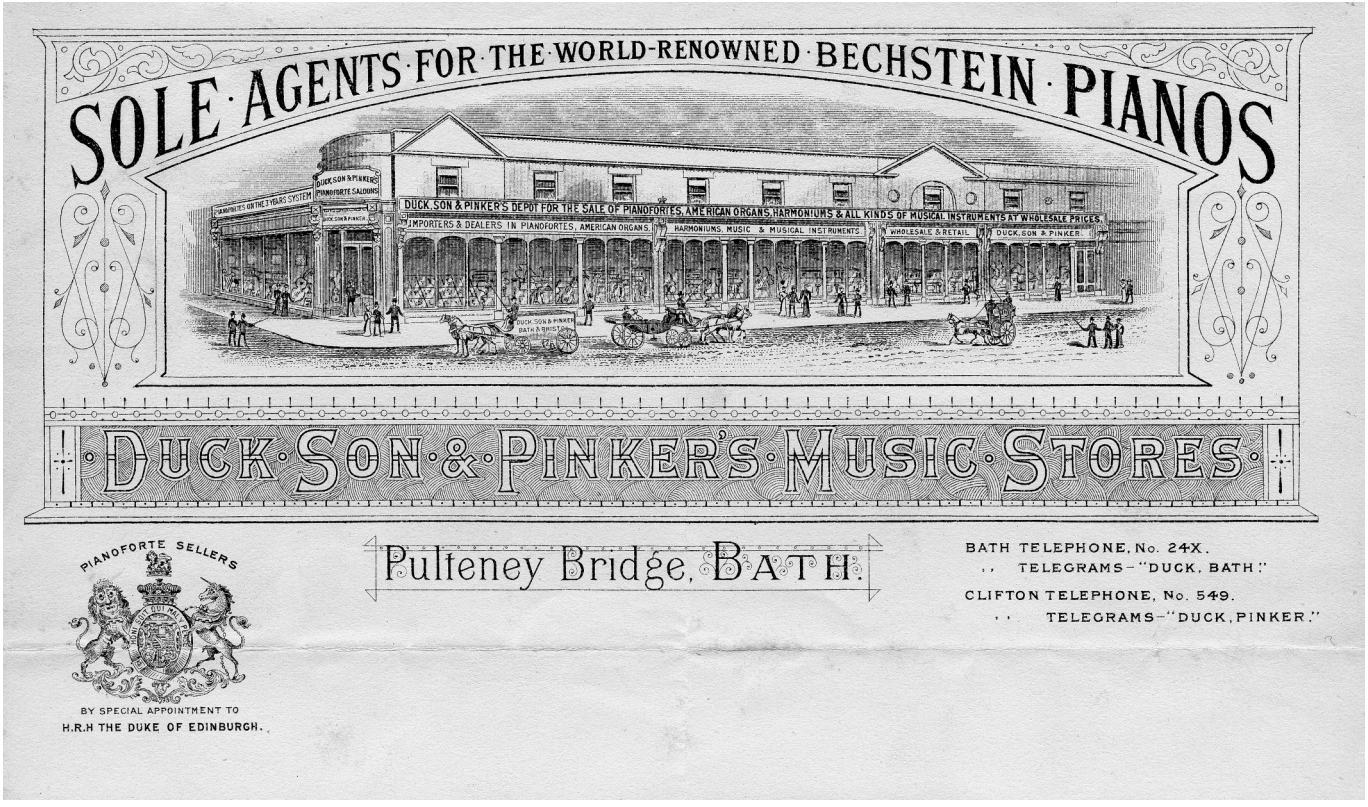


Fig. 1. Trade Card for Duck, Son and Pinker *c.1950.*

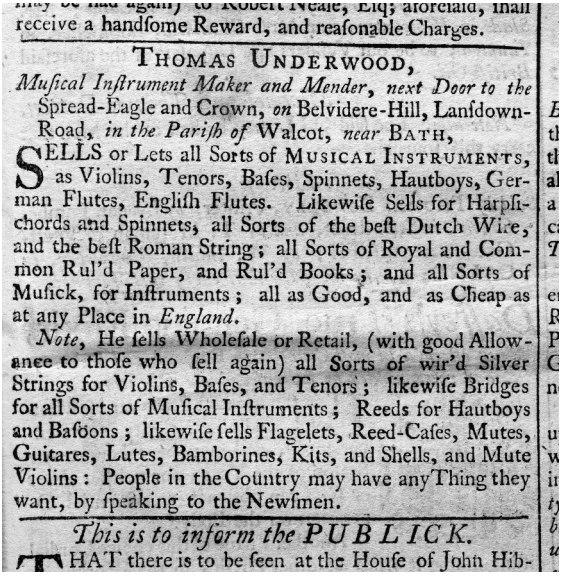
As part of Bath's developing luxury trade the music businesses were an important element in the commercial life of the city. Some were led by members of Bath's musical families (male and female), and might be one of a combination of music activities that supported an extended family (for example in the case of the Lintern, White and Loder families). The shops provided music spaces for the trial, hire, and sale of instruments and accessories. More than this, they sold large quantities of music, some provided circulating music libraries, were occasionally venues for demonstration and performance, and were places where teachers could be found, musical events advertised, and tickets purchased and collected. Certainly some music was published by Bath's music-business owners (Linterns and Loders), and some advertised themselves as musical instrument makers (Underwood, Milgrove, Lintern), though there is little evidence of actual instrument manufacture in Bath before the early nineteenth century, and such publishing and instrument-making as there was in Bath was dwarfed by the very considerable retail activity of the music businesses. Bath's music shops had developed during the eighteenth century, and from the 1750s the city maintained a number of musical businesses at any one time. Though there were a good number of shops in Bath that dealt in instruments, accessories and music, there was normally one principal music-business specialist in the town until after 1800. This situation altered in the early nineteenth century when the music warehouse and circulating library of James (d.1817) and Walter Lintern declined, giving way in the period after 1810 to the businesses of Andrew Loder, John David Loder, John White, Matthew Patton and George Parker; and after 1840 of William Duck and Charles Milsom.

The tracking of music businesses in Bath becomes possible with the onset of newspapers in the 1740s, and from them it is clear that the earliest established maker/business owner who advertised regularly was Thomas Underwood. Before this date Claver Morris (1659-1726/7) made regular purchases of music from a Mr Hammond on his frequent visits to Bath from as early as 1711 (Claver Morris unpublished accounts), and we know that individual musicians, like Thomas Chilcot and Thomas Orpin, sold and hired out music from their homes. Underwood's business was followed by that of Benjamin Milgrove in 1762, who diversified into a toyshop ownership in 1778, giving way to James Lintern, whose firm remained in business until 1819. While there were a number of other music business owners (Tylee, Whitehead, Matthews, Ashley, etc.), the regularity of advertisements and the range of activities outlined in them shows that Underwood, Milgrove and Lintern clearly outstripped their competitors, each in their time.

Thomas Underwood and Benjamin Milgrove

The first important music business in Bath that can be followed from newspaper advertisements was that of Thomas Underwood, who first advertised

on 3 February 1746 that he was then operating from 'next Door to the Spread-Eagle and Crown, on Belvedere-Hill, Landsdown-Road, in the Parish of Walcott, near Bath'.[2] He had first served an apprenticeship as an instrument maker but had diversified into music retail.[3] His long advertisement in the *Bath Journal* for 27 October 1746 shows that he had moved down into the city centre, and lists the great variety of instruments, music and music services he offered. He ends by announcing that, 'All the above Articles will be sold, Wholesale or Retail, as good and as cheap as in London; where Country Shops, and others may be supplied with every Article they want in the Musical Way. Instruments mended and neatly strung and brid'gd in the neatest Manner, may be supplied'. By way of further diversification, in the same advertisement Underwood also retails, 'Catchup, Mushrooms and all Sorts of Pickles'.[4]



receive a handſome Reward, and reaſonable Charges.

THOMAS UNDERWOOD,

Muſical Inſtrument Maker and Mender, next Door to the Spread-Eagle and Crown, *on* Belvidere-Hill, Lanſdown-Road, *in the Pariſh of* Walcot, *near* BATH,

SELLS or Lets all Sorts of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, as Violins, Tenors, Baſes, Spinnets, Hautboys, German Flutes, Engliſh Flutes. Likewiſe Sells for Harpſichords and Spinnets, all Sorts of the beſt Dutch Wire, and the beſt Roman String; all Sorts of Royal and Common Rul'd Paper, and Rul'd Books; and all Sorts of Muſick, for Inſtruments; all as Good, and as Cheap as at any Place in *England*.

Note, He ſells Wholeſale or Retail, (with good Allowance to thoſe who ſell again) all Sorts of wir'd Silver Strings for Violins, Baſes, and Tenors; likewiſe Bridges for all Sorts of Muſical Inſtruments; Reeds for Hautboys and Baſoons; likewiſe ſells Flagelets, Reed-Caſes, Mutes, Guitares, Lutes, Bamborines, Kits, and Shells, and Mute Violins: People in the Country may have any Thing they want, by ſpeaking to the Newſmen.

This is to inform the PUBLICK.

THAT there is to be ſeen at the Houſe of John Hib-

Fig. 2: Advertisement for Thomas Underwood, Bath Journal, 03/02/1746, no.103, p. 3 a.

[2] *Bath Journal* 03/02/1746, no.103, p. 3 a.

[3] See Kenneth Edward James, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath', PhD dissertation, 2 vols., (University of London, 1987), i, p. 336. There were instrument-makers in eighteenth-century Bath (see James, p. 384), among them: John Holland, organ builder; John Morris, violin-maker; Benjamin Milgrove, brass instrument maker; Edward Boehman, pianoforte maker; and John Simcock, who devised and made the Bell Harp, an instrument both plucked and swung while played to give a pulsating sound.

[4] *Bath Journal*, 27/10/1746, no. 141, p. 2 a; and 03/11/1746, no.142, p. 2 b.

Though titling himself 'instrument-maker' in large letters in most of his advertisements, it is clear that retail sales, hiring out instruments, mending, music and accessories were Underwood's real trade concerns. In part this may suggest that the social standing of a shopkeeper was less than that of a skilled artisan, hence the desire to be more an instrument maker than a music seller. As the attractions of Bath's season gathered pace after 1760, increasing numbers of visitors needed instruments to hire while in Bath, particularly if a family member played a harpsichord or piano which was not easily transportable. Maintaining and supplying such instruments for the company may have been the key activity that allowed the development of so much commercial music activity in Bath. Underwood took on a number of apprentices in the 1740s and 50s including Thomas Atwood in March 1749 and Benjamin Milgrove in 1755.[5] Occasionally Underwood also seems to have promoted concerts, as the *Bath Chronicle* for 31 December 1761 advertised that

> 'In a parlour at Mr Underwood's, adjoining to his Music-Shop, in Stall-Street, Mr Cartwright, Jun. Will perform every Day (Sundays excepted) on the Musical Glasses, between the hours of Twelve and Three, and from Six to Eight in the Evening. Admittance 2s 6d, N.B. There will be a Fire constantly in the Room, to render it commodious for Gentlemen and Ladies.'

Underwood quitted business in 1762 but opened a new shop in Pump Room Passage and another in between Church Yard and Cheap Street by 1770,[6] though it seems this later venture did not last long.

While there is no evidence that Underwood was an active musician in Bath, the same is not true of his apprentice and successor Benjamin Milgrove (1731-1808). The *Bath Enrolment of Apprentices* notes that he was articled for the usual seven years as an apprentice instrument maker to Underwood.[7] Milgrove took over Underwood's business 'At the sign of the Bass Viol, in Cock Lane' with John Brooks in September 1762, a few months after completing his apprenticeship, Underwood 'having quitted business in their favour'.[8] Brooks was an important cellist in Bath, a leading freemason and father of the violinist James Brooks. The business was quickly moved to a new music shop in Stall Street from where Milgrove's *Forty Lessons for the Guittar* (1762) was first advertised for sale on 16 December 1762 in the *Bath Chronicle* as 'This Day is Publish'd' and priced at 40 shillings.

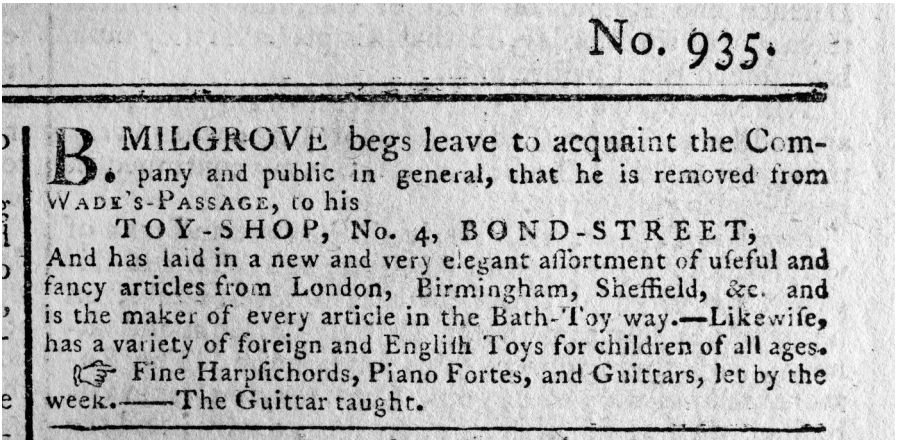
[5] James, op.cit., i, p. 340; 'Bath Freeman's Apprentice Register', p. 75.
[6] *Bath Chronicle*, 21/01/1770, no. 211, p. 2 d.
[7] James, op.cit., i, p. 340; 'Bath Freeman's Apprentice Register', p. 75.
[8] *Bath Chronicle,* 30/09/1762, no. 105 p.2 b; James, op.cit., p. 824.

Milgrove's music shop led to expansion into other areas of commercial enterprise. Like many Bath music businesses he moved his premises several times, from Stall Street to Abbey Green by 1766, and then to Wade's Passage from 1768.[9] By May 1774 Brooks's name had been dropped from the business, and Milgrove had acquired the toyshop next door. This acquisition was a major departure and crucial to his future business development. As a member of Bath's pump and assembly rooms band Milgrove was sufficiently known and approved of by Captain William Wade, then Master of Ceremonies, that Wade gave Milgrove sole selling rights to his *The Dancer's Guide* (Bath, 1774). In 1778 Milgrove moved his business a fifth and final time to the newly built and prestigious no. 4 Bond Street (now Old Bond Street), styling it now a 'Toyshop'.

Eighteenth-century toyshops, and especially those in fashionable Bath, were the precursors of twentieth-century department stores. They sold not just toys but fancy goods of all description; anything that was complicated and intricate. Toyshops relied on the manufacturing expertise in working metals of the newly industrialised cities; Birmingham, Sheffield and Bradford. In Bath such shops typically sold a mixture of ornamental and semi-useful items for the visiting luxury market. William Rodgers of Bond Street had a handbill that advertised 'buckles, sleeve buttons, watch chains and trinkets, pocket-books and letter cases, purses, smelling bottles, toothpick cases, combs, patch boxes, steel thimbles, knives and scissors, spectackles, enamelled candlesticks and Pontypool ware tea kettles',[10] articles that would make acceptable presents or souvenirs of a stay in Bath. The commercial development of Bath from the area around the Abbey and the Terraced Walk up Milsom Street was predicated on the success of Bath's luxury trade, led by the toyshops. Leaders among them were the partnership of William Glover and J. L. Newman, which moved under Glover alone into no. 40 Milsom Street, presenting 'one of the finest displays of manufacture in the whole of England'. Much of the characteristic toyshop range was on display, but eclipsing all that the musical instruments.[11]

Milgrove continued to purvey music, instruments and all necessary accessories from his toyshop. That he maintained his musical business from within his toyshop is shown by his advertisement on 17 September 1778:

[9] Bath Guildhall, City Archives, *Rate book* nos. 1-6.
[10] Trevor Fawcett, 'Eighteenth-century shops', *Bath History* vol. 3 (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), p. 68.
[11] *Ibid*., p. 72.



No. 935.

B. MILGROVE begs leave to acquaint the Company and public in general, that he is removed from WADE'S-PASSAGE, to his

TOY-SHOP, No. 4, BOND-STREET,

And has laid in a new and very elegant aſſortment of uſeful and fancy articles from London, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. and is the maker of every article in the Bath-Toy way.—Likewiſe, has a variety of foreign and Engliſh Toys for children of all ages.

☞ Fine Harpſichords, Piano Fortes, and Guittars, let by the week.——The Guittar taught.

Fig. 3 Bath Chronicle, 17/09/1778, no. 935, p. 1 d.

> 'B. Milgrove begs leave to acquaint the Company and public in general, that he is removed from Wade's Passage to his TOY-SHOP no. 4 Bond Street. And has laid in a new and very elegant assortment of useful and fancy articles from London, Birmingham, Sheffield, etc. and is the maker of every article in the Bath Toy way. Likewise, he has a variety of foreign and English Toys for children of all ages. Fine Harpsichords, Piano Fortes, and Guittars, let by the week. The Guittar taught.'

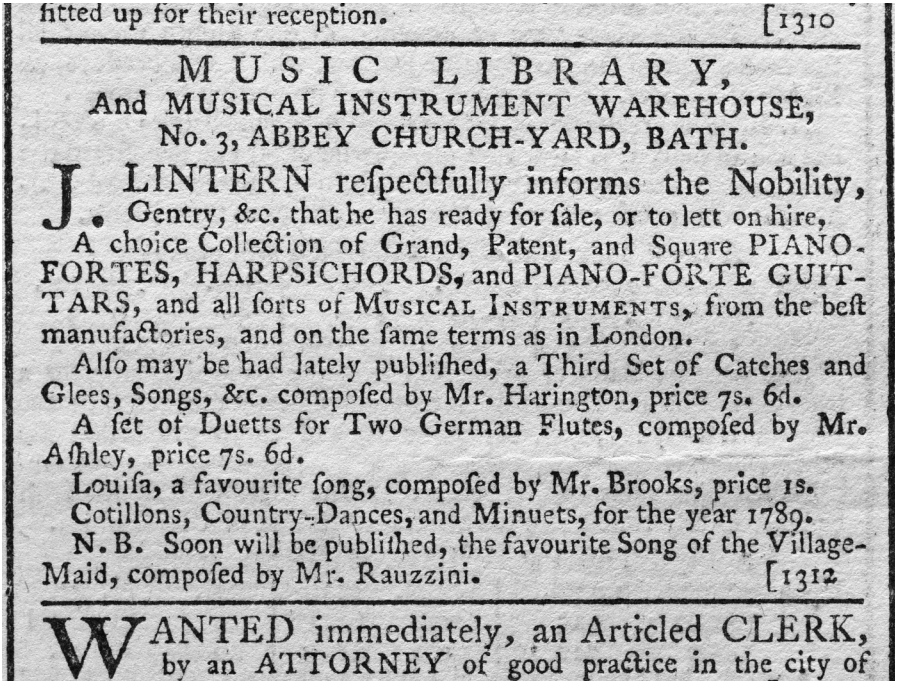
The nexus of Bond Street and Milsom Street was the heart of this luxury trade; this is where Jane Austen's characters came to window shop, and among them they would have passed and seen Milgrove's shop window. Styled 'Toy man' in the *Bath Directory* for 1800,[12] he maintained his business for the rest of his life and was financially successful. He is always listed among the prominent members of Bath's business community, could afford to pay £42 per annum for his apartment in Bond Street, to send his daughter to Paris to improve her French, and to help her to open a French School in Bath.[13] The Rate Book for 1805 gives his business as 'Milgrove and Fanning', suggesting that in his last years he had again gone into partnership.[14]

James and Walter Lintern and other music-business owners in late eighteenth-century Bath

Of all music businesses of Georgian Bath none was longer lived and more diversified than that of James and later Walter Lintern. It is interesting to observe that as Milgrove re-launched himself as a toyshop owner, Lintern's

[12] *Robbins's Bath Directory* (Bath, 1800), p. 77.
[13] James, 'Concert Life', ii, p. 825; *Bath Chronicle*, 01/07/90 and Bath Directories after 1800.
[14] Rate Book for 1805.

business began to emerge. Linterns were operating in Church Street by 1783[15] and the shop stayed in the area around the Abbey for most of forty years, first at no. 3 Abbey Church Yard, but gravitating to the Orange Grove between 1805 and 1809, according to Bath directories. Normally listed as a 'music seller' with a 'music warehouse', Lintern was also variously described as 'musical-instrument maker' and music library owner. Linterns were sellers and agents for the London music publishers Cahusac and Sons, but also published a certain amount of music themselves, such as the '*Ten Country Dances, and four Cotillions . . . for 1797'*, printed for and sold at J. & W. Lintern's Music Warehouse, Bath.' Many of Lintern's advertisements emphasised the sale and hire of keyboard instruments, for instance: 'James Lintern, music library & instrument warehouse, 3 Abbey Church Yard, Bath. Sells (or hires out) patent pianofortes, pianoforte guitars, harpsichords, French pedal harps, guitars, flutes etc. Also 2nd hand harpsichords & pianofortes.'[16]



fitted up for their reception. [1310

MUSIC LIBRARY,
And MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WAREHOUSE,
No. 3, ABBEY CHURCH-YARD, BATH.

J. LINTERN reſpectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, &c. that he has ready for ſale, or to lett on hire,

A choice Collection of Grand, Patent, and Square PIANO-FORTES, HARPSICHORDS, and PIANO-FORTE GUITTARS, and all ſorts of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, from the beſt manufactories, and on the ſame terms as in London.

Alſo may be had lately publiſhed, a Third Set of Catches and Glees, Songs, &c. compoſed by Mr. Harington, price 7s. 6d.

A ſet of Duetts for Two German Flutes, compoſed by Mr. Aſhley, price 7s. 6d.

Louiſa, a favourite ſong, compoſed by Mr. Brooks, price 1s.

Cotillons, Country-Dances, and Minuets, for the year 1789.

N. B. Soon will be publiſhed, the favourite Song of the Village-Maid, compoſed by Mr. Rauzzini. [1312

WANTED immediately, an Articled CLERK, by an ATTORNEY of good practice in the city of

Figure 4: Advertisement for J. Lintern in Bath Chronicle, 16/10/1788, no. 1519, p. 3 b.

[15] *Bath Chronicle,* 01/05/1783, no.678, p. 3 b.
[16] *Bath Chronicle,* 26/11/1789, no.1678, p. 2 c.

Linterns evidently kept a large stock of music, as the *Bath Chronicle* advertisement of 13 November 1785 announced that they have 'a collection of some Thousands of New and Old songs' at half price. Remarkably in 1789 'near a thousand of the most favourite songs' were stolen from the shop counter. Linterns acted as agents for teachers and performers and were an ad hoc performance venue from time to time, for example: 'Mr Boynton, organist, teaches pianoforte & harpsichord, & can be heard at Lintern's music shop, Abbey Church Yard.'[17] Described as 'Messrs Lintern' after 1791 when Walter joined James in the business, there may have been more members of the family involved. The firm sold not only music and instruments, but like Milgrove sold tickets for concerts, and continually advertised in the newspapers. Indeed the most frequent recurring newspaper references to Linterns in the decades before and after 1800 are as agents for the ticketing of musical events. Like many of the music businesses Linterns undertook a good degree of non-musical diversification as they also sold pictures and miniatures by Mr Ogier, writing pens in gold and silver by Daniel Fellow, and art works of various sorts. The Linterns business survived until around 1819 when George Packer took over, advertising the transfer in the *Bath Directory* of that year.

Underwood, Milgrove and Lintern found a degree of lasting success (James Lintern did go bankrupt in 1781, but seems to have recovered), but the list of firms that were short-lived or did not share the same degree of success is longer. Among those that failed were Joseph Tylee, friend and successor to Chilcot as Abbey organist, who opened a shop near the Pump Rooms in 1770 and ran a music business for much of the 1770s. Another Bath musician who ran a music retail business was Thomas Whitehead, who operated a business between 1783 and his death in 1793. He moved his business several times but was forced to sell up in 1786, letting much of his stock go at very low prices. In 1789 James Matthews started a 'Music Warehouse' in Market Street that sold instruments, music and a full range of accessories.[18] Matthews was a comic singer who had inherited a butchery business from his widowed mother. He advertised concerts held in his 'New Music Warehouse in Market Street. Corner of Cheap Street and Market Place', from where he sold instruments, music and a full range of accessories. He moved to Milsom Street and then to new premises in George Street and had a music library where the company could hire out music. The Ashley family were a long-established Bath family that diversified into a music business for a period in the 1790s and continued in business until after 1812. Charles Marshall had a well-known circulating library that operated from Milsom Street, which also hired out music, but went bankrupt in 1799.[19] Unlike James Matthews

[17] *Bath Chronicle,* 30/10/1788, no.1591, p. 3 b.
[18] James, op.cit., ii, p. 808; *Bath Journal*, 07/12/89, no. 2396, p. 4 b.
[19] James, op.cit., i, p. 384.

and Henry Dixon Tylee (son of Joseph Tylee), who both ran music circulating libraries, Marshall was not known to be actively involved with the music-making of Bath.

Nineteenth-century Bath Music Shops

In the first decade after 1800 Linterns remained in a dominant position, with a frequency of advertisements far outstripping those of Ashley and Matthews, both of whom ceased trading around 1812. Yet by the 1820s the market had become unusually crowded with a number of new firms entering the fray. Among these newcomers undoubtedly the most important to emerge in the early nineteenth century were those of John White and the several businesses belonging to members of the Loder family. Such was the influence of Loders in particular that the 1833 *Bath Directory* lists eight members of the family active as professionals in Bath (professors of music or music sellers), two of them female, plus a Miss J. F. Loder as a 'professor of dancing'.

The various Bath branches of the Loder family were descended from two brothers, John (1757-95) and Andrew (1752-1806), west-country musicians and actors who came to Bath via London by 1780, and were much involved with the Bath and Bristol theatres. Andrew later became organist of the Octagon Chapel, played a number of instruments and published church music. John Loder's career as a Bath musician seems to have been more worthy than glittering, often playing the 'tenor' (viola) in the Concert and Pump room bands. On John's death in 1795, his son John David was projected into Bath's musical life at the tender age of eight in a benefit concert for his widowed mother, drawing his uncle David Richards to Bath to undertake his instruction and to support his mother. John David Loder (1788-1846) had perhaps the most illustrious pedigree of all nineteenth-century Bath musicians; his mother a Richards, and his grandmother a Cantelo. The newspaper notice for 5 November 1795 reads

> 'Benefit concert for the widow & 7 young children of late John Loder, musician. - postponed from 4th Nov to Wed 11 Nov at New Assembly Rooms on Wed 11 Nov. Violin concertos played by Mr Richards & by Master J. Loder aged 8; Mrs Miles playing concerto on piano; Symphony by Haydn; songs, etc. Tickets 5s from Mrs Loder, 5 Orchard St, Bath.'[20]

John David Loder did indeed become a most accomplished musician, a Professor at the Royal Academy of Music and one of the leading violinists and orchestral leaders of his day. His violin tutor, based on the innovations of Paganini, was widely used in the nineteenth century. Yet he also maintained one of the most successful Bath music businesses. *Gye's Bath*

[20] *Bath Chronicle*, 05/11/1795, no. 2120, p. 3 e.

Directory for 1819 listed Loder, J. D. as 'music warehouse and director of the musical department at the Theatre Royal, 46, Milsom St'. Fourteen years later the shop is described in *Silverthorne's Bath Directory* of 1833, as 'Music Warehouse and Subscription Musical Library, 42 Milsom Street'. The Loders were certainly the leading family of musicians in Bath by 1810. John David's son Edward James Loder went on to become a leading composer of English opera in the mid-nineteenth century. The Loders published music and the Directories show that the business employed a good number of the numerous family.

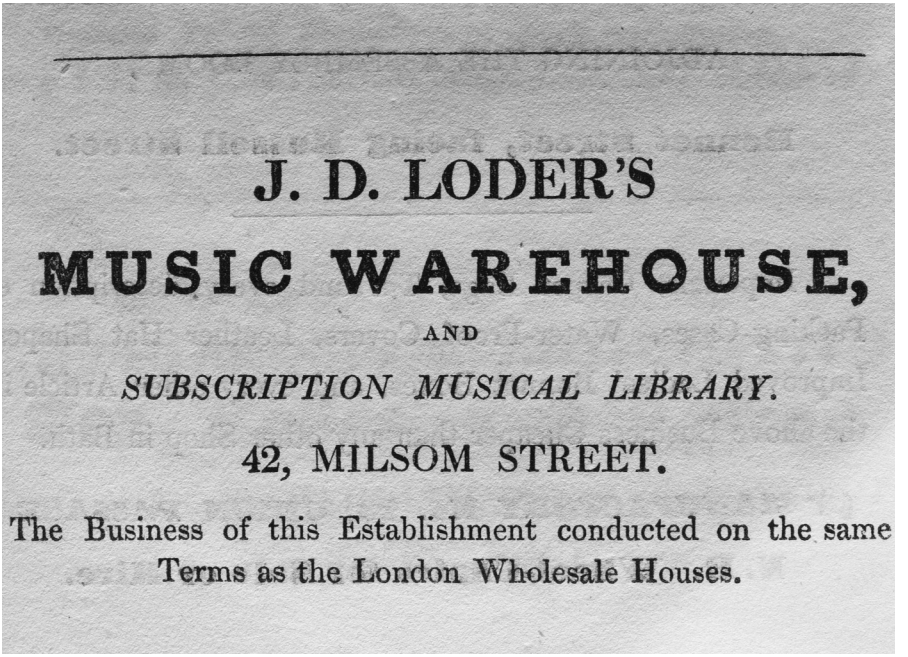


Fig 5. Advertisement for John David Loder's Music Shop at 42 Milsom Street, Bath Directory 1833, p. 138.

Of the other branch of the family Andrew Loder's son, also confusingly called Andrew (1785-1838) was a musician, professor of music and singing, and organist in Bath at the Octagon Chapel like his father. He maintained a business in the Orange Grove 1820-26 but went bankrupt (like his father – though his father's business was in spirits) in 1827, and moved to Ashbourne in Derbyshire where he was an organist until his death. The younger Andrew Loder was also active as a goldsmith (1809 *Bath Directory*), published music and particularly books of dance music with instructions for the steps, but evidently his business acumen did not match that of his cousin John David.

Fig. 6. Andrew Loder's Music Warehouse, No. 4 Orange Grove c.1825. Bath in Time –Bath Central Library Collection (16717).

Another son of the first John Loder was George Loder (*c*1794-1829), a flautist and pianist. By his first marriage he was the father of another George Loder (1816-68), who was active in both the USA, where he conducted the first performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in that country, and in Australia, where he died. By his second marriage George Loder senior was father of the eminent pianist Kate Loder (1825-1904). *Keene's Bath Directory* of 1826 lists Mrs George Loder as having a business selling music and instruments at the address of 1 Pulteney Bridge, and her prospectus for an ambitious music academy at her Pulteney Street shop was printed in the 1833 *Bath Directory*. It seems clear from the advertisements for the early nineteenth-century shops in Milsom Street and Pulteney Bridge that the sale of pianos remained central to the music business in a way that had not been the case in the eighteenth century, when the businesses were less focused on one instrument.

John White's shop in 3 George Street (1805) clearly prospered. He had previously been listed as a musician (1800), and in 1819 his son, John White junior, is listed as a composer, and a Miss White as a piano teacher. By 1830 John White's firm had moved to the prestigious address of no.1 Milsom Street, and in 1833 he was in business with G. H. White and the business was described as a 'music and piano warehouse'. The firm continued this success into the Victorian era.

Conclusion

Bath had many spheres of musical activity taking place in a variety of venues; assembly rooms, pump rooms, gardens and walks, private homes, abbey, churches and chapels among them. Yet the music shops provided a vital entrée to these other spheres and were spaces for the amateur, would-be pupil, listener or participant. Here instruments could be serviced, hired and purchased, teachers could be found, music bought or hired, and tickets purchased in advance. In this way the shops certainly facilitated many of the other activities. For the resident musical families setting up a business was one way of widening a portfolio of activities to offset the decline in performance revenue that was inevitable with increasing age. The hundreds of newspaper and directory advertisements often give us precise and detailed information on the costs involved in the practice of music at both a professional and amateur level. Clearly a good number of the businesses failed but the general impression is that over time they prospered and reached a zenith in the nineteenth century with the great boom in piano sales.

Abstract
This article reviews the history of the music trade in Bath in the Georgian period, and in particular the businesses of Thomas Underwood, Benjamin Milgrove and Andrew and John David Loder. Most music shop owners were also active as musicians and the shops were vital as places for the introduction and circulation of music and instruments, the finding of teachers, and the purchase of tickets for forthcoming musical events. Music shops even served as ad hoc venues for performance.

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Brio Volume 50, Number 1. pp 17-21

FROM BYRD TO BING AND BRIDGE

Richard Turbet

The unattributed appearance of Byrd's *Emendemus in melius* contrafacted as "Lord, how long wilt thou be angry" in *Cathedral music in score composed by Dr. William Hayes* (Oxford: 1795), compiled, edited and published by Hayes' son Philip, has the appearance of a brazen plagiarism.[1] This seems all the more surprising, given that Byrd's music was at its nadir by the end of the eighteenth century, with knowledge, understanding and performances of his corpus all at their lowest ebb.[2] The present article identifies the source in which William Hayes (1708-77) is likely to have found *Emendemus*. Furthermore, it has proved possible to expand the provenance of another significant source to which Hayes had access. The article goes on to consider why so reputable a musician as Hayes, organist and Informator Choristarum of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1734 and Professor of Music at the university from 1741 until his death, should seemingly bother to pass off as his own a work by a neglected "antient" composer such as Byrd. In conclusion the article provides details as to how the misattribution was recognised and corrected about a century later.

Despite the lack of attention paid to it throughout the eighteenth century, Hayes had access to plenty of Byrd's music and, assuming that he chose to

[1] Turbet, Richard. "The fall and rise of William Byrd, 1623-1901", in *Sundry sorts of music books: essays on the British Library collections, presented to O.W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*, edited by Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner. London: British Library, 1993, pp. 119-28, especially p. 121. Heighes, Simon. *The lives and works of William and Philip Hayes*. Outstanding dissertations in music from British universities. New York: Garland, 1995, p. 328, item (W)1:022. Byrd's motet was originally published in Tallis, Thomas and Byrd, William. *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur*. London: Vautrollier, 1575, no. 4 (and the first by Byrd).

[2] Turbet, Richard. "Three glimpses of Byrd's music during its nadir". *The consort* 65 (2009), pp. 18-28. Despite the prevailing indifference to the music of Byrd and his contemporaries, there were some musicians of an antiquarian bent during the period in question who transcribed this material. At least five such manuscript sources for Byrd's *Emendemus* are listed in *Latin sources in British sources c 1485-c 1610*, compiled by May Hofman and John Morehen: *Early English church music*, suppl. vol. 2. London: Stainer and Bell, 1987, p. 19, items 704-9, 785, 806, 891 and 928; to these should be added 926. Unlike the printed sources, the post-Restoration manuscript sources for Byrd's choral music have not yet received specific or comprehensive attention, merely passing references amongst more general coverage. Samantha Bassler is researching music by Byrd in the collection of the Madrigal Society, which contains several transcriptions of his music from this period; see for instance her paper "London's Madrigal Society and the reception of William Byrd's sacred music" delivered at the Open University Music Postgraduate Research Day, 13 October 2010, Milton Keynes.

consult it, could have been acquainted with at least half of Byrd's entire choral output. According to the catalogue, attributed to George Smart (1750/51?-1818?), of the musical library "collected . . . by the late W. and P. Hayes" (1738-97), deposited at Smart's Music Warehouse in London,[3] of 544 numbered lots, five contained eight prints, or scores of prints, of Byrd's music. These are as follows:

> In the section headed "Handel's Operas", lot 137 consists of "Bird's Psalms and Sonnets, in score, well written, 1588 – Ditto Songs, in 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts, ditto, ditto, 1589 – Ditto Cantiones Sacra, ditto, ditto, 1589 – N. B. A scarce and curious Lot." Priced at £1 11s. 6d. A manuscript note beneath lot 137, in the same hand as one on page three written by George T. Smart, later Sir George (1776-1867), son of George, states "One of the most curious I have ever seen", picking up the wording of the printed description.
>
> In the section headed "Sacred Music", the second item of lot 166 consists of "ditto [i.e. Anthems] Tallis, Farrant, Gibbons, Bird, &c.", the whole lot priced at 10s. 6d. Lot 168, "Anthems, in 8 Parts, from the Collection of the late Mr. Gosling – N. B. A complete Set of Books, Decani and Cantoris, containing very scarce Music by . . . Bird [et al], &c &c *very curious*" and priced at two guineas, is recogniseable as the Bing-Gostling partbooks.[4] The significance of this is explained below.
>
> In the section headed "Italian Music, MS. And Printed", in lot 372, the first two of four items are "Tallis and Byrd's ditto [i.e. Cantiones] – Byrd's ditto … *very scarce and curious*", the whole lot priced at fifteen shillings. And in lot 374, the final item of three is "Cantiones Sacra, Tallis and Byrd," the whole lot priced at five shillings.

In the context of the present investigation, the last two lots stand out as revealing that Hayes father and son owned two copies of the *Cantiones sacrae* published jointly by Tallis and Byrd in 1575, the source for *Emendemus in melius* and therefore in all likelihood for William Hayes' contrafactum "Lord, how long". Since Smart, or his cataloguer, seems to be punctilious about

[3] Smart, George [attrib.]. *A catalogue of the very curious and valuable musical library of antient and modern compositions, by the most eminent masters, from the sixteenth century to the present time … collected through a series of years, with infinite care and judgment, by the late W. and P. Hayes* . . . London: Smart's Music Warehouse, [wm. 1797], facsim. repr. Eighteenth Century Collections Online print editions. New York: Gale, 2010. The facsimile is a reprint of a copy of the original in the British Library, shelfmark C.61.h.1(11), which notes prices but does not record the names of purchasers.

[4] Shaw, Watkins. *A study of the Bing-Gostling part books in the Library of York Minster, together with a systematic catalogue*. Croydon: Royal School of Church Music, 1986. Works by Byrd are listed on page 92; all are for use in the Anglican Church.

noting manuscript copies, it can reasonably be assumed that the Hayes owned copies of the 1575 print, from one of which William copied out the musical text of Byrd's motet and for which he provided a new verbal text in English.

It is perhaps worth briefly digressing to observe that Hayes reproduced Byrd's musical text accurately. There are seven cosmetic alterations, which all look deliberate; these seven consist of three pairs of revisions and a singleton, adding up to only four substantive types of changes, all occurring at cadences: two naturalisings, two bass notes lowered by an octave, two instances of pauses replacing rests, and one note actually but understandably altered. Otherwise some notes are merely halved and repeated, or more rarely lengthened, to accommodate an English text which is not a translation of the original Latin.

Returning to the lots which contain material by Byrd in the Hayes' musical library, attention has been drawn to lot 168, now known as the Bing-Gostling partbooks. According to Watkins Shaw, they were sold on 26-27 May 1777 and were in York Minster Library by 1850, but until now it has not been known what had happened to them in the meantime.[5] In view of their appearance in Smart's catalogue of the Hayes' collection, it would seem that they were purchased in May 1777, probably by Philip since his father, who died shortly afterwards on 27 July 1777, had been incapacitated by a stroke three years earlier, and were made available for purchase by George Smart at his Music Warehouse after the death of Philip on 19 March 1797. Shaw was unable to establish whether York Minster purchased the manuscript from Smart in 1797/8, or from another source before 1850. In any event, a gap in the provenance of this significant manuscript would seem to have been filled.

Was Hayes' contrafactum a blatant plagiarism, as I proposed in 1993, or is there a more charitable explanation? Two years later, in his study of the lives and works of both William and Philip Hayes, Simon Heighes suggested that William made a copy of *Emendemus* which he contrafacted for Anglican use by the choir of Magdalen College Chapel during Divine Worship, which copy Philip found and, assuming it to be his father's own composition, included in *Cathedral music*.[6] Given that 1795 was within the nadir of Byrd's music, it is both depressingly credible, even though still quite bewildering, that Philip could not have told a piece by Byrd from those by his father. Nevertheless, it is clear that William Hayes knew that the piece was by William Byrd. A further possibility is that Philip knew that the music of "Lord, how long" was by Byrd, but chose to pass it off as his father's composition.

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 3-4.
[6] Heighes, *Lives*, p. 19.

It is perhaps whimsical to ponder whether William Hayes transcribed *Emendemus* in 1775, as some sort of acknowledgment or celebration of the bicentenary of its publication.

Another writer more charitable about the motives of the Hayes was Frederick Bridge (1844-1924), deputy organist of Westminster Abbey from 1875 and organist from 1882 until 1918, when he retired. As long as a century after the original publication, it was Bridge who was the first to notice that "Lord, how long", ostensibly an anthem by Hayes, was in fact a contrafactum of a motet by Byrd. Writing about Byrd later on in 1920, he observed, "There is, also, a fine specimen of his composition in the volume of Cathedral music published by Dr. Hayes. It has English words, and for a long time appeared in the Abbey list as by Hayes, but it was identified as one of Byrd's Latin motets, and is now ascribed to the rightful owner."[7] The train of events commences a few decades previously. The series of annual volumes of printed Choir Lists in Westminster Abbey Library begins in 1887, though 1888 is missing. A trawl through the volumes revealed that "Lord, how long" attributed to Byrd was first sung on 1 March 1904. Why did Bridge introduce it into the choir's repertory at this time? It does not appear with the attribution to Hayes in any printed Choir List since 1887. During the period of Bridge's tenure as organist covered by the printed Choir Lists (1887 - 1918), six anthems by Hayes, all from his volume of *Cathedral music*, 1795, were in the Abbey choir's repertory: *Tell it out*, *O worship the Lord*, *Praise the Lord*, *Great is the Lord*, *Lord thou hast been our refuge* and *Save, Lord, and hear us*. Initially in this series there were no anthems by Byrd listed, but by the early twentieth century there were four: "Bow thine ear" (a contrafactum of *Civitas sancti tui*, the second part of *Ne irascaris*), "Sing joyfully", "The souls of the righteous" (another contrafactum, also listed under its original title *Justorum animae*) and "Lord, how long". Bridge was familiar, as we have seen, with Hayes' *Cathedral music*, and members of the choir used individual volumes; I own what had been a decani bass's working copy with stamps of Westminster Abbey throughout, in which "Lord, how long" is clearly attributed in pencil by a Victorian hand (which could of course have been written after 1901) to "Byrde", presumably on the authority of Bridge. It has also been seen that "Lord, how long" with an attribution to Hayes had been present in Choir Lists, though this must have been before 1887. Around 1900 Bridge was building up a small repertory of pieces by Byrd. It might be hazarded that at some time shortly before or early in 1904 he recognised or found out that "Lord, how long" was in fact *Emendemus in melius* and decided to return it to the choir's repertory, further to boost the number of pieces by Byrd which

[7] Bridge, Frederick. "William Byrd, 1542 or 3-1623", in *Twelve good musicians, from John Bull to Henry Purcell*. London: Kegan Paul, 1920, pp. 11-20, especially pp. 18-19.

it was singing. It may of course be the case that all this happened before 1887, so that the presence of "Lord, how long" in the Choir List of 1904 is a reappearance. *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry: full anthem*, still attributed to Hayes, was published in London by Cocks in 1859 as number 17 in *R. Cocks and Co.'s collection of cathedral services, anthems, &c*. In 1912, introducing his edition of *Emendemus* that incorporates the text of Hayes' contrafactum, Bridge observes that Philip Hayes "evidently found [the manuscript of "Lord, how long"] among his father's papers, and concluded that it was his composition!"[8] This charitable and credible verdict, succinctly expressed in an edition that preserves the work of both Byrd and Hayes, brings the narrative to an appropriate conclusion.

Acknowledgments: Dr Tony Trowles and Miss Christine Reynolds, Westminster Abbey Library. See also note 8.

Abstract
During the eighteenth century, when Byrd's reputation was at its nadir, William Hayes seemed to plagiarise the music of Byrd's motet *Emendemus in melius* for his anthem "Lord, how long". However, this apparent plagiarism might have been merely a misattribution to his father by Hayes' son Philip. The resulting contrafactum was recognised as a work by Byrd over a century later by Frederick Bridge. Also it emerges that the important Bing-Gostling partbooks were owned by Philip Hayes from 1777 to 1797. Although much of the provenance of the Bing-Gostling partbooks is now known, their provenance during these two decades has not hitherto been discovered, and remains unclear from 1797 until 1850.

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[8] Byrd, William. *Lord, how long wilt thou be angry (Emendemus in melius): motet for five voices*, edited by Frederick Bridge. London: Bosworth, 1912, p. 2. I am most grateful to, successively, Lynda Turbet, Roger Taylor (Administrator, Community and Youth Music Library) and particularly Martin Holmes (Alfred Brendel Curator of Music, The Bodleian Libraries), for their assistance in locating a copy of this elusive item; after exhaustive searching and enquiries, the only copy so far identified is in the Bodleian.

Brio Volume 50, Number 1. pp 22-38

MOST EXQUISITELY PERFORMED: CONCERT PROGRAMMES AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Susi Woodhouse

> *"That little paper listing the performers and the pieces to be played which you receive . . . when you attend a music event . . . is on the one hand the most ephemeral of historical sources, usually consigned to the rubbish a few minutes or hours after the concert . . . at the same time it is possibly an astonishingly rich source of information for the music historian, the social historian, or anyone who would record the history of a specific performer, a concert hall . . . looking at the names of long dead artists . . . can arouse an overpowering feeling of emotional nostalgia in even the least sentimental music lover*."[1] (Susan Sommer)

This informal paper, based on a talk given to the Friends of Cambridge University Library on 21 November 2012, explores this beautifully-phrased encapsulation of the potential of the concert programme. It takes examples from the collections in the University Library and looks at what lies behind the print on the paper to reveal the stories – all engaging for different reasons.

Background

But first, a little background: the significant and ever-growing body of research into concert life which has taken place over the past twenty years or so has brought into sharp focus the vital importance of concert programmes as primary source material for research not only into concert life *per se,* but also as reflections of the wider world and the social and cultural context of the event. It has also stimulated music librarians into thinking about how access to this frankly fugitive and fragile body of materials can be improved. To cut a long story short: it began about ten years ago with a ground-breaking scoping study of concert programme collections in UK libraries by Dr. Rupert Ridgewell of the British Library,[2] leading to the establishment in 2004 of the Concert Programmes Project database[3] funded by the Arts and Humanities

[1] Susan Sommer, 'The Treatment of Programs at the New York Public Library.', *Fontes Artis Musicae,* Vol. 28, 1981, pp. 78 – 81.

[2] Rupert Ridgewell. *Concert programmes in the UK and Ireland.* London: IAML(UK & Irl), Music Libraries Trust. 2003.

[3] www.concertprogrammes.org.uk

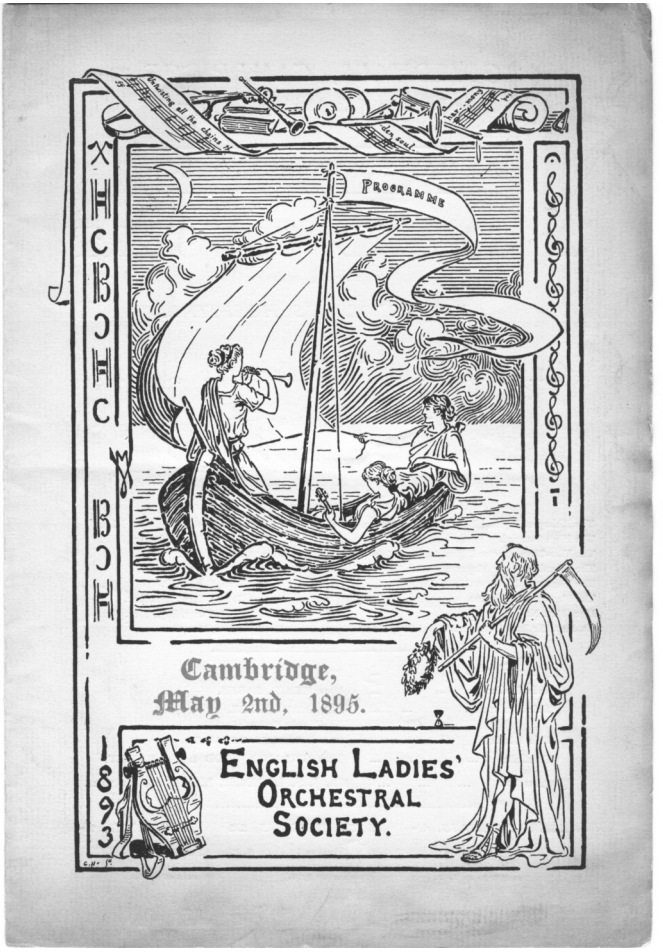


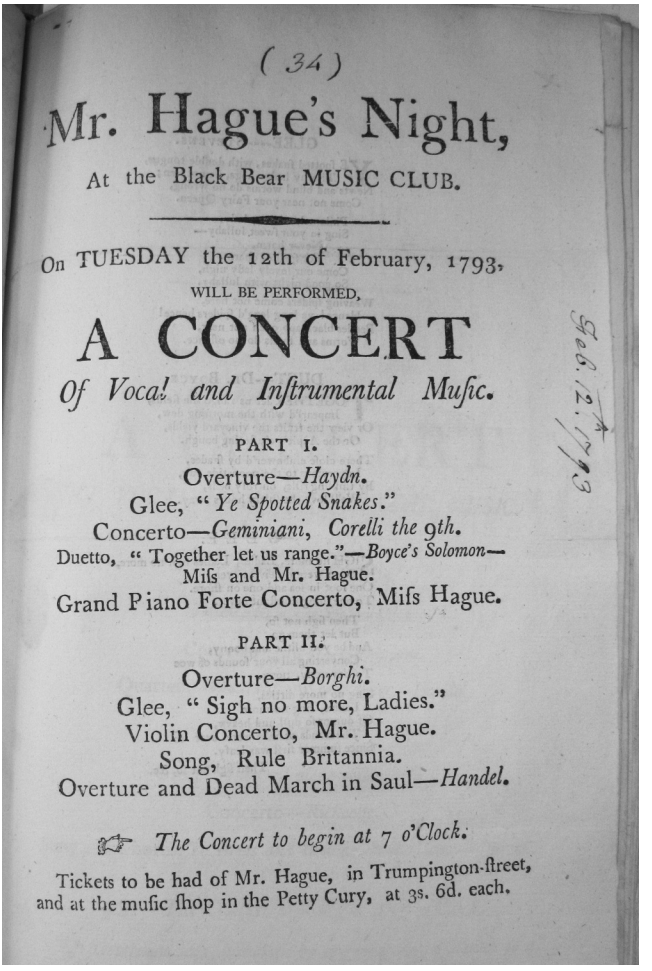
Fig. 1 Programme for the English Ladies Orchestral Society concert in Cambridge Guildhall, 2nd May 1895. © Cambridge University Library.

Research Council, providing a vehicle which fulfils this purpose (at least at collection-level if not item-level). Records for the collections held in Cambridge – not only in the University Library, but in Colleges and other libraries – are gradually being added.[4]

The University Library holds a wide range of programmes from the 1780s to the present day. The majority (about 20,000 – 25,000) are housed in the Music Department but there are important collections within the University

[4] http://www.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/search/verb/ListIdentifiers/set/location/5547

Archives and Periodicals, and a number of items in Rare Books. Naturally there is a focus on Cambridge, but other UK and worldwide venues are represented, together with collections which form a part of individual musician's and composer's archives deposited with the Library such as Sir Arthur Bliss, Hans Keller, Deryck Cooke, William Alwyn and Roberto Gerhard. Here are presented a few highlights and discoveries to show just how beguiling the element of serendipity can be and how the unexpected can surprise, educate, delight and amuse.



(34)

Mr. Hague's Night,

At the Black Bear MUSIC CLUB.

On TUESDAY the 12th of February, 1793,

WILL BE PERFORMED,

A CONCERT

Of Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſic.

PART I.

Overture—*Haydn.*
Glee, "*Ye Spotted Snakes.*"
Concerto—*Geminiani, Corelli the 9th.*
Duetto, "Together let us range."—*Boyce's Solomon*—
Miſs and Mr. Hague.
Grand Piano Forte Concerto, Miſs Hague.

PART II.

Overture—*Borghi.*
Glee, "Sigh no more, Ladies."
Violin Concerto, Mr. Hague.
Song, Rule Britannia.
Overture and Dead March in Saul—*Handel.*

☞ *The Concert to begin at 7 o'Clock.*

Tickets to be had of Mr. Hague, in Trumpington-ſtreet, and at the muſic ſhop in the Petty Cury, at 3s. 6d. each.

Feb. 12. 1793

Fig. 2 Programme for Charles Hague's benefit concert given by the Black Bear Music Club on 12th February 1793. © *Cambridge University Library.*

The Black Bear Music Club

The Black Bear Inn in Cambridge was notable for its concerts held from the 1770s to the 1800s under the auspices of its Music Club. Sadly, like so many of the fascinating old inns of this City,[5] it no longer exists, but its footprint is still discernible. It stood on the corner of Market Hill and Sidney Street, opposite Holy Trinity Church, and what is now Market Passage marks its yard. On its first floor was a large assembly room which was used for meetings, auctions and other public gatherings as well as concerts of the Black Bear Music Club. So, what of the concerts? The University Library has a volume of programmes for concerts between 1789 and 1809, acquired in April 1920 (for one guinea), and a catalogue record has been created for each season, together with an entry on the Concert Programmes Project database. Organised and led by violinist John Scarborough, they are a mix of Public Nights to which "No gentleman can be admitted without applying to a Member for a Ticket, for which he pays Half-a-Crown" and Benefit Nights for one or other of the principal players, for example, for Scarborough's on 28th April 1789: "Tickets, 2s. 6d. each, to be had at Mr. Wynne's, Mr. Hague's and Mrs. Pratt's music shops, and of Mr. Scarborough at the Black Bear."

Typically, programmes consist of between eight and twelve items, mixing vocal and instrumental works (very different, of course, from what we would expect today). The single folio sheets list only the briefest of details of the pieces to be played and the words of vocal items are printed on the reverse, thus leaving much to conjecture. We are teased with statements such as this for flautist George Nicholls' benefit concert on 1st May 1804: "Overture - Haydn [probably a symphony, or a movement therefrom, but which?]; Concerto - Corelli [a concerto grosso one assumes]; Overture - Jomelli [presumably to one of his many, many operas]; and [a ray of hope here] . . . Haydn's Military Symphony, no. 12".

The music is a good, solid diet of works by contemporary, or near-contemporary, composers, with Handel ever-present (the *Occasional Overture* seems to have been a particular favourite along with concerti grossi, and selections from *Messiah* and other oratorios). Many of the names we see are for composers whose works have long disappeared from the mainstream concert repertoire of today: Johann Georg Graeff, Adalbert Gyrowetz, Pieter Hellendaal, Antonín Kammell, Pierre van Maldere and Antonio Sacchini. There is always a good selection of glees on offer – even one written especially for the Club and performed on 18th February 1806 at Mr. Scarborough's Annual Benefit:

"To our Musical Club here's long life and prosperity,
May it flourish with us, and so on to posterity . . ."

[5] Enid Porter, 'Old Cambridge Inns', *Cambridgeshire Life*, Sept. 1968, pp. 127-129.

1837 Birmingham "Most exquisitely performed"

The bound volume of programmes for the 1837 Birmingham Triennial Festival[6] which formed part of the library of Francis Jenkinson, University Librarian 1889 – 1923, is typical of its time, yet has a story to tell. It contains only the words of the vocal music being given, there are no notes about any of the music to be heard or biographies of any of the performers, who are simply listed at the beginning. To our modern minds this is extraordinary as here we see Mendelssohn – then the darling of the British concert-going public, fêted wherever he went – tucked away at the bottom of a page almost as an afterthought, despite the fact that he was giving the first performance of his second piano concerto, commissioned for the Festival.

However, the aspect which is so fascinating is that Alexander John Ellis (1814 – 1890), the mathematician and ethnologist to whom these programmes originally belonged (and who had not long graduated from Trinity at the time), has annotated them throughout with little remarks on each performance, giving not only a particular, deeply touching immediacy but also a valuable contemporary perspective. Of the Mendelssohn, Ellis says: "Most exquisitely performed, and a beautiful composition into the bargain. First time of performance." This view is echoed in the newspaper reports of the occasion which Ellis lovingly bound into the back of his volume of programmes. This from the *Birmingham Gazette*: " . . . but the lion of the night was impatiently looked forward to for his new concerto . . . his masterly performance on this instrument exhibits all the sensitiveness of a most refined feeling, and all the fire and energy of a nervous impulse! The applause was unbounded. . . ." Ellis himself seems to have been quite a character as this little pen portrait from the *Dictionary of National Biography* reveals: "By any criterion Ellis was an individualist to the point of idiosyncrasy. He wore a greatcoat (except in summer) which he called Dreadnought. It contained twenty-eight pockets, into which he stuffed manuscripts and 'articles for an emergency'. He carried with him a large bag containing a variety of tuning forks, together with two sets of nail scissors – one for each hand – a corkscrew, string, and a knife sharpener".

John Ella and the Musical Union

It was really only in the nineteenth century with the gradual separation of "popular" from "serious" music that the concert programme as we would recognise it began to take shape, and with it, the programme note – a feature in whose establishment the UK led the way in the late 1830s. At the forefront were Professor John Thomson's notes for the Edinburgh Professional Society, and John Ella's "Synoptic analyses" for the music to be performed at his Musical Union concerts, which began at Willis's Rooms (immortalised in

[6] http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=ul&bib=3210525

Thomas Hardy's poem *Reminiscences of a dancing man*)[7] in London in 1845. His notes were intended to educate his audience and prepare them for the performance so that they might appreciate the music to the full.

Berlioz, a good friend of Ella's, describes these notes in his account of the Musical Union concerts in the *Journal des Débats* for 31 May 1851 as follows:

> "*The programme of each matinée is therefore sent in advance to the subscribers, and it contains a synoptic analysis of the trios, quartets and quintets which are to be heard. The analysis is in general very well done, and speaks at once to the eyes and to the mind: the critical text is supplemented with musical examples on one or more staves which show either the theme of each piece, or the figure that plays an important part in it, or the most remarkable modulations it contains. It would not be possible to show more care or devotion*."

The University Library holds a near-complete run of Musical Union programmes from 1845 – 1876.

However, the man who did most to develop the genre was undoubtedly Sir George Grove (to whom we will return) with his extensive notes for Crystal Palace and St. James's Hall concerts, and whose tradition was carried through into the twentieth century by figures such as Donald Tovey, Hans Keller and Deryck Cooke.

"I thorght that red was the best"

The University Library houses the archive of Sir Arthur Bliss, a central figure of the 20th century music establishment, and amongst the 650 programmes (arranged in order of date of composition) reflecting the breadth and richness of the composer's work, is a wealth of other material including press cuttings, articles, drafts of talks, record sleeve notes, business correspondence and other paperwork, all of which gives a detailed picture of his working life. Tucked in amongst the programmes for performances of the *Colour symphony* is an envelope of charming letters to Bliss's widow, the late Lady Trudy Bliss, from children aged 6 or 7 at Kidgate School describing their impressions of the symphony when they had listened to it in class. One has a vivid description of the second movement "Red, the colour of rubies, wine, revelry, furnaces, courage and magic": "I thorght [sic] that red was the best. Red was fast and furious. It was like somebody having a sword fight our [sic] there was a fire in a hut and somebody trying to get out."

[7] Published in *Time's laughingstocks*. London: Macmillan, 1909.

Bliss's role as Master of the Queen's Musick is reflected in souvenir programmes for State occasions such as the wedding of Princess Margaret and Anthony Armstrong-Jones in 1960, the Investiture of the Prince of Wales in 1969, and many royal concerts and other formal occasions for which fanfares were *de rigueur* and which the composer turned out with such aplomb. Curiously though, there are none from the landmark cultural visit to Russia arranged by the British Council in the spring of 1956, which was led by Sir Arthur accompanied by Jennifer Vyvyan, Leon Goossens, Gerald Moore and Alfredo Campoli. His violin concerto was performed there by Campoli for whom it had been composed the previous year.

A life reflected

During the 1930s Alfredo Campoli was best known for his light music activities with his Salon Orchestra, but he also maintained a concert career and after the War returned to it full-time, establishing himself once again as one of the world's greatest violinists. The 1,300 programmes in the University Library collection were deposited along with his library of scores and cover the period 1945 – 1985. They reflect his wide repertoire embracing all the major concertos and chamber works as well as salon and showpieces, such as his favourite *Ronde des lutins* by Antonio Bazzini. Taken together, the programmes are a superb illustration of the life of a professional musician – it's not all champagne and caviar, there's a great deal of tea and chip butties as well. Campoli was equally happy with both aspects, at home in the major concert halls of the world (including the 1956 Russian visit) as well as more modest venues such as the Spa in Scarborough or the Mainsforth Miner's Welfare Hall. Here is a collection where one can study how repertoire changed and developed over time, although the Mendelssohn concerto remains at its heart.

Of particular interest in the University Library context is his close association with Arthur Bliss over the violin concerto, commissioned by the BBC. Bliss's account of this in his memoirs[8] is revealing: "I learnt a lot about violin technique from him . . . if a passage seemed to him ineffective, he would exaggerate its difficulty, distorting his face in anguish . . . suggest an alteration, and then play it through again, murmuring 'beautiful, beautiful'. The result of his cajoling was that . . . [the concerto] is certainly apt for the instrument". The Library has copies of programmes of the first performance in May 1955 as well as both Bliss's autograph score and Campoli's marked-up performing part in its archives, and they present a fascinating study in the gestation of a work.

[8] Sir Arthur Bliss. *As I remember.* Rev. and enlarged ed. London: Thames Publishing, 1989.

Hans Keller

One of the leading music critics of the twentieth century, Hans Keller was a champion of the music of Schoenberg, a key figure at the BBC in the 1960s and 1970s, and a powerful personality, whose forceful, unshakeable views and brilliant quirky mind dominated the musical scene from the 1950s until his untimely death in 1985. His archive, deposited at the University Library, is extensive and the 500 programmes (although somehow it seems more) are split into three sequences reflecting his activities with and without his BBC hat. They include the Proms, BBC Symphony Orchestra concerts in the Royal Festival Hall, the Salzburg Festival, concerts given by all the major London orchestras, the Edinburgh, Holland and Aldeburgh Festivals, Dartington Summer School events, the Royal Opera House, Bayreuth, European Broadcasting Union concerts . . . and so on. In many cases, his programmes have typescripts of notes with them and or newspaper reviews of the performances, thus offering valuable context for study of the whole event. They include the notes for the first performance of William Alwyn's *Third Symphony* on 10th October 1956, which represents one of many happy coincidences found in the collection, as the University Library also houses the Alwyn Archive which contains the autograph score (as well as a significant collection of concert programmes documenting performances of his works).

Keller's programmes are often heavily annotated both in English and German, particularly if he was reviewing the performance, and the comments vary from the insightful to the amused observation to the frankly libellous! One of the unexpected delights of the programmes are the sketches on some of them by his wife, the artist Milein Cosman, during the event; she had an ability to convey movement through her pen which gives a very powerful immediacy to her work. Most importantly though, the Keller programmes are an invaluable record of musical life in the UK from the 1950s to the 1980s simply because Keller attended, managed or was involved in some other way with so much of it.

Singing for your supper

The Thistlethwaite archive contains a small collection of beautifully-produced souvenir programmes for the Burnley Operatic Society and offers a fascinating glimpse into the world of amateur music-making in the 1930s. The material was presented by Sir Frank Thistlethwaite, a fellow of St. John's College, first Vice-chancellor of the University of East Anglia, and later Chair of the Friends of the University Library. His father Lee, a cotton-trader by profession, was a talented amateur oboist and baritone and often played for the Hallé in Hamilton-Harty's time as conductor, as well as giving song recitals and founding the Burnley Operatic Society – he was able to use his musical connections to good effect as we see that more often than not, it is Hallé players who provide the orchestra for Burnley Operatic productions.

Fig. 3 Some of the programmes in the Hans Keller archive
© Cambridge University Library.

Productions were ambitious to say the least, and as well as old favourites such as the *Magic flute* and the *Barber of Seville*, an ambitious production of *Tannhauser* was mounted in 1933 for which no expense was spared on bespoke commissioning of the scenery. The correspondence with the scenery painters survives in the archive and the bills are eye-watering.

The souvenir programmes are almost all bound in leather covers, signed, on either the flyleaf or title page, by members of the company and contain

studio pictures of the cast in costume and are often accompanied by newspaper cuttings of reviews of the productions. I am particularly fond of this little collection because it reflects the life of someone who was not a professional musician yet for whom music was clearly an all-consuming passion (and quite probably took precedence over the cotton business). A view reflected by Margaret Jones in her blog post for the UL's *MusicB3*[9]: "The Thistlethwaite archive provides a glimpse into a world of operatic production, which is both familiar and surprising, revealing amateur productions which were ambitious and fearless in their aspirations. Although musical life in the cities was of vital importance, this archive demonstrates that music in the provinces was equally vibrant, with a real hunger for the glamour of the stage, and the sound of the symphony orchestra".[10]

A Grove discovery

The beguiling serendipity of working on these programmes was demonstrated forcibly in October last year, when looking through some programmes for Hans Richter's Monday concerts at St. James's Hall from the 1890s. I came across one battered programme with the words "very important" in a spidery pencil scrawl at the top, next to what looked remarkably like George Grove's signature in the corner. (see Fig. 4 Grove St. James Hall notes below). On opening the programme, I found several pages of notes and extensive annotations to the programme note for Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, all in Grove's handwriting, clearly developing his thinking on the work (culminating, of course, in his *Beethoven and his nine symphonies*). Sir George Grove hardly needs an introduction: surely one of the most eminent among eminent Victorians, he was an engineer, a Bible scholar, an archaeologist, man of letters, administrator and musician, and he was responsible for the development of what became the world-famous *Grove's Dictionary of music*. As Percy Young says in his biography of Grove[11] ". . . among the Victorians there were some whose enterprises defy emulation. Grove was one of them."

As to how this programme ended up here instead of at the Royal College of Music [RCM] where the Grove archive is held, it is almost certainly part of a transfer of material from the Fitzwilliam Museum, which itself was presented to the Fitzwilliam by the RCM in November 1915 via William Barclay Squire, RCM Librarian at the time. How do we know? Along with the loose programmes there are a number of bound volumes of St. James's Hall programmes for Monday and Saturday popular concerts, one of which belonged to George Grove and has a dated presentation label affixed to the

[9] http://musicb3.wordpress.com/2011/10/28/high-hopes/

[10] See also Margaret Jones, 'A palimpsest of production: insights on British opera performances from annotated vocal scores and ephemera', *Brio* 48/2, 2011, pp. 38-46, for further details about the Thistlethwaite collection.

[11] Percy Young. *George Grove: a biography.* London: Macmillan, 1980. p. 9.

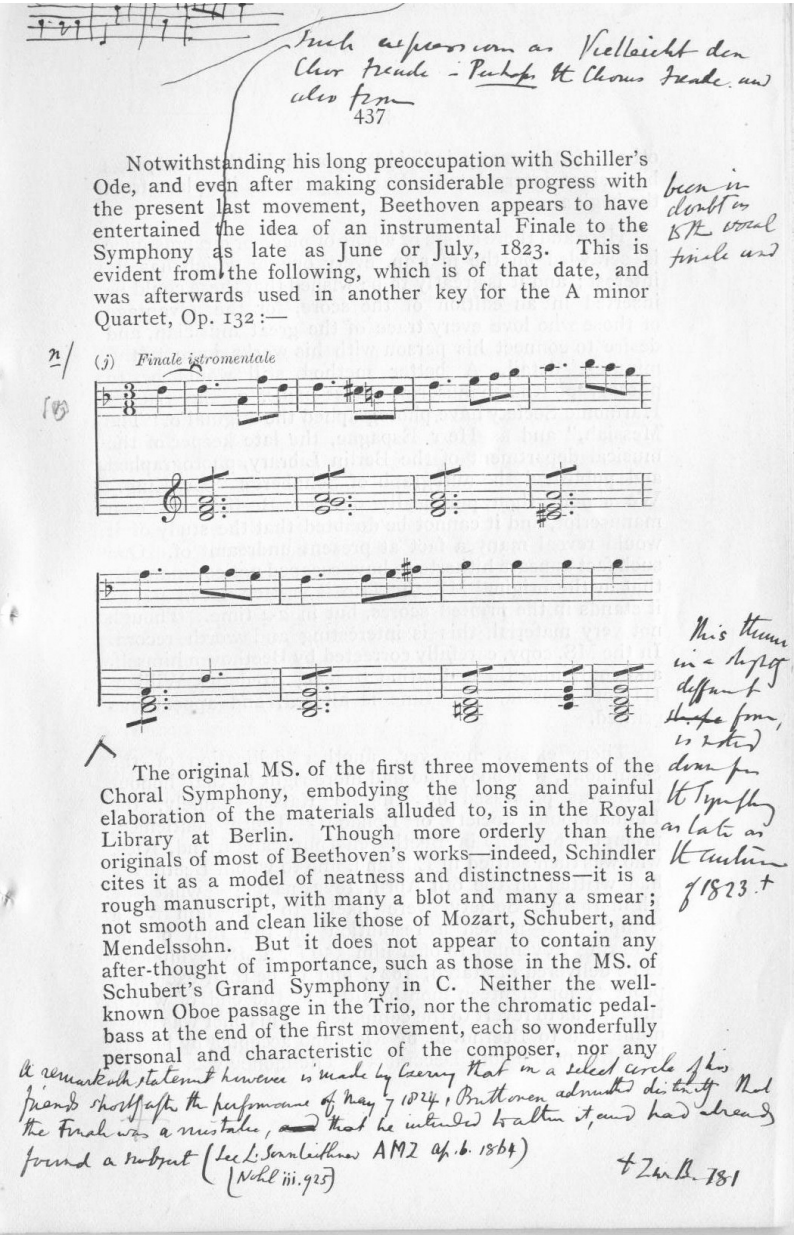


Fig. 4 George Grove's programme for the Richter concert at St. James's Hall 14th July 1890, showing some of his annotations to his note for Beethoven's ninth symphony. © Cambridge University Library.

end-paper on the inside cover. Squire (1855-1927) had been recommended to Grove to undertake a study of the music in the Fitzwilliam Museum for the article on Libraries in Grove's *Dictionary* (and indeed he went on to write over 130 articles for Grove for the *Dictionary*). An alumnus of Pembroke College, Squire was Assistant Keeper of Music at the British Museum Library, but also Librarian at the RCM from 1894. In a personal capacity, he was a generous donor of materials to the Fitzwilliam, where in 1910 E.J. Dent (a Fellow at King's College from 1902 and Professor of Music from 1926) became first Honorary Keeper of Music.

Light fantastic

Mention of Grove brings me back to our modest collection of programmes for Crystal Palace Saturday concerts. The Crystal Palace was never intended to be a concert venue, but following its reconstruction and enlargement on a new site in Sydenham between 1852 and 1854, it quickly established itself as a place of entertainment and general recreation. The building of performance facilities in the central transept of the Palace marked the start of developments which would set the pattern of concert life in London for the next 80 years.

In his definitive work *The Musical life of the Crystal Palace*[12] Michael Musgrave sums up the position beautifully: ". . . the range of the orchestral fare offered at the Palace, reflective of its educational ethos, eclipsed that of any other British concert-giving organization, with a unique record of new works by foreign composers given British first performances, and of new works by British composers likewise." This was in no small measure due to the influence of Grove, Secretary of the Palace from 1852 to 1873, and August Manns, whom he appointed as conductor of the Saturday orchestra. It was for the Saturday concerts that Grove, Manns and Charles Ainslie Barry developed the programme note into a serious piece of work aiming to inform and enlighten the audience. Notes always indicated the many first performances whether internationally, nationally or at the Palace. It is extraordinary to think that at least two Schubert symphonies were given their world premieres at the Palace almost 50 years after the composer's death (no.2 on 20th October 1877 and no.7 on 5th May 1883), and that the Crystal Palace is also where many of Brahms' and Berlioz's large-scale works were heard for the first time in England. Our very incomplete run spanning 1872 to 1901 includes some for the Schubert and Berlioz premieres along with countless others.

Alongside the Saturday concerts, the Library also has a few programmes for the Handel Triennial Festivals (1859, 1862 and 1923), established by Sir Michael Costa and the Sacred Harmonic Society, which lasted until 1926.

[12] Michael Musgrave. *The musical life of the Crystal Palace.* Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

Day one was Messiah Day, day two presented selections from Handel's works and day three was Israel in Egypt Day.

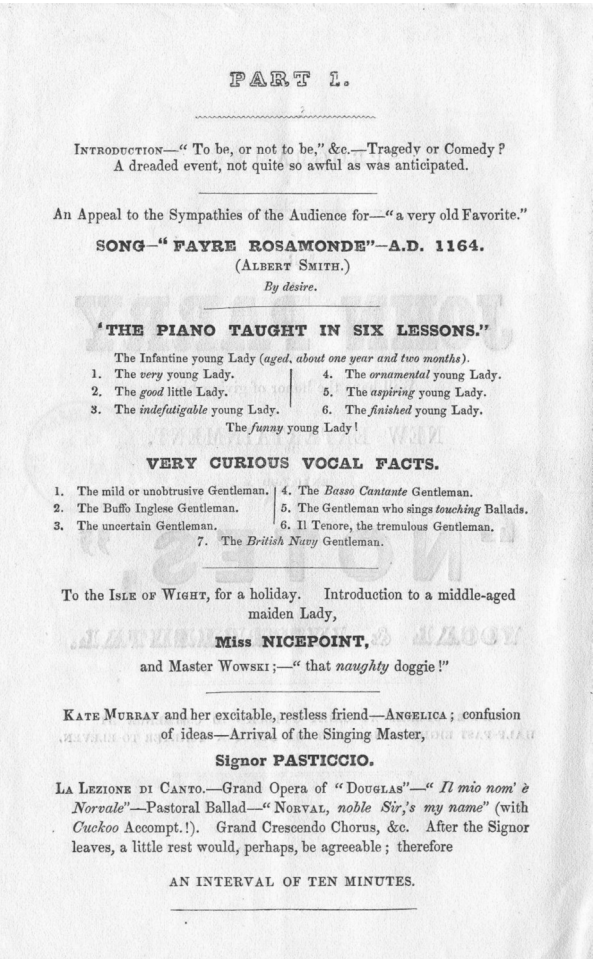
The Entertainer

In a completely different vein, and illustrative of the breadth of scope of the University Library's programme collections, are two programmes featuring the Victorian entertainer John Orlando Parry (1810 – 1879). Hugely popular in his time, the *Dictionary of national biography* describes him, somewhat sedately, as "an actor and singer", but perhaps a more accurate portrayal is of a nineteenth-century equivalent of Noel Coward. Not only was he an accomplished pianist and a fine baritone, but he was also an artist and a composer, writing much of the material for his entertainments himself, with Albert Smith who provided the words, and sometimes displaying his art work during them. However, in 1842 Parry began giving his celebrated "entertainments" in a variety of concert rooms, setting the pattern for his career until the 1870s. They consisted of highly inventive vocal impersonations (he could sing bass, tenor and alto!), monologues, humorous songs and characterisations depicting a range of different scenarios. He also appeared alongside other musicians including Liszt on his tours of the country. As the *Illustrated London News* for Saturday June 15 1844 so succinctly puts it: ". . . he gives comic musical illustrations and recitations at the pianoforte in a style that is quite *sui generis*. . . ."

The two programmes in the Library's concert programme archives are typical examples of his performances. The first, for his new entertainment "Notes, Vocal & Instrumental", was first given on 24 June 1850 at the Store Street Music Hall (which had been established by the piano manufacturer Robert Warnum at his piano warehouse) and received with great enthusiasm. "The entertainment was honoured with shouts of the heartiest laughter from first to last, and could not possibly have been more successful" (*The Times*, 25 June 1850). Impossible to encapsulate the contents in a few sentences, but the programme itself does that well enough. Especially of note are *The Piano Taught in Six Lessons* and Signor Pasticcio's "singing lesson".

The second programme is for a benefit concert for Mr. and Mrs. German Reed, marking Parry's return to the concert hall following an absence of several years recovering from a nervous breakdown. It took place in the Gallery of Illustration, Regent Street on 4 June 1860. A short note in *The Times* of 6 June 1860 remarks that ". . . [Parry] was so warmly received on his return to the vocation which made him celebrated years ago. . . ." His association with the German Reeds continued for some nine years until ill-health intervened once more. His final appearance was for a benefit concert in February 1877 at the Gaiety Theatre for which £1,300 was raised for him (about £63,000 today) – an astonishing sum reflecting his popularity. It is sad

to relate that he died in February 1879 in reduced circumstances, having lost his money through its misappropriation by his solicitor. The affectionate obituary in *The Orchestra* for March 1879 remembers him thus: "John Parry was in his way a genuine artist of a highly finished and imaginative kind. He had an innate refinement and judgement . . . in whatever he delineated, whether with the voice, or the keys of the pianoforte, or with his pencil".



PART I.

INTRODUCTION—" To be, or not to be," &c.—Tragedy or Comedy? A dreaded event, not quite so awful as was anticipated.

An Appeal to the Sympathies of the Audience for—"a very old Favorite."

SONG—" FAYRE ROSAMONDE"—A.D. 1164.

(ALBERT SMITH.)

By desire.

'THE PIANO TAUGHT IN SIX LESSONS."

The Infantine young Lady (*aged, about one year and two months*).

1. The *very* young Lady.
2. The *good* little Lady.
3. The *indefatigable* young Lady.
4. The *ornamental* young Lady.
5. The *aspiring* young Lady.
6. The *finished* young Lady.

The *funny* young Lady!

VERY CURIOUS VOCAL FACTS.

1. The mild or unobtrusive Gentleman.
2. The Buffo Inglese Gentleman.
3. The uncertain Gentleman.
4. The *Basso Cantante* Gentleman.
5. The Gentleman who sings *touching* Ballads.
6. Il Tenore, the tremulous Gentleman.
7. The *British Navy* Gentleman.

To the ISLE OF WIGHT, for a holiday. Introduction to a middle-aged maiden Lady,

Miss NICEPOINT,

and Master WOWSKI;—" that *naughty* doggie!"

KATE MURRAY and her excitable, restless friend—ANGELICA; confusion of ideas—Arrival of the Singing Master,

Signor PASTICCIO.

LA LEZIONE DI CANTO.—Grand Opera of "DOUGLAS"—" *Il mio nom' è Norvale*"—Pastoral Ballad—" NORVAL, *noble Sir,'s my name*" (with *Cuckoo* Accompt.!). Grand Crescendo Chorus, &c. After the Signor leaves, a little rest would, perhaps, be agreeable; therefore

AN INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

Fig. 5 The programme for John Orlando Parry's new entertainment "Notes, Vocal & Instrumental" given on 24th June 1850 at the Store Street Music Hall. ©Cambridge University Library.

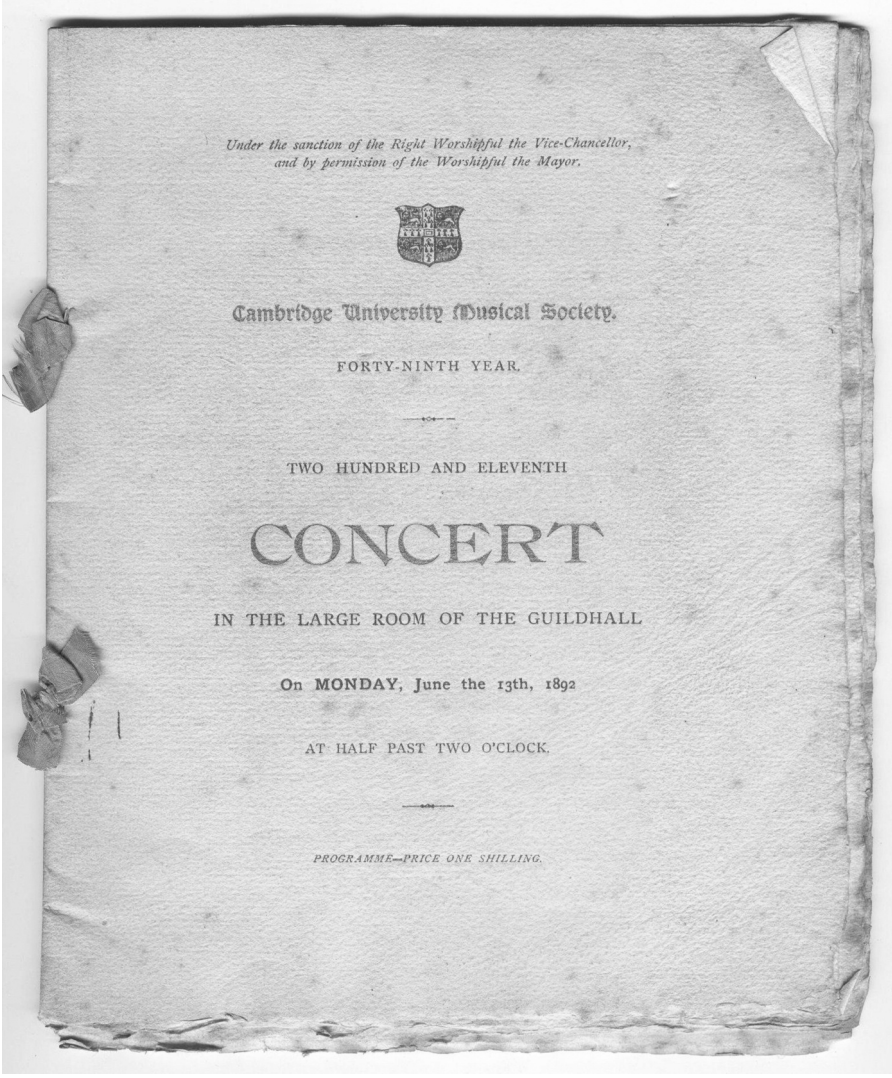
Singing on the river

This is an article about concert programmes in Cambridge and so, to finish, let us turn to programmes of Cambridge events. The richness and variety of music-making which takes place in the City is astonishing. As well as the Black Bear Music Society programmes already mentioned, the University Library holds programmes for the University Musical Society, the Madrigal Society, the University Music Club, the Opera Society, the Cambridge Festival, the Cambridge Philharmonic Society, and many other societies which have sprung up for greater or lesser periods of time over the years. Venues such as the Guildhall, New Theatre, The Red Lion, Arts Theatre, Kettle's Yard and West Road Concert Hall are also represented. Programmes for concerts given by individual Cambridge College music societies are generally held by the College concerned, but there are modest runs also in the Library.

To end, I'd like to highlight something which has become quintessentially Cambridge: madrigals on the river. This annual event, and the Festival of Nine Lessons and Carols, are the two musical occasions most closely associated with the 800-year-old University. Unlike the university though, they are both modern traditions, if that's not an oxymoron. Established in 1928 by the Cambridge University Madrigal Society directed by Boris Ord, Organist and Choirmaster at King's College, these concerts quickly became a much-loved highlight of the musical calendar and a key part of the May Week festivities. Who could fail to be moved by such a quintessentially English occasion: punts lashed together on the River Cam beside King's College or Trinity College bridges, lit with lanterns, from which the choir performs a range of madrigals and part-songs.

The concerts were given "under King's College bridge" by Boris Ord and the Madrigal Society until 1956 (with a short break during the Second World War, when Harold Darke took over whilst Ord was away on military service in the Royal Air Force), after which the baton passed to Raymond Leppard, who being a Trinitarian, soon moved the venue upriver to Trinity Backs. Following the demise of the Madrigal Society in 1968 when Leppard left Cambridge, the Singing on the River tradition was taken over by the newly-formed Cambridge University Chamber Choir, directed by Richard Marlow, Director of Music at Trinity, and subsequently by Trinity's Chapel Choir. The programmes in the Madrigal Society archive, held in the University Library, show that the music remains reassuringly constant: a mix of English madrigals from composers such as Byrd, Morley, Weelkes and Wilbye often complemented by their Italian counterparts such as Marenzio and Monteverdi, blending with atmospheric choral works by composers including Britten, Poulenc, Barber, Moeran and Vaughan Williams, but always ending with Wilbye's *Draw on sweet night.*

"*The concert is not over when the sweet voices die. It vibrates elsewhere. It discovers treasures which would have remained hidden, and they are the chief part of the human heritage*". E.M. Forster[13]



Under the sanction of the Right Worshipful the Vice-Chancellor, and by permission of the Worshipful the Mayor.

Cambridge University Musical Society.

FORTY-NINTH YEAR.

TWO HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH

CONCERT

IN THE LARGE ROOM OF THE GUILDHALL

On MONDAY, June the 13th, 1892

AT HALF PAST TWO O'CLOCK.

PROGRAMME—PRICE ONE SHILLING.

Fig. 6 Programme for the two hundred and eleventh concert of the Cambridge University Musical Society given at the Guildhall on 13th June 1892. © Cambridge University Library.

[13] 'From the audience' in Howard Ferguson (ed.) *National Gallery concerts, in aid of the Musicians' Benevolent Fund, 10th October 1939 - 10th October 1944*. London: The Trustees, 1944.

Abstract
An informal article given originally as a talk to the Friends of Cambridge University Library on 21st November 2012. It looks at individual items of interest from the collections of concert programmes held, for the most part, in the Library's Music Department including material relating to the Black Bear Music Club, the Birmingham Triennial Festival, the archives of Arthur Bliss, Alfredo Campoli and Hans Keller, and programmes for events given in Cambridge by both University and City music societies.

Susi Woodhouse read music at Newnham College, Cambridge before qualifying as a librarian. After a portfolio career including time as a cataloguer at the British Library, a period managing the London Borough of Ealing's music library service and ten years at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council focusing on the strategic deployment of ICT in public libraries, she returned to Cambridge and now spends some of her time as a volunteer in the University Library Music Department working on the extensive concert programme collections and the letters in the Hans Keller archive. She is also heavily involved in the activities of the International Association of Music Libraries and was President of the UK and Ireland Branch 2001 – 2004.

Brio Volume 50, Number 1. pp 39-52

HANS GÁL AND THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL[1]

Katy Hamilton

In 1956, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama, Sir John Banks, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh remarked in his introduction to the Festival souvenir brochure:

> The vision [in launching the Festival] was to provide a setting where the peoples of the world could assemble to enjoy the music and the dancing – a rendezvous where nobody would be a stranger, nobody an exile, and where nobody would be an enemy.[2]

In its first decade, the Festival had indeed succeeded in attracting artists and audience members from all over the world; it had reunited musicians separated by the Second World War and provided an important platform for new compositions by British and continental composers. As an internal Festival memorandum from 1953 neatly summarised:

> The Festival has established itself as one of the most outstanding events of a cultural nature in post war Europe and it has in fact received worldwide recognition. It has achieved two results –
> (1) Artistic success.
> (2) A certain amount of recognition as an instrument of international understanding.[3]

This second point is particularly salutary since several key players in the early history of the Edinburgh Festival were themselves "international". They had found themselves in Britain in the late 1930s, after being displaced from

[1] This article is an expanded version of 'Singing a Song in a Foreign Land: Hans Gál and the Edinburgh Festival', presented on 29 September 2012 at the conference *Continental Britons / Verfolgt, vertrieben – vergessen?* in Schwerin. I would like to extend my most sincere thanks to Eva Fox-Gál for her thoughts, advice and generous sharing of material relating to her father's involvement with the Edinburgh Festival; and to Robert Ponsonby for his insights, explanations and inspiring reminiscences of his own time working at the Festival in the 1950s.

[2] *Edinburgh International Festival Souvenir Programme*, 1956, p. 5. I am grateful to Sally Harrower and her colleagues at the National Library of Scotland for their help in working with the Edinburgh International Festival archives.

[3] 'International Festival of Music and Drama. Memorandum on Future Policy and Development' [pencil dated May 1953], GB-En Dep. 378/61.

their homelands of Germany and Austria. Chief among them were Rudolf Bing (1902-1997), the Festival's first Director, and Hans Gál (1890-1987), whose important work in the founding of the Festival is rather less well documented. It is thanks to the work of both men that Edinburgh became such an important international cultural centre each summer, from 1947 onwards. This article is intended to provide an outline of Gál's many, varied – and considerable – roles in the early years of the Festival, which reflect the diverse nature of his professional life as an émigré musician living in post-war Britain.

Figure 1: Hans Gál (centre) with Horst Günter, Kathleen Ferrier, Irmgard Seefried and Julius Patzak, Edinburgh Festival 1952 (reproduced by kind permission of Eva Fox-Gál and Anthony Fox).

The initial idea to establish a festival of music and drama came from the Viennese-born impresario, Rudolf Bing. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Bing had worked in high-level administrative posts in opera houses in Darmstadt and Berlin and developed a particularly close professional relationship with the director and producer Carl Ebert (1887-1980). He returned briefly to Austria in 1933 when the National Socialists came to power in Germany; but moved to England in 1934, following an invitation from John Christie to

help establish his opera house at Glyndebourne as a public venue. Bing subsequently became the general manager of Glyndebourne in 1936.[4] Ebert was also a key figure in the early years of Christie's enterprise, as was the conductor Fritz Busch (1890-1951), and these two prominent German musicians, along with Bing, were able to make use of their continental contacts to enhance their staff still further.[5] This was highly unusual at a time when few posts in Britain were occupied by non-British musicians, as Erik Levi has pointed out.[6] Yet Glyndebourne remained exceptionally cosmopolitan in its recruitment, and proud of its international musical reach; each festival booklet included the nationalities (and, where appropriate, the regular opera companies) of its soloists (see Fig. 2, overleaf).

It was, according to Bing, partly with an eye to establishing a second venue for Glyndebourne Opera Company performances following the war that he began to think of founding a festival of music and drama elsewhere in Britain, and thus boost the company's finances in a time of austerity. It seems that there was also an element of wishing to create an event to rival the best international festivals of the pre-war years – the majority of which had taken place in Germany and Austria – and in particular to incorporate staged works into a programme that would stand comparison with Bayreuth and Salzburg.[7] Oxford was initially suggested as a possible venue, but the necessary financial support was not forthcoming.[8] Following further discussions with members of the British Council in December 1944, the Scottish representative Henry

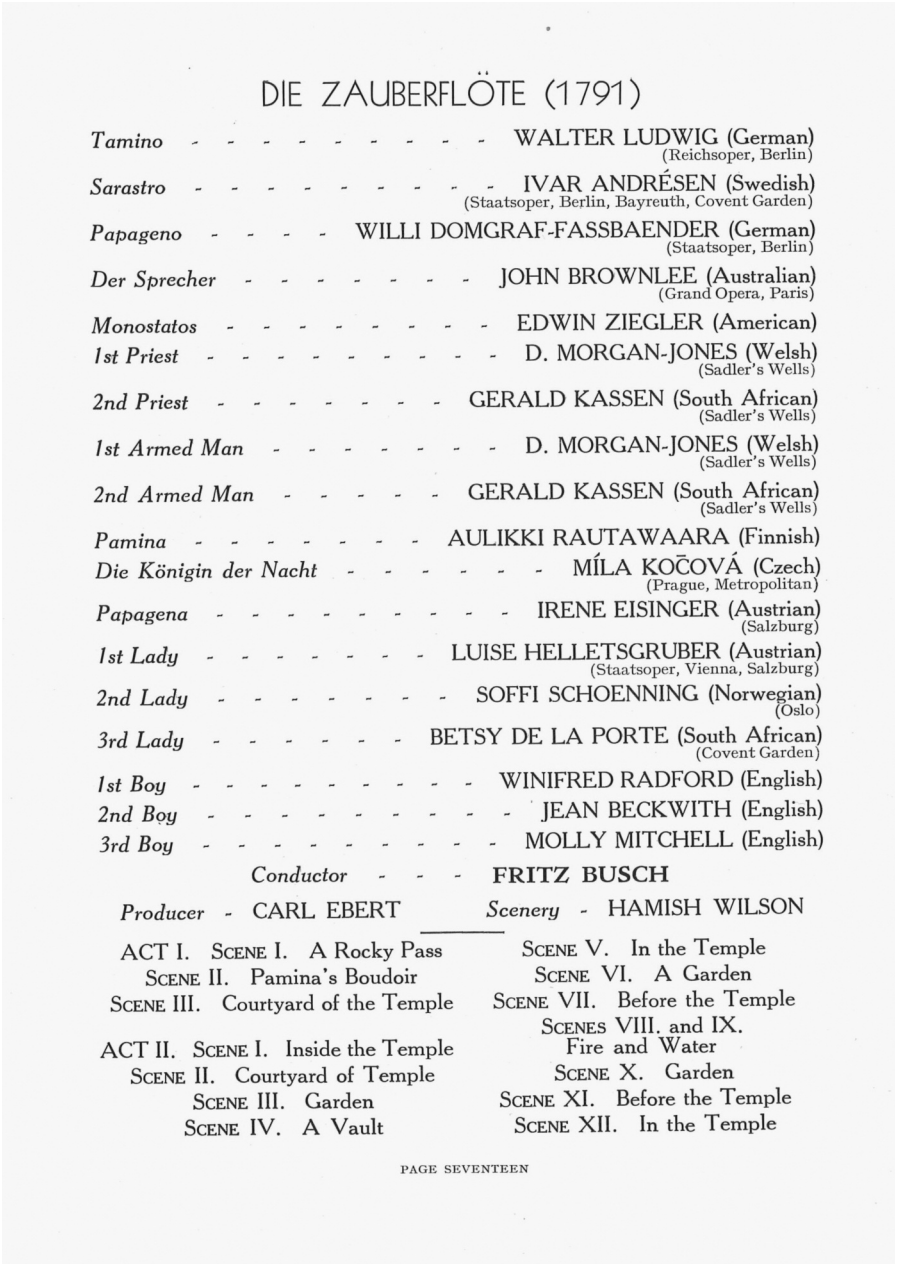
[4] For further information regarding this period of Bing's career, see Rudolf Bing, *5,000 Nights at the Opera* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972) and Spike Hughes, *Glyndebourne. A History of the Festival Opera founded in 1934 by Audrey and John Christie* (Newton Abbot & London: David & Charles, 1965, 2/1981), pp. 45-46.

[5] For example, the musical staff for the 1935 Festival also includes Hans Oppenheim, 'formerly Head Conductor Deutsche Musikbühne, Berlin. Head Conductor Städtische Oper, Breslau'; Alberto Erede, 'formerly Conductor Augusteum, Rome, Italian Opera den Haag' and Hans Strasser, 'Professor of Singing, Vienna, Budapest, and Glyndebourne'. (Programme booklet of Mozart Festival 1935, p. 19.)

[6] 'In den dreißiger Jahren, als überall Xenophobie wucherte, verkörperte Glyndebourne den Kosmopolitismus.' See Erik Levi, 'Deutsche Musik und Musiker im englischen Exil 1933-1945' in Horst Weber, ed. *Musik in der Emigration 1933-1945. Verfolgung · Vertreibung · Rückwirkung* (Stuttgart & Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 1994), pp. 208-209.

[7] The Bayreuth Festival had stopped in 1944 and began again in 1951; the Nationaltheater in Munich was destroyed in 1943 and did not reopen until 1963, although other concert series were established soon after the end of the War. The Salzburg Festival did not run in 1944; American forces occupying the city in 1945 were determined to reinstate performances in that year. They succeeded in doing so, although many musicians were unavailable to participate (including Bruno Walter, Arturo Toscanini, Jascha Heifetz and Yehudi Menuhin) and it took a number of years to determine whether or not musicians should be included if they had previously performed with Nazi support. The Lower Rhine Festival was not held between 1933 and 1946. An interesting parallel to the Edinburgh International Festival is the Holland Festival, established in 1948 'as a means of revitalizing the nation's cultural life after World War II'. See Wilma Tichelaar, 'Holland Festival' in Stanley Sadie & John Tyrrell, eds. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol.11, pp. 625-626 and Percy Young et al., 'Festival' in *ibid.*, vol.8, pp. 733-744 (in particular pp. 737-738). See also Stephen Gallup, *A History of the Salzburg Festival* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), pp. 118-129.

[8] For a detailed history of the Festival from its foundation to 1996, see Eileen Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival, 1947-1996* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).



DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE (1791)

Tamino - - - - - - - - - - WALTER LUDWIG (German)
(Reichsoper, Berlin)

Sarastro - - - - - - - - - - IVAR ANDRÉSEN (Swedish)
(Staatsoper, Berlin, Bayreuth, Covent Garden)

Papageno - - - - WILLI DOMGRAF-FASSBAENDER (German)
(Staatsoper, Berlin)

Der Sprecher - - - - - - - - JOHN BROWNLEE (Australian)
(Grand Opera, Paris)

Monostatos - - - - - - - - - EDWIN ZIEGLER (American)

1st Priest - - - - - - - - - - D. MORGAN-JONES (Welsh)
(Sadler's Wells)

2nd Priest - - - - - - - - GERALD KASSEN (South African)
(Sadler's Wells)

1st Armed Man - - - - - - - - D. MORGAN-JONES (Welsh)
(Sadler's Wells)

2nd Armed Man - - - - - GERALD KASSEN (South African)
(Sadler's Wells)

Pamina - - - - - - - - AULIKKI RAUTAWAARA (Finnish)

Die Königin der Nacht - - - - - - MÍLA KOČOVÁ (Czech)
(Prague, Metropolitan)

Papagena - - - - - - - - - - IRENE EISINGER (Austrian)
(Salzburg)

1st Lady - - - - - - - - LUISE HELLETSGRUBER (Austrian)
(Staatsoper, Vienna, Salzburg)

2nd Lady - - - - - - - - SOFFI SCHOENNING (Norwegian)
(Oslo)

3rd Lady - - - - - - - BETSY DE LA PORTE (South African)
(Covent Garden)

1st Boy - - - - - - - - - - WINIFRED RADFORD (English)

2nd Boy - - - - - - - - - - JEAN BECKWITH (English)

3rd Boy - - - - - - - - - - MOLLY MITCHELL (English)

Conductor - - - **FRITZ BUSCH**

Producer - CARL EBERT *Scenery* - HAMISH WILSON

ACT I. SCENE I. A Rocky Pass
SCENE II. Pamina's Boudoir
SCENE III. Courtyard of the Temple

ACT II. SCENE I. Inside the Temple
SCENE II. Courtyard of Temple
SCENE III. Garden
SCENE IV. A Vault
SCENE V. In the Temple
SCENE VI. A Garden
SCENE VII. Before the Temple
SCENES VIII. and IX. Fire and Water
SCENE X. Garden
SCENE XI. Before the Temple
SCENE XII. In the Temple

PAGE SEVENTEEN

Figure 2: Cast details of Die Zauberflöte for the 1935 Mozart Festival at Glyndebourne (reproduced by permission).

('Harry') Harvey Wood suggested that Edinburgh might prove a more suitable city for the event; and with Wood's help, Bing approached several important cultural figures within the city to ask for their support. Among them was Bing's fellow countryman, Hans Gál.

Gál was ideally placed to advise Bing on the possibility of setting up such a festival. A highly successful and well-known composer in Austria and Germany before the War, he had enjoyed particular acclaim for his opera *Die heilige Ente* Op. 15 (1924); as well as co-editing the first complete edition of the music of Johannes Brahms, and holding a distinguished teaching post in Vienna prior to being appointed Director of the Mainz Conservatorium in 1929.[9] In March 1933, with Hitler's rise to power, he was removed from the Directorship and performances of his music were banned in Germany.[10] Following a return to Vienna and, following the Anschluss, the decision to leave for London (initially as a brief calling point en route to America), he subsequently journeyed to Edinburgh in 1938 at the invitation of Donald Francis Tovey, the Reid Professor of Music at Edinburgh University, to catalogue the considerable music holdings of the University Library.[11] Tovey also encouraged his involvement in local concerts and, had illness not prevented him, would almost certainly have arranged a permanent position for Gál at the University. Following the outbreak of war, Gál spent the summer of 1940 interned as an "enemy alien" on the Isle of Man;[12] but he was able to return to Edinburgh in the autumn, where Sidney Newman, Tovey's successor, finally succeeded in negotiating a post for him within the University Music Department in 1945.[13] Over the course of the 1940s Gál established himself as not only an active teacher at the University and at his own home, but also undertook a great deal of public performance. He regularly featured as a pianist in chamber performances at the Royal Scottish Academy and the National Gallery of Scotland; he also conducted the Reid Symphony Orchestra, was frequently involved with the Edinburgh University Historical Concerts, and directed various amateur instrumental and vocal groups.[14] Furthermore, a number of his compositions received first and early performances in such venues as the National Gallery of Scotland, the Usher Hall and the University itself.[15]

[9] For a concise biography of Gál, see E. Fox-Gál & A. Fox, *Hans Gál. Ein Jahrhundert Musik*, ed. G. Gruber (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2012). Gál and his former teacher, Eusebius Mandyczewski co-edited *Johannes Brahms: sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926-7/*R*).

[10] See E. Fox-Gál & A. Fox, *Hans Gál*, pp. 35-37.

[11] For an outline of Gál's work at the Library, and his discovery of an early Haydn Symphony within the collection, see [n.a.], 'Haydn Symphony. Discovery in Edinburgh. An Early Work' in *The Scotsman*, 17 October 1938, p. 8; and [n.a.] 'New Works' in *Tempo* 1 (January 1939), p. 11.

[12] Gál's diary for the period of his internment has been published: Hans Gál, *Musik hinter Stacheldraht: Tagebuchblätter aus dem Sommer 1940*, ed. Eva Fox-Gál (Bern & Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003).

[13] E. Fox-Gál & A. Fox, *Hans Gál*, p. 47.

[14] Gál's various performances and initiatives were regularly reported in *The Scotsman*; his name appears over 55 times from 1940-1945. See, for example, 'University Concerts', 15 January 1940, p. 6; 'Dr Gal's Orchestra', 19 April 1940, p. 4; and 'Lunch-Hour Concerts', 20 November 1941, p. 4.

[15] See for example, 'Lunch-Hour Concerts' in *The Scotsman*, 24 December 1942, p. 4.

It seems likely that Bing approached Gál in late 1944 or early 1945.[16] Gál's initial response to Bing's suggestion was evidently not what he had hoped for. "It's a beautiful city, Rudy," Gál told him, "but you will never get a Festival here." Recalling these words in an interview in 1983, Gál then remarked: "I was wrong."[17] Bing was particularly adept at dealing with sponsors, local dignitaries and the press and soon garnered support for the idea, as well as financial backing from the city and the Arts Council of Great Britain. He assembled a General Committee to administer and promote the Festival – he was still the General Manager of Glyndebourne Opera, and relied upon his staff in Edinburgh to keep him appraised of developments – which included Lady Rosebery (wife of the Regional Commissioner of Scotland, a patron and supporter of the arts, and a pupil of Gál's), Sidney Newman, Harvey Wood and other notable members of Edinburgh cultural life.[18] Yet Gál's name is curiously absent from the paperwork. He was listed as a potential member of the General Committee in November 1945,[19] and he stated in an interview in 1983 that he served on the first Festival Council;[20] but he is not listed as an official committee member in the Festival papers and publicity until 1948, when he joined the General and Programme Committees.

Since the paperwork from these early planning stages is incomplete (and it took time to establish a sound administrative structure), it seems likely that this omission was simply a result of imperfect record-keeping. For, despite his absence from official documents in these crucial first months of planning, Gál seems to have been on hand as an important advisor for Festival organisers. He was deeply involved in the city's current (though admittedly modest) musical life; had an excellent local reputation in Edinburgh; and a superb list of musical contacts in Austria and Germany, including Georg Szell, Ernst Toch, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Fritz Busch.[21] It must be assumed that, since Edinburgh was Gál's home, the majority of the conversations in which

[16] The two men had already encountered each other in Vienna, prior to the War. Gál recalled his conversation with Bing in Sheila Mackay, 'The Vienna Connection 1' in *Festival. Edinburgh 1983*, p. 22. Although Gál states that the exchange took place in 1946, he goes on to say that it was after this that Bing spoke to Lady Rosebery, an influential music lover, supporter of the arts and pupil of Gál's. The early discussions with Lady Rosebery, Murray Watson (editor of the *Scotsman*) and Sidney Newman took place in early 1945, ahead of formal meetings between Bing and the Lord Provost later that year. See E. Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival*, pp. 2-3.
[17] S. Mackay, 'The Vienna Connection 1', p. 22.
[18] A complete list of Council members was printed each year in the Festival Souvenir Brochure. Committee members included representatives from the British Council, the newly-formed Arts Council of Great Britain, the University, and various notable members of the city and its governing organisations.
[19] A list of names and addresses, Gál's amongst them, is given in the minutes of the meeting of the sub-committee appointed to consider additions to the General Committee, held on 19 November 1945. GB-En Dep. 378/61.
[20] S. Mackay, 'The Vienna Connection 1' p. 22.
[21] Gál also counted a slightly older generation of performers and composers among his good friends, many of whom did not live beyond the 1940s: among them Arnold Rosé, Felix Weingartner, Alban Berg, Anton Webern and Richard Strauss.

he was involved were held informally and in person. Once he had officially joined the Festival Committee in 1948, he was to remain on it for many years – officially until at least 1961; and he evidently continued to offer advice and guidance far beyond this date.[22]

Bing's plans came to fruition in 1947 with a two-week Festival, held from 24 August – 13 September. Performers included Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic – their first performance together since before the war – as well as The Glyndebourne Opera, Artur Schnabel, Joseph Szigeti, Pierre Fournier, William Primrose, the Hallé (conducted by John Barbirolli), the Liverpool Philharmonic (conducted by Malcolm Sargent), the Menges String Quartet, the Sadler's Wells Ballet with Ninette de Valois (conducted by Constant Lambert), and the Old Vic Theatre Company.[23] Such a roll-call of major international performers was not merely impressive in the abstract; it represented a major shift in the musical and artistic fortunes of the city, which had previously enjoyed only occasional visits from non-Scottish soloists and ensembles.[24]

The first Festival was remarkable not only for the artistic line-up and the financial support offered by the Arts Council and the City of Edinburgh itself, but for the sheer complexity of the planning and logistics in bringing the event to fruition.[25] These ranged from discussions with assorted government ministries concerning food and petrol rationing and paper shortages, to organising accommodation for the thousands of visitors predicted to visit Edinburgh over the Festival period.[26] The event was publicised and promoted internationally, and press invitations were sent to newspaper and journal editors all over the world. It is in this capacity that Gál's name makes its next appearance in the Festival paperwork, in a letter of 10 March 1947 from the

[22] Gál's name does not appear among the list of Committee members (as provided in the Festival Souvenir Brochures) after 1961; but he maintained, when interviewed in 1983, that he had both been a member from the first Festival and was still part of the Committee. See S. Mackay, 'The Vienna Connection 1', p. 22.

[23] See *Edinburgh International Festival Souvenir Programme*, 1947.

[24] The majority of orchestral concerts in Edinburgh were given by the Reid Orchestra and the Scottish Orchestra (later the Royal Scottish National Orchestra). Occasionally these featured prominent international soloists such as Arthur Rubinstein with the Scottish Orchestra (see for example 'Paterson Concerts', *The Scotsman*, 4 February 1930, p. 8) and Myra Hess, Phyllis Sellick and Moiseiwitsch ('Reid Symphony Orchestra. Coming Season's Concerts', *The Scotsman*, 8 October 1943, p. 3); but such visitors seem to have been relatively rare. Similarly, the International Celebrity Concerts and Max Mossel Concerts could boast such artists as Elena Gerhardt, Albert Sammons and Paderewski in the autumn of 1930 ('Next Winter's Music', *The Scotsman*, 19 June 1930, p. 11); but there was nothing in Scotland to match the profile and frequency of such concert series as those of the Wigmore Hall or Queen's Hall in London.

[25] The Edinburgh Corporation provided £22,000 towards start-up costs of the first festival, and £15,000 each year until 1958 (when their donation increased). The Arts Council – later the Scottish Arts Council – also made annual contributions, as did a number of private donors. The basic financial statistics for each Festival from 1947-1996 is given in E. Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival*, pp. 389-392.

[26] The substantial Festival correspondence books covering the period 22 October 1946 – 30 August 1947 (GB-En Dep. 378/136-149) are replete with references to – and direct correspondence with – the Ministry of Food, the Ministry of Labour, local hotels, travel agents, and many other individuals and organisations whose co-operation were crucial to the organisation of the event.

Festival Manager, Hamish F. Maclennan, to William Buchanan Taylor, the Director of Press Information:

> I have had a visit from Dr. Hans Gal [sic] who is very well-known in musical circles in Edinburgh. He showed me a card which states that he has been appointed representative for the National Zeitung of Bale [sic], Switzerland to attend the Festival. He is asking for press tickets and facilities. Perhaps you would like to discuss this question with Mr Bing in view of the special circumstances.[27]

The 'special circumstances' mentioned probably refers in part to the lateness of Gál's request (since all other press tickets had been assigned months before this date); yet he did indeed produce extensive reviews for the Basel *National-Zeitung* for many years.[28] But it is also surely a reference to the fact that he was already known to the organisers. He was evidently heavily involved with Festival work by this stage; just a few weeks later he provided one of the pre-Festival lectures, on the subject of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*, on 31 March 1947.[29]

When the first Festival began, on 24 August 1947, Gál's name was to appear on official public paperwork in only one capacity: as a provider of programme notes. The three concerts to which he contributed notes were two programmes given by the Vienna Philharmonic under Walter,[30] and a recital of the three Brahms Violin Sonatas by Joseph Szigeti and Artur Schnabel. Whether it was Bing or Gál who was responsible for organising the attendance of Walter (whom they both knew), history does not record; but the Brahms programme was almost certainly undertaken at Gál's prompting. The concert was planned at the very last minute, just a few days before the Festival was due to begin, when the soprano Lotte Lehmann cancelled two song recitals that she had agreed to offer with Walter.[31] In an effort to fill these

[27] Letter dated 10 March 1947; GB-En Dep. 378/139, letter no. 3.

[28] My thanks to Eva Fox-Gál for information on her father's involvement with the *National-Zeitung*. In order to write his reviews, Gál attended the majority of Festival events, and in several instances annotated his Festival programmes (now in the possession of his daughter) to indicate exactly what he had seen. He continued to provide annual reports for this paper until at least 1970.

[29] Gál's first pre-Festival lecture is mentioned in a typescript of what appears to be a press release, 'Edinburgh Gets down to it', hand-dated 4 February 1947 (GB-En Dep. 378/61). A list of forthcoming events was first announced in *The Scotsman* on 1 February 1947, p. 1.

[30] The Vienna Philharmonic concert took place on 8, 9 and 13 September 1947 (the first programme was performed on two consecutive evenings) and included works by Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Schubert and Johann Strauss II. The note for Walter's second programme with the Vienna Philharmonic on 11 and 12 September, were provided by Eric Blom and appear to be a reprint of the notes that appeared with Walter's recording of the work issued by Columbia in 1937. (Original programme consulted at GB-Lcm). A complete list of repertoire performed on each occasion is given in E. Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival*, p. 159.

[31] The Festival records stored at the National Library of Scotland do not give a precise date of Lehmann's cancellation; but since her programmes were only received by the Festival staff on 12 July, and letters announcing the cancelled concerts were sent to patrons on 21 and 23 August, it must be assumed that she withdrew very soon before the start of the Festival. See GB-En Dep. 378/145 (letter 339, dated 12 July 1947) and 378/149 (letters 61 and 169 of 21 and 23 August 1947 respectively).

now-vacant slots, two artists already in attendance were prevailed upon to offer one of the required additional programmes.[32] Schnabel and Szigeti had been booked to perform as part of the "Festival Piano Quartet" with William Primrose and Pierre Fournier;[33] Gál knew them both and, given his expertise in Brahms's music, it seems more than likely that the concert was his suggestion. The notes he provided are quite extensive, and include an introductory text in which he assesses the importance of the works performed and their place in public recitals.[34]

From the second year of the Festival onwards, Gál's involvement became rather more varied. The decision was taken to run an annual composition prize from 1948-1950, and he acted as an adjudicator for the competition in 1949.[35] He contributed no further programme notes, but did continue to give pre-Festival lectures on a variety of composers and subjects: indeed, in 1949 he provided three of the six presentations, on the works of Mahler, the Beethoven Septet and Schubert Octet, and Verdi's *Un Ballo in Maschera*.[36]

On 2 September 1952, Gál made an appearance as a performer, in a unique recital at the Usher Hall with Irmgard Seefried, Kathleen Ferrier, Julius Patzak, Horst Günter and Clifford Curzon (See Fig. 3, overleaf). Gál's own musical interests are clearly detectable in the programme: a selection of Brahms's vocal quartets, including a group of *Liebeslieder* opp. 52 and 65 for quartet and piano duet, with piano works by Schubert for two and four hands. (He was later to publish biographies of both composers.)[37] Robert Ponsonby, then the Festival Director's assistant, recalled that it was he who initially proposed the *Liebeslieder* to Gál – certainly the best-known item in the programme – and in consultation with him, invited both Curzon and the four singers to take part. Whilst Seefried, Ferrier and Patzak were already booked to be involved in other concerts, a bass was needed to complete the ensemble:

> I had, before consulting [Hans], engaged the bass-baritone, Frederick Dalberg, for the bottom line of the quartet. Dalberg was a Wagnerian,

[32] Lehmann's two recitals with Walter were due to take place on 4 September at 7.30pm and 6 September and 2.30pm. The former slot was taken by Schnabel and Szigeti; the latter featured Elisabeth Schumann in an all-Schubert recital, accompanied by Walter. Since Schumann was not originally due to appear at all, it is possible that Lehmann suggested her as a replacement.

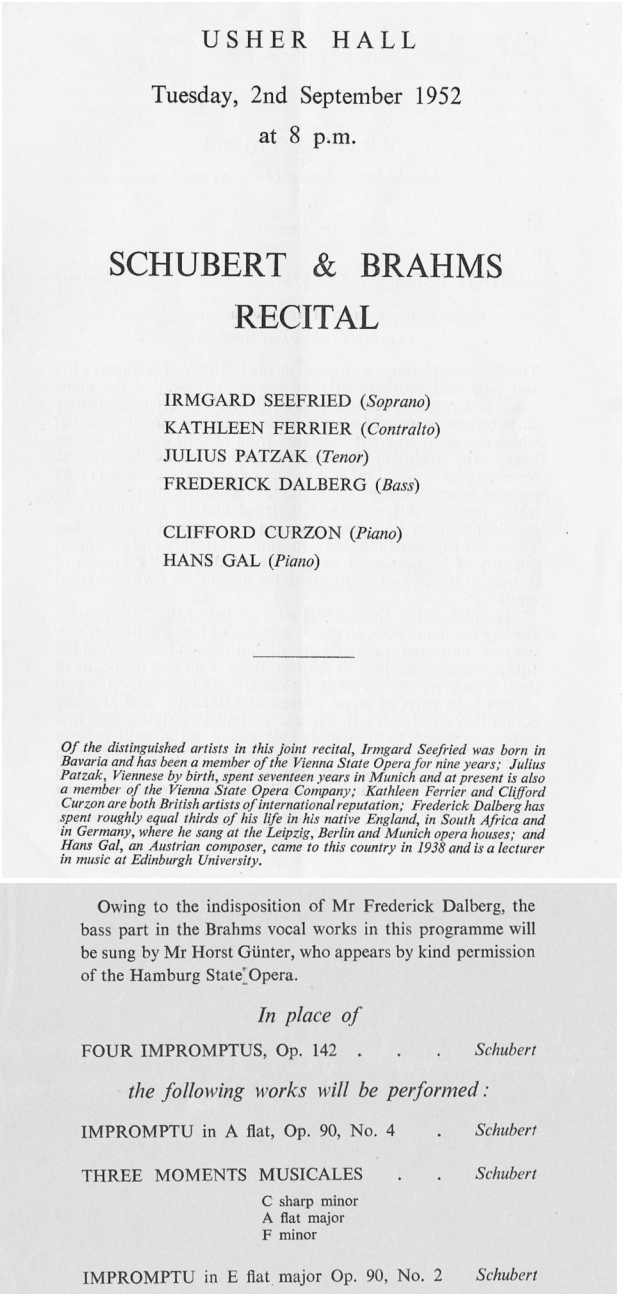
[33] The Festival Quartet gave three concerts, on 28 and 30 August and 1 September. Szigeti also performed Mozart's Violin Concerto no. 4 K218 on 31 August with the Hallé Orchestra under Barbirolli.

[34] *Sonata Recital. Artur Schnabel & Joseph Szigeti*, Thursday, 4th September 1947 at 7.30 p.m. (GB-Lcm).

[35] See 'Edinburgh Festival Prize' in *The Scotsman*, 8 January 1949, p. 3; see also E. Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival*, p. 26.

[36] See *The Scotsman*¸ 27 December 1947, p. 1 (advert for 1948 series) and 26 March 1949, p. 1 (advert for 1949 series, which also includes a detailed overview of Gál's recent lecture on Mahler).

[37] These were: *Johannes Brahms: Werk und Persönlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1961) and *Franz Schubert, oder die Melodie* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1970). Both books were also published in English translations (Gál translated his Schubert biography himself), in 1963 and 1974 respectively.



USHER HALL

Tuesday, 2nd September 1952

at 8 p.m.

SCHUBERT & BRAHMS RECITAL

IRMGARD SEEFRIED (*Soprano*)
KATHLEEN FERRIER (*Contralto*)
JULIUS PATZAK (*Tenor*)
FREDERICK DALBERG (*Bass*)

CLIFFORD CURZON (*Piano*)
HANS GAL (*Piano*)

Of the distinguished artists in this joint recital, Irmgard Seefried was born in Bavaria and has been a member of the Vienna State Opera for nine years; Julius Patzak, Viennese by birth, spent seventeen years in Munich and at present is also a member of the Vienna State Opera Company; Kathleen Ferrier and Clifford Curzon are both British artists of international reputation; Frederick Dalberg has spent roughly equal thirds of his life in his native England, in South Africa and in Germany, where he sang at the Leipzig, Berlin and Munich opera houses; and Hans Gal, an Austrian composer, came to this country in 1938 and is a lecturer in music at Edinburgh University.

Owing to the indisposition of Mr Frederick Dalberg, the bass part in the Brahms vocal works in this programme will be sung by Mr Horst Günter, who appears by kind permission of the Hamburg State Opera.

In place of

FOUR IMPROMPTUS, Op. 142 . . . *Schubert*

the following works will be performed:

IMPROMPTU in A flat, Op. 90, No. 4 . *Schubert*

THREE MOMENTS MUSICALES . . *Schubert*
C sharp minor
A flat major
F minor

IMPROMPTU in E flat major Op. 90, No. 2 *Schubert*

Figure 3: Programme of 2 September 1952, Edinburgh International Festival (reproduced by permission).

> busy at Covent Garden, and I reckoned he had the necessary weight to 'anchor' Seefried's bright soprano and Patzak's curiously plangent tenor. [. . .] But there was a hiccup. Coaching Dalberg, Hans discovered that he lacked both charm and style (vital ingredients). This was embarrassing, but Hans then revealed another aspect of his remarkable character: by the subtlest of suggestive means – for example 'Are you *sure* the part is not too high for you, Mr Dalberg?' – he persuaded the singer that he would not do himself justice, and he withdrew, to be more than adequately replaced by Horst Günter from the Hamburg State Opera.
> The performance went wonderfully and in the green-room afterwards I found Seefried and Ferrier waltzing together, enraptured.[38]

Gál's career in Britain involved a tremendous variety of musical activities – from university lecturing to solo piano work, accompanying, conducting, writing both books and articles, and teaching privately. Yet his reputation in Austria and Germany had been founded largely upon his talents as a composer, and he had continued to write new works upon his arrival in Edinburgh (even completing several pieces whilst interned in 1940).[39] Between 1948 and 1956, his own compositions were performed at the Festival on four occasions:

Table 1: Performances of Gál's compositions at the Edinburgh International Festival, 1947-1956

Date of Performance	**Piece**	**Performers**
11th September 1948	Trio for Oboe, Violin and Viola Op. 94	Carter String Trio & Leon Goossens
3 September 1949	Lilliburlero Op. 48	BBC Scottish Orchestra, cond. Ian Whyte
5 September 1949	Concertina for organ and string orchestra Op.55	Jacques Orchestra, cond. Reginald Jacques. Soloist: Herrick Bunney
1951	Morgenhymnus	Wiener Akademie Kammerchor, cond. Ferdinand Grossman

[38] Robert Ponsonby, *Musical Heroes. A Personal View of Music and the Musical World Over Sixty Years* (London: Giles de la Mare Publishers Ltd, 2009), p. 47. Günter was there as a soloist with the Hamburg State Opera, playing Papageno in *Zauberflöte*. This concert was to be Kathleen Ferrier's last appearance at the Festival; she made her final public appearance in February 1953 and died later the same year.

[39] For details of these compositions, see H. Gál, *Musik hinter Stacheldraht*. The most substantial was a revue, *What a Life!*, performed in September 1940 – Gál actually requested a day's extension on his internment in order to be able to take part in the first performance (see pp. xxxiii-xxxiv and 144-147).

These four works also trace a neat journey from Gál's pre-war music to new creations. The Trio Op. 94 had been composed in 1941;[40] *Lilliburlero* Op. 48 was written in 1945 and had received its British premiere in 1948, given by the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra under Rudolf Schwarz.[41] The 1949 Festival performance of the Concertino Op. 55 was indeed a premiere;[42] and *Morgenhymnus*, performed by the Wiener Akademie Kammerchor, seems to have been an early a capella version of the first movement, *Der Morgen*, from the Cantata *Lebenskreise* Op. 70, completed in 1955.[43] Evidently Gál had strong advocates within the organisational committees of the Festival, and the local audiences of Edinburgh and Glasgow had already witnessed numerous concerts of his music in the previous few years, including performances of the *Pickwickian Overture* Op. 45, Serenade for String Orchestra Op. 46 and Piano Concerto Op. 57.[44] In addition to these performances of his original compositions, Gál was also involved in providing a performing arrangement of Mozart's *Idomeneo* for Glyndebourne Opera in 1951, and this production was brought to the Edinburgh Festival in 1953.[45]

Finally, as a member of the Programme Committee, Gál's influence also seems to be detectable in the choice of repertoire for each Festival. The Committee minutes are frustratingly sparse in their details of who provided suggestions. Evidently the Artistic Director played an active role in shaping the overall structure and pattern of events, and constructing concert outlines for consideration by particular performers; though in some cases it seems that artists simply sent a choice of proposals from which the Committee could choose their preferred programme.[46] But the kind of repertoire that was performed, particularly by visiting chamber orchestras such as the Jacques Orchestra and Boyd Neel Orchestra in the Festival's early years, are reminiscent of the kind of programming one can encounter in Gál's non-Festival performances. In particular, this reflects what was evidently a profound

[40] Curiously this does not seem to have been reviewed in the Scotsman. See the detailed catalogue of Gál's works, including details of early performances, at http://www.hansgal.com/works/op94.html (accessed 20 January 2013).
[41] http://www.hansgal.com/works/op48.html (accessed 20 January 2013).
[42] The performance was given by the Jacques Orchestra, conducted by Reginald Jacques The soloist was Herrick Bunney, whose name was unaccountably not included in the programme (see [n.a.], 'The Festival. Jacques Orchestra' *The Scotsman*, 6 September 1949, p. 4).
[43] In its later form, this piece was recast as the first movement of *Lebenskreise*. This work is for the rather more expansive forces of four soloists (SATB), mixed choir (boys and SATB) and orchestra. My thanks to Eva Fox-Gál for confirming the connection of this early piece to the Cantata.
[44] Performances of these composition are mentioned in *The Scotsman* on 22 January 1947 (p. 1), 19 April 1840 (p. 4) and 3 September 1949 (p. 5) respectively. Sidney Newman's enthusiasm for Gál's compositions is clear from a letter that he wrote to the Programme Committee on 3 July 1950, recommending the inclusion of Gál's Cello Concerto Op. 67 in the 1951 Festival programme (GB-En Dep. 378/63).
[45] The name of Gál's sister, Erna, also appears in the Festival programme for this production; she is first listed as a member of musical staff at Glyndebourne in 1951 for the first performance there of her brother's edition of *Idomeneo*. Performances were given at Glyndebourne between 20 June and 14 July 1951. (Programmes viewed at GB-Lcm.)
[46] See GB-En Dep. 378/63.

interest in earlier repertoire – Pergolesi, Corelli, Handel, Galuppi – as well as lesser-known pieces by Haydn and Mozart, and contemporary repertoire including Bartók, Bloch and Hindemith. The variety of programming is apparent from Boyd Neel's recollection of his orchestra's performances at the Festival in 1948:

> The Edinburgh Festival of 1948 was exciting. Everything was new and no one in that lovely city had, as yet, got into a groove. But how we had to work! We gave *ten* concerts in eleven days, many including large and complex works. [. . .] We did among others works: *Music for Strings, Celeste and Percussion* by Bartók; Schönberg's *Verklärte Nacht*; the Honegger *Second Symphony*; Benjamin Britten's *Variations on a Theme of Frank Bridge*; Michael Tippett's *Concerto for Double String Orchestra*; Darius Milhaud's *Concertino de Printemps*, and Chausson's *Poème de l'amour et de la mer* with Maggie Teyte – this last a never-to-be-forgotten experience. Then there was the [Strauss] *Metamorphosen*; Rawsthorne's first *Piano Concerto*; Stravinsky's *Apollon musagète*; and the Britten and Dvořák *Serenades*. We also included many shorter eighteenth-century works. Not bad for ten days?[47]

Local Edinburgh audiences were used to the appearance of an occasional work from the early twentieth century; thanks to Gál, their familiarity with Baroque repertoire had also increased. But the list of music that Boyd Neel presents here demonstrates what must have amounted to an extreme onslaught of new repertoire in a city that did not previously have anything like the kind of musical infrastructure to put on such pieces.

By the end of its first decade, the Edinburgh Festival could boast that it had hosted musicians and other performing artists from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, Belgium, America, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Finland, Spain, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Japan – in terms of creating a setting "where the people of the world could assemble to enjoy the music and the dancing", as the Lord Provost put it in 1956, it had certainly succeeded. More than this: its success was due in no small part to the extreme hard work and dedication of several people who had indeed been considered strangers, exiles, and enemies of their own home countries when they had journeyed to Britain in the 1930s. Whilst Bing held the position of Festival Director for just three years and subsequently settled in New York as the general manager of the Metropolitan Opera, Gál spent the rest of his life in Edinburgh and continued to involve himself with the Festival for many decades. Although he never

[47] Jolyon David Finch, ed. *My Orchestras and Other Adventures. The Memoirs of Boyd Neel* (University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 143.

succeeded in establishing a compositional reputation in Britan equivalent to his fame in pre-war Austria and Germany, his music has been received with increasing interest and enthusiasm over the past few decades; and his legacy as a teacher (he coached several of Scotland's leading composers from the 1960s onwards, including Thea Musgrave and Iain Hamilton),[48] scholar and practical musician cannot be underestimated. As the field of research into the lives and works of émigré musicians continues to grow, it seems that Gál's story offers echoes of the very aim of the Edinburgh Festival, as its early proponents imagined it: artistic success, and international understanding.

Abstract:
Tracing the early history of the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama, this article presents a consideration of the role of Hans Gál (1890-1987) in the Festival's foundation and opening decade, from 1947-1957. An émigré from Vienna, Gál's considerable international reputation in the pre-war years made him a powerful and knowledgeable advocate for the enterprise. Detailed information is provided of Gál's involvement as a scholar, composer and performer, as well as his role as a member of the Festival Council.

Katy Hamilton is Junior Research Fellow in Performance History at the Royal College of Music, specialising in the vocal music of Johannes Brahms and his contemporaries. She is co-editor of the forthcoming volume 'Brahms in the Home and the Concert Hall: Between Public and Private Performance', to be published by Cambridge University Press, and has also been working as Graham Johnson's research assistant for his 'Franz Schubert. The Complete Songs', published by Yale University Press.

[48] See R. Ponsonby, *Musical Heroes*, p. 58.

Brio Volume 50, Number 1. pp 53-56

EXHIBITION REVIEW

Longplayer
Trinity Buoy Wharf, E14

You could be forgiven for thinking that I have left it a little late in the day to review this exhibition. At the time of writing, *Longplayer* has been in existence for a total of 12 years, 282 days, 06 hours, 37 minutes and 57 seconds. When one considers that this piece of music is set to play for another 988 years, the necessity to rush, brought on by so many a closing show, seems a little less urgent.

Longplayer began on 31st December 1999 and is set to play without repetition or interruption until 2999. Trinity Buoy Wharf is its home in London, though versions exist digitally and at listening posts in Brisbane, Alexandria and San Francisco. You would perhaps struggle to find a more incongruous setting for such a grandly conceived project. *Longplayer* is housed in a London's only lighthouse, built in 1864, that sits by the confluence of River Thames and Bow Creek.

Its location is somehow fitting for music that looks to the future and the past. The great breadth of the Thames swells below, disused nautical machinery squats on its banks: a reminder of the wharf's previous role as a site for the storage of buoys and the repair of lightships. From the lattice windows of the lighthouse itself the view confronts you with the legacy of the unfettered hubris of capitalism: directly opposite the harsh exoskeleton of the O2 Arena, to your right the underwhelming cluster of Canary Wharf and to your left the undulating gondolas of the Emirates Air Line.

The music inside provides an overwhelming contrapuntal force against this visual noise. Extenuated sounds of struck bells overlap, merge, dissolve and continue. Within the lighthouse tower the sound plays out of four speakers, resonates on the iron clad floor and drifts across the barn-like structure below. The overwhelming mood is one of contemplation, of time moving slowly and of your position as listener and witness. Being there you are designated as only a brief moment in the chronological immensity that this project entails.

Longplayer was conceived and composed by Jem Finer (formerly of *The Pogues*) in collaboration with Artangel, a London based organisation that

commissions and produces projects by contemporary artists.[1] Finer started the project in 1995 with an idea borne "out of the collision between my pre-millennial ranting and the desire I'd always had to make something that made time, as a long and slow process, tangible."[2] The project took four years and numerous iterations in form before it attained its final expression. The various sites considered for *Longplayer* included the Earth Centre near Doncaster, the Dome and nuclear waste silos. The source music went from Judy Garland's *Over the Rainbow*, to Messiaen's *Quatuor pour la fin de Temps*, to Debussy's *Prélude à l'après- midi d'un Faune*, to John Cage's notion of a 'prepared' piano, to Lou Harrison's *Jhala III* before arriving at a *Tibetan Monks at Play* cassette that Finer had lying around at home. The key to this recording was the Tibetan singing bowls that, when struck, would resound with a deep, rich and drifting tone.

The process of turning these sounds into a 1,000-year piece of music involved an equally discursive trip into computer programming and mathematics. Eventually Finer used a programme called SuperCollider to sequence the source music. The segments began at around 30 seconds long and grew to the maximum length of time his iMac's RAM could fit – 20 minutes 20 seconds. The six segments of Tibetan bowl music were recorded and then programmed to start playing on a loop. Each of the segments' starting points are incremented by these different amounts every two minutes:

0.000004639224967 seconds
0.001053104067 seconds
0.007464512971 seconds
0.060323842 seconds
0.241239698 seconds
0.423612270 seconds

The effect in reality is not one of repetition but, as Finer states, the layers of sound "gradually coalesced and shifted, combining to create new sounds . . . sometimes the hint of strings or choral voices, at other times something less harmonic, almost electronic . . . always modulating between the two states."[3]

The looping structure of the music programmed in such a detailed manner seems to be deeply embedded in our own digital age. The only visual objects on show in the exhibition give lie to this supposition. An iMac screen (that already looks outdated) sits next to one of the Tibetan bowls in a Perspex

[1] Other recent projects by Artangel include Roger Hiorns 'Seizure' (2009), which involved pouring 75,000 litres of copper sulphate solution into an abandoned flat to cause a vast crystalline growth and Francis Alÿs's 'Seven Walks' (2005) including a piece where a fox was released into the National Gallery at night.
[2] Jem Finer, *Longplayer*, London, Artangel, p. 13.
[3] Jem Finer, *Longplayer*, London, Artangel, p. 44.

fronted shed at the end of the attic-like space that sits next to the lighthouse. The screen glows with the oscillations of the music, and a bar chart below shows the stage of each of the six layers of music. The bowl sits motionless to the left of the screen. Finer was aware from the start that this music, if it is to survive its full term, has to have alternative vehicles for its performance. Just as the idea of looping predates the computer age, with works such as Steve Reich's *Come Out* and *It's Gonna Rain* utilising tape recorders, Finer's composition is ready for the post-computer age. The score for *Longplayer* is primarily a score for six musicians playing Tibetan bowls by hand. Equally, clockwork mechanisation could power the piece. The computer is only the current host for the work.

What one cannot escape from when confronted with *Longplayer* is thoughts of the future, near and distant. As one stands and listens to the music and contemplates its proposed length, it is hard not to agree with Eshun: "you suddenly see yourself as future generations will, as their histories will record you, fustian, ridiculous, endearingly archaic."[4] Not only does the concept behind *Longplayer* inherently depend upon people for its survival, but it is also a springboard for long- term thinking. From the start of the project, conversations have been held annually to discuss not just the music, but the future longue durée. A recent conversation between James Lovelock and John Gray touched upon the ecological future of the planet and the ultimate demise of our species.[5] In this way then, *Longplayer*, reverberates far beyond the walls of its lighthouse.

Such questions of long term survival are brought into focus by a recent documentary, *Into Eternity.*[6] The film examines the potential consequences of the first underground storage facility for nuclear waste, located in northern Finland. The time scale that has to be considered in this case is 100,000 years: the length of time that the current owners of the site have to consider for secure storage of the waste. The questions that arise have their own vertiginous momentum. Should the site be marked in order that people stay away? If it is marked, what language or symbols should be used? If left unmarked, will rumours of the site lead to people thinking there is some sort of treasure there, a future Tutankhamen? What sort of legacy do we leave the future if this is all that survives our species?

Such thoughts do not leave one with a great deal of hope for *Longplayer*. Given the tumultuous history of our species, two world wars within the last hundred years, what chance does a piece of music have for ten times that length?

[4] Kodwo Eshun in Jem Finer, *Longplayer,* London, Artangel, p. 10.
[5] This conversation can be heard at:
http://www.artangel.org.uk//projects/2000/longplayer/conversations/john_gray_james_lovelock
[6] Dir. Michael Madsen, 2010.

To attempt to ensure the music's long term survival the *Longplayer* Trust was set up at the end of 2000 with the sole intention of "researching and implementing the means to keep *Longplayer* playing, in ensuring its sustainability." The music has already been performed live on three occasions, first in September 2009 at the Roundhouse in London – a performance that lasted 16 hours and 40 minutes. *Longplayer* Live is performed on a giant orchestral instrument comprised of 234 singing bowls, arranged in 6 concentric rings, the largest ring measuring 20m in diameter. More performances are scheduled for 2013 in Australia and 2014 in the United States. The Trust is considering a number of other options for the work's survival including a dedicated global radio frequency and a mechanical device – consisting of six oversize two-armed turntables.

Perhaps such efforts should give us hope of the possibility of continuation. If the idea of *Longplayer* can take hold as something worth preserving, then maybe it can become bound up in the survival of humanity itself, always evolving and always depending upon human ingenuity. As an exhibition, a piece of music, a performance or a live internet stream it cannot fail to induce pause for thought, and hopefully more. In a recent radio interview, the poet Don Paterson, referring to his reinterpretation of the Orpheus myth, talked about the predicament of humans: "we are the product of two realms, the temporal and the a-temporal, because we have foreknowledge of our own deaths. So essentially we are in a state of ghost-hood. So how do you deal with it – well the way that we deal with it is by singing across the gap and listening to the echoes that come back from that realm."[7] *Longplayer* is certainly a worthy part of this effort, this 'singing across the gap' and is very much worth a visit; in your own time, of course.

For more information and to listen to *Longplayer* visit: www.longplayer.org

Chris Larner

[7] Quoted from Radio 3 *Night Waves* interview, 3 October 2012.

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REVIEWS

Edited by Loukia Drosopoulou

Ralph Vaughan Williams*, Fantasia for Piano and Orchestra.* Study score, edited by Graham Parlett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 96 p. ISBN: 978-0-19-338825-3. Paperback. £14.95.

Ralph Vaughan Williams*, Serenade in A minor (1898).* Study score, edited by Julian Rushton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 144 p. ISBN: 978-0-19-337956-5. Paperback. £19.95.

Ralph Vaughan Williams*, Bucolic Suite.* Study score, edited by Julian Rushton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 144 p. ISBN: 978-0-19-337955-8. Paperback. £19.95.

Even twenty years ago, it would have been unthinkable to be asked to review the first publications of works by one of our major twentieth-century composers in fine scholarly editions and produced by perhaps our most prestigious music publisher. It is also rather incredible that the works in question have been performed and recorded by some of the best musicians in the country! So what has brought about this remarkable set of circumstances?

As late as the beginning of the 1990s, Ralph Vaughan Williams' (RVW) catalogue of early works was little more than a footnote in this prolific composer's output. Some of these early pieces were missing[1] but luckily, most of his manuscripts had been donated to the British Museum / Library in an enlightened gesture by the composer's widow Ursula, and were available to scholars and researchers with, however, an embargo on performance and publication. Apart from RVW's individual songs and song cycles (*Linden Lea, Songs of Travel,* and *The House of Life*), little was known of his other earlier choral, chamber and orchestral output, some of which the composer had withdrawn soon after the First World War, even though some had a performance history and had been included in his catalogue of works. Others, such as the *Fantasia for piano* and *The Garden of Proserpine,* had been abandoned (but not destroyed).

[1] RVW's *Heroic Elegy & Triumphal Epilogue* of 1900/01 was missing for 65 years. His *Symphonic Rhapsody* (1904) and *Norfolk Rhapsody No.3* (1906) are still missing.

As far as the musical public was concerned, RVW's orchestral output began with the Symphonic Impression *In the Fen Country* of 1904 and much revised later, while his choral canon commenced with *Toward the Unknown Region* of 1907, by which time he had been an experienced working composer producing 'mature' works for a decade previously! By this stage in his career (he was in his mid thirties by 1907) he probably felt that his style was still evolving and he was keen to move on, particularly after the revelation that was his personal discovery of folk song in 1903 and his desire to create a 'national' musical style. By the mid 1990s, the tide was beginning to turn in the development of serious RVW scholarship, and a more confident attitude was being demonstrated with regard to early or lesser-known works by RVW and other composers, with the fear of damage to reputation on the wane – early and student works by the likes of Sibelius, Elgar and Bruckner were being recorded and performed. Public and critical reception was positive when Ursula Vaughan Williams had allowed some of her husband's early chamber music to be performed (later published and recorded) and I believe that these works, particularly the magnificent *Piano Quintet in C minor* of 1903, actually added to RVW's reputation by opening up new perspectives on his stylistic evolution and development. Next in line for re-evaluation were the earlier choral works – initially *Willow Wood* and more recently the *Cambridge Mass* and *The Garden of Proserpine* with either revivals or premier performances, recording and publication by major publishers such as Faber Music and Stainer & Bell. Subsequent to Ursula's death in 2007, the RVW Charitable Trust has overseen the release of some of the composer's earlier orchestral works, including the three significant scores under review, all of which have been recently recorded.

The *Fantasia for Piano & Orchestra* is perhaps the most problematic of the three works under review, and occupied the composer from 1896 to 1904 when it had its final revision. He included it in a list of his 'most important works' in 1903 but seems to have set it aside with no apparent effort to have it performed or published. Having had no performance, the work of the editor, Graham Parlett, must have been a challenge, and the background information in the score introduction covering editorial method underlines the daunting task of shaping up the manuscript into a performable musical item. Issues that would probably have emerged during rehearsal, wrong notes, missing accidentals, ambiguous dynamics, articulation marks and phrasing with obvious slips, have been 'silently amended'. Other particularly practical matters, such as adding a clarinet in A to cover a low D flat, not playable by the B flat instrument, clearly demonstrate the editor's concern for performability. Extensive textual notes map editorial input to make this work performable rather than markings and footnotes within the score, making the musical text and the 'look' of the notation and layout a model of clarity. Although slightly

formulaic in places, this *Fantasia,* his first work with such a title, joins the exclusive collection of RVW works for piano and orchestra (the others being a *Concerto* and another later *Fantasia*) and belies the received opinion that he was less than competent in his piano writing. Perhaps the strongest and most characteristic element of the piece is the use of a hymn-like melody threading through it and creating a sense of unity.

The *Serenade in A minor (1898)* is RVW's first purely orchestral piece and is in five movements (the fourth, a Romance, being a suggested substitute for the Intermezzo & Trio). It is scored for small orchestra with two each of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons and horns, with timpani & strings and lasts around 25 minutes. It was initially rehearsed by Stanford at the Royal College of Music but not performed there, with the premier being by Dan Godfrey and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra in April 1901, with a second outing in London in 1908. With the manuscript later in the possession of Yale University Library, a 'modern' performance took place in 1986 by the New England Chamber Orchestra under James Sinclair. The editor of this splendid OUP edition, Julian Rushton, has tidied up various inconsistencies in the score (editorial dynamics in square brackets with slurs and hairpins dotted), and is again a model of clarity. The preface provides a detailed history of the work with notes on the source and musical text. This *Serenade* makes a particularly attractive piece with strong and often characteristic thematic material imaginatively scored, and would represent an impressive first orchestral essay for any composer. Of course, the influences are present – Dvorak, Stanford, Brahms, Wagner – but more than a little of RVW's personality shines through.

For the *Bucolic Suite* (a title that could only have been dreamed-up by RVW), Rushton has again expertly edited a score that had a few performances in the early twentieth century. This is really a remarkable work and shows the composer further advanced from the *Serenade* in a number of ways – musical structure, thematic content, fluency, orchestration and a general air of confidence throughout the score, perhaps resulting from his then recent period of study in Berlin with Max Bruch. Editorial contribution in this work seems to have been considerable, with the performing full score in the British Library being the only source – the challenge of producing this new OUP score from an original full of performance markings, deletions, pastings-over and crossings-out must be considered a particular achievement.

First performed in Bournemouth in March 1902 by the Municipal Orchestra under Dan Godfrey, the composer shelved the *Bucolic Suite* after its last performance in Cardiff in 1907 and perhaps intended its eventual destruction. Lasting for around twenty minutes, the suite is in four movements and is scored for a larger orchestra than the other works reviewed here, including piccolo, harp and percussion. With its outdoor and slightly 'folksy' feel, the

suite comes over as a very assured piece of music, with moments of almost symphonic writing and some very characteristic and effective brass passages in the finale. One can only wonder whether, if the composer had not put this suite aside and instead managed to have further performances and perhaps publication, it could even have become one of his more popular successes? This OUP score again achieves the highest standard of editorial excellence with the details of all textual decisions, notes on instrumentation, performance and sources.

So, what comes across to the 21st century listener from these works that have been in limbo for over a century, and was it worth the effort to revive and publish them? First, we are gaining a fuller and rounder picture of this truly amazing composer. His impressive output as a song-writer is already known and admired and the early chamber music, particularly the *Piano Quintet in C minor,* seems to be gaining a place in the repertoire since its publication and recording a decade ago. Second, the availability to a public beyond the world of the academic can only be applauded. Unlike the early pieces by Sibelius for instance, the RVW works are not really 'student' pieces, as he was by this time a fully fluent composer in possession of most of his hard-learned skills, working in the service of his musical imagination and producing compositions in the style of the time, with his own musical personality starting to emerge and demonstrating a not insignificant skill in the craft of orchestration. It can be very difficult not to play the game of 'spot the pre-echo' in these early pieces, especially if one can detect some of RVW's stylistic fingerprints in these scores and of course, the start of the project that was eventually to become the *Sea Symphony* came close on the heels of these three works. Third, the awareness of these works does contribute to a new perspective on this composer making his later styles and achievements even more original and outstanding.

The RVW Charitable Trust, Oxford University Press and its editors are to be warmly congratulated in making this music available, and I hope that both amateur and professional orchestras take advantage of these publications to bring this remarkable music to life again in performance.

Graham Muncy[2]

[2] I wish to gratefully acknowledge some factual information taken from CD notes and used in the above review: *Fantasia for Piano & Orchestra* in *World Premiere Recordings of Vaughan Williams and William Mathias*, notes by Michael Kennedy (SOMM: SOMMCD 246); *Serenade in A minor (1898)* / *Bucolic Suite* in *Ralph Vaughan Williams: Early and Late Works: World Premiere Recordings*, notes by Lewis Foreman (Dutton Epoch: CDLX 7289).

Jonathan Goldman, *The Musical Language of Pierre Boulez: writings and compositions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. xxii, 244 p. ISBN: 978-0521514903. Hardback. £58.00.

The composer Pierre Boulez, born 1925, initially studied mathematics before moving to Paris to study with Olivier Messiaen, as well as taking lessons in Schoenberg's twelve-note method of composition with René Leibowitz. As one of a group of radical avant-garde composers in the post-war period that included Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luciano Berio and Bruno Maderna, his early reputation was as an uncompromising enfant terrible both musically and in his writings. One polemical statement returned to haunt him in 2001 when Swiss police arrested him briefly as a potential terrorist, on the basis of a statement he had made in the 1960s in which he suggested blowing up the opera houses as a solution to opera's moribund state.

From his earliest works Boulez embraced Schoenberg's serial method of composition, though moving well beyond Schoenberg, who he felt had not exploited the full possibilities of the system. In the opening chapter Goldman briefly sets the context by examining two of the *Notations* for piano of 1944-5, Boulez's earliest acknowledged work, which even at such an early stage are clearly post-Schoenberg and post-Webern in their technique and expression. The author demonstrates that some of the fundamental characteristics of Boulez's formal method were already evident, in particular "form through the articulation of oppositions on various levels". At various points subsequently there are references to other early works, including *Le marteau sans maître*, but the author intentionally avoids any description of that analytical warhorse, the total serial *Structures* book 1.

Goldman states that his impetus for writing this book was his perception that "the historical judgement against modernist composers was definitive and without appeal" and that "abstruse, serialist autocrats had been superseded by postmodern pastiche artists (or rock-inflected minimalists)". Such comments he felt were based on perceptions of Boulez that related to his works from the 1950s but ignored his development as a composer over the next five decades. This book attempts to set the record straight by showing the extent to which Boulez's formal methods have changed.

In terms of the book's intended audience, Goldman writes that he "wanted to ensure that every compositional procedure described . . . could not only be explained to anyone with basic musical skills, *but also heard*." [my emphasis]. This explains his avoidance of detailed serial analysis, but it is an ambitious aim for a monograph that examines in some detail the works and writings of one of the foremost musical intellectuals of the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The book is thus no survey of Boulez's oeuvre, for which the more general reader should seek elsewhere. Instead of presenting

minutely detailed note by note analyses (disparagingly referred to by Boulez as 'timetables of trains which will never leave') the author uses a variety of analytical techniques in subsequent chapters, to illustrate the ways in which structure is created at all levels across a range of the composer's later works. The book's main emphasis is on Boulez's approach to form at both the micro and macro level. In the preface the author writes: "My ultimate goal . . . is to show how, like a labyrinth . . . form appears simple when it is considered globally, as an entity which is entirely constituted and outside time; it nevertheless displays its richness when it is perceived within the context of musical time. . . ."

The first section of the book, 'Form as opposition in the writings of Pierre Boulez', concentrates largely on Boulez's theoretical and philosophical outlook as expressed in his writings and lectures, which is discussed largely in the context of his engagement with the ideas of structuralism. Boulez has had an intimate relationship with the works of Anton Webern for more than five decades. In considering Boulez's analysis of Webern's *Second Cantata op.31*, the author suggests that it tells us just as much about Boulez's methods as it does about Webern's. For Boulez it has long been the case that some works seem never to be regarded as finished. Subsequent versions of these works tend to accrete layers of elaboration which obscure structures that were more evident in earlier versions, as can be seen and heard in the versions of *Le soleil des eaux*. When asked whether he ever reaches a point where a work has reached a definitive form, Boulez apparently replied: 'Yes when I've had enough of it!'

In the second part of the book, 'Form as opposition in selected works by Pierre Boulez', separate chapters examine a number of later key works in some detail. Analyses here make use of different techniques, such as paradigmatic analysis in which a spatial layout on the page can be used to reveal similarities that might otherwise be less evident. Works each having their own chapter are: *Rituel: in memoriam Maderna* for orchestra, *Dérive 1* for small ensemble, *Mémoriale* for small ensemble, *Anthèmes* for solo violin, with reference also to *Anthèmes 2* for violin and electronics which is an elaboration from that work, *Incises* for solo piano (which has also been subject to later elaboration as *Sur incises)*.

Although Boulez might have set out in his early years to obscure his compositional process, the author shows that in these later works he has taken steps to include audible signposts for his listeners to guide them through the form of the pieces: "While serial analysis remains necessary to the comprehension of Boulez's compositional process, it is not sufficient in describing music which owes more to thematic writing, a play of recognition and surprise, and the conciliation between sectional and continuous forms, than to serial operations alone."

The book has a comprehensive bibliography of writings by and about Boulez. A selected list of recordings of those works studied in detail should enable the reader to obtain and hear the works. For further study, the referenced list of Boulez's works to date should prove invaluable. Of particular value to monoglot English-speaking students of Boulez's work is that the author has been able to access and quote regularly from texts and lectures by Boulez that have so far received no English translation.

Antony Gordon

Rhiannon Mathias, *Lutyens, Maconchy, Williams and Twentieth-Century British Music: a blest trio of sirens*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. xii, 311 p. ISBN: 978-0-7546-5019-5. Hardback. £54.00

This is a timely and much needed book. Elisabeth Lutyens (1906-1983), Elizabeth Maconchy (1907-1994) and Grace Williams (1906-1977) were three remarkable and talented British composers whose powerful and compelling music has been shamefully neglected. All three celebrated the centenaries of their births just over five years ago and these centenaries were marked with small flurries of interest – CDs, performances, radio coverage. As so often with composers who, for whatever reasons, have not found their way into the mainstream of the recording or performing canons, there is always a danger that once the marketability of a centenary has disappeared, their work slips back into neglect. So it is all the more important that a book like this is available, which provides deftly written introductions to the music of all three women as well as overviews of their careers.

Mathias has had to dig both deep and wide to uncover life stories and music. Lutyens is the only one of the three who has attracted a full length biography – Meirion and Susie Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul: The Life and Work of Elisabeth Lutyens* (1989) – although Malcolm Boyd's brief, 98-page booklet on Grace Williams published in 1980 shortly after her death provides a useful and insightful summary. Music scores, where they exist, are not always easily available and recordings are still few and far between for all three women. Mathias has clearly spent much time at the British Library (Lutyens), St Hilda's College, Oxford (Maconchy) and the National Library of Wales (Williams) as well as with the composers' families and at collections relevant to all three women, such as those of the Royal College of Music and the BBC Written Archives.

In Part I of the book, Mathias interweaves the stories and music of all three women in a chapter focusing on the Royal College of Music, where all three studied, and then a chapter examining periods they spent abroad and launching careers as professional composers. The other two parts – the first dealing with 1935-1955 and the second 1955-1994 – each consist of three separate chapters considering each composer and her music in turn. This enables Mathias to present coherent accounts of each woman's musical preoccupations and achievements as she skilfully illuminates key works, with the help of numerous musical examples.

However, it would have been fascinating to hear more of the connections and similarities, or indeed the differences and dissimilarities, between the three women, something Mathias touches on only in places. For example, all three women had a somewhat fraught relationship with opera. All three were drawn to the genre and all three wrote at least one opera. Several of these works, perhaps most notably Williams's *The Parlour* (1960-66), were successfully put into production. But almost all are no longer heard, despite a centenary production and recording by Independent Opera of Maconchy's glorious farce *The Sofa.* Lutyens' music-drama *The Numbered* (1965-67) has never been produced. Mathias does, tantalisingly, note that a cutting about Williams's *The Parlour* has survived among Lutyens' papers and is the only such cutting about the work of another composer. But what was it that drew all three composers, working in three very different musical languages, to opera? And why was it so difficult for them to succeed in this particular genre?

One example of a link between the three women was the composer Dorothy Gow (1893-1982). While Maconchy and Williams were close friends from the time they met at the Royal College of Music until Williams's death, neither was particularly close to Lutyens, and yet all three women retained a warm friendship with Gow. Regarded by those who knew her and her music as a composer full of potential, Gow was severely hampered by her debilitating lack of self-confidence. This is a theme that draws Lutyens, Maconchy and Williams together as well. All three suffered from disillusionment and despair at various points in their careers yet, unlike Gow, all three, driven by the need to continue to create music, managed to overcome these periods and continue to grow in their chosen profession. Mathias gives the reader enough clues to piece together this particular theme but it is a good example of one of the threads that she could usefully have highlighted and explored more deeply. Williams's peculiarly ambivalent attitude towards her own career is something Mathias glosses over. But this ambivalence is surely a particularly intriguing aspect of that career. At the age of 42, for example, Williams wrote to a friend: 'There does seem something revolting – and perhaps a bit pathetic – in the thought of a symphony by a woman of 50'.

And yet eight years later, at the age of 50, Williams was to write her own Second Symphony.

It is difficult not to see this insecurity as being particularly related to Williams's gender. Women throughout the ages have been clearly shown to be lacking in the confidence and assurance of their male contemporaries. Mathias is very quick to dismiss the importance of gender in the careers of her three composers, despite the fact that the one over-riding aspect of their lives that binds them together is that they were all women working in what was still very much a man's world. Mathias does, of course, discuss the particular discrimination that all three faced in their early careers, and yet in her conclusion stresses that: 'All three refused to be distracted by dreary arguments about 'male' and 'female' composers . . . choosing instead to focus on composing music of quality which was true to their individual visions.' Yet these so-called 'dreary arguments' are surely an important part of the expectations that were so damaging, not just to these composers' engagement with the British musical world of the 20th century and even their reception in the 21st century, but also to their own self-image and self-belief.

But there is a limit to what one book can cover, particularly one that deals with three such individual and distinctive composers. What Mathias has done so well is to provide a clear picture of a wide variety of all three women's haunting and commanding music and to link it to the main events and concerns of their careers. The hints she drops about issues and contexts can be picked up by others. This is without doubt a book which should prompt new generations of performers to discover this glorious music and bring it to the ears of new listeners. It may even be a book which inspires a new generation of women to believe in themselves and the possibilities of their own music.

Sophie Fuller

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