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EDITOR: Nicholas Clark

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EDITORIAL

Nicholas Clark

The Autumn/Winter issue of *Brio* ushers a new look for the journal with the incorporation into its pages of the official new logo for the UK and Ireland branch of IAML. Thanks go to Rebecca Biegel of E-Type Press for taking a creative lead and producing what I am sure you will agree is a striking cover. The new format is a reminder that we are members of profession in which change is inevitable and often desirable, particularly if and when change brings about improvement and heralds better times for all.

It could be said that the idea of change lies at the heart of Pam Thompson's article about the Music Libraries Trust (MLT), an organisation from which so many have benefited. This is both a celebration and condensed history of some of the Trust's achievements during its first forty years. What the Trust has undertaken in the past and what it continues to do in supporting areas such as research and education is remarkable. As is the case with many similar initiatives, the MLT has relied on the hard work and good will of a number of people who have dedicated themselves to its many aims.

Research is of course key to exploring and discovering hidden treasures. Music libraries remain great sources for many such treasures and James Richardson has delved into one collection to study the work of British composer Armstrong Gibbs. Gibbs's life encompassed the late Victorian era to the birth of the space race (or, in musical terms, from Gilbert and Sullivan to Pierre Boulez). It was also, alas, a period that witnessed the agony of two world wars. James's article, drawn from recent American doctoral studies, provides us with some biographical background. It throws light on why this contemporary of Howells and Vaughan Williams is enjoying a renaissance of appreciation through analysis of a song that has a rather poignant story attached to it.

Looking to a later generation of composer, Piers Burton-Page celebrates the centenary of the extraordinarily versatile Sir Malcolm Arnold. Arnold's music often arose from a request by a talented musician to contribute to what was, at the time, a small repertoire of works. The result was invariably a masterpiece, whether it was written for harmonica, guitar, two pianos and three hands, rock band or vacuum cleaners and floor polisher. But there so much more and his imagination generated a great many autograph scores. Piers

alerts us to the importance of ensuring the safe keeping of Arnold's music manuscripts. It is a major consideration, one which will enable performers and scholars alike to continue to explore his remarkable catalogue of works.

Finally, in an issue that features something of a theme on the generosity of spirit, we look back several centuries to the ways in which musicians searched for support when times were lean—a difficulty that COVID has raised for performers in recent times. In an article based on her doctoral studies, Lizzy Buckle investigates how financial assistance was sought and the effect this had on eighteenth-century cultural life in London. Originally a presentation delivered during the online VASE in April, which many of us attended via zoom, Lizzy's research reveals various means to which musicians resorted in order to make a living. As one may guess, some of their stories are tinged with solemnity. But benefit concerts proved to be a salvation. The ingenuity and resourcefulness employed by some performers makes for fascinating reading.

This is also a first-rate introduction to the exhibition *Friends with Benefits: Musical Networking in Georgian London*. There remains plenty of time to see it as it is on display at London's Foundling Museum until the beginning of May 2022. Indeed, a review of the exhibition by Christopher Scobie follows in this issue to whet your appetite. And on the subject of reviews, we have a good selection on books ranging in subject matter from studies of Russian and British composers to the histories of the symphonic poem in the UK and of the clarinet. If winter reading, viewing or listening inspires the critic in you, please do contact Martin Holmes about supplying a review for the next issue.

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THE MUSIC LIBRARIES TRUST: CELEBRATING 40 YEARS OF SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN MUSIC LIBRARIES

Pam Thompson

Beginnings

Forty years on, it is difficult to recall, even for those of us with long memories, how we worked and functioned in music libraries back in 1981: few personal computers, no internet, no e-mail, clunky photocopiers, stencils for duplicating papers with only correcting fluid (admittedly fragrantly addictive) to mask errors, card catalogues, gramophone records – and very little technological help for library users or staff. Despite these handicaps, which were for most the norm, music libraries were in a sense thriving, with dedicated, qualified and experienced music staff in many public and academic libraries. There was, however, a growing realisation that the economic climate then current[1] would lead to further financial restraints and fewer possibilities for training and research, as budgets across the library sector were squeezed year after year.

But, on the brink of a technological revolution, the prospect of enormous progress was before us, and there was a determination to seize the coming opportunities and a conviction that the music library world needed cooperation, research and education to meet the challenges. One major challenge was already apparent: there were no longer any courses in any UK academic institutions for music librarianship. Self-help would have to be the byword.

In the intervening years, technological progress has been so substantial as to render the music library of 1981 almost unrecognisable. But in the same period the decline in the number of music libraries with wide-ranging stock and qualified staff with good musical knowledge has been continual, and services to music library users can often be far less professional than ever imagined in 1981, despite huge leaps forward in electronic and remote access. It is hoped that this overview of the Trust and its work will reveal many of the developments and changes unforeseen then and demonstrate the small but sometimes crucial assistance which the Trust has been able to offer.

[1] Between 1981 and 1982 both inflation and unemployment hovered around 11%.

The commonly-held notion that the ERMULI[2] Trust, the Music Libraries Trust[3]'s forerunner, was created by the UK Branch of IAML is something of a misnomer. It was in fact the brainchild of one person of vision, John May[4], a well-respected dealer in music, who in 1981 was President of the UK IAML Branch. Work towards the formation of the Trust was considerable in 1981, until it was formally established by a declaration of trust of 15 January 1982 and registered with the Charity Commission on 24 March 1982. In effect, it became the charitable arm of IAML in the UK.

The earliest draft outline of the aims of the Trust exists in an undated document[5] headed "THE ERMULI TRUST – ensuring the future of Britain's music library service", giving a clear indication of the perceived importance of the Trust. Its principal aims were set out as follows:

- 'by awarding grants it will encourage music librarians to engage in research into music librarianship, bibliography and related disciplines. In many cases this research will lead to publication of monographs and articles.'
- 'it will allocate funds to enable music librarians to attend national and international courses and conferences – vital for the exchange of ideas and information.'
- 'it will establish prizes for outstanding academic writing by music librarians.'

The document went on to summarise why a trust was needed in a time of growing economic uncertainty. This was supplemented a few years later in the ERMULI Trust's first full brochure[6] which outlined why music librarianship needs special, additional training, the work which music librarians undertake and the complexities posed by varying editions, linguistic complications and the need for a sound knowledge of musical repertoire, music literature and recordings.

There is no record and no recollection of a formal launch of the Trust in 1982, but by 1986 a press release from the Trust announced a press reception on 23 April at the Royal Society of Musicians at which the principal speaker was Sir Charles Groves.

It is probably sensible at this stage to describe the change of the Trust's

[2] ERMULI, an acronym for Education and Research in Music Libraries.

[3] Hereafter generally abbreviated to MLT.

[4] Lewis Foreman, Obituaries of John May, in the Independent https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-john-may-1046533.html, accessed 18 September 2021, and in *Brio*, vol.36 no.1, 1999. Pam Thompson: 'John May, a tribute', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 47, no.1.

[5] A number of documents from the time are undated and bear no author, but this dates from c.1983 and was probably compiled by Sue Clegg, then honorary secretary.

[6] Dating from between 1984–1986 when several versions were produced.

name to the Music Libraries Trust in 1994. It had gradually become clear that a more descriptive title could benefit understanding of the ERMULI Trust's work, so it was changed by a supplemental deed of 23 November 1994 to The Music Libraries Trust. The relaunch of the Trust was marked by a reception in the Novello Room[7] of the British Library in Sheraton Street, London, attended by many from the library and music professions and sponsored by Chester Music and Novello Music of the Music Sales Group, at which the speakers were Michael Freegard, Chairman of the Trust, Malcolm Lewis, President of the UK IAML Branch, Melvyn Barnes, President of the Library Association[8], and John Amis, a patron of the Trust. It was sincerely hoped that clarifying the Trust's purpose would make the raising of funds for its work more straightforward.

Money

No trust can exist and function without money. It was estimated, logically, in the Trust's early days that a capital sum of £250,000 or £30,000 in donations per annum would give the Trust a firm foundation. Whether this was a sensible aim is questionable. Optimism was high and, in retrospect, certainly tinged with wishful thinking. In fact, the Trust was founded with £2,500, proceeds from a surplus from the international IAML conference held in Cambridge in 1980. Since then, the funds which the Trust has received have come overwhelmingly from surpluses from international IAML conferences held in the UK, those in Oxford in 1989 and Edinburgh in 2000. It says much for the UK (and later UK and Ireland) Branch that they have recognised the value of the Trust's work and, it should be admitted, the tax advantages which the existence of the charity offers the Branch. The contributions, fortuitous but unintended and unexpected, made to the UK Branch by a succession of delegates at those conferences should also be acknowledged. In fairness, we have often tried to persuade those elsewhere around the world that the establishment of similar charities could bring them benefit, but do not know to date of any which has come into being.[9] It is recognised that local regulations and conventions may render this difficult or impossible.

It would be honest to admit that donations to the Trust from other sources, whether from organisations or individuals, have been on the whole disappointing, despite solid appeals through the course of the 1980s and later. There are some donors who were notable exceptions, some of whom requested anonymity, but the main welcome exception is the regular support of bursaries for attendance at IAML national and international conferences

[7] Now the home of Yamaha Music in the UK.

[8] Now the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP).

[9] As an example: Pamela Thompson, *Music Libraries Trust – or money laundering techniques (MLT) for music librarians*, conference paper, IAML conference, New Zealand, 1999.

which have come from many of our commercial and charitable colleagues: Academic Rights Press, Alexander Street Press, Blackwell's Music Library Services, Boosey & Hawkes, BRS, Chivers Book Sales, Cramer Music, GEAC, Green Dragon, 3M, Music Sales Trust, Oxford University Press, Plescon, Schott & Co., Sirsi-Dynix, Stainer & Bell, and the Staypar Trust. There has been only one year when no bursaries were supported, and in most years at least four bursaries have been awarded on average.

Bursaries for attendance at IAML international conferences are further assisted by the Ian Ledsham Bursary Fund, after its establishment by IAML (UK&Ireland) following Ian's untimely death in 2005.[10] It is now administered by MLT, and support has been regular and fairly substantial. Bursaries such as these have helped greatly to fulfil one of the Trust's original commitments, the support of conference and course attendance.

Education

Support for wider music library education proved more difficult to achieve, although some partial assistance was given for participation in a variety of courses and seminars. Over the years, the Branch's own day courses, often presented by music librarians in their own time, filled a huge gap in the lack of any dedicated music library courses which led to qualifications. The Trust also attempted for a few years to fund a lectureship in music librarianship at a university, but no institution came forward, considering it 'a minor specialism'.[11] It was not until 1996 that a proposal by Ian Ledsham was met with enthusiasm by the Open Learning Unit of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, who were interested in a music librarianship module in their distance learning courses. With financial assistance from the Britten-Pears Foundation (now Britten Pears Arts), an agreement was concluded, and Ian Ledsham was commissioned to construct and develop the course.[12] Its first students began the course in 1998. Since then, with the production of a stand-alone course and other developments, its take-up and coverage has extended greatly, and it is the Trust's expectation that further funding will soon be awarded to enable revision and updating.[13]

The award of prizes for writing on music librarianship and related fields, another original intention, has certainly been more restricted than first hoped. The only prize established to date is the E.T. Bryant Memorial Prize, established jointly with IAML (UK), for a significant contribution to the literature

[10] Malcolm Jones, 'A tribute to Ian Ledsham, 1954-2005', Brio, vol.42 no.2, 2005, and 'Ian Ledsham, 1954–2005'. *Fontes Artis Musicae* 53/4, 2006.

[11] Letter from Michael Freegard to the Britten-Pears Foundation, 10 September 1996.

[12] Ian Ledsham, 'The turning wheel: training for music librarianship over 50 years', *Music Librarianship in the United Kingdom*: fifty years of the British Branch of the International Association of Music Libraries, ed. Richard Turbet. London: Routledge, 2020 (first published Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 74-83.

[13] John Wagstaff, 'Developments in music librarianship education at the University of Aberystwyth, Brio vol.43 no.2, 2006.

of music librarianship by library and information science students, post-graduate researchers, and music information professionals in the first five years of their careers. It is pleasing to note that many past prize winners are now highly respected in their chosen fields in music libraries and beyond.

More broadly, the Trust's funding has been directed most of all to the support of individual research projects and to wider group projects, often conceived by an individual but kickstarted by 'seed corn' funding or by the commissioning of scoping studies, in a bid to attract further interest and financial support. Accounts of these will follow later.

People

From the very start, it was realised that the Trust's connections to the wider music world would be both desirable and vital to its endeavours. We have been fortunate in gaining support from many well-established figures who have all expressed their appreciation of the important role music libraries have played in their work and achievements. Patrons over the years are listed below. Suggestions for additions to this list are always welcome, preferably with the consent of those named and a note as to why they value music libraries.

MLT Patrons

John Amis	Christopher Hogwood	Oliver Neighbour
Julian Anderson*	Ian Horsbrugh	Anthony Payne (deceased April 2021)
Michael Berkeley*	Alec Hyatt King	Steve Race
David Bedford	Graham Johnson*	Albi Rosenthal
Ian Bostridge*	Sir Anthony Kenny	John Tyrrell
Alfred Brendel	Sir Nicholas Kenyon*	Ian Wallace
Sir Peter Maxwell Davies	Nicola Lefanu*	Judith Weir*
Sir Colin Davis	Julian Lloyd Webber*	John Williams*
Sir John Drummond	John McCabe	John Wilson*
Sian Edwards*	Sir Charles Mackerras	
Dame Evelyn Glennie*	Sir John Manduell	
Gavin Henderson*	Donald Mitchell	current patrons*

The Trust has been equally fortunate in bewitching a series of excellent people to chair the Trust and has benefitted hugely from their experience, expertise and vision, all given when their time was already over-committed in their principal endeavours. Our gratitude for the roles they have played in our work is immense:

- Our first chair was a businessman, Richard Wheeler-Bennett of Thomas Borthwick and Sons, who from 1982–1994 steered the Trust through its formative years and continuing fundraising efforts.
- His successor was Michael Freegard, formerly Chief Executive of the Performing Right Society, whose unstinting efforts helped to bring about the successful achievement of the music librarianship course at the University of Aberystwyth, while at the same time working tirelessly to support and gain funding for Roger Taylor's outreach endeavours in Albania and the Balkans which are detailed later.
- In 1999, the chairmanship passed to Professor John Tyrrell of the Universities of Nottingham and Cardiff, a highly distinguished Janáček scholar, whose role in ensuring the development and future of research projects supported by the Trust has had lasting significance.
- From 2006 – 2017, Professor David Wyn Jones of Cardiff University, an expert on music of the Classical period, likewise extended the MLT's role in supporting research projects over that long period.
- Upon Professor Wyn Jones's resignation, we were fortunate that Sally Groves, former creative director at Schott Music and with long experience as a trustee elsewhere, agreed to take on the role of Chair. The fact that her father, Sir Charles Groves, had been a founding patron of the Trust, presented a very pleasing symmetry.

Vital support for all the work undertaken by each chair listed above has been provided by a succession of excellent Honorary Secretaries and Treasurers, as well as Bursaries Administrators and Minutes Secretaries, in which latter role Helen Mason deserves special mention for decades of service.

In 1982, John May stepped into the breach as our first Secretary, but soon persuaded Sue Clegg of Birmingham School of Music to replace him. She was in post through the years when creating and documenting the Trust's role and purpose were time-consuming and essential. In 1985, when a major fundraising campaign was envisaged and begun, Ann Kirkham, a friend of a trustee, with no experience of music libraries but boundless goodwill and determination, added mountains of documentation to our archive as she identified potential donors and contacts. Richard Chesser of the British Library

Music Library then took on the often demanding role from 1987 to 1994 and remains a long-standing trustee. His work was taken over in 1994 until 1996 by Joan Redding of the BBC Music Library, during which time her efforts, in particular of achieving outreach funding, was heroic. Work and childcare commitments led her to pass on those burdens to Lady Nancy Kenny, active in several roles at the University of Oxford, who took on an immense range of tasks and continued until 1999. She was followed by Rosemary Firman (formerly Williamson) who worked successively at Nottingham University, Manchester libraries and Trinity College of Music[14] and was active in securing the development and funding of some of the major projects which the Trust helped to initiate. Since 2005, Trinity College of Music has continued to supply a series of efficient and excellent Secretaries, as Claire Kidwell filled the post from 2005-2008 before becoming Treasurer of the Branch. Since that time Edith Speller has continued valiantly to ensure its ongoing work.

The Trust's first Treasurer was Malcolm London of Cork Gully, then a division of Coopers & Lybrand, who served until 1996. He was sometimes assisted by his colleague, James Stafford. Both must have ensured that our inexperience did not lead us to the liquidation of businesses which was their specialism. In 1996, Peter Maxwell of Cramer Music, long a champion and supporter of music libraries, agreed to be Treasurer, continuing until 2001, when Chris Jackson, managing director of Bärenreiter UK, filled the post and remains as Treasurer twenty years on, combining this with ensuring the supply of all the Bärenreiter publications essential to our libraries and to musicians across the country. Our enormous gratitude to all of them, none of them music librarians, must be recorded.

It is, of course, those who have served as Trustees over the years who have been central and crucial in the Trust's work. A balance has always been maintained between music librarian trustees and others from the wider music professions, commercial and academic, a principle which has ensured that the Trust benefits greatly from others' knowledge, experience and vision. Since Irish colleagues joined us in the IAML Branch, we have also been fortunate to add Irish colleagues as Trustees. Thanks are due to all who have given us their time and commitment over the years:

[14] The workplaces of many involved in the Trust have often changed in the course of time, as have the names of some institutions.

MLT Trustees

Terri Anderson	Big Red Kite Communications/ EMI/BPI/MCPS-PRS
Linda Barlow	Berkshire County Libraries
Peter Baxter*	Surrey Libraries
Richard Chesser*	British Library
Barbara Eifler*	Making Music
Katharine Ellis	Royal Holloway College
Michael Fend*	King's College London
Lewis Foreman*	Musicologist and author
Michael Freegard	PRS, etc.
Jenny Goodwin*	PRS, etc
Sally Groves*	Formerly Schott Music
Jane Harvell	National Sound Archive
Helen Mason*	Lincolnshire Libraries/Trinity College of Music
Miriam Miller	BBC Music Library
Eve O'Kelly	Contemporary Music Centre, Ireland
Lady Nancy Kenny	Rhodes Trust, Oxford
Sir David Lumsden	Principal, Royal Academy of Music
Joan Redding	BBC Music Library
Philip Shields	Royal Irish Academy of Music and Drama
Roger Taylor	Somerset Libraries
Pamela Thompson*	Royal College of Music Library
John Tyrrell	University of Cardiff
George Vass*	Conductor and festival director
Judy Vernau	Macmillan Press/Bowker Saur
Gerhard A. Weiss	Coopers & Lybrand
Richard Wheeler Bennett	Thomas Borthwick & Co.
Nicholas Williams*	Stainer & Bell
Susi Woodhouse	Museum, Libraries & Archives Council
Ann Wrigley	Dublin Institute of Technology
David Wyn Jones	University of Cardiff
*current trustees 2021	

Fig. 1: MLT Trustees c.2002, left to right: Lewis Foreman, Michael Freegard, Richard Chesser, Pam Thompson, John Tyrrell, Nicholas Williams, Rosemary Firman, Chris Jackson, Helen Mason, Nancy Kenny. Photograph, courtesy of Pam Thompson.

Awards

While we may seem somewhat self-congratulatory about the work which the Trust has undertaken, it is, of course, what that work has achieved and the awards it was able to make which deserve the most attention. The type of awards made has varied from year to year, often dependent on applications received, but they do span a wide range of activities, whether in the field of research by individuals or as contributions to ongoing projects, some of them major, conceived by IAML or initiated by the Trust.

Individuals' research projects

Support for research by individuals or groups is outlined below, not chronologically, as so often the work spanned a number of years or may be ongoing,

and names are generally noted only when publications have resulted. Awards mostly represented only a contribution to the costs involved.

- Work on the Archive of Ernest Bradbury, celebrated music critic. The archive is now housed in Leeds University Library;
- Research on wind ensemble music;[15]
- Film music collections in the UK, scoping study;[16]
- Music in the Artaria ledgers 1784-1827;[17]
- Work on the archive of Reginald Barrett-Ayres, now in the University of Aberdeen
- William Byrd research;[18]
- Traditional music in Wales, a bibliography;[19]
- Listing of Women's Revolutions Per Minute archive, Birmingham Central Library;
- Dublin Music Trades database, a constantly developing, free-to-access resource detailing the music trade in Dublin;[20]
- Dating music scores, a beginner's guide;[21]
- Opera and song books published in England 1703-1726;[22]
- Herbert Howells Source Book;[23]
- Sources of English lute music 1540-1640;[24]
- Investigation of the feasibility of the publication of a British union catalogue of collected editions and historical monuments;[25]
- Richard Rodney Bennett, bio-bibliography;[26]
- Research on Dvořák's relations with England;[27]
- Work on the James Madison Carpenter collection of Child ballad tunes for an annotated index;[28]
- Choral music in English cathedrals;
- Gaelic Arts Access project at the National Library of Scotland, ongoing.

[15] David Lindsey Clark, Jon A. Gillaspie and Marshall Stoneham, *The wind ensemble sourcebook and biographical guide*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997, and The wind ensemble catalog, 1998.
[16] Miguel Mera and Ben Winters, 'Film and television music sources in the UK and Ireland', Brio, vol.46 no.2, 2009.
[17] Rupert Ridgewell.
[18] Richard Turbet, *William Byrd: a guide to research*. London: Routledge, 2006.
[19] Wyn Thomas, *Traditional Music in Wales-Cerddoriaeth Draddodiadol yng Nghymru: A Bibliography-Llytryddiaeth*, various editions.
[20] https://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/ accessed 18 September 2021.
[21] Catherine Small, 'A beginner's guide to dating printed music', *Brio*, vol.51 no.1, 2014
[22] David Hunter, *Opera and sing books published in England 1703-1726: a descriptive bibliography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press and The Bibliographic Society of London, 1998.
[23] Paul Andrews, Herbert Howells: a source book. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
[24] Julia Craig-McFeeley, various publications on the subject.
[25] A long-standing aspiration of Tony Hodges of the Royal Northern College of Music.
[26] Stewart Craggs, *Richard Rodney Bennett, a bio-bibliography*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990
[27] David Beveridge, publication imminent.
[28] Julia Child, a number of subsequent publications.

The Trust has from its inception maintained a list of projects it would be desirable to fund in the hope that some might appeal to potential researchers. A regularly updated list can be found on MLT's website.[29] Overall, there has been a tendency in recent years for fewer applications for personal research assistance to be forthcoming, which is disappointing but may be understandable when many staff are working under pressure in music libraries, many have responsibility for a wide range of subjects and may find that research is not encouraged by employers. At the same time, it may be that some institutions are slightly more willing to fund or support research themselves if by so doing they can demonstrate more active research and publications for research excellence assessments which can deliver extra funding, or they may simply seek good publicity for their organisations. This, however, is a speculative assumption, and the Trust would greatly welcome applications from individual researchers, provided they meet the criteria under which the Trust operates.[30]

Outreach

In the aftermath of the upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe from 1989-1991, 'outreach' became a buzzword in library circles as it was realised that many might need assistance in modernising, adapting to new opportunities and, in some cases, adding good modern additions to stock. MLT responded to this changed world which required an exploration of needs, urged on initially by suggestions from Roger Taylor of Somerset libraries. Mr Taylor's interests were at first centred firmly on the situation in Albania, a country long isolated more than most from any outside influences and viewed with curiosity by Roger from the shores of neighbouring Corfu. With MLT's support, he embarked on a fact-finding mission and in time developed projects to provide the help that was needed. These immense efforts extended in time across many countries in the Balkan region, as cooperative ventures seemed more likely to gain funding. If, ultimately, bids for large-scale projects were unsuccessful, the contacts made, the materials sent and the exchanges of experience were wholly worthwhile. MLT devoted several years to supporting detailed and challenging applications to other bodies. Over the period of about 1994 to 1997, few IAML publications were without meticulous reports in Roger Taylor's inimitable prose – in Annual Reports[31], Newsletters, *Brio*[32] and in the volume published to mark the Branch's 50th anniversary.[33] The Trust

[29] https://www.musiclibrariestrust.org/projectideas, accessed 18 September 2021.
[30] https://www.musiclibrariestrust.org/research, accessed 18 September 2021.
[31] Annual Reports appear in full on the website https://iaml-uk-irl.org/iaml-uk-irl-annual-reports, accessed 18 September 2021.
[32] Roger Taylor, 'Flight for the eagle? A music librarian's research visit to Albania, Brio vol.31 no.2, 1994, and 'Balkan journey: an outreach exploration to Bulgaria and Macedonia', *Brio* vol.34 no.1, 1997.

also helped in financing a visit to Croatia by Margaret Brandram of Derbyshire Libraries.[34] One additional outreach venture further afield and supported by MLT was the award of some expenses to Bridget Palmer of the Royal Academy of Music who undertook work in a school library in Uganda in 2008.

Projects

It is possible that the awards made by MLT to large and small projects over the years have proved indispensable in triggering their genesis or ensuring their gestation. Small initial grants have led to more substantial or matching funding from elsewhere. Contributions in kind may sometimes be accepted in lieu of actual money. Studies investigating or assessing needs in particular subject areas provide evidence of the need for more detailed research. Occasionally, just a small grant may aid the completion of work already substantially undertaken.

IAML's work in encouraging and working towards planning and the creation of strategies for music library services at national level received much initial support from the Trust. Both the *Library and Information Plan for Music*[35] and its successor *Access to Music*[36] were given early assistance, while *Ensemble*, the project to create a national music library resource under the auspices of the Research Libraries Support Programme, received three years of contributory funding.

Small but crucial grants were made to assist other national and international projects: Encore[37], Cecilia[38], RILM[39] in Ireland and ISMN[40]. Some grants were made to organisations to allow them to complete implementation of, or access to, their databases, these included the Scottish Music Information Centre and the British Music Information Centre.

The Trust's first bold foray into the commissioning and financing of a scoping study came in 2002. High on our list of desirable projects was an investigation into collections of concert programmes in institutions and organisations around the country. A primary source of musicological and historical research, concert programmes had never been systematically documented at national or local level, and even discovering their possible locations was

[33] *Music librarianship in the UK : fifty years of the British Branch of the International Association of Music Libraries*, ed. Richard Turbet, Ashgate, 2003 (Routledge, 2020).
[34] Annual Report 1996.
[35] Susi Woodhouse (prep.), *Library and Information Plan for Music*, IAML(UK), 1993.
[36] Pamela Thompson and Malcolm Lewis, *Access to Music, music libraries and archives in the United Kingdom and Ireland: current themes and a realistic vision for the future*, IAML (UK & Ireland), 2003.
[37] Encore (now Encore21): https://iaml-uk-irl.org/encore-21, accessed 18 September 2021.
[38] Cecilia: https://iaml-uk-irl.org/cecilia, accessed 18 September 2021.
[39] RILM (Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale): https://www.rilm.org/, accessed 18 September 2021.
[40] (ISMN)International Standard Music Number: https://www.ismn-international.org/, accessed 18 September 2021.

difficult in the extreme. Rupert Ridgewell of the British Library registered his interest in the project, and with strong support from MLT's Chair, John Tyrrell, the Trust agreed that Rupert should undertake a scoping study. The result was the publication of the study in 2003,[41] with its recommendations leading to the establishment of a further project, administered jointly by Cardiff University and the Royal College of Music, with funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The resulting searchable database, launched in 2007, offers descriptions of many collections in the UK and Ireland, and continues to be further developed and extended. A report on the project from 2010 gives full details.[42]

In 2013, MLT provided some additional funding for a project to develop the Cecilia and Concert Programmes databases, in order to achieve: an improved user interface, more sophisticated search functionality, mobile device compatibility, greater scalability of the sites and visibility of their contents, the feasibility of making the data exportable to other services such as Culture Grid and Europeana and interoperable with linked data. That mouthful of desiderata has been stolen from a document of the time, for which unashamed thanks and congratulations on the results.

A further scoping study commissioned by the Trust focussed on collections of musicians' letters in the UK and Ireland. The resulting study from 2011 details holding institutions and finding aids with an appendix of an indicative inventory[43] which will assist preliminary explorations of the locations of letters.

Looking forward

The Trust most recently determined that the profession was in need of some solid, informed and current information on the state of music libraries today, to underline the value of music libraries in the UK and Ireland. It was recognised that any opportunity to work for the improvement of services could not be seized without current data to support claims. MLT commissioned Dr Michael Bonshor, course director and honorary research fellow at the University of Sheffield, to undertake a wide-ranging survey encompassing users' impressions of their music library services, what they appreciated and what they felt was lacking or in need of improvement. A parallel survey requested impressions of services and needs from staff working with music in libraries. With an enthusiastic and detailed response from users and staff, the data was

[41] Rupert Ridgewell, *Concert programmes in the UK and Ireland, a preliminary report*, MLT, 2003.

[42] Rupert Ridgewell. 'The concert programme project: history, progress and future directions', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 57/1. 2010.

[43] Katharine Hogg, Rachel Milestone, Alexis Paterson, Rupert Ridgewell, Susi Woodhouse, *Collections of musicians' letters in the UK and Ireland: a scoping study*. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55c89b3fe4b0fbf10d6b8cba/t/55cc8d84e4b0989acda955e9/1439468932581/mlt_letters_report.pdf, accessed 18 September 2021.

then analysed, greatly assisted by a grant from the Postlethwaite Music Foundation. Michael Bonshor's analysis and report on the survey have been published online[44] on the MLT website and in the Spring/Summer 2021 issue of *Brio*. We hope that it will provide evidence, ideas and encouragement for music library staff and for their users, either when there are threats to services or, indeed and with hope, opportunities for development. With this body of evidence, we may perhaps avoid any possibility of embracing the wishful thinking with which we first launched the Trust, while, as MLT has shown, providing some good support to any opportunities for development which come our way.

On a final, personal note, many of the views expressed here are mine and may not represent those of all Trustees. I must also thank all those who have contributed to MLT's work over the years and those whose writings I have (mostly inadvertently) quoted or copied in this account. There may be a suspicion that after forty years of working with the Trust, and with so many devoted and industrious colleagues some bias and sentiment have crept into this overview of its history. I hope that these may be overlooked, given the many substantial achievements of the Trust in those years. There is so much more which trustees would have liked to achieve and so much more research we would like to assist in the future.

Our sunbird logo has always given hope that we might be larks ascending, taking the Trust to new heights with adequate funds for all the projects and developments which would benefit music libraries, their users and their staff.

As a trustee, I must end with a plea: we are not sorcerers, there is much in our work which is beyond our control and in the recent past there have been no magicians in leading roles who might stop the watering-down of music education and library services; we need apprentices who do not believe in magic but can learn the occasional spell to bring about gradual improvements and developments and stem the tide of decline in small but meaningful ways:

- Please consider whether MLT could help in research or projects you have in mind;
- Please ensure that everyone around you knows of MLT's work and how it can help;
- Please encourage donations and legacies to MLT.

44 https://static1.squarespace.com/static/55c89b3fe4b0fbf10d6b8cba/t/5fcf47467cc0b10a0acde0ae/1607419719681/MLT+Music+Library+user+and+staff+survey+-+Executive+Summary+-+Dr+Michael+Bonshor.pdf, accessed 18 September 2021.

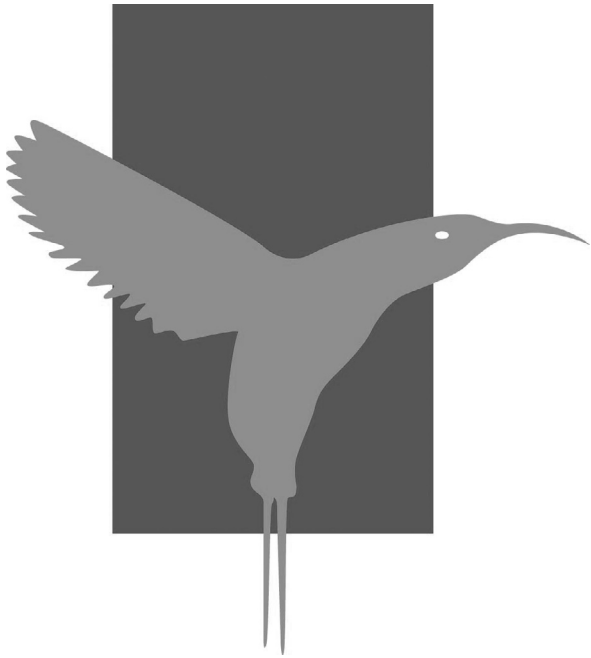

Fig. 2: MLT logo.

Abstract
This is a brief history of the Music Libraries Trust (MLT), which was first established in 1981 to support scholarship and learning for both libraries and librarians. Over the years the MLT has worked to ensure that funding and education are available for various initiatives that increase professional development. The article summarises some of the key achievements of MLT personnel with reference to projects and significant outreach work to which they have contributed. Not an organisation to rest on its laurels, the MLT continues to seek ways in which to offer assistance to libraries and those who use them in its fortieth anniversary year.

Pam Thompson was Chief Librarian of the Royal College of Music for 34 years until her retirement in 2011. She is a past treasurer and past president of both IAML(UK) and IAML internationally, holds honorary membership of both organisations and was a founder trustee of the ERMULI Trust in 1981. She remains a trustee of MLT in 2021.

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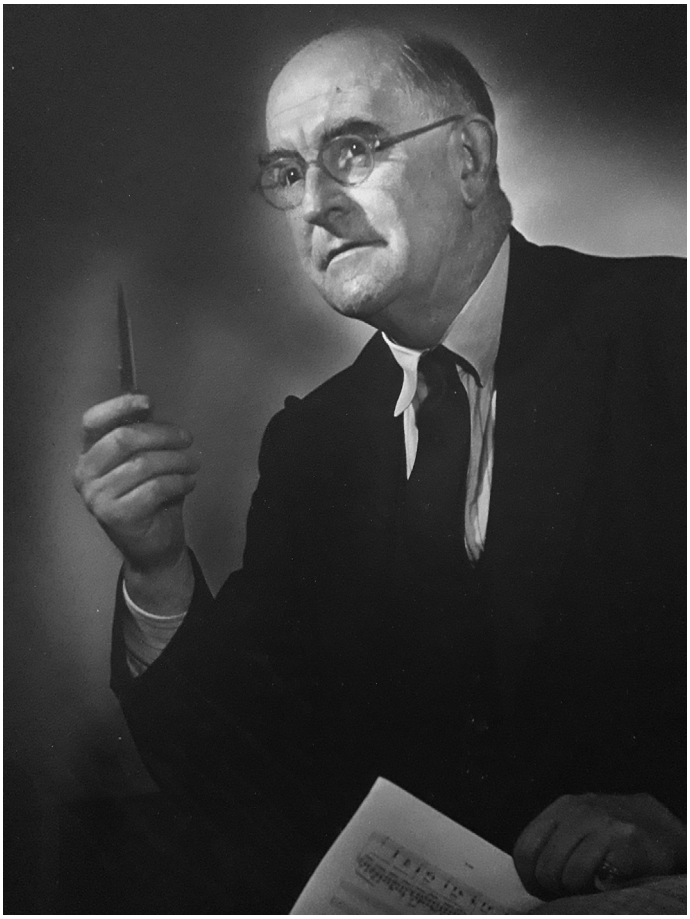
REDISCOVERING 'BEFORE SLEEPING' BY ARMSTRONG GIBBS: A FATHER'S FAITH AND WARTIME LOSS

James Richardson



Armstrong Gibbs 1889-1960.
Image courtesy of the Armstrong Gibbs Society

During the first few decades of the twentieth century, prolific composer, teacher, conductor, and music festival adjudicator Armstrong Gibbs (1889-1960) was well-regarded for his contribution to his native England's musical landscape.[1] His compositions were enthusiastically championed by the leading musicians of the day, including his teacher and mentor Ralph Vaughan Williams and conductor Adrian Boult.[2] Subsequently, Gibbs's vast catalog of works became a regular fixture of London's concert halls, the consistent topic of 'lengthy reviews,' and a routine part of radio broadcasts.[3] His oeuvre ranges from intimate chamber music and solo piano works to large-scale symphonies and concertos; and that is not to mention all the vocal music in between – a substantial number of cantatas, operettas, theatre, and sacred music. However, it is his more than 150 art songs that have secured his legacy as a composer and his place in the so-called 'Second Golden Age of English Song.'[4]

This 'Second Age,' also called the era of 'English Romantic Song,' began with a revival of British vocal music in the late nineteenth century led in part by Roger Quilter, Percy Grainger, and Cyril Scott with the help of influential teachers Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Stanford. The latter trained the second school of art song enthusiasts that famously includes Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, John Ireland, and Herbert Howells. The majority of their songs are written for voice with piano accompaniment and form the heart of British vocal literature.

Be that as it may, the success of Gibbs's youth waned over the latter half of his life, and until recently, he was all but forgotten. On several occasions, the composer labelled himself and his closest friends and musical allies as belonging to the 'conservative modern school.'[5] This tight circle includes composers Herbert Howells, Arthur Bliss, and Arnold Bax, and author Walter de la Mare, for all of whom the self-described label is fitting. Gibbs's songs

[1] The composer's full name is Cecil Armstrong Gibbs; but, according to his daughter Ann Rust, 'My father hated . . . [his forename] and always liked to be called by his other Christian name, Armstrong.' Consequently, sources vary as to their use of Gibbs's first name. Ann Rust, introduction to *Armstrong Gibbs: A Countryman Born and Bred* by Angela Aries, Lewis Foreman, and Michael Pilkington (UK: EM Publishing, 2014), p. 1.

[2] 'About Armstrong Gibbs,' The Armstrong Gibbs Society, accessed 5 May 2021, https://armstronggibbs.com/life-and-work/.

[3] Angela Aries, Lewis Foreman, and Michael Pilkington, *Armstrong Gibbs: A Countryman Born and Bred* (UK: EM Publishing, 2014), p. 184.

[4] Trevor Hold, *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2002), ix. The 'First Golden Age' of song in the British Isles spans roughly two generations of lutenists who straddle the turn of the seventeenth century and include John Dowland, Thomas Campion, and Philip Rosseter. Shortly after, their work was crowned by the songs and arias of Henry Purcell (1659-1695), 'the last great English composer before' the 'Second Golden Age.' Carol Kimball, *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*, Rev. ed. (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard, 2006), p. 351.
For more information about the 'Second Golden Age of English Song' and its influence on subsequent generations of song composers, see Carol Kimball's 'Introduction to British Song' in *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature* (351-52) and Trevor Hold's preface to his *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* (vi-xi).

[5] Armstrong Gibbs, 'Modern Music' (lecture; audience unknown; the script is undated but was likely written in the 1950s given the composer's handwriting, style of prose, and reference to being 'elderly'), 19, Britten-Pears Foundation Archive (hereafter cited as B-P Archive).

very much have one foot rooted in the nineteenth-century Romantic past and another in his present day. However, against the backdrop of Modernism and the tumult of the Second World War, qualifiers such as 'conservative' and 'modern' were at odds. Between the two, Gibbs's musical aesthetic was decidedly the former and eventually deemed 'out of touch.'[6]

In a 1943 chain of correspondence with fellow songwriter Roger Quilter, Gibbs describes feeling 'exceedingly sore and discouraged at neglect at the hands of the critics.' He further writes:

> The truth is, & I think it applies to your work as well as mine, just because we both write music that is intelligible & frankly tries to aim at beauty, we are considered beneath the notice of the clever young men who are wholly occupied in boosting the Brittens & Tippets [sic] & Lennox Berkeleys of our time.[7]

After the war, England's spotlight indeed turned to Benjamin Britten, Michael Tippett, and a new generation of composers. By his own admission, Gibbs was not interested in breaking new ground in the vein of younger musicians for whom anything 'traditional [was] automatically suspect.'[8]

Rather, many of Gibbs's songs unabashedly concern traditional subjects that were popular at the turn of the century: Britain's bucolic landscapes, romance, the world experienced through children, magic, and wonder.[9] Along these lines, his early songs are steeped in a kind of nostalgia that was very much a part of England's literary fabric at the time – nostalgia such as that found in J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* or Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*.[10] Armstrong Gibbs is a composer of mystery and dream, and when

[6] Stephen Banfield and Ro Hancock-Child, 'Gibbs, Cecil Armstrong.' Grove Music Online, ed. Deane Root. Accessed 7 April 2021, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11093.

[7] Letter from Armstrong Gibbs to Roger Quilter, 25 May 1943, quoted in Aries, p. 186.

[8] Armstrong Gibbs, 'The Trend of Modern Music' (lecture, Royal Institution of Great Britain, London, 25 March 1938), 6. Gibbs's brand of originality was closely tied to his sense of integrity. In a lecture from the 1930s for The Royal Institution of Great Britain he explains, 'True originality can only be the product of a truly original mind which will be original — not because it is forever self-consciously striving after novelty, but because it can't from its nature be otherwise.' Ibid., p. 15.

[9] Ro Hancock-Child, *A Ballad-Maker: The Life and Songs of C. Armstrong Gibbs* (London: Thames Publishing, 1993), p. 38.

[10] Barrie's character Peter Pan has become a symbol of youth, innocence, and escapism — qualities often used to describe Gibbs's work. Peter Panhop makes his first appearance in *The Little White Bird* (1902), parts of which were later published in *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906). There is also the better known stage play *Peter Pan; or, the Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up* (1904) which expanded into the 1911 novel *Peter and Wendy* (often simply referred to as *Peter Pan*).

Christopher Robin Milne, son of *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926) author A.A. Milne, writes of Graham's *The Wind in the Willows*, 'This book is, in a way, two separate books put into one. There are, on the one hand, those chapters concerned with the adventures of Toad; and on the other hand, there are those chapters that explore human emotions — the emotions of fear, *nostalgia*, awe, wanderlust. My mother was drawn to the second group. . . . My father, on his side, was so captivated by the first . . . that he turned these chapters into the children's play, *Toad of Toad Hall*. In this play one emotion only is allowed to creep in: *nostalgia* [emphasis added].' *The Enchanted Places*, Macmillan 1974.

such themes became old-fashioned, he only dug in his heels. If Ezra Pound's 1934 imperative was to 'Make it New,' then Gibbs's mantra was arguably to 'make it beautiful.'[11]

Armstrong Gibbs's concept of beauty went against the spirit of pessimism that – in his mind – characterised the ultra-moderns' 'loss of faith' and search for meaning.[12] He balked at the 'hopeless kind of attitude which informs so much [of their] creative work.'[13] 'Beauty is an exploded legend,' a Royal College of Music student of his once argued within the year preceding Adolf Hitler's invasion of Poland.[14] 'Life is ugly, and we are out to express life.'[15] That quotation from his pupil may seem a mischaracterisation of new trends among the arts, yet those sentiments concerned Gibbs throughout his career and largely describe his perception of the cultural changes occurring around him. For Gibbs, the best art is 'conceived against a spiritual background' regardless of how 'cerebral and clever [it] may be.'[16] Undeniably, he considered modern art and music to be clever, but often, from his vantage point, that was not enough. It was lacking or misguided. By the end of his life, he felt 'the younger generation of intellectuals' had 'degraded music as an art.'[17] This 'coarsening and brutalising of men's minds is the direct consequence of two world wars.'[18]

In November 1943, Gibbs would taste that 'ugliness of life' described by his former student. His son David, a captain in the Essex Regiment, died on the front lines in Italy. By all accounts, Gibbs's relationship with his son had been one of profound warmth, and in his own words, the news was a 'more than staggering blow.'[19] 'Life often is ugly,' Gibbs eventually conceded to his RCM student on the eve of war.[20] 'But, life is only ugly when people . . . become completely materialistic in outlook. Beauty is of the Spirit and to deny beauty is to deny the reality of spiritual values and deliberately to choose the way of the beasts that perish.'[21]

A handful of scholars and performers have rediscovered Gibbs in the very late twentieth and twenty-first centuries – notably authors Angela Aries, Lewis Foreman, and Michael Pilkington with their substantive, well-researched 2014 biography, *Armstrong Gibbs: A Countryman Born and Bred.* However, the bulk of recordings privilege his early period, and he is

[11] Ezra Pound, *Make it New: Essays by Ezra Pound* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1934).
[12] Gibbs, 'Modern Music,' p. 7.
[13] Gibbs, 'Trend of Modern Music,' p. 8.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid., p. 7.
[17] Armstrong Gibbs, *Common Time*, unpublished autobiography (typescript with annotations and corrections, 1958), 225, B-P Archive.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., p. 187.
[20] Gibbs, 'Trend of Modern Music,' p. 8.
[21] Ibid.

subsequently painted as 'a composer of "light conceits"' and sentimental longing.[22] Gibbs's critics suggest he avoids all manner of unpleasant topics. In the 1980s, Ro Hancock-Child, one of the first Gibbs scholars, concurs: 'He ha[s] no taste for anything bleak.'[23] That is partly true, and the composer certainly excels at 'delightful' and nostalgic music. However, his early work from the 1910s-30s is only a fraction of a much larger story.[24]

He wrote songs throughout the entirety of his career, and while they are 'traditional' compared to a Lennox Berkeley, they do not all concern babbling brooks and pastures. There are visceral and virtuosic gems from his middle and late periods such as 'The Splendour Falls,' completed on New Year's Eve 1943, only a few weeks after David's tragic death at the height of the Second World War. In it, one hears the horror, dread, and pain of war juxtaposed with joyous rapture associated with eternity. Such work spotlights a composer who was very much *in touch* with the unpleasant realities of his day.

Today, the Britten-Pears Archive in Aldeburgh, oversees Gibbs's large collection of lectures, letters, essays, manuscripts, and an unpublished autobiography *Common Time*.[25] In them, one observes the composer's developing interest in theological matters, spiritual conviction, and Christian fervor. While researching the composer, I also found and pieced together some wartime letters between Gibbs and Christian academic Dorothy L. Sayers in which they discuss the creative urge as mirroring the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. That is the thesis of her book which Gibbs had just read, *The Mind of the Maker* (1941).[26] Point being, throughout his life, Gibbs's music continued to cultivate a robust sense of wonder despite the progressive sensibilities of his modernist colleagues that were occupied with the tensions of the day. However, the intentional wide-eyed quality of his music is anything but escapist. Instead, it is very much a product of his lifelong, evolving Christian worldview and closely connected ideals concerning beauty.[27]

I am particularly impressed with this lesser-known later work that *does*

[22] Hold, Parry to Finzi, p. 264.

[23] Hancock-Child, *A Ballad-Maker*, p. 38.

[24] Paradoxically, this 'light' nature for which Gibbs is often now admired, has equally been his biggest stigma. A 2016 review of *A. Gibbs Suites* (a recorded album of 'light orchestral music') from *Gramophone* magazine quips, 'Slight, sentimental, and a little faded, if you wanted to be unkind. Charming, well crafted and warmly melodious, if you're more generously inclined.' Richard Bratby, '*A. Gibbs Suites* Review,' Gramophone, accessed 1 June 2021, https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/a-gibbs-suites.

[25] Gibbs's daughter Ann Rust deposited the bulk of her father's primary sources in the Archive in the early 1980s; and the composer's music manuscripts from the Boosey & Hawkes Archive were added to the collection in 2001 and 2006.

[26] Letter from Armstrong Gibbs to Dorothy L. Sayers, 10 January 1942, Dorothy L. Sayers Collection, Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL. And a letter from Sayers to Gibbs, 12 January 1942, B-P Archive.

[27] Armstrong Gibbs, 'Leisure and the Fine Arts' (lecture, audience unknown, 11 October 1942), B-P Archive. In a lecture written during World War II, Armstrong Gibbs extensively quotes paragraphs from *Masters of Reality* by literary critic and lay theologian Una Ellis-Fermor (1942). He profoundly connects with her idea of exercising the imagination and contemplating beauty with reverence and awe. In both their estimations, cultivating wonder is an act of Christian discipline.

address 'bleak' topics, albeit via an increasingly unpopular Christian narrative through which Gibbs found hope amidst the West's growing secularity and culture of cynicism. To that end, in 2019, I unearthed some missing, unpublished song manuscripts from 1944 – a year that began in turmoil given David Gibbs's recent death. In response, Armstrong composed three songs – three weighty 'goodbyes' – within a week spanning New Year's Eve and Epiphany. These are the aforementioned 'The Splendour Falls' and newly rediscovered songs 'Before Sleeping,' and 'Quiet Conscience,' each dedicated to family friend and British baritone Keith Falkner. The latter were known to have been written, but 'appear[ed] to be lost.'[28] As a pilot in the First War and a Commanding Officer during the Second, Falkner must have felt a personal connection to this intimate repertoire that wrestles with the pain of loss. 'The Splendour Falls' has been recorded at least twice and printed in several anthologies, but the latter songs were never published.

After the success of his 1919 fairy play *Crossings* – a collaboration with author Walter de la Mare – Gibbs never struggled to publish his work, even when his popularity waned. In fact, he was a prolific composer who published almost everything he ever left a record of having written.[29] In this regard, 'Before Sleeping' and 'Quiet Conscience' are an anomaly. I wonder if these songs were simply too personal for Gibbs to share more broadly. Their overall aesthetic diverges from his earlier work, and the songs subsequently tell a lesser-known part of Gibbs's story and music. Here the composer is at his most vulnerable, yet he finds hope in a Savior who also suffered.

Initially, 'Before Sleeping' and 'Quiet Conscience' were not among Gibbs's archives of manuscripts at the Britten-Pears Library. As it turns out, the composer gave the original – and perhaps only – copies to Falkner. After his service in the Royal Air Force, Falkner moved to the United States in 1950 to open and develop the voice department at Cornell University.[30] There the scores now reside as part of the music library's Falkner collection.[31]

Falkner's relationship with Gibbs dates back to the 1920s and their playing cricket together with brothers, composer and author Arnold and Clifford Bax, and their team The Old Broughtonians. At the end of her life, Gibbs's daughter Ann vividly recalled these years and her childhood as filled with musical activity, fun, and entertainment. 'Many of Father's musical friends came to stay

[28] The 'Catalogue of Works by Armstrong Gibbs' includes all compositions known to have been written by him. First compiled by daughter Ann and husband Lyndon Rust in January 1994; it was revised in 1997. The present version has been further revised by Michael Pilkington in 2006 and 2013. It is published on The Armstrong Gibbs Society website, and in: Angela Aries and Lewis Foreman, *Armstrong Gibbs: A Countryman Born and Bred* (UK: EM Publishing, 2014), pp. 311-87.

[29] Ibid., p. 311.

[30] Keith Falkner, BBC interview by Richard Baker, *Comparing Notes,* 1991.

[31] C. Armstrong Gibbs, 'Before Sleeping' (1944), Manuscript, Music Library Locked Press (Reference Desk) ML96.G442 B4; and 'Quiet Conscience' (1944), Manuscript, Music Library Locked Press (Reference Desk) ML96.G442 Q6, Sidney Cox Library of Music and Dance, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY.

and often to sing at Danbury Choral Concerts – Keith Falkner and his wife Christabel. . . .'[32] Ann remembers lying in bed and listening while musicians rehearsed downstairs before the concerts.[33] 'And if I was lucky they came up to say good night – Keith and Chris were great favourites.'[34] Somehow, it seems fitting that 'Before Sleeping' and 'Quiet Conscience' spent the past century in the Falkners' safekeeping.

Close examination of Gibbs's later songs enables a new understanding of the composer and his work. At best, Armstrong Gibbs is misunderstood, and at worst, he is overlooked. He is caught between two wars which simultaneously prompted his deepest reflections *and* cost him the chance for a flourishing career – or at least for fuller recognition – in the sense that the period of the Great War brought such a profound shift away from Gibbs's innate stylistic orientation. Nostalgia was the shaping force of Gibbs's early aesthetic, and ripening Christianity emerged as its guiding light. This spectrum is the lens through which I assert Gibbs worked and through which scholars and performers can achieve the fullest understanding of Gibbs's songs.

In that vein, the remainder of this article will closely analyze 'Before Sleeping' (4 January 1944). This song is exceptionally tender compared to the bombast of its older sibling 'The Splendour Falls' (31 December 1943), and it is less esoteric in terms of its connection to death. Its lyrics plainly conclude, 'And if I die before I wake, I pray that Christ my soul will take.' This anonymous blessing is a nursery rhyme from at least the early seventeenth century.[35] The first stanza reads:

> Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on.
> Before I lay me down to sleep
> I give my soul to Christ to keep.

At the risk of overromanticizing, one wonders whether Gibbs may have prayed these words with his young son David as part of a bedtime routine. Gibbs's setting continues for three more stanzas.[36]

The song's childlike qualities evoke the Gibbs of prior decades, but 'Before Sleeping' has nothing to do with nostalgia. Rather, its restraint has more to do with a seeming simplicity akin to sprezzatura, or the 'art that

[32] Notes to author Angela Aries (2002) recorded in *Armstrong Gibbs,* p. 171.
[33] Ann Rust, 'Cecil Armstrong Gibbs,' p. 50.
[34] Notes to Aries, *Armstrong Gibbs*, p. 171.
[35] It has a Round Folk Song Index number of 1704, 'English Folk Dance & Song Society,' Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, last modified 7 May 2021, accessed 10 May 2021, https://www.vwml.org/.
[36] Biographer Angela Aries, a former member of the Lingwood Consort in Danbury, explains Gibbs also wrote a four-part version of the prayer for the Danbury Choir's 'annual concert in 1947. … It had an immediate impact and became a firm favourite in the village.' Aries, *Armstrong Gibbs*, 148. She herself has sung the choral version. However, other than its lyrics, the two settings share very little in common.

conceals art.'[37] Its elementary words and melodies hide a great deal of harmonic complexity. Like the first stanza of an early lullaby, 'Ann's Cradle Song' (1919), Gibbs's 'Before Sleeping' basks in harmonic ambiguity and ranks among his most loose-knit songs. Its tonality constantly wanders, and its chords often simultaneously function in more than one key. In it, one hears a father emotionally processing the tragic death of his son, transitioning back and forth between woe, hope, and assurance, just as the harmony and lyrics do the same.

From the song's opening, two-bar harmonic wedge, the composer establishes musical uncertainty. On the one hand, one might assume a tonal center of F major. That is based upon the opening tonic chord – the center of the wedge and the same triad with which the piece concludes. The beginning vocal line similarly outlines its own melodic wedges in bars 3-4 and bars 5-6 built around the F-tonic scale degree. Furthermore, halfway through the vocalist's first phrase, the accompaniment suggests an F-major V-I chord progression in bars 4-5. See Fig. 1.

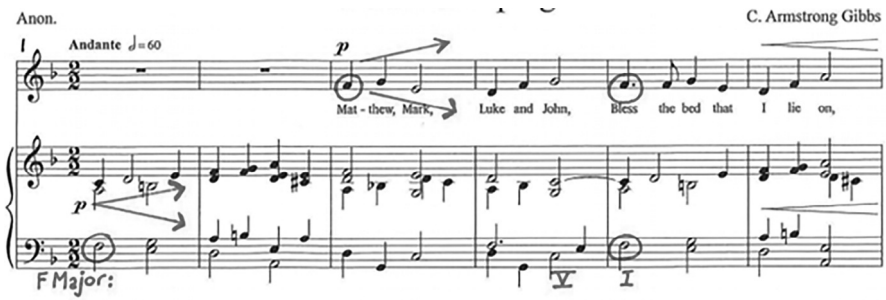


Fig. 1: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 1-6.

However, this very same system just as convincingly affirms the relative key of D minor. The confusion begins as soon as the latter half of the very first beat with the F-major triad's added sixth. The added C-sharp leading tone in the second bar indicates a D-minor V-I chord progression across the bar from bar 2 to bar 3—a tonality confirmed with the downbeat of the fourth bar. The pianist's opening harmonic wedge similarly concludes the song's first phrase with the same V of D. However, that dominant chord now resolves with a Picardy third to the parallel key of D major, the historic key of confidence and triumph. This new tonality bookends the song's second phrase and system whose lyrics boldly assert, 'I give my soul to Christ to keep.' Note

[37] Nigel Fortune. 'Sprezzatura.' *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 10 May 2021. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26468.

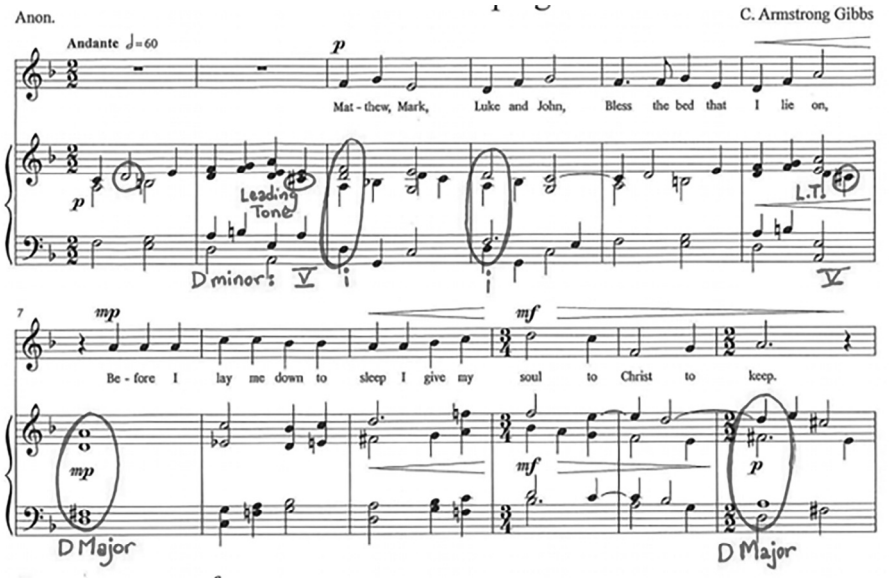


Fig. 2: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 1-12.

bar 7 and the downbeat of bar 12. This D minor to D major interpretation is apparent in the following Fig. 2.

Which of these two analyses concerning the first system makes more sense? F major or D minor? Here, thinking in a single key is a moot point; or perhaps, that very much *is* the composer's objective. In other words, is this a sombre song, or is it heartening? Arguably, the answer is yes to all of the above.

The thread throughout the song's ambiguity – one of the few constants – concerns tertian shifts and relationships. For example, in the second system, the raised F-sharp dually functions as a Picardy and a leading tone that directs the ear to G minor. (It is interesting how throughout bars 7-12, Gibbs toggles between F natural and F sharp.) However, Gibbs equally nudges towards B-flat major. Thus, as before, he exploits the tertian connection between relative keys. Only this time, D major's aural hold is included in the mix; consequently, over the course of bars 7-12, the harmony gravitates to G minor, B-flat major, and D major, as illustrated below.

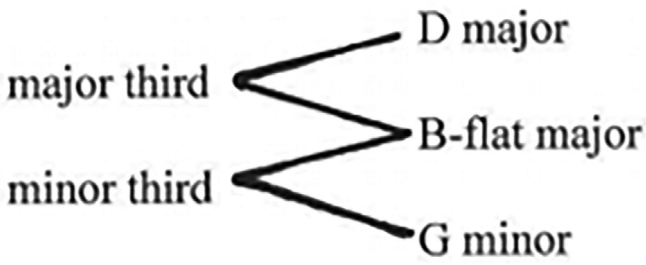


Fig. 3: Tertian Relationships in bars 7-12 of 'Before Sleeping.'

At the risk of too much specificity, a closer examination of bars 7-10 demonstrates these relationships of thirds. Note the staunch D-Major triad at the beginning of this second system. B-flat major is a major third below D, and sure enough, in bar 8 there is a passing dominant seventh chord of B flat. However, it resolves to a G-minor chord, a minor third below B flat. The final chord of bar 8 – a passing dominant of F – resolves to another strong D-major triad at the downbeat of bar 9. That is, of course, a minor third below F. At first, this triad appears to affirm the phrase's D-major tonal center. In light of the following harmony, however, this chord retroactively functions as a V of G minor that does indeed proceed to the tonic G-minor triad. This sequence continues over the bar line of bar 9 to bar 10 with another secondary dominant to tonic chord progression – this one over B-flat major, a minor third above G. Note the Roman numeral analysis in Fig. 4.

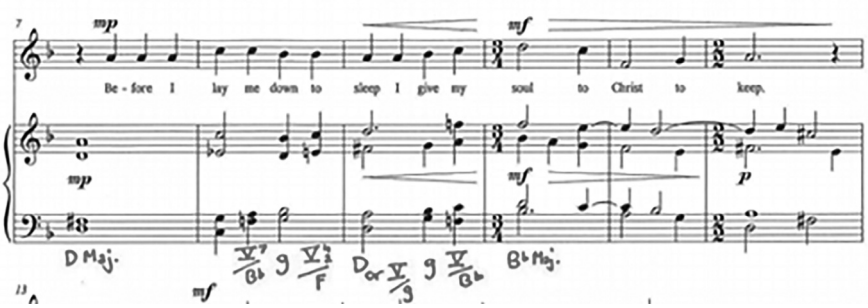


Fig. 4: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 7-12

Granted, this may seem unimportant as the case above unfolds within a matter of seconds. However, these bars serve as a microcosm of tonal function throughout the selection. The same continually happens on the macro scale. As mentioned previously, the song's second phrase resolves in D major – bar 12. Over the next two bars 12-13 it transitions an enharmonic major third above to G-flat major for the vocalist's next phrase. Gibbs has gotten a lot of mileage out of bar 7's Picardy, which has now become bar 14's enharmonic tonic scale degree. As before, throughout the third phrase in bars 14-17, one can hear tonal poles separated by thirds: E-flat minor, G-flat major, and B-flat major. Observe Fig. 5.

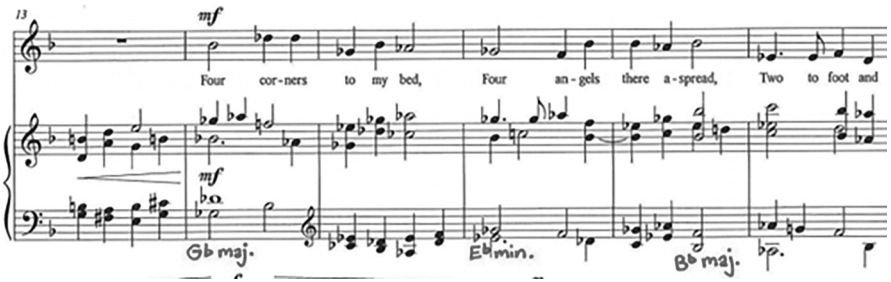


Fig. 5. 'Before Sleeping,' bars 13-18.

Many of Gibbs's songs are characterized by a certain kind of accessibility as it involves their performers. For better or for worse, a handful of them remains known specifically because of their place in the canon of repertoire for young singers.[38] However, that is 'not to say,' explains Hancock-Child, 'that the songs are easy. . . . Anyone apart from the most experienced sight-reader would struggle to pitch many of Gibbs's melodies accurately on first acquaintance and, even when well learned, the notes still require careful placing.'[39] That is because very few of the composer's melodies are self-contained and therefore not fitted for singing independently. Unlike his colleague Peter Warlock who had a very different philosophy, Gibbs's vocal lines very much depend upon the accompaniment's underlying chords, without which, the

[38] For example, see 'When I Was One-and-Twenty' in Jan Schmidt, *Basics of Singing* (Los Angeles: Thomson/Schirmer, 2013); 'The Fields are Full' and 'To One Who Passed Whistling Through the Night' in Joan Frey Boytim, *The Second Book of Soprano Solos: Part II* (New York, NY: G. Schirmer, 2004); 'The Cherry Tree' in Boytim *The First Book of Mezzo-Soprano/Alto Solos* (Schirmer, 1991); and 'Five Eyes' in Boytim, *The First Book of Baritone/Bass Solos: Part III* (Schirmer, 2005).

[39] Hancock-Child, *A Ballad-Maker*, p. 39.

melody appears 'meandering and lost.'[40] (Gibbs was exceptionally familiar with Warlock, whom he greatly admired, having been commissioned by Oxford University Press to arrange several choral settings of his songs.)[41]

This is particularly true of 'Before Sleeping' with all its chromaticism, and pitching the singer's counter melody in bars 14-17 is the perfect case in point, as is the corresponding climax of bar 36. Its difficulty, however, should not negate its ingenuity. The pianist takes the helm in these bars, playing the main melody that the singer first presented. Compare the vocal line of bars 3-6 (Fig. 1 or 2) with the piano's top staff in bars 14-17 (Fig. 6). In the fashion of the very best art songs, the singer and pianist of 'Before Sleeping' are equal collaborative partners, and the latter half of this entire page has the aural quality of a true duet.

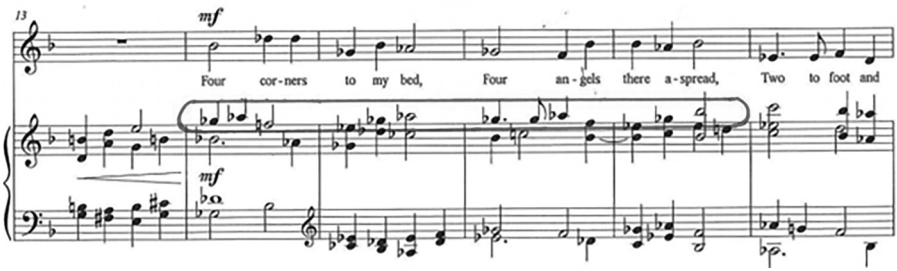


Fig. 6: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 13-18.

It is a rather ethereal sounding duet as the protagonist highlights his four guardian angels in the third system. Naturally, therefore, the piano plays in a higher register. When the singer petitions the same cherubim to 'carry me when I'm dead,' he is accompanied by the pianist's descending right hand that moves stepwise throughout bars 18-21. See Fig. 7. This is not as ominous as the descending, chromatic refrain of 'The Splendour Falls;' to the contrary, it is graceful but serves a similar purpose: the piano brings the listener back to earth.

[40] Ibid., p. 40.
[41] Aries, *Armstrong Gibbs,* p. 187.

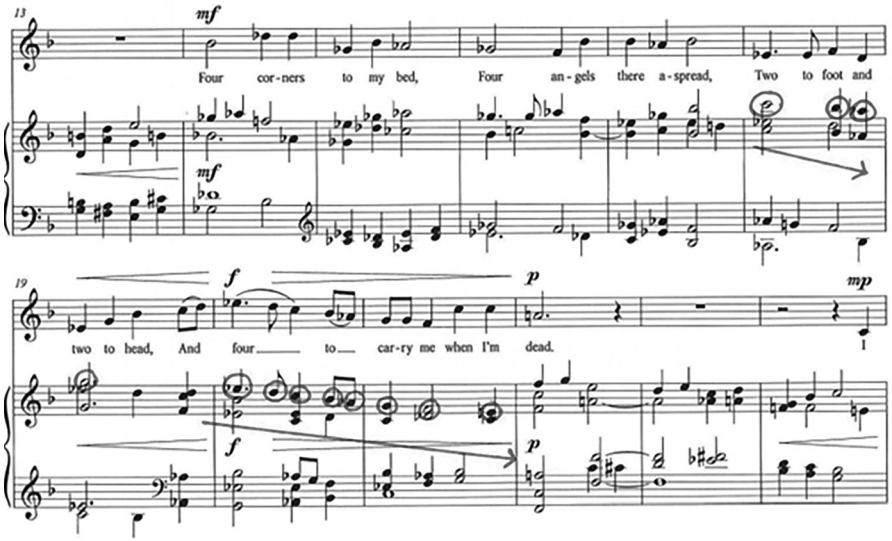


Fig. 7: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 13-24.

That is assuming Gibbs has a piano in mind. Unfortunately, the manuscript gives no indication. The songs written a few days before and after this one are clearly for piano and voice, but the texture of 'Before Sleeping' may imply an organ accompaniment. Clues include the contrapuntal writing style, a bass line that has the feel of an organ pedal (sometimes the bass line is spread beyond what comfortably lies in the left hand), swelling harmonic wedges that move by stepwise motion, and suspension chains as in bars 10-12.

It is also worth noting, these latter bars, with their shift between duple and triple metre, have the dance-like character of sacred Bach arias that often do the same. This similarly happens in bars 32-34, and – to a certain extent – bars 43-44. It is no accident that these are the three and only instances in which the lyrics invoke the name 'Christ.' The first two examples are obvious as a 3/4 time signature temporarily marks the score. See Figs. 8 and 9.

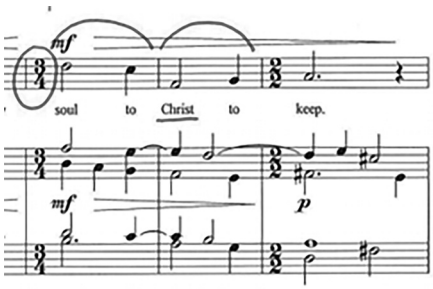


Fig. 8: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 10-12.

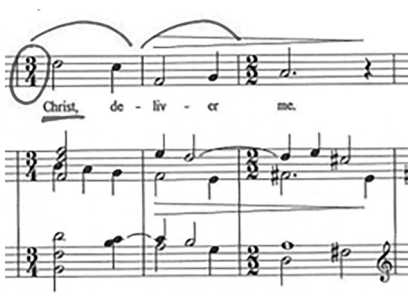


Fig. 9: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 32-34.

The last example is less clear, but it has a distinct aural quality of two groupings of three crotchets ('Christ | my soul') with the second half of the minim F in bar 44 acting almost like a suspension into a 2/4 bar. Compare Fig.10 with the previous examples.

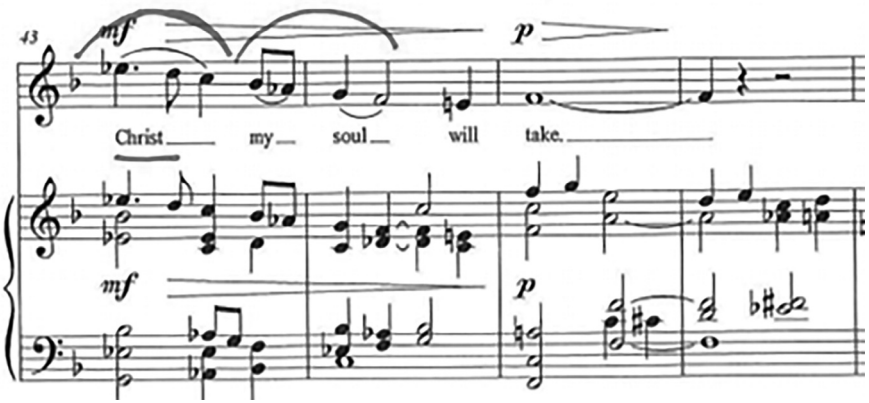


Fig. 10: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 43-46.

It is striking because this specific grouping is not present before bar 43's climax. These three moments (bars 10-12; 32-34; and 43-44) reference the Christian Trinity given the composer's religious convictions, the spiritual nature of 'Before Sleeping,' and the repeated, pronounced numerical connection of 'Christ' with the number three.

Regardless of the official instrumentation (piano versus organ), Gibbs surely has the organ and sound world of the Anglican church in mind. Only, this is the church soundscape of his present day, less indebted to the old guard – Charles Villiers Stanford and Hubert Parry – and more to the new. Namely, 'Before Sleeping' is an amalgam of styles analogous to the choral anthems of Gibbs's close friend, musical confidant, church composer, and RCM colleague Herbert Howells who famously melded church modalities and traditions with popular song idioms.[42] For example, British organ scholar Jonathan Clinch says the 'smouldering sensuality' of Howells' 'Like as the Hart' (1941) 'almost seems more common to a slow jazz number than a setting of a psalm.'[43] And of his *Missa Sabrinensis* Howells wrote, 'the boundary-line between "sacred" and "secular" has nearly vanished.'[44]

Gibbs's song is by no means 'smouldering,' but it does have a certain harmonic sensuousness that balances high church reverence with the immanence of a child's prayer addressed to 'Sweet Jesus Christ.' For instance, on the one hand, the composer exploits modal ambiguities as already illustrated by the song's mediant and submediant relationships with tonic. In turn, sections of the melody have the church-like flavor of the Phrygian scale – i.e., the vocal melody in bars 7-12 or the right-hand melody in bar 18 through the downbeat of bar 19, yet Gibbs's chromaticism relies less on Brahms than it does George Gershwin. Colors of jazz evoke a profound level of intimacy between the heavenly Father and the precant of this prayer, not to mention Gibbs and his son David.

In Fig. 11, the song's first half concludes with an imperfect authentic cadence over the bar in bars 21-22, followed by a brief instrumental interlude that could easily belong to a jazz standard, bars 22-24. Notice the subtle, ascending chromatic line – C to F natural – in the inner voices woven between dense chords in these bars. In the second half of bar 22, it turns an F-major seventh chord into an augmented triad with an added seventh. The colour in the latter half of bar 23 is even more unusual – but a bit more common in the sphere of popular music. What seems to be a German sixth chord actually resolves to a dominant chord with a flat ninth built on D – all over a sustained F-natural pedal.

[42] Ibid., p. 171.
[43] Jonathan Clinch, '"Beauty Springeth Out of Naught": Interpreting the Church Music of Herbert Howells,' *British Postgraduate Musicology* 11, (December 2011): 6.
[44] Herbert Howells, program notes for the first London performance of *Missa Sabrinensis* (1956).

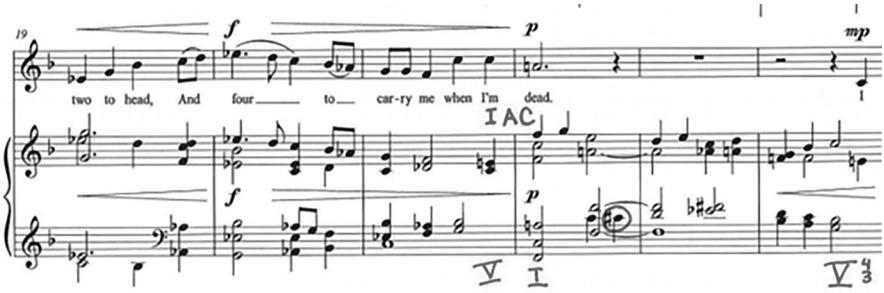


Fig. 11: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 19-24.

Gibbs's setting contains four stanzas in a kind of modified strophic form: A, B, A,' B.' That is to say, though the first two stanzas are through-composed, they are directly mirrored by stanzas three and four. However, the latter half of the song exaggerates all the ideas presented in the first. By way of illustration, the vocalist's start to the second half of this piece, bars 24-25, coincides with a deceptive cadence in the accompaniment. Put another way, the voice moves from dominant to tonic scale degrees while the piano progresses from a dominant to submediant – not tonic – resolution in Fig. 12. The relationship between F major and relative D minor is even more confusing than on the first page.

What had been *mp* on the first page is now *f* in bars 29-34 given the text that reads, 'If any danger come to me. . . .' If one imagines this being David's prayer, we know very well that his life was in jeopardy and did, in fact, end in peril. The underlying harmony remains exactly the same. Compare bars 7-12 (Fig. 1 or 4) with bars 29-34 (Fig. 12). However, the accompaniment has greater vigor with fuller chords that reach an octave lower than they had. Moreover, the bass's planing parallel fifths in bars 31-32 add to the overall intensity, contribute to the medieval quality of this Anglican admixture, and recall the habit of Gibbs's mentor Vaughan Williams. See Fig. 12.

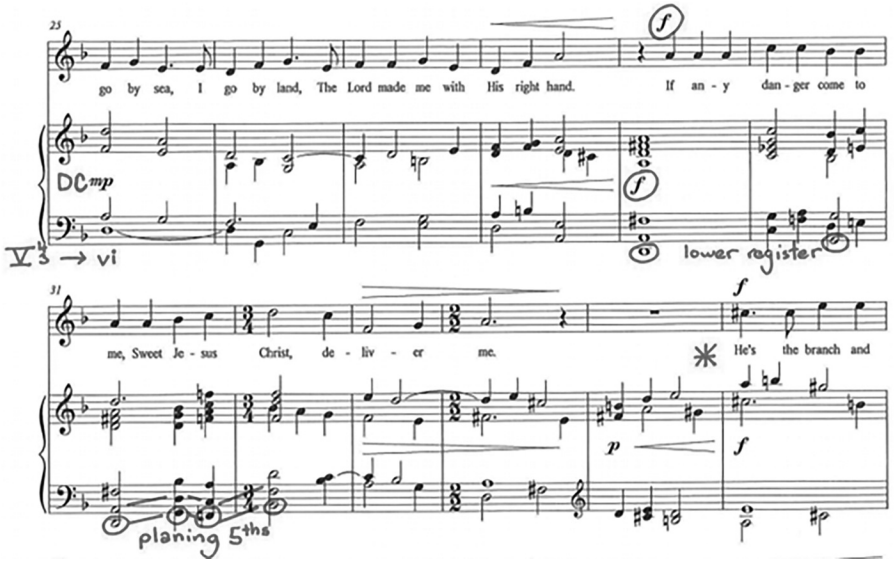


Fig. 12: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 25-36.

The seraphic ethos of the third phrase, bars 14-17, is magnified at its corresponding moment on the second page, bars 36-39, when the lyrics no longer entreat 'Matthew, Mark, Luke and John' or even the 'four angels.' Rather, they call upon the creator and highest of all beings, God himself, using language from the fifteenth chapter of John, 'He's the branch and I'm the flow'r, Pray God send me a happy hour.' Accordingly, everything is pitched an enharmonic third higher at this turning point. Otherwise, the chords are spelled and spaced the same as their first-page counterpart. Note bar 36 in the preceding Fig. 12.

The prayer's final petition is among the song's softest, most delicate, and certainly most poignant, 'And if I die before I wake, I pray that Christ my soul will take.' These words are especially apropos because, as Gibbs explains in a letter to friends back home in Danbury, 'David had a perfect end – killed instantly by a dud shell *in his sleep* – he's done his job and gone on to fresh jobs on the other side [emphasis added].'[45] Unlike the IAC of bars 21-22, Gibbs punctuates these concluding lyrics with greater confidence by way of a perfect authentic cadence in F major, over the bar of bars 44-45. See Fig. 13.

[45] Letter from Armstrong Gibbs to Dick and Gerty Roast, November 1943, quoted in Aries, *Armstrong Gibbs*, p. 142.

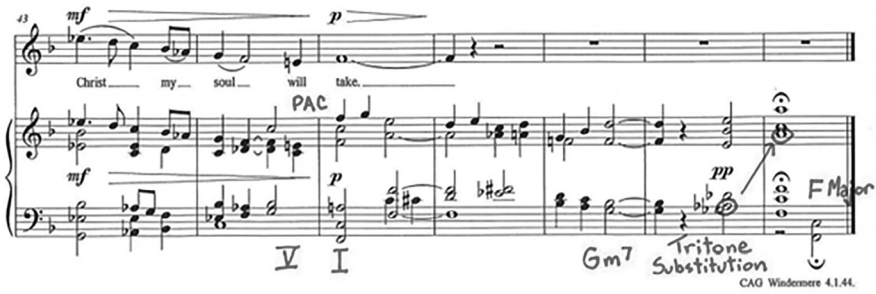


Fig. 13: 'Before Sleeping,' bars 43-49.

However, the song does not end here. A four-bar postlude – much like the chromatically thick and vague interlude – offers the most remarkable harmonic enigma of them all with its penultimate pentachord. In a sense, Gibbs is working out his mourning to the final bar, as evidenced by the preceding Fig. 13. The G-minor seventh chord of bar 47 proceeds down by half step to bar 48's G-flat dominant with an added A flat. Gibbs is thinking in the language of jazz in which this chord is aptly labelled a tritone substitution. As such, all resolves by half-step to F major in bar 49, including the cryptic A flat which ultimately has an A natural counterpart – surely its reason for existing in the first place. These sounds are as enchanting as they are unexpected. Observe again the bass's shifting parallel fifths that conclusively drop the octave in the last beat. The composer finally shows his cards, as if to say, you can hang your hat here, or perhaps, Gibbs has finally found a bit of peace. Either way, the hopeful tonality of F major gets the last word.

A few days later, Gibbs completed 'Quiet Conscience,' the last of the three songs written over the New Year's holiday following David's death. He did not compose another song for at least two years. Instead, he poured his emotional and creative energy into his Third Symphony, *Westmorland.* It too is a clear expression of grief but also beauty and hope. At its conclusion, Gibbs wrote, 'Finished "ad majorem Dei gloriam [for the greater glory of God]."'[46] Though these words are meant to punctuate his symphonic 'epitaph' for David, they are an equally fitting summation of Armstrong Gibbs's life and middle through to late songs.

[46] Armstrong Gibbs, Symphony No. 3 in B flat, op. 104, *Westmorland* (Boosey & Hawkes, 1944).

Abstract
During the first few decades of the past century, composer Armstrong Gibbs (1889-1960) was well-regarded for his contribution to the landscape of English song; however, against the backdrop of Modernism, his conservative musical style was eventually deemed "out of touch." To the contrary, some recently discovered song manuscripts – including 'Before Sleeping' – very much confront harsh realities such as the tragic death of Gibbs's son in the Second World War.

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Brio Volume 58, Number 2. pp 37-43

SIR MALCOLM ARNOLD 1921-2021: THE LEGACY

Piers Burton-Page

A centenary always offers a good opportunity to take stock. The centenary of the birth in October 1921 of the composer Sir Malcolm Arnold is no exception. And the importance of legacy issues, related particularly to Arnold, was highlighted in the press towards the end of last year. It came to public notice that papers relating to the handling of the composer's affairs during the period when he was under the supervision of the Court of Protection were liable shortly to be destroyed – ostensibly for lack of any authority willing to give them appropriate storage. After a mild flurry, in this instance the matter was satisfactorily resolved, and the Arnold papers duly retained for posterity. The episode serves however to provoke a wider consideration not just of Arnold's legacy, but of that of composers in general.

The relationship between a composer and his autograph scores has always been problematic. Musical history is full of cases that veer from total indifference to the fate of a given manuscript, to a squirrel-like concern jealously to hoard every last scrap – sketch, draft, proof, etc. Of the latter species, Benjamin Britten might serve as a good example of the self-conscious composer who, aware from his earliest years of posterity's possible future interest, sets about creating a personal archive. As a result, no one interested in Britten and his music can afford to ignore the riches preserved at Aldeburgh and elsewhere.

There is surely no need to underline here the many reasons why manuscripts of all kinds are so important. They bring us closer than almost anything else to the composer in the very act of creation. They document, sometimes first, sometimes last, thoughts, alongside false starts, changes of mind, corrections, much else besides. The patchwork survival of autographs from the pen of Haydn or Mozart or Beethoven or Schubert has resulted in many an unsolved mystery. To cite just one example: what would we not now give for a sight of the missing autograph of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto? What happened to it? Was its dedicatee Anton Stadler in any way culpable? Might it even still exist somewhere?

As a recent example of a composer's apparent indifference to the fate of his autograph scores, Malcolm Arnold offers a stark contrast to someone such as Britten. It is only thanks to the diligent work of his former manager Alan

Poulton, in pursuing missing material and documenting the fruits of his researches in not one but two catalogues[1] of Arnold's music, as well as in the pages of *Beckus,* the journal of the Malcolm Arnold Society, that the situation is not as extreme as it might have been. Even so, the list of missing Arnold scores remains distressing.[2]

There are of course many reasons why a composer is required to part company with what may be a unique and precious score. Before the days of the photocopier, the music went to a copyist, and after the labour was done, the original might well be deemed of no further value. And think, even now, of some of the many hands through which a score may pass: in no given order, copyist, publisher, printer, friend or dedicatee – all of them subject to the vagaries of care and attention, to say nothing of inevitable accidents and instances of sheer neglect. It would be wasted labour, and probably ultimately frustrating, to attempt to trace the route by which the manuscript full score of Malcolm Arnold's Seventh Symphony, acknowledged by many critics to be one of his finest, found its way to being auctioned, a few years ago, on e-bay. (Fortunately it was spotted in time and retrieved for the Arnold archive.)

Arnold was always remarkable for the fluency of his compositional process, and for his ability to write to deadlines – often unreasonable ones, in the case of his many film scores. He left few sketches. He was also gifted, if that is the correct word, with idiosyncratic but instantly recognisable and always perfectly legible musical handwriting. His publishers were thus regularly able to publish study or miniature scores that simply reproduced the autograph. Paterson's printed his 3rd and 5th Symphonies in this fashion, Faber's likewise his 2nd String Quartet. When one of the BBC Orchestras sought to perform his coronation ballet *Homage to the Queen*, the orchestral material was sourced from the Royal Opera House where the ballet had first been staged: the conductor's score turned out to be, not a copy, but Arnold's complete original full score, which had accumulated over time a deluge of markings not his own, most in indelible red, blue or green crayon. Of course it is easy to understand how this should have come about, as it doubtless has in many another instance: time and money are both scarce commodities. All the same one can regret the damage caused, whether through inadvertence or sheer ignorance.

Every composer also produces what he or she might probably class as ephemera, and thus, almost by definition, not give their preservation a second thought. Arnold was more productive than most of such material which might include such things as television signature tunes, advertising jingles, fanfares and other occasional pieces. Apart from juvenilia, which in Malcolm Arnold's case survive quite healthily thanks to their occasional dedications (for ex-

[1] Alan Poulton, *The Music of Malcolm Arnold – a Catalogue.* London: Faber Music, 1986. Malcolm Arnold – Catalogue of works. Malcolm Arnold Society, 2021.

[2] See Alan Poulton, 'The search for the missing scores,' in *Beckus* 107 (Winter 2017), pp. 10-13.

ample, youthful piano works written in honour of his mother, who evidently preserved them lovingly), the classic problem of ephemerality arises in Arnold's case with his film music. Often created piecemeal, often consisting of a multitude of unconnected sections, almost always cut to fit the film, it was also often performed almost literally before the ink was dry on the page – of the instrumental parts at least. One imagines that the last thing on anyone's mind after a possibly fraught recording session was the need carefully to go round all the music stands in the recording studio, collecting all the music. And even then, what to do with it? It had served its purpose, and would likely never be used again.

In fact, though, apart from their continuing existence on celluloid, which has subsequently enabled the occasional diligent transcription, quite a number of Arnold's film scores have enjoyed some form of afterlife, thanks again to the persistent detective work of Alan Poulton and to the deft hand of arrangers such as Christopher Palmer or Philip Lane. (Only once did the composer himself re-work one of his own scores, the *Sound Barrier Rhapsody* preserving some epic passages from David Lean's 1952 film of the same name.)

Before becoming involved in feature films of this type, Arnold had earned a living writing background music for many a short documentary. By their very nature as newsreels, films such *Report on Steel* or *The Struggle for Oil* were destined to be viewed once and then forgotten: like the music which accompanied them.

Not all is always lost. There are those autographs which only vanish, for whatever reason, once the music is in print; conceivably, their re-discovery might shed little light, or even none at all. More serious would be the case of works lost to view entirely, but whose existence is nevertheless attested in some shape or form. Such is the case for example with Arnold's Symphonic Suite, op. 12. Might it, or might it not, have been incorporated, in whole or in part, into another Arnold work? If so, was it cut and pasted, or maybe recopied and then destroyed? Under what precise circumstances? Written before his 1st Symphony, might this lost score have marked a first tentative step in a previously unexplored direction? With no tangible manuscript evidence to hand, the answer may never be known.

And there are other mysteries. For instance, how typical of the early Arnold was his 1942 *Divertimento for orchestra*, sent to, and rejected by, Sir Henry Wood the following year? Even a piece from as late as 1964, his *Sunshine Overture* Op. 83, appears to have vanished entirely without trace.

Fig. 1: Malcolm Arnold at his home in Attleborough, June 1991. Eastern Counties Newspapers, courtesy of David Dunstan

Posterity must therefore be profoundly grateful that in the fifteen years since the composer's death, strenuous efforts have been made by several parties – the Arnold Estate, the Malcolm Arnold Trust, the Malcolm Arnold Society, libraries and institutions, his publishers and his biographers – to preserve all that has survived of his considerable legacy. Among other places, the British Library, and Eton College, have substantial holdings, and the archivist at Eton, Lucy Gwynn, has documented in these very pages the arrival there of large amounts of material, and the school's willing embrace of the Arnold legacy.[3] But still, there are questions that arise. One category that might easily elude preservation, and thus causes me particular concern, is that of sound recordings. These have always come and gone with a degree of unpredictability, as any collector's shelves will quickly attest. Those shelves will be bound to hold any number of CDs no longer on the market. Thus the holdings of the British Library Sound Archive, or of the BBC Gramophone Library (not an open resource of course, and like the National Sound Archive not a copyright library and not operating a comprehensive acquisitions policy), assume a considerable importance. Even before the advent of CD there were recordings of Arnold's music on LP and 78 rpm discs. These are surely important, if only to enable future generations to assess such matters as tempi or playing styles, or perhaps the sound and interpretation of any of the dedicatees of Arnold's many concertos – such as Larry Adler, the first performer of Arnold's delightful 1954 concerto for that rarity on the concert platform, the harmonica. And what of video recordings? Performances existing solely on YouTube? Broadcast interviews never transcribed?

[3] Lucy Gwynn, 'Choir-boys and trumpeters: Eton College, its music manuscripts, and the Malcolm Arnold Archive'. *BRIO* 54 no. 2 (Autumn / Winter 2017), pp. 22-32.

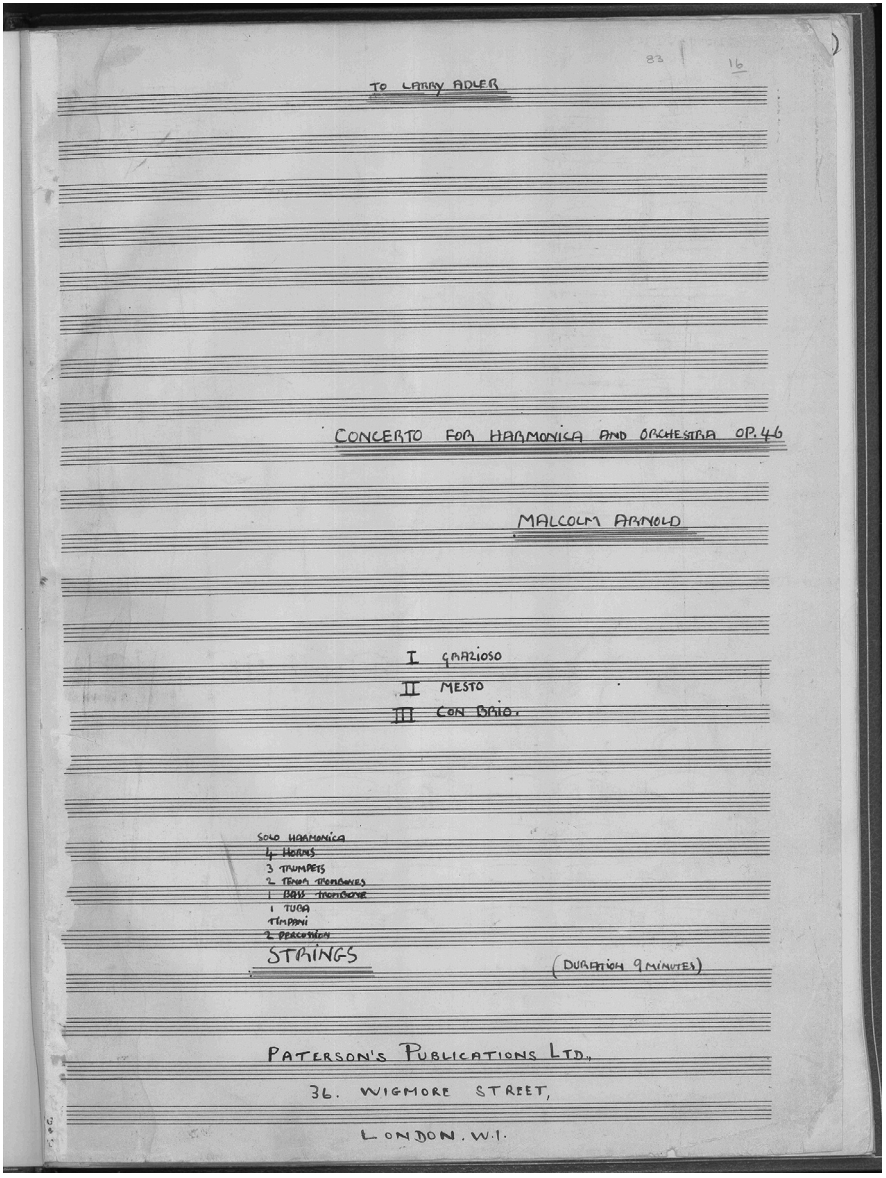

Fig. 2: Title page from Malcom Arnold's autograph for Concerto for Harmonica and Orchestra, op. 46. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

And what of Arnold in print? An excellent collection of previously published and unpublished articles and interviews was assembled a decade ago by the director of the Malcolm Arnold Festival, and Arnold biographer, Paul Harris.[4] It would not be surprising, though, if there were things that escaped his net. What, too, of the small but growing quantity of scholarly literature on Arnold? What, even, of websites such as those run by the Arnold Estate or the Malcolm Arnold Society? Are they doomed to eventual oblivion?

Despite these questions, gratitude still remains the order of the day, not least for the fact that so much of this fine composer's output, from his symphonies and concertos to major and minor film scores and even some of his ephemera, remains accessible, continues to be popular, and that his centenary has happily generated considerable interest among performers and listeners alike. Long may that continue.

Abstract
2021 marks the centenary of Sir Malcolm Arnold. This tribute acknowledges his versatility as a composer by noting the various genres in which he worked. Significantly, it also draws attention to the challenge of locating and maintaining a complete collection of Arnold's prolific output of music manuscripts. Although institutions such as the British Library and Eton College have assembled archives of Arnold's autograph scores, several manuscripts are currently missing. The article pinpoints some of the efforts that have been, or need to be undertaken, such as transcription from sound recordings, to ensure the survival of this important aspect of Arnold's legacy.

Piers Burton-Page worked for over 30 years in the music department at BBC Radio 3. He wrote the first biography of Malcolm Arnold, 'Philharmonic Concerto,' and is currently Hon. President of the Malcolm Arnold Society.

[4] Paul Harris (ed.), *Malcolm Arnold in Words – A Compilation of his Writings and Interviews*. Buckingham: Queen's Temple Publications, 2011.

Brio Volume 58, Number 2. pp 44-64

FRIENDS WITH BENEFITS

Lizzy Buckle

It is midday on 6 April 1773. The Foundling Hospital chapel (see Fig. 1), surrounded by the lush green fields of Bloomsbury, is packed. 35 instrumentalists (plus music stands and instruments), 18 chorus singers, 12 boy choristers, 4 soloists and 1 organist have squeezed into the western gallery, and over eight hundred members of London's elite are seated in the pews.[1] The musicians have tuned, and the audience is sitting in hushed anticipation, waiting for the concert to begin.

Charity concerts in eighteenth-century London

By the time of this concert in 1773, a performance of *Messiah* in aid of the Foundling Hospital had taken place every year since 1750. The first concert to raise money for the Foundling Hospital took place in 1749 and featured the Foundling Hospital Anthem composed by Handel, which included the 'Hallelujah' chorus lifted from his oratorio *Messiah*. Following the success of this first concert, Handel and the governors of the Hospital organised a performance of *Messiah* in 1750, which engendered so much interest that gentlemen were requested to come without their swords and ladies without hoops so there would be more room for attendees. Even with these measures, many ticket holders were turned away after more tickets were sold than could be accommodated in the chapel, and the governors were required to hastily arrange a second performance, which was also well attended, to accommodate those who had missed out.[2]

This initial success resulted in *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital becoming an annual event that attracted large numbers of influential attendees. Therefore it is perhaps unsurprising that other charities emulated these events by organising their own benefit concerts, which also often featured oratorios. The development and success of the charity concert also coincided with the growth in the number of public charities founded at this time, including The Magdalen Hospital for the Reception of Penitent Prostitutes (established in 1758) and the Lock Hospital for the treatment of venereal disease (1747). By the 1770s, the charity concert was here to stay. Concerts in aid of charitable institutions outside London began to take place in the chapels of newly built

[1] Donald Burrows. 'Lists of Musicians for Performances of Handel's Messiah at the Foundling Hospital, 1754-1777', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, Vol. 43, 2010, pp. 85-109.

[2] Donald Burrows. 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital', *Music & Letters,* Vol. 58(3), 1977, pp. 269-284.

infirmaries, as well as in cathedrals and churches, and the benefit concert is still used as a means of fundraising today, even during the pandemic. On 25 September 2021, the *Global Citizen Live* event, featuring performances by musicians including Andrea Bocelli, Billie Eilish, Coldplay, Ed Sheeran, Kylie Minogue and Stormzy, was broadcast around the world with the valiant intention of 'ending COVID-19 for all, ending the hunger crisis, resuming learning for all, protecting the planet, and advancing equity for all.'[3]

Conspicuous benevolence

In the eighteenth century, as today, media attention tended to focus on the philanthropic actions of the stars involved.[4] From 1769 to 1774 (with the exception of 1773), violinist, composer and impresario Felice Giardini managed the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performances. During these years especially, newspaper advertisements for the events emphasised the apparent benevolence of the principal performers, with statements such as 'Sig. Giardini has *generously offered*, for the *Benefit of this Charity*, to play the first Violin, and a Concerto' and 'Miss Davies, Mrs. Wrighten, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Reinhold, have, for the *benefit of the Charity, generously engaged* to sing the principal parts'.[5] Similar emphases on the philanthropic actions of performers can be found in the expressions of gratitude by the members of the Annual General Court of the Lock Hospital towards those who had participated in the Hospital's annual oratorio. For example, on 26th April 1773, the following statement appeared in the Public Advertiser:

> THAT the Thanks of this Court be given to the two Miss Linleys, Signora Galli, Mess. Giardini, Vernon, Champnes, Arnold, Dupuis, and Crosdill, for their Performance gratis, in the Oratorio of Ruth, on Wednesday the 7th Instant for the Benefaction of this Charity […] Mr. Linley's Generosity in returning the Sum paid to him by the Governors of the Lock-Hospital, for his Daughter's Singing in the Oratorio of Ruth on the 7th Instant, cannot be made too publick [. . .][6]

[3] https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/global-citizen-live-everything-to-know/ (accessed 10 October 2021).

[4] See for instance coverage by the *Guardian* and the BBC of *Global Citizen Live*. Ben Beaumont-Thomas, '24-hour Covid benefit concert announced with the Weeknd, Billie Eilish and more', *The Guardian Online*, published 13 July 2021, <www.theguardian.com/music/2021/jul/13/24-hour-covid-benefit-concert-global-citizen-live-weeknd-billie-eilish-ed-sheeran-coldplay-bts>, accessed 10 October 2021. 'Global Citizen Live: Ed Sheeran, Lizzo and Billie Eilish feature in 24-hour concert', *BBC News Online*, published 26 September 2021, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-58694304 (accessed 10 October 2021).

[5] My italics. 'Advertisements and Notices.', *Morning Chronicle*, 22 March 1774 in Seventeenth and Eigteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection (hereafter Burney Newspapers), https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000831882/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=GDCS&xid=bf611e66 (accessed 20 October 2020).

[6] 'Advertisements and Notices.', *Public Advertiser,* 26 April 1773 in Burney Newspapers, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001143851/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=GDCS&xid=dd651194 (accessed 12 November 2020).

However, closer inspection of these newspaper articles and the events to which they were related reveals that these performers were less benevolent than they might at first appear. Although the advertisements implied that these performers were giving their time for free, Thomas Norris actually received a substantial 10 guineas for his contribution in 1774 and 1775, and he was the only soloist to claim a fee on both occasions. With the exception of the £100 awarded jointly to four members of the Linley family in 1773, it was also the highest fee awarded to any performer at the Foundling Hospital's *Messiah*.[7] Moreover, a comparison of Norris' fee with the equivalent of £5-6 per night suggested for a bass soloist by Giardini's 'Hypothetical Pay Scale' of 1763 suggests that £10 was a generous fee for the time. Giardini's pay scale consisted of instructions to his agent Gabriel Leone as to how much bargaining room he had when negotiating with singers in Italy in the hopes of securing them to perform in the Italian Opera at the King's Theatre. £308.15s for the season (or the equivalent of £5-6 per night) was apparently at the upper end of the salary Leone was permitted to offer a Bass singer.[8]

Fig. 1: G. R. Sargent, Interior view of the Foundling Hospital chapel from the sanctuary, ca 1830. © Gerald Coke Handel Foundation.

[7] Burrows. 'Lists of Musicians'.

[8] Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 46(1), 1993, pp. 26-83, p. 42.

Although Thomas Linley did indeed return his two daughters' fees for singing at the Lock Hospital, this was only after he had demanded that the Lock Hospital pay the same amount as the Foundling Hospital had paid them that year, which worked out as £20 to each daughter. In fact, the Foundling Hospital had paid Linley a total of £100 for himself, his two daughters and his son, which was by far the highest fee awarded to any performer there.[9] It was only after some cajoling and a visit from William Bromfeild, a Lock Hospital governor, that Linley offered to return the fee.[10] The Lock Hospital's newspaper announcement on 26 April does go on to allude vaguely to these circumstances, but attributes Mr Linley's mercenary attitude to business transactions rather than selfishness.

> A Point of Delicacy in respect to another Charity, obliged Mr. Linley to require the same Sum of the Governors of the Lock Hospital, that he had been paid by the other Charity; but, on being informed that the Foundling-Hospital had been a National Concern, and had received large Sums, by Vote of Parliament; and that the Lock-Hospital was supported only by the voluntary Contributions of some few of the Nobility and Gentry, the Cases were very different; and, on that Account, Mr. Linley begged the Governors of the Lock-Hospital would accept of the Money again, as a Benefaction to the Charity.[11]

Linley's behaviour concerning the Lock Hospital fee seems typical of his attitude towards financial capital when negotiating with concert promoters, suggesting he did not generally make special allowances for charity performances. For example, in a letter to George Colman, manager of Covent Garden, on 11 October 1770, Linley forcefully laid out his demands in exchange for allowing his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to perform in the oratorio season at the theatre. Linley declared he would give permission only if he received '200 Guineas, and a clear Benefit, for w^{ch} my Daughter shall have the choice of any Oratorio that has been performed'. If Colman dared to refuse this offer, Linley threatened he would come to London and 'conduct the Business of Oratorios myself'.[12]

[9] Burrows. 'Lists of Musicians'.
[10] Lock Hospital General Court Book 1773-1789, MS0022/1/3/3, p. 6.
[11] Ibid.
[12] George Colman the Younger. *Posthumous Letters from Various Celebrated Men, Addressed to Francis Colman, and George Colman, the Elder: with Annotations and Occasional Remarks* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1820; Edinburgh, W. Blackwood), pp. 150-152.

These examples reveal, at best, extreme exaggeration, and, at worst, deliberate deception in the claims of benevolence on the part of musicians. Yet since the Foundling Hospital's advertisements and the Lock Hospital's expressions of thanks were most probably written by their respective committees, it can only be assumed that they were intended to flatter the performers and, especially in the case of the advertisements, attract people to attend the concerts. This suggests that it was beneficial for both the performers themselves and the charities for whom they were raising money to portray musicians as generous and philanthropic, even if it required bending the truth. However, the benefits of performing in charity concerts did not end here for musicians. Charity concerts seem to have been particularly rich platforms for cultivating new acquaintances and expanding the personal and professional networks that were often crucial for sustaining a musician's career.

Instability in the music profession

To be a musician in eighteenth-century London was to take on a relatively insecure profession. The amount of work available was greatly influenced by the seasonal nature of London's concert and opera scene. The London season coincided with the sittings of Parliament, which were generally from January to early summer with breaks at Christmas and Easter.[13] During the season, the *beau monde* flocked to theatres, especially in London's West End, but at the end of the season they returned to their country estates, and concert and opera houses closed. It was therefore important that musicians either found enough work during the season to sustain them and their families through the quieter periods or secured employment that would continue year-round.

Perhaps less predictable than seasonal variations were the whims of public opinion to which musicians were subject. While a celebrated performer strove to prolong their fame for as long as possible, it could be difficult to recover following a fall in public favour, especially if it was unclear what had turned the tide against them. In an article printed in the *Morning Post* on 2 November 1784, Polly Barthélémon demanded to know why theatre managers continue to reject her offers to perform. Barthélémon points out that during her esteemed career she has received 'the most flattering reception' from the Pope and the Queen of France, and yet impresarios claim that 'nothing can be done without interest'.[14]

In the early 1770s, after a fruitful career leading orchestras, organising concerts, teaching, composing and performing violin concertos, Giardini's reputation began to wane. In March 1773 a rival violinist, Wilhelm Cramer,

[13] Jerry White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing: London in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Bodley Head, 2012), p. 235.

[14] 'Advertisements and Notices', *Morning Post*, 2 November 1784, in Burney Newspapers, link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000950664/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark?GDCS&xid=633e4e83 (accessed 11 August 2021).

arrived in London at a time when Giardini was already struggling against a rising tide of anti-foreign and anti-Italian sentiment, which cast Italians as capricious, arrogant, extravagant and devious.[15] A major problem for Giardini was that in many ways he fitted or perhaps even directly influenced this stereotype of Italian musicians in England.

Although his patron Mrs Fox Lane had granted him a £200 annuity when she died in 1771, Giardini was regularly in debt.[16] Reverend Martin Madan, a friend of Giardini's and chaplain at the Lock Hospital, once asked him why, 'though you are continually receiving such large sums for your professional exertions, yet you are always poor?' Giardini apparently replied: 'I will tell you the plain, honest truth: I candidly confess, that I never in my life had five guineas in my pocket, but I had a fever till they were gone.'[17] It is therefore unsurprising to note that Giardini found himself in court in 1758 for refusing to pay his debts to music seller and publisher John Cox.[18] William Gardiner's description of Giardini at a performance in 1773 indicates how the violinist chose to spend his wealth:

> 'He was a fine-figured man, superbly dressed in green and gold; the breadth of the lace upon his coat, with the three large gold buttons on the sleeve, made a rich appearance, which still glitters on my imagination.'[19]

Giardini also seems to have found other dishonest ways of earning extra money to fund his so-called 'prodigent' habits. William T. Parke recalls Giardini's technique for selling poor quality violins at inflated prices: 'in [Giardini's] hands' the violins emitted a 'powerful tone', which the gentlemen purchasers were unable to recreate once they got the instrument home.[20] We should of course take all these anecdotes with a pinch of salt, as most were reported by Englishmen years after they occurred, but their sheer number and relative consistency suggests that Giardini may have been suffering from anti-Italian prejudice in addition to the arrival of new competition.

[15] 'Advertisements and Notices.' *Public Advertiser*, 26 April 1773 in Burney Newspapers, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001143851/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=GDCS&xid=dd651194 (accessed 12 November 2020). On the politics of opera, see Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 3. See also Thomas McGeary. 'Gendering opera: Italian opera as the feminine other in Britain, 1700–42', *Journal of Musicological Research* Vol. 14(1), 1994, pp. 17-34.

[16] Cheryll Duncan. *Felice Giardini and Professional Music Culture in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London* (Milton: Routledge, 2019), p. 17.

[17] 'Felice Giardini', *Harmonicon*, Part 1, Vol V (London: Printed for the proprietors, and published by William Pinnock, 1823-1831), pp. 216-217.

[18] Cheryll Duncan, op.cit., p. 5.

[19] William Gardiner. *Music and friends; or, Pleasant recollections of a dilettante*, Vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Orme, Brown, and Longman, 1838), pp. 5-6.

[20] William T. Parke. Musical Memoirs, Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 155.

Perhaps in an attempt to overcome this prejudice, Giardini travelled back to his native Italy in 1784. Returning to London five years later, he found his competitors had taken advantage of his absence and replaced him as London's premier violinist. Perhaps his age was also getting the better of him, as Haydn noted in 1792 that he had heard Giardini play at Ranelagh Gardens and that he 'played like a pig'. So, not long after his return, Giardini left London once more to travel to Russia with a theatrical company, where he died in poverty.

The intimate nature of the relationship between a music teacher and his pupils, who were often young, eligible ladies, could also put a musician at risk of scandal. In July 1782, Edmund Boyle, Earl of Corke and Orrery, in an attempt to divorce his wife, Anne, accused her of committing adultery with the cellist John Charles Newby. *The Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal* reported the following allegation:

> 'That the Countess, though she had only seen John Charles Newby at the theatre, sent a letter to him by Mr. Rice, boxkeeper at the Haymarket, desiring him to bring the music of a tambourine dance, and giving him the following hint, that Lady Corke, would be at home to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, when he might bring the music; the letter was delivered to him, and he waited as desired on her ladyship, but did not carry any music with him, knowing well enough that it was his company, and not music, of which her ladyship was desirous. [. . .] [D]uring the rest of the summer he constantly visited her, at her house in Queen-street, [. . .] where they frequently had the carnal use and knowledge of each others bodies upon the sopha and chairs in her ladyship's drawing room'.[21]

Eighteen witnesses were heard in the subsequent trial, many of whom testified for Lady Corke's virtue and good character, and the court refused the Earl's divorce petition.[22] While the reliability of the court's decision could certainly be questioned, its conclusions suggest that Newby may have been an innocent bystander whose profession and connection to the Duchess were easily embellished to suit the Earl's requirements. However, it is unknown how these accusations impacted Newby's career because he died in October 1781, before these allegations came to light, from 'an Inflammation in his Bowels'.[23]

[21] *The Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal* (printed for J. BEW, Paternoster Row, July 1782), p. 527.
[22] Julia Gasper. *Elizabeth Craven: Writer, Feminist and European* (Vernon Press, 2017), p. 89.
[23] 'News.', *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, September 29 - October 2 1781 in Burney Newspapers
<link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001298997/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=4b6b018b> (accessed 12 October 2021).

To add to the precariousness of the profession, musicians with roles outside the military or the church did not usually receive pensions or any insurance against illness, injury or damage to their instrument from their employer. For example, John Malchair, who probably played the violin at the 1759 Foundling Hospital performance of *Messiah*, was forced to give up his post as leader of the Oxford Music Room (now Holywell Music Room) band when an orange thrown by an audience member broke his violin.[24] Perhaps the culprit was offended by Malchair's appearance, once candidly described by his friend William Crotch as 'ugly', 'tho' a fine figure'.[25] This was not the first time Malchair's musical career had been influenced by the condition of his instrument; he had previously composed several pieces for a violin with three strings after a previous (non-citrus-related) incident damaged his violin.[26]

These examples demonstrate that the success of a musician was driven, in part, by luck. Had Malchair's violin not been on the trajectory of the orange, or if the orange were thrown with less force, his musical career could have continued. John Newby may simply have been unlucky in taking on Lady Corke as a pupil shortly before her husband sought a divorce. However, closer inspection of the lives of musicians reveals that they employed a variety of strategies to prevent or at least minimise the impact of seasonal fluctuation, changing tastes, and illness, injury, and instrument damage.

Overcoming job insecurity

Firstly, a musician could help to ensure a steady flow of employment by living in a convenient area. Many musicians lived in and around Covent Garden, close to the theatres where they often found work and not far from their patrons and audience members to whom they may also have offered instrumental or vocal tuition. For example, Frederick Charles Reinhold, soloist at the Foundling Hospital in 1773, lived at 90 Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place from at least 1777 to 1780, which was a short walk away from Covent Garden Theatre where he performed several times during this period.[27]

Living in a strategic location made practical, economic, and common sense, especially as negotiating London's streets, whether on foot or by coach, could be slow, smelly, and even dangerous. On 8 July 1784, newspapers carried the following report:

[24] Robert J. Bruce, 'Malchair [Malscher], John [Johann Baptist]', *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17528> (accessed 13 October 2021).

[25] T. B. Healey, 'Malchair, John [formerly Johann Baptist Malscher]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56011> (accessed 13 October 2021).

[26] Ibid.

[27] Phillip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans. *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800*, Vol. 12 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-87), p. 308.

> 'Yesterday morning, between the Hours of One and Two o'Clock, the following daring Robbery and Murder was committed:- As Mr. Charles Linton, Musician [. . .] was returning from the Haymarket Theatre, where he had been detained at the Rehearsal of a new Piece [. . .], he was attacked by three Ruffians.'[28]

These 'Ruffians' stole Linton's watch and money and stabbed him, leaving him to bleed to death.[29] This is, of course, rather an extreme example, but muggings were nevertheless an occupational hazard, especially when travelling home from gigs after dark, so minimising the commute could help to keep a musician safe. Convenient lodgings also enabled musicians to earn more, as less time and money spent travelling equalled more time spent performing.

Living close to their workplaces also meant that musicians were constantly surrounded by fellow performers and many even chose to live together. An advertisement for Thomas Linley junior's benefit concert in April 1773 revealed that he lived with the Storace family on Marylebone High Street.[30] Fire insurance records show that the violinist François-Hippolyte Barthélémon (presumably accompanied by his wife Polly, mentioned earlier), lived with the composer Thomas Arne in 1778. They first shared accommodation at Bow Street, Covent Garden in March, before both moving to Parliament Street, Westminster in December.[31] Living and working in such close proximity enabled musicians to keep abreast of musical happenings, to take advantage of last-minute opportunities, such as deputising for colleagues, and to find out about other vacancies, all of which could help to sustain their career.

Some musicians, however, chose to lead a peripatetic lifestyle, especially in between seasons, when they travelled around the country, performing and teaching at the country houses of the rich. For instance, the oboist William T. Parke recorded that:

> 'Giardini, who was a sensible and gentlemanly man, with a high and honourable spirit, had for several years given musical instruction to the Duchess of M[arlboroug]h, and had been in the

[28] 'News,' *James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 8- 10 July 1784, in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001302833/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=b1bafef7> (accessed 13 October 2021).

[29] Ibid.

[30] 'Advertisements and Notices.' *Morning Chronicle [1770],* 8 April 1773 in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000826716/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=7e8c80c0> (accessed 11 October 2021).

[31] Sun Fire Office Insurance Policy No. 395833, *London Metropolitan Archives,* CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/265, p. 53; Sun Fire Office Endorsement to Policy No. 395833, CLC/B/192/F/004/MS12160/27, *London Metropolitan Archives,* p. 280.

> habit of passing two or three months of the summer for that purpose at the family seat [in] B[lenhei]m.[32]

Giardini also performed in public concerts outside London. Perhaps while serving the Duchess of Marlborough in July 1773, since it was so close, Giardini played lead violin in concerts at the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford to raise money for the newly founded Radcliffe Infirmary. He was joined by, among others, the sopranos Elizabeth Linley (who had recently become Mrs Sheridan) and Mary Linley, and the cellist John Crosdill, who had all performed together at the Foundling Hospital just a few months beforehand.[33] Another regular performer at the Foundling Hospital (although not in 1773), the tenor Thomas Norris also performed in Oxford and in early October that year he appeared at the Assembly Room in Salisbury, singing in a concert raising money for Salisbury Infirmary. The double bassist on that occasion was Stephen Storace junior (and his father Stephen senior), who had also performed at the Foundling Hospital in April that year.[34]

Travelling around the country throughout the summer months giving concerts and providing tuition not only maintained musicians' incomes but also exposed them to different networks from those found in the theatres of London's West End. While some performers would have known each other, others may have been new acquaintances, such as the singer Joseph Corfe who was based at Salisbury Cathedral.[35] Getting to know more performers was, unsurprisingly, a useful means of securing future work. Unlike today, when musicians can attend an open audition for a role in an orchestra, most hiring was done by fellow musicians or 'fixers'.[36] Hence, while every performance was a chance to impress colleagues, those with new faces were particularly ripe for securing new opportunities. Since many musicians held multiple posts at once, it was necessary to constantly search for new openings as others finished.

Building up a varied portfolio career was one way of ensuring a continuous income. Redmond Simpson (see Fig. 2), who played the oboe at the Foundling Hospital in 1754, also played at Covent Garden, Vauxhall Gardens, Haymarket Theatre, in the Queen's band, the Horse Guards, and the Coldstream Guards, and he was a musician and clerk for the Duke of Cumberland.

[32] Parke, op. cit., Vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 51.
[33] 'News.' *London Evening Post*, 24–26 June 1773, in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000685672/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=3ee041b0> (accessed 15 June 2021); Burrows, 'List of Musicians', p. 99.
[34] 'News.' *London Chronicle*, 30 September–2 October 1773 in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000606317/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=26d80d4f> (accessed 2 August 2021); Burrows, 'List of Musicians', p. 99.
[35] Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 3, pp. 497-498.
[36] Simon McVeigh. *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 185.

Perhaps due to his broad involvement, Simpson also worked as fixer.[37] Many musicians played a variety of musical instruments and were not only performers but also composers, copyists, teachers and concert managers. When Joseph Woodham joined the Royal Society of Musicians, he claimed to play the double bass, horn, trombone, trumpet, viola and violin and he even stepped in to sing the role of Orlando in *The Cabinet* when the tenor John Braham suddenly came down with an attack of gout on 15 October 1802.[38] George Shutze's application form was even more dubious, as he stated that he played 'all instruments', although it seems that the violin and viola were his specialities.[39] Some musicians took on non-musical jobs. For example, Luffman Atterbury, who sang tenor in the chorus in 1774 at the Foundling Hospital, was also a carpenter, builder and surveyor.[40] All these measures meant that if one stream of income diminished, musicians could continue to make ends meet.

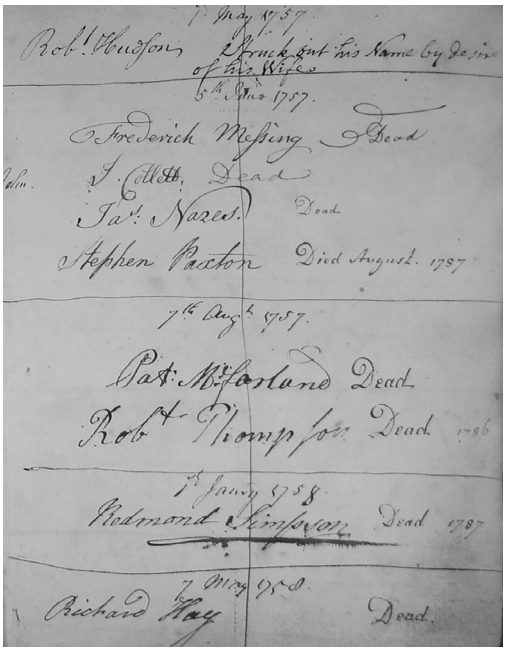

Fig. 2: Page from the Admissions Book for the Royal Society of Musicians showing Redmond Simpson's signature. The entries for Stephen Paxton and James Nares, both musicians at the Foundling Hospital in 1773, are also visible. © Royal Society of Musicians.

[37] Katharine Hogg, 'Redmond Simpson: Musician, Accountant and Art Collector', *A Handbook for Studies in 18th Century English Music,* 22 (2018), 47-8; McVeigh, *Concert life in London*, p. 185.
[38] Betty Matthews, *Members of The Royal Society of Musicians 1738-1984* (London: The Royal Society of Musicians, 1985), p. 161; Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 16, p. 239.
[39] Matthews, op. cit., p. 132.
[40] Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 1, pp. 170-171.

Musicians could boost their finances and weather quieter periods by organising a benefit concert to raise money for themselves. In return for hiring a room, enlisting the help of other players, placing advertisements and selling the tickets, a musician received all the profits from the concert.[41] Benefits also provided musicians with opportunities to create and manage their celebrity status, collaborate with other musicians, attract students, promote newly published or composed works, and construct an appealing personal narrative. For example, a soprano organising a benefit for herself might commission and then perform a brand-new aria and hire other star musicians to perform alongside her in order to demonstrate her respected position to both the audience and her colleagues. She may also situate the benefit within a narrative by advertising it as her final performance before leaving town or by designing a programme with a specific theme. Such strategies were vital for foreign musicians who had just arrived in London and wanted to establish a name for themselves. However, by the 1720s, the London concert scene had become so crowded with benefit events that similar strategies became essential for native performers to distinguish themselves from other competition.[42]

Yet ironically musicians did not always benefit from their own benefits. While famous singers or instrumental virtuosi may have raised substantial sums and boosted their profile, less successful performers risked financial ruin by putting on a benefit concert: if they did not attract a large enough audience, they could lose the money they invested in hiring the venue, performers, and music. Organisers could suffer reputational as well as financial losses, as a poorly attended benefit suggested a lack of popular support, which could cause them to lose out on future employment. It may also have been necessary for musicians to turn down other work to allow for the considerable amount of time and energy required to organise a benefit, which included arranging the refreshments, advertisements, tickets, staging, candles, and the hire and tuning of keyboard instruments. [43]

One way of reducing costs was to persuade fellow performers to offer their services for free. Shortly before his arrival in London in 1704, composer and conductor Johann Sigismund Cousser recorded in his notebook the following piece of advice, given to him by fellow German and musician Jakob Greber:

[41] Catherine Harbor, *The Birth of the Music Business: Public Commercial Concerts in London 1660-1750,* Vol.1, Ph.D. thesis (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2013). https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/files/17863941/2013HarborCMphdVol1.pdf (accessed 11 May 2021), p. 119-120.

[42] Alison Desimone, 'Strategies of Performance: Benefits, Professional Singers, and Italian Opera in the Early Eighteenth Century' in Matthew Gardner and Alison DeSimone (eds.) *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 163.

[43] Harbor, op. cit., p. 119-120.

> 'When all the concerts are over and the instrumentalists have been paid, invite them to dinner. One must not neglect to do that, for in return one gets them to do the last [?benefit] concert without pay.'[44]

Greber's advice in this early example demonstrates that the careful maintenance of relationships between musicians and the participation in a system of mutual favours could, quite literally, yield rich results. However, good networking skills and a strong support system also came in handy if a musician became ill or needed to mend their instrument.

The Fund for Decay'd Musicians (later the Royal Society of Musicians, which still exists today) offered a means of preventing a musician from becoming destitute in the event of illness, injury or instrument damage. Three London musicians were inspired to set up the fund in 1738 after seeing the impoverished children of their recently deceased colleague, bassoonist and oboist Jean Christian Kytch, driving asses down the Haymarket. A year later, two hundred members of the music profession, including William Boyce and Handel, signed the Declaration of Trust which aimed to care for their members in need, to apprentice their children and to look after their widows.[45] Many musicians already mentioned in this article, including Giardini, John Crosdill, Thomas Norris and Stephen Storace senior subsequently became subscribers,[46] while other notable personages from outside the music profession also showed their support by donating to the fund.[47]

For the price of the quarterly subscription fee, the charity reassured musicians that their families would be provided for in the event of their death, illness, old age, a damaged instrument or other trying circumstances. For example, in 1803 at the age of 81, Thomas Kaye (who probably played the horn at the Foundling Hospital in 1767 and 1769 to 1775) was feeling unwell so, as a member, he applied to the Society for assistance. The Fund agreed to pay the £2.7s.6d for the dozen bottles of sherry he had been prescribed by Dr Clark to consume that April. This clearly did the trick as Kaye lived another 13 years and continued to perform during the summer months for at least another three years.[48]

However, not all musicians were eligible for membership to the Fund for Decay'd Musicians. To become a member, there was a requirement to have been a practising musician for at least one year. Members also had to be male,

[44] Harold E. Samuel. 'A German Musician Comes to London in 1704', *The Musical Times*, vol. 122, 1981, p. 592.
[45] Pippa Drummond. 'The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century', in Matthews, op. cit., pp. 191-193.
[46] Matthews, op. cit., pp. 42, 58, 107, 139.
[47] Drummond, op. cit., pp. 202-203.
[48] Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 8, pp. 273-274.

recommended by another member, capable of paying the quarterly subscription fee, and to have been voted in by the committee. Worse, membership to the society did not always guarantee assistance and extracting money could be a drawn out, complicated business. Claimants (or the families) had to present a certificate signed by ten ordinary members (i.e. not Governors) stating that they were 'a proper object' for relief, which required applicants to have built up a considerable network of contacts within the music industry. They were also required to have been subscribing members for at least one year, which meant being able to afford the subscription fee for the relevant period. Keeping up with the fees, which had started at half-a-crown per quarter but increased to a guinea by 1794 (an increase of over 800%) was evidently a problem.[49] Many musicians were expelled from the society for non-payment, including François-Hippolyte Barthélémon.[50] Although Giardini was not forcibly discharged from the society, perhaps, given his attitude towards money, his decision to withdraw his membership shortly after he subscribed in 1755 was influenced by these fees.[51] In general, then, the musicians most likely to become members and to receive assistance from the Society were those who already had a strong network of colleagues and who had previously gained recognition and financial success in their field.

This examination of the measures taken by musicians to help sustain their careers demonstrates that success in the profession relied not only on the virtuosity, versatility and musicality of their performances, but also on practical skills, such as logistics, self-promotion, and networking, skills that are normally more associated with entrepreneurs than with musicians.

Tracking networks at charity concerts

Charity concerts were an excellent source of networking opportunities. My relational database of musicians and concerts in London from 1750 to 1800 reveals a variety of ages, abilities and levels of experience at Foundling Hospital concerts.[52] Created as part of my doctoral project, the database seeks to show which musicians performed at each concert that was held in London between 1750 and 1800. For example, the record for the Foundling Hospital performance in 1773 (described at the beginning of this article) states that it was held on Tuesday 6 April 1773 at midday, and that it was a benefit oratorio. The database includes a list of all those involved in the event and the role they performed, including, for instance, Elizabeth Sheridan, who sang soprano. Clicking on any name in this list takes you to the relevant person profile. In addition to biographical information such as sex, birth and death

[49] Drummond, op. cit., pp. 195-196.
[50] Matthews, op. cit., p. 19.
[51] Ibid, p. 58.
[52] Lizzy Buckle, *Musicians' Networks in 18th-Century London,* Database, www.gchf.org.uk//databases/ephemera-search.

dates, and nationality, the person profile displays any relationships a person holds with others in the database, and the addresses of places they lived. It also shows affiliations with societies, such as Royal Society of Musicians or the Anacreontic Society, with religious institutions, such as the Chapel Royal, or with educational establishments, such as the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Finally, the person profile sets out the events at which that musician has performed.

The majority of the concert data was imported directly from Simon McVeigh's *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800* dataset, which collected information from newspaper advertisements about more than 4000 concerts held in London during this time period.[53] Data about musicians came from a range of sources, including biographical dictionaries, eighteenth-century directories, records from the Royal Society of Musicians, insurance documents, charity minute books, and surviving lists of performers.[54] Some of the most fruitful resources have been the lists of musicians at performances of Handel's *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital, which have been helpfully transcribed from the originals held in the London Metropolitan Archives, by Donald Burrows.[55] Unlike newspaper advertisements which generally named only the star performers, these lists also provide the names and fees of the orchestra and chorus members. Therefore, while newspaper advertisements for the 1773 performance mentions only 'Mr Stanley', 'the Miss Linleys, and others',[56] the corresponding performer list gives 70 performers, and includes details of additional expenses such as printing, placing advertisements, and purchasing wine, beer and beef.[57] Hence the Foundling Hospital performer lists allow for an especially detailed analysis of performer networks.

Concerts, whether charitable or not, represented a 'middle ground' between music for the church and music for the stage, as unlike the church or Italian opera, they employed both native and foreign musicians.[58] For instance, analysis of the singers who participated in the 1754 performance of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital seems to reflect this diversity. Five of the thirteen adult chorus singers (Thomas Baildon, Thomas Barrow, David Cheriton, Nicholas Ladd and Thomas Vandernan) were current members of the Chapel Royal and a sixth, Cox, became a Gentleman of the Chapel shortly

[53] Simon McVeigh. *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*, Dataset, 2014.

[54] See, for instance: Matthews, op. cit.; Joseph Doane, *A Musical Directory For the Year 1794* (London: R. H. Westley for the editor, 1794); 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *The Galpin Society Journal,* 2 (1949), 27-31; and Lance Whitehead and Jenny Nex, 'The Insurance of Musical London and the Sun Fire Office 1710-1779', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 67 (2014), 181-274.

[55] Burrows, 'Lists of Musicians'.

[56] 'Advertisements and Notices.' *Morning Chronicle [1770],* 5 April 1773 in Burney Newspapers <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000826699/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=98839c11> (accessed 11 October 2021).

[57] Burrows, 'Lists of Musicians', p. 99.

[58] Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 127.

afterwards. Bass soloist Robert Wass was also a member, while fellow soloists Guilia Frasi and Christina Passerini (who were of Italian origin) and Englishman John Beard were all theatre singers.[59]

Several performers on the lists, such as rival cellists James Cervetto and John Crosdill who played in 1769 and 1770, were considered to be at the top of their field.[60] Crosdill was a principal cellist at the Three Choirs Festival (1769–77 and 1779–87) and at the Concerts of Ancient Music (1776-c1787). Cervetto initially appeared in London as a child prodigy before becoming a member of the Queen's private band in 1771. The Prince of Wales was said to attend the Italian opera at the King's Theatre for the sole purpose of hearing Cervetto's accompaniments of recitatives.[61] Both cellists went on to hold other distinguished posts after their appearances at the Foundling Hospital and both died wealthy men.[62]

Perhaps less surprisingly, many of the soloists were also highly celebrated. For instance, the 1773 soprano soloists, Elizabeth Linley and her younger sister Mary, were two of the most sought-after performers of their time. Newspapers from the spring of 1773 were bursting with praise for the elder Miss Linley, in particular. The following poem, signed 'W.' appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* on 9 March 1773, just under a month before the Foundling Hospital concert:

On seeing Miss Linley *at the Oratorio*
Let affection musically vain
O'er its infatuated converts reign;
With well feign'd exstacy their voices raise,
Piercing the skies with sounding Linley's praise.
Their souls according to the trembling lyre.
To heavens of harmony give up their hearts,
Indifferent to the joys which love imparts;
I feel with rapture all her powerful charms,
But be my heaven the heaven of Linley's arms.[63]

Six days later, another article, referring to a recent performance and addressing Elizabeth directly declared 'You triumphed, however, over everything. The king was more than once greatly and justly delighted; you more than

[59] Matthews, op. cit.
[60] Crosdill also played in 1774. Marija Đurić Speare. 'Cervetto, James (1748-1837)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5005 (accessed 5 October 2020).
[61] Graham Sadler and Marija Đurić Speare. 'Cervetto, James', *Grove Music Online*, 2001. https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05320 (accessed 5 October 2020).
[62] Speare, 'Cervetto, James (1748-1837)'; Sadler and Speare, 'Crosdill, John'.
[63] 'News.' *Morning Chronicle [1770]*, 9 March 1773 in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000826455/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=34f72a9f> (accessed 11 October 2021).

once broke the thread of his discourse and forced him with precipitation to quite perhaps some sublime flight of fancy.'[64] The writer and politician Horace Walpole also seems to have noticed the King's appreciation of Elizabeth, noting that the king 'ogles her as much as he dares to do in so holy a place as an oratorio'.[65]

However, not all performers were as well-established as Elizabeth Linley, Cervetto and Crosdill. Over one hundred Foundling Hospital musicians, consisting mainly of viola players, lower ranking violinists and chorus singers, have thus far evaded identification. While these difficulties may in some cases be attributed to lost sources, the absence of these names from records suggests they may have performed infrequently due to a lack of ability or because music was not their primary profession. There is also evidence that in 1769, 1771, 1772 and 1774, a significant number of the chorus singers were relatively inexperienced, as during these years, the professional chorus was bolstered by 26 to 40 volunteer singers. While Peter Holman has suggested that at least some of the volunteer chorus singers were female sopranos used to bolster the boy trebles, it is also possible that the remaining volunteers were the pupils of paid performers.[66]

The combination of well- and lesser-known musicians at benefit concerts could prove fruitful for both parties, with some hoping to impress more established performers who are themselves looking for skilled musicians. Participation in *Messiah* would also have given pupils experience of performing at such an event, as well as providing them and less established musicians with an opportunity to showcase their skills to potential future colleagues. Their tutors may also have benefited by highlighting their teaching skills and their efforts in helping their tutees seek employment. Alternatively, if these volunteer singers were in fact amateur musicians, some of the professionals performing at the Foundling Hospital may have gained further opportunities for patronage from these volunteers.[67]

The mixture of church and concert performers, and the variety of the nationalities and levels of experience suggest that charity benefit concerts at the Foundling Hospital provided an excellent opportunity for musicians to make new connections, which, as demonstrated above, was vital in sustaining their careers. However, there is also evidence that many of the performers would already have known each other and that these events were also an opportunity

[64] 'News.' *Morning Chronicle [1770]*, 15 March 1773, in Burney Newspapers, <link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2000826518/GDCS?u=rho_ttda&sid=bookmark-GDCS&xid=59167e47> (accessed 11 October 2021).

[65] Suzanne Aspden. 'Linley, Elizabeth Ann', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25364 (accessed 11 May 2021).

[66] Peter Holman. *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2020), p. 145.

[67] Until further documentation surrounding the identities of members of the volunteer chorus comes to light, this scenario will necessarily remain hypothetical.

for musicians to maintain their networks, as shown in Fig. 3. The current exhibition 'Friends with Benefits: Musical Networking in Georgian London', which runs until 1 May 2022 at the Foundling Museum, seeks to demonstrate the close-knit world of the Georgian music industry.[68] Taking the 1773 performance of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital as its starting point, the display shows how many of the performers were not only colleagues but also friends, relatives, housemates, teachers, pupils, or even lovers.

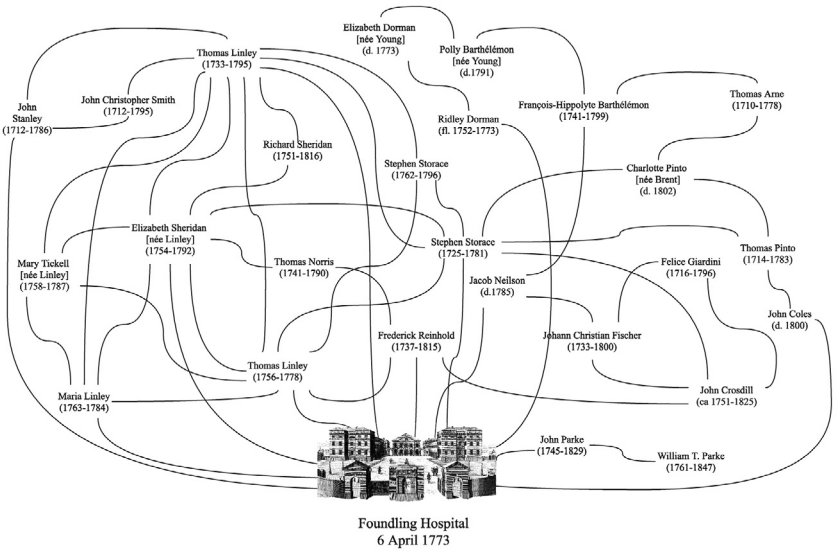

Fig. 3: Diagram showing the connections between musicians mentioned in this article.

Given all the advantages of getting to know the right people, it is perhaps unsurprising that many musicians were related. Deborah Rohr estimates that the fathers of 80 per cent of musicians were also musicians and that 86 per cent also married musicians. Older family members not only taught younger members practical musicianship, such as how to compose or play musical instruments, but also helped them to make professional contacts, enabling subsequent generations to follow in their footsteps.[69] There were numerous musical families working in London in the eighteenth century, including the Youngs, the Cramers, and the Ashleys, but the family most closely associated with the 1773 performance at the Foundling Hospital was the Linleys.

[68] For information, visit foundlingmuseum.org.uk/events/friends-with-benefits/

[69] Deborah Rohr. *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 22-25.

Known as 'The Nest of Nightingales', the Linleys were a musically precocious family, with eight children finding employment in the music profession, three of whom (Thomas junior, Elizabeth and Mary) performed alongside their father Thomas senior at the Foundling Hospital in 1773. Following success in their native Bath, Thomas senior and five of his children (Thomas, Elizabeth, Mary and Maria) made regular appearances in the London oratorio seasons from the late 1760s, including at Drury Lane Theatre, which was managed by J. C. Smith and John Stanley, the latter of whom played an organ concerto in the 1773 *Messiah* performance.[70] As mentioned earlier, Thomas junior was living at the time with the double bassist and family friend Stephen Storace where Elizabeth and her new husband Richard Sheridan also stayed for a time in 1773.[71] Storace had also previously acted as a kind of manager for Elizabeth for appearances at the Three Choirs Festival.[72]

Fig. 4: Section from T. Rowlandson Aquatinto by Fr. Jukes of Vauxhall Garden. Engraved by R. Pollard, published 28 June 1785 in London by J.R. Smith. ©Gerald Coke Handel Foundation. The kettle drummer Jacob Neilson is shown next to Johann Christian Fischer the oboist. The violinist near the singer (Frederika Weichsel) is François-Hippolyte Barthélémon.

[70] Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 9, pp. 310-314.

[71] Incidentally, Stephen Storace's daughter, Nancy, had a twenty-year long affair with John Braham, the tenor for whom the aforementioned multi-instrumentalist Joseph Woodham deputised in 1802. Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 14, p. 302.

[72] Ibid, p. 306.

Stephen Storace was also friends with the singer Charlotte Pinto (with whom Thomas Arne had an affair)[73] and her husband, the violinist Thomas, as he was one of the witnesses at their wedding in November 1766.[74] Thomas Pinto was apparently 'very idle, inclining more to the fine gentleman than the musical student, kept a horse, was always with a switch in his hand instead of a fiddle-stick.'[75] He was nevertheless a frequent performer and teacher, whose pupils included John Coles, a violinist at the Foundling Hospital in 1773. John Coles was recommended to the Royal Society of Musicians by John Parke in 1778, who played the oboe at the Foundling Hospital in 1773.[76] John Parke was the elder brother of the aforementioned William T. Parke, was taught by Redmond Simpson and was a friend to Thomas Linley senior. He was also a member of the Chamber Band of the Prince of Wales with Felice Giardini (manager of the Foundling Hospital concerts from 1769 to 1774 except in 1773) and John Crosdill. Crosdill, although absent in 1773, was a frequent performer at the Foundling Hospital, playing the cello there in 1769, 1770 and 1774, and like Giardini and Elizabeth Sheridan, he travelled to Oxford in 1773 to perform in the charity concert for the Radcliffe Infirmary. He often played alongside the oboist Johann Christian Fischer, including at Giardini's benefit on 1 June 1772.[77] Fischer, who was principal oboist at Vauxhall Gardens until 1771, when John Parke succeeded him, was depicted in an engraving of the Gardens (Fig. 4) with the aforementioned François-Hippolyte Barthélémon and Jacob Neilson. Neilson was the long time timpanist at the Foundling Hospital concerts, who features in every surviving payment list for the institution from 1767 to 1777.[78] François-Hippolyte's brother-in-law was Ridley Dorman, another violinist at the Foundling Hospital in 1773.[79]

Larger-scale and more detailed prosopographical examination of Foundling Hospital participants would know doubt reveal yet more connections between the performers. Yet even this snapshot gives a sense of how closely woven this web of performers really was and how this influenced the *modus operandi* of the music industry in eighteenth-century London. With

[73] Whitehead and Nex, 'Sun insurance policies A to D', supplementary material to Whitehead and Nex The Insurance of Musical London', p. 8, fn 10.
www.galpinsociety.org/index_htm_files/GS_Whitehead&Nex_A_to_D.pdf (accessed 15 October 2021).
[74] Ibid., p. 41, fn 45.
[75] Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 12, p. 3.
[76] It is unclear how long John Parke and John Coles had known one another in 1778. It is possible they met at the Foundling Hospital in 1773. Highfill et al. *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 3, p. 386; Burrows. 'Lists of Musicians', p. 99.
[77] McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts*.
[78] Neilson was also an avid fossil collector and left behind a large collection after his death on 2 July 1785. He died at Vauxhall Gardens while preparing his timpani for a performance that evening. See Highfill et al., *A biographical dictionary*, Vol. 11, p. 8.
[79] Burrows. 'Lists of Musicians', p. 99.

this in mind, let us return to our starting point. We are back at the Foundling Hospital on 6 April 1773.

The concert is over and the players are packing up their instruments and heading back into town for their evening performances. In their pocket is their fee and in their mind is a collection of contacts, new and old, just in case…

Abstract

To be a musician in eighteenth-century London was to take on a relatively insecure profession, subject to seasonal fluctuation, changing tastes, and illness, injury, and instrument damage. A closer examination of the measures taken by musicians to overcome these challenges reveals that success relied not only on the virtuosity, versatility and musicality of their performances, but also skills that are normally associated more with entrepreneurs, such as logistics, self-promotion, and networking. 'Friends with Benefits' seeks to highlight how charity benefit concerts, in particular, provided musicians with an opportunity to develop and maintain their networks, thereby sustaining their careers.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Martin Holmes

Patrick Zuk, *Nikolay Myaskovsky: A Composer and His Times*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021. xlviii, 533 p. ISBN: 9781783275755. Hardback. £60.00. [E-book versions also available]

Other than specialists of Soviet music, what, if anything, is the general music lover most likely to know of Nikolay Myaskovsky (1881-1950)? They may perhaps have encountered his Sixth Symphony on record or even in live performance. They may also be aware of the Cello Concerto or the Second Cello Sonata, works associated with the advocacy of Mstislav Rostropovich. In terms of biography, Myaskovsky is likely to be remembered as one of the names – along with the more famous Sergey Prokofiev and Dmitry Shostakovich – to have been denounced for 'formalism' at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Composers in 1948. But how familiar are the rest of his twenty-seven symphonies? Thirteen string quartets? Nine piano sonatas, or his many songs? Output is, of course, no substitute for quality, and there are certainly many other Soviet composers who played their part in fulfilling – or, rather, overfulfilling – the cultural demands of Stalinism's plan mentality. But Patrick Zuk makes a powerful case for what he describes as Myaskovsky's 'superbly wrought music of compelling vividness and imaginative power' (p. xvii), just as he traces his life and personality with authority and empathy, despite the fact that the composer was 'a deeply private and reserved man', who 'allowed few people to get close to him and was extremely cautious in his speech and actions' (p. xxv). Zuk also proves to be a judicious guide to the complexities of Soviet cultural politics and their impact on the lives of artists and intellectuals. Whatever claims Myaskovsky's music might have on posterity, Zuk is surely right to argue that 'his professional experiences tell us much about the conditions in which musicians had to operate during the first three decades of Soviet power and vividly illustrate the challenges confronting many members of the intelligentsia in their efforts to evolve a *modus vivendi* with the Bolshevik regime' (p. xviii).

One of the problems in embarking on any critical assessment of Myaskovsky and his music must be the paucity of primary sources and the shortcomings of previous scholarship. Shortly before his death, Myaskovsky destroyed his diaries, leaving behind only a selection of carefully curated

excerpts. There are gaps in his correspondence with friends and colleagues, and his lifelong habit of revising his compositions and making further changes in scores even after publication poses major challenges of textology. Zuk tackles such questions in a lucid preface, in which he sets out the deficiencies of previous biographical accounts of the composer's life and maps the wide range of archives and sources that he has mined in order to set the record straight. Whilst the focus is primarily on Myaskovsky and his fellow musicians, there is plenty of broader historical and cultural contextualisation, allowing the non-specialist reader (or at least a reader with a general interest in Russian and Soviet history) to gain a sense of Myaskovsky's place in the culture of his time.

That he became a composer at all attests both to his musical intuition and to his sense of determination, and the first five chapters of Zuk's biography are a particular revelation. Born into a military family in Russian-occupied Poland in 1881, 'it was taken for granted that Myaskovsky would train as a military engineer, following in his father's footsteps' (p. 15). Nonetheless, he managed to pursue his vocation alongside his military duties, studying privately with Sergey Taneyev and Reinhold Glière in Moscow, before moving to St Petersburg, where he immersed himself in the musical life of the capital. There, he enrolled in the conservatory in 1906, where his classmates included the fifteen-year-old Prokofiev; Myaskovsky was thirty when he graduated in May 1911. Mobilised during the Great War and later transferred to service in the navy, Myaskovsky did not resign his commission until 1921. For reasons that are as much to do with the depredations of war and revolution as they are to do with politics, many details from the first forty years of Myaskovsky's life have long remained uncertain, and Zuk marshals evidence both primary and secondary to evoke the circumstances of his early life.

Thereafter, Zuk focuses on Myaskovsky's professional career as a Soviet composer and the ways in which he navigated the ever-changing course of politics and culture from the early 1920s onwards. From the outset, it was a career with many notable successes. The first performance of the Sixth Symphony in 1923 was hailed as 'an artistic event comparable in importance to the premiere of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* thirty years previously' (pp. xvii-xviii). Later on, he was honoured with several Stalin prizes and the Order of Lenin, and was named both a Distinguished Artist of the RSFSR and a National Artist of the USSR. As well as his productivity as a composer, Myaskovsky was a dedicated teacher and administrator, sitting on committees and commissions, and sustaining a series of lifelong relationships with a close circle of likeminded friends. Even when some of his colleagues behaved in ways that seemed opportunistic or downright indecent, Myaskovsky's generosity of spirit meant that he tended to act with temperance and often surprising forbearance. He avoided public conflict and when required to

undertake some formulaic recantation of a supposed ideological or aesthetic shortcoming, he generally refused, not out of arrogance, but out of dignity and an abiding sense of self-worth. Such behaviour earned him a reputation as 'the artistic conscience of Soviet music', although Zuk also cites a few private communications where his language could be tarter. Myaskovsky thought that the writings of one biographer contained 'frightful quantities of drivel' (p. 425), and his expurgated diaries contain a number of references to the 'rubbish' that was written about him and about Soviet music more generally.

Zuk also paints an affecting picture of Myaskovsky's often difficult day-to-day life. For most of the 1920s, he lived in a communal apartment with his sister, and despite the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues, his material circumstances were often severely constrained. Zuk's account of the composer's wartime evacuation, first to the Caucasus and then to Central Asia, reveals that life away from the front was no easier than in the capital. The ideological attacks of the late 1940s had severe financial consequences too, and illness meant that Myaskovsky's final days were lived out in agonising pain. After a series of uncertain diagnoses and despite treatment from one of the Kremlin's leading surgeons, he died of stomach cancer in August 1950. Myaskovsky bore all of this with dignity and stoicism, which were as much as part of his character as his work ethic. The wonder is that he achieved – and suffered – so much without the support of a spouse or lifelong partner. Zuk – rightly – prefers not to speculate here. Whilst noting that Myaskovsky knew a number of members of St Petersburg's turn-of-the-century queer subculture, and observing that Prokofiev speculated as to whether he might in fact be homosexual, he leaves Myakovsky himself to explain his preference for privacy. When Sofia Lamm, sister of his close friend, Pavel Lamm, confessed her feelings for him, he replied: 'The longer I have cause to scrutinise myself and to think about myself, I am more and more firmly persuaded that I am a solitary person. … I am not the mating kind. […] I cannot imagine a time when my inner nature might so alter as to feel a need to avoid solitude. This is not something contrived or an affectation: for as long as I can remember, it has been characteristic of me – a mental, emotional, and physical trait that is organic in the full sense of the word' (p. 181).

Zuk's primary focus is primarily biographical and contextual. Yet a number of critical themes emerge. Zuk has an interest in trauma theory and reads certain works through a quasi-therapeutic framework. The Sixth Symphony, for instance, is seen less as a heroic response to the October Revolution, than as a document attesting to profound emotional dislocation and its eventual overcoming through art. According to Zuk, 'Myaskovsky's handling of tonal and thematic processes evokes unmistakable symbolic parallels with the struggle to transcend a traumatised psychological state caused by an experience so overwhelming as to shatter one's sense of ontological security'

(p. 185). Whatever one makes of the validity or applicability of this methodological framework, what is certain is that Myaskovsky's handling of symphonic form had a strong dose of subjectivity about it, and Zuk makes much of the composer's 1912 essay on Tchaikovsky and Beethoven with its emphasis on the symphony as a genre imbued with the 'living revelation of the inner emotional experiences' of the individual artist (p. 81). A second focus is that of Myaskovsky's Russianness. To be sure, he was happy enough to programme and perform works by Debussy and Schoenberg as part of the activities of the Association for Modern Music in the 1920s, but his sole trip abroad – to Warsaw and Vienna in late 1926 – was a less than happy experience, and he could be critical of what he saw as his fellow composers' excessive imitation of foreign influence. As Zuk sees it, Myaskovsky belonged to an unbroken tradition of Russian symphonic writing reaching back to Borodin and Tchaikovsky and was profoundly committed to what he saw as Russian music's historic mission to preserve and develop the best of the past. This factor may explain a third hypothesis of Zuk's analysis, namely that Myaskovsky's turn to classicism predated the imposition of Socialist Realism in the early 1930s and that the simplification – if not outright conservatism – of his later works was an organic evolution of his compositional style, rather than a response to top-down ideological pressure.

Nikolay Myaskovsky: A Composer and His Times makes for a welcome addition to undergraduate and graduate reading lists on Russian and Soviet music, and its account of the composer's engagement with Soviet power means that it will be of interest to those working on the fate of music in authoritarian regimes more generally. Engagingly written, its avoidance of analytical terminology makes it accessible to more general readers too. A major festival of Myaskovsky's music organised by the Sverdlovsk State Academic Philharmonic in Yekaterinburg held in March 2021 to celebrate his 140th anniversary is evidence of the esteem in which he is held in his homeland. It remains to be seen whether Western audiences, weaned on Shostakovich and Prokofiev, are prepared to widen their musical horizons. Burgeoning interest in the music of Mieczysław Weinberg suggests that there is some appetite for a more diverse canon of Russian and Soviet music. If Myaskovsky's music is programmed with greater prominence, then Zuk's biography will have done much to promote such a renaissance.

Philip Ross Bullock

Ian Maxwell, *Ernest John Moeran: His Life and Music.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021. xix, 355 p. ISBN: 9781783276011. Hardback. £45.00. [E-book versions also available]

It is good to welcome a substantial life-and-music study of E. J. Moeran, a composer whose considerable reputation among the *cognoscenti* in his lifetime was based on a comparatively small output, and whose story is beset with a variety of fables and half-truths that are good to have researched and clarified for the first time. In his preface the author asks those questions: '[H]ow did he support himself? Who were his family? What was the truth about his wartime injury? . . . It was a visit to the National Archives at Kew to examine the composer's military record that unlocked the chest of discovery' (p. xiii). So this is a fully researched study that supersedes previous accounts, at least as far as the biography is concerned. A two-page Appendix ('The Moeran Mythology') summarises these issues, biographical inventions 'originally perpetrated by Philip Heseltine'.

Moeran was one of those composers who appeared on the British musical scene after the First World War, initially with songs and piano music, made an initial impression, and then consolidated it by producing chamber music and a few characteristic short orchestral pieces – in Moeran's case two quasi-folksong rhapsodies and an 'orchestral impression' *In the Mountain Country*. He enjoyed a meteoric rise, was soon able to promote a Wigmore Hall concert of his own music which Maxwell tells us was remarkably well attended for the first appearance of an unknown young composer and helped to set Moeran firmly in the musical landscape. However, in Moeran's case, all too soon there was a crisis, a three year gap when he appeared to have abandoned composition, later writing 'I lost faith in myself once round about 1926 . . . I even nearly became a garage proprietor'. This is all discussed and documented in a pleasingly literate style.

The book falls into twenty chapters grouped in five parts. The treatment is chronological, date headings appearing throughout year by year, though not for every year. It is further broken up by side-headings of named scores, all the principal works, which helps navigating the text. In Boydell's sympathetic typography this works remarkably well, the book having a very readable flow.

The treatment of the music calls for a goodly number of musical examples, the account of the songs being especially useful. However, Maxwell eschews detailed analysis, even description, of the major orchestral works but the treatment is thorough as to history and background. I was particularly disappointed that he fails to resolve, indeed report, the background to the failure of Harriet Cohen's performance of the Rhapsody in F sharp in 1943, which somewhere Moeran described as 'painfully lacking'. If I can add a reviewer's

two-penn'orth at this point, in fact it was taken up by Iris Loveridge with great success, performances loved by Moeran. We should remember that Loveridge would later make the first all Moeran recording of his piano music as one of the earliest Lyrita LPs (RCS 3). Loveridge deserves at least a mention. Harriet Cohen was not at all pleased by Loveridge's success in Moeran and Bax, who she looked on as 'her' composers, and I can recall in the 1960s visiting Harriet Cohen and naïvely asking her about it. She looked at me disbelievingly and said: 'Well, my dear, who is this woman?' Of course she knew. I really regret that unfortunately I failed to ask for an interview with Loveridge.

The accounts of the music are not illuminated from the perspective of the reception of the flood of recordings that have been such a joy and critical success over the last forty or fifty years. When Robert Simpson and Oliver Prenn's discography of modern music[1] appeared in 1958, Moeran was unrecorded on LP bar one song, so this is a notable aspect of the reception history of British music, not least Moeran, after 1960. It is not only new recordings. In coming to grips with this volume, I revisited my collection of off-air recordings from the 1940s (originally sourced from the collection of the late Lionel Hill), which make clear the quality of his champions in the 1940s, notably Albert Sammons. One episode that Maxwell does include was Moeran's radio feature 'East Anglia Sings', and I can report that while the variety of voices are well worth hearing first-hand, the authentic settings are ruined for a listener of today by the 1947 BBC's insistence on not broadcasting the actual first-hand recordings of the local participants, but in accordance with the BBC control-freakery of the time required the contributions to be turned into an edited script. This was then read by the original contributors, making for a stiff and artificial effect. One could swear that the BBC commentator is wearing a tweed waistcoat!

Richard Itter (not indexed) started the recording of Moeran's music on his Lyrita label and in the years since then recordings have grown, attracting positive reviews that revalue Moeran. A critical reception whose positive tone was reflected in the reception accorded Prom performances of the Symphony in G minor in 2009 (notably Simon Heffer in *The Daily Telegraph*) and the Violin Concerto in 2014. This remarkable development of the critical climate is worthy of documentation and evaluation and in another edition would be a valuable final chapter and conclusion. Yet overall this is a fine achievement and a valuable addition to the literature of British music in the twentieth century.

Finally, I have to report one personal disappointment − having been closely involved with the Dutton recording of Martin Yates' completion and orchestration of Moeran's Second Symphony and Rodney Newton's orchestration

[1] Robert Simpson & Oliver Prenn, *Guide to Modern Music on Records*. [London]: Anthony Blond, 1958.

of the Overture from the 1930s, I was keen to see what Maxwell might have to say about both works in the light of Martin Yates' excellent recording of them, and to read his assessment of Yates' and Newton's work. It is dispiriting to report that neither are even mentioned, nor do the scores appear in the catalogue of works. There are no entries for Yates or Newton in the index. Not good.

Generally the book reflects Boydell's usual high production values: it is a pleasure to handle and read. But I have one reservation: from a publisher that usually handles illustrations in style, I have to say that the quality of the splendid black and white photograph of Moeran that dominates the cover is not reflected in the text. The only serious production disappointment of an admirable project being the small number and poor quality of the photographic illustrations that are in the text. In a book that really needs an adequate section of plates I am surprised that Boydell let this slip through.

Lewis Foreman

The Symphonic Poem in Britain, 1850-1950. Edited by Michael Allis and Paul Watt. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020. xvi, 367 p. ISBN: 9781783275281. Hardback. £70.00. [E-book versions also available]

The success of Boydell's collection of essays *The Sea in the British Musical Imagination*[1] signalled a format that provides a useful model for explorations of various aspects of British music which have yet to receive detailed analytical treatment. The symphonic poem and programmatic music is very much a topic worth attention, indeed it is overdue attention. As far as it goes the volume under review is a splendid and rewarding compilation, albeit a frustratingly partial and fragmented treatment of the subject. Nevertheless I am delighted to have it.

The format gives us ten substantial essays, prefaced by an overview by the editors. The chapters are grouped in two sequences each of five topics – Part 1 "Contexts" – Part II "Texts". Part I opens with Jeremy Dibble's 40-page study 'Narrative and Formal Plasticity in the British Symphonic Poem, 1850-1950', a magisterial overview of the field. For me this is the most important single chapter. It is presented under eight sub-headings, which illustrate the scale of this excellent account: 'Historical precedents'; 'The English

[1] *The Sea in the British Musical Imagination*. Edited by Eric Saylor and Christopher Scheer. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015.

predilection for "overture"'; 'Elgar: overture or symphonic poem?'; 'The British Symphonic Poem: Initial Developments'; 'Bantock and the advent of Richard Strauss'; 'Bantock's RAM Contemporaries and Successors'; 'The RCM Generation'; 'The First World War and Decline'. Dibble provides a vital rôle by including some coverage of composers not accorded detailed study, including Bax, Bantock, Butterworth, Delius, Elgar, Howells, Moeran and Vaughan Williams. His is an eloquent study. His account of John Foulds, specifically *April-England* from the mid-1920s, reminds us an aspect of the analysis that is omitted – the extent of the programmatic vision informing what we might now regard as 'light' music. Having been fortunate in having worked on the Dutton Epoch series of four CDs of all John Foulds' light music it is clear that Foulds was adept in what we might regard as musical picture postcards in an age when they were candidates for concert programming. And of course any consideration of those scores takes us onto Eric Coates, Montague Phillips and a host of others.

If Dibble discusses the music, Paul Watt in 'The British Symphonic Poem and British Music Criticism' concentrates on the criticism. The various chapters have two perspectives – straightforward discussion of repertoire or discussions of critiques and reviews from contemporary journals and newspapers long ago. Always a contentious area I always feel that these are not necessarily to be relied on without an up-to-date hearing of the score discussed. Speaking personally I must say that, in discussions such as these, I like to be convinced that the writers are commenting from personal experience of a recent performance of the music discussed. As the conductor Nicholas Braithwaite remarked to me at a Lyrita recording session of a previously unheard score: 'I know the score, but I have not yet experienced it'! Sometimes knowledge is not enough. A case in point comes at the very beginning (p. 1) with a quotation from a review comparing Percy Pitt's *Le Sang des Crépuscules* and Bantock's *Thalaber the Destroyer* at the 1900 London Musical Festival. As a composer, Percy Pitt is largely forgotten owing to the apparent loss of much of his music, so we have no experience of his music. He was celebrated as an opera conductor, notably with BNOC at Covent Garden; later he was the first Director of Music at the BBC. *Le Sang des Crépuscules* is only published in a piano duet version; a unique copyist's full score survives in the Henry Wood collection at the RAM, where it is sub-titled 'symphonic-prelude d'apres Charles Guerin', while the RAM catalogue describes it as an Overture.

A wider reservation I have about this volume is that no-one appears to have made use of the vast Edwin Evans cuttings collection in Westminster Music Library. Nevertheless, we certainly have to salute the author of Chapter 2 for what one has to say must represent a huge labour. Our subject is not just tone poems by British composers but the reception and establishment of similar music by foreign composers of the day – so David Larkin's chapter

'Richard Strauss's Tone Poems in Britain, 1890-1950' and Barbara Kelly on Debussy and Ravel ('French Connections: Debussy and Ravel's Orchestral Music in Britain from *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* to *Boléro*') is fascinating if limited to just major figures.

The last chapter in Part I takes us to Scotland (Anne-Marie Forbes and Heather Monkhouse: 'The Rise of the Symphonic Poem in Glasgow, 1879-1916: a Documentary History'), where the documentary sources are extensive – 'the substantial collection of documents pertaining to the Glasgow Choral Union held in the Scottish Archives contains invaluable material for mapping programming trends and includes the extraordinarily comprehensive documentation and interpretation by Robert Craig . . . in twenty-four handwritten volumes compiled from committee records, printed programmes and newspaper accounts' (p. 147). In 17 splendidly-detailed pages, we read of the performance of programme music in Glasgow and the emergence of a Scottish repertoire, and a further 14 pages take the story from Cowen's leadership of the Scottish Orchestra and the arrival of Młynarski. They only develop this up to the time of the First World War, but demonstrate how 'Manns, Cowen and Młynarski clearly grasped the nuanced nationalism and cultural distinctiveness that was present in Scotland, and the inclusion of works by Scottish composers went far beyond novelties for Burns Night. There were some Glasgow premières of works by less established Scottish-born composers, but generally these were programmed after successful performances elsewhere' (p. 177).

Part II consists of five detailed discussions of specific works by William Wallace, Gustav Holst, Sir Hubert Parry, John Ireland and Frank Bridge. These are all fascinating but underline one's frustration that there are only five case studies. Michael Allis's amazingly thorough and detailed account of William Wallace's tone poem *Villon* (''A curious intricate work of the modern, but not ultra-modern, school': William Wallace's *Villon*') goes into the literary history in remarkable and illuminating detail, though in a chapter on William Wallace I would have been happy to do without some of that when Wallace's remarkable and largely unplayed *Creation Symphony* – surely a key work in any history of programmatic music in Scotland – is not even mentioned.

Benedict Taylor on Parry's *From Death to Life*, Fiona Richards on John Ireland's *Mai-Dun*, and Jonathan Clinch on five orchestral works that Frank Bridge termed 'poems' are all interesting in-depth discussions by writers with a strong first-hand knowledge of the music (good to see Clinch actually footnote the six-volume Chandos CDs of Bridge's orchestral works).

The discussion of Holst's *Beni Mora* is a fascinating one, which reminds us that Holst's title refers to no real place in Algeria but to a fictional town in the novel *The Garden of Allah* by Robert Hitchens (1904). The treatment of

this is somewhat disappointing when no discussion follows of the stage version of Hutchens book (by Mary Anderson, in four acts) which was such a hit in New York in 1911 and London in 1920. I hoped we might have had some discussion. Could it be that Holst actually became focussed on his subject from press coverage of the New York production at the Century Theatre on 21 October 1911? When Holst's music was published in 1921 the London production of the play had been running since 24 June 1920, achieving 358 performances – a record. For the wider public the extravagant staging (real palm trees, camels and huge quantities of sand) doubtless encouraged many music lovers to explore Holst's suite. The stage music, which was by Landon Ronald, was recorded at the time on four 12" sides, and makes an interesting parallel with Holst, also recorded by the acoustic process.

No-one touches on the huge number of composers we would now think of as local or lesser-figures and presumably deemed not worth discussion. Their fascination with programmatic orchestral scores was particularly brought to our attention by Dan Godfrey at Bournemouth where Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra concerts, over nearly 40 years, are worthy of at least a passing mention, and have been documented in great detail by Stephen Lloyd in his excellent book on Godfrey.[2]

With 16 pages of bibliography and 18 pages of index, this is a worthwhile addition to the proliferating literature on British music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and worth your attention.

Lewis Foreman

Gerald R. Seaman, *Pëtr Il'ich Tchaikovsky: A Research and Information Guide*. (Routledge Music Bibliographies). New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2019. 436 p. ISBN: 9781138122352. Hardback. £140.00. [E-book versions also available].

One has to admire the dedication of Professor Seaman in compiling Research and Information Guides of Russian composers. These also show the results of his extensive teaching experience, an appreciation of the needs of not only scholars, particularly in their early research life, but also those of established researchers, as well as the many laypersons interested in improving their own knowledge. However, it must also be appreciated that any work of this nature will also be dated at the time of issue, due to the continuing research in musicology and other related fields of the composers concerned. With a composer such as Tchaikovsky, there was much written in both the Russian and foreign press during his lifetime and this has been well researched by Seaman.

[2] Stephen Lloyd, *Sir Dan Godfrey: Champion of British Composers*. London: Thames Publishing, 1995.

In addition to his vast musical repertoire, there has been increasing interest in the influence of various controversial aspects of the composer's life on his music. In this respect, with the access into the Russian archives, a reassessment has been possible of the influence of Soviet ideology on scholarship in that country, and to how his alleged homosexuality was supressed. Due to his status, much has been written worldwide, in many languages, and this also makes a comprehensive guide a near impossible task; however, the author must be commended not only for finding these, but also for providing translations and *précis* of them. As with many well-known composers, their works are to be found not only in films and television today, but also in jazz arrangements and also in today's popular music. A section on this is also included.

In his *Introduction* the author draws attention to the similar recent works of Svetlana Petukhova, Polina Vaydman, Aleksandr Poznansky and Brett Langston. All of these are large and extensive works. For the author to have analysed them carefully and also to have noticed their deficiencies has been a mammoth task, for which he must be commended. This analysis also highlights how the Russian works are often limited to a regional view, whilst others perhaps, such as letters, are limited by omissions. It is also important to draw attention to the question of how the composer's suspected homosexuality has led, not only to an explosion of research into the influence of his sexuality on his music, but also a revision of previous research and opinions. With respect to the Russian Orthodox Church, it would have been of note to highlight Tchaikovsky's and Rimsky-Korsakov's agreement concerning censorship of church music. With respect to operas, both in the repertoire and those performed, it must also be noted that Vladimir Telyakovsky, who was Director of the Imperial Theatres, favoured Tchaikovsky.

The transliteration of Russian names indicating the many variants is certainly very useful, since there is ongoing controversy over how names should be spelt and, as a result, appear in different forms.

There are some inconsistences with respect to the operas, which at times can be confusing. For instance, *Kuznets Vakula* was composed by Tchaikovsky for the competition instigated by Elena Pavlovna following the death of Serov, as stated for version 2, but this is, in fact, version 1 and should not be mistaken for the later revised and renamed version *Cherevichki*. More complete information could have also been given as to principal singers, *régisseurs*, stage and set designers for the operas by referring to Paul Fryer's excellent chronology of performances at the Mariinsky Theatre 1860-1917. Names appear in various formats, which could prove problematic for readers. For instance, E. F. Nápravník is also referred to as Eduard Nápravník. Similarly, P. Tchaikovsky is called Tchaikovsky. It is advisable, when possible, to standardise the presentation of names and give the complete name since many search engines, both Western and Russian, often give confusing alternatives.

Again it would be useful for the chamber music section to designate the instrument of the players, especially since some of them were also fellow composers of Tchaikovsky and would have an interesting additional link to him. In this respect the dedications are a useful addition; Anton Rubinstein, for instance, is prominent.

The *Literary Works* section is particularly noteworthy, since it shows Tchaikovsky's extensive literary output from an early age. The section on short musical works as well as unfinished works gives an insight into the composer, showing a side of his creative abilities, which is often overlooked. However, some recent additions to his correspondence appear to be missing, such as the first volume of his letters to von Meck (1876-1877) published by MPI in 2007 and to Yurgenson (1866-1885), edited by Vaydman and published in 2011. The *Bibliography* concerning Tchaikovsky's musical works and their revisions is excellently researched and shows Seaman's wide factual knowledge of the composer's output.

Some of the most popular works are considered from a variety of perspectives, such as dramatic, musical, psychological, human and also the Soviet viewpoints. These draw attention to the many interpretations of Tchaikovsky's works influenced by, for instance, the masonic angle (*The Queen of Spades, Iolanta*), preoccupation with death, interpretations, and reception of *Eugene Onegin*, relative to his marriage to Antonina Miliukova in 1877. Views and insights from performers such as Galina Vishnevskaya and Nikolai Gedda are also included here, although an omission in this respect appears to be Chaliapin's memoirs. This section of the book is dominated by writings on two operas, *The Queen of Spades* and *Onegin*; for the former there are 86 entries, whilst for *Onegin* 64. This, however, indicates the difficulty for a student of Tchaikovsky in finding articles relevant to their field of study due to the diversity of researcher topics. As mentioned previously, a commendable feature of this section which, in fact, applies to the whole book, is the author's attempt to give a *précis* to the articles and journals mentioned, irrespective of what language they have been written in – Chinese, Slovenian, Portuguese, etc. as well as the languages more familiar to English-speaking readers. In addition, short biographies of the authors are of great value, since many of the notable Russian/Soviet names, such as Elena Mikhailovna Orlova or A.A. Orlova may not be familiar to a newcomer. These are referred to in the excellently assembled *Index* section, in two parts, *General* and *Subject*, but could also have been added as a separate appendix, for clarity and easy access.

Some of the inclusions in the *Personal/individual relationships* could have been arranged with a little more clarity. This could have been presented as Tchaikovsky's views on past and contemporary composers e.g. Beethoven and Mozart. A separate section on his influence on later composers, such as Grieg, could have made the book more useful for musicologist researchers

of the post-Tchaikovsky period. The Anniversary section surprisingly omitted the 150th anniversary commemorative book produced by the Tchaikovsky Commemorative Museum in Klin in 1990. In the Index section there is highlighting of many entries, however, without any explanation.

Gerald Seaman must be congratulated on producing such a complete and diverse research tool on Tchaikovsky. The criticism given is more to do with clarity of presentation and perhaps matters to consider in future Research Guides Routledge may be considering. This is a much-needed book, and it is to be recommended for researchers, universities and libraries.

John Nelson

The Clarinet. Edited by Jane Ellsworth. (Eastman Studies in Music). Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2021. 308 p. ISBN: 9781648250170. Hardback £40.00. [E-book versions also available]

For an orchestral Johnny-come-lately, the clarinet has hardly wanted for specialist study. From classics like Kroll, Rendall or Brymer through to more recent and focussed studies from such as Hoeprich, Lawson or Rice, the clarinet still commands scholarly attention.[1] In recent years, too, we have also seen the appearance of yet more detailed studies of single works from the repertoire.[2] Any book whose Introduction poses the question 'Why, then, another book?' as Jane Ellsworth does here, is therefore setting itself up as a hostage to fortune. To be fair, she does offer her own answer, informing readers that the present volume is aimed, not at 'readers with a rather specialized knowledge, insiders with a working understanding of the clarinet's technical, mechanical and musical intricacies' but at 'a more varied readership' (p. 2). Whether that readership includes the specialists is another open question, and one which the various contributors have interpreted in their own ways.

Those contributors include many of the big names one would expect to see in a symposium of this sort, beginning with a welcome overview of 'Clarinet iconography' by Eric Hoeprich. Albert Rice discusses 'The chalumeau and clarinet before Mozart' and Colin Lawson addresses period instrument performance in 'Recreating history? The early clarinet in theory

[1] C.f. Oskar Kroll, *The clarinet.* Translated by Hilda Morris. London: Batsford, 1968.
Geoffrey Rendall, *The clarinet: some notes upon its history and construction*. London: Ernst Benn, 1971.
Jack Brymer, *The clarinet*. London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1979.
Albert Rice, *The Baroque clarinet*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
Colin Lawson, *The Cambridge companion to the clarinet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Eric Hoeprich, *The clarinet*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
Albert Rice, *The clarinet in the Classical period*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
[2] C.f. Colin Lawson, *Mozart. Clarinet concerto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Ibid., *Brahms. Clarinet quintet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

and practice'. The editor Jane Ellsworth herself contributes chapters on 'From "little trumpet" to unique voice: the clarinet in the concert orchestra' and 'Important clarinetists [sic] since 1900: a concise introduction' – itself both an *hommage* and an update to the pioneering work done by Pamela Weston in the area.[3]

At least one name here will be familiar, but not necessarily in a clarinet playing context. One might readily associate Julian Rushton with 19th-century opera, but he is also a clarinettist (and, from numerous conversations with the present author, a keen basset horn player), and here he combines the two in discussing 'The clarinet in nineteenth-century opera'. Ingrid Pearson provides a counterbalance in her chapter 'The clarinet in opera before 1830: instrument and genre come of age'. Other contributors are David E. Schneider ('Innovation and convention in the golden age of the clarinet concerto, ca. 1800-1830') Marie Summer Lott ('Joining the conversation: the clarinet quintet in Classical and Romantic chamber music') and S. Frederick Starr ('The clarinet in vernacular music').

The extent to which individual authors addresses the specialised reader varies. David Schneider, for example, assumes a fair knowledge of the repertoire he discusses and its musical language, although he does find space in his overall focus on Weber, Spohr and Crusell to include works by Heinrich Baermann, generally thought of simply as the player who inspired, *inter alia*, Weber and Mendelssohn. Like Marie Lott's discussion of the clarinet quintet genre, his chapter is best read either with a prior knowledge of the repertoire in question or with the score in front of you to check numerous references beyond the generous amount of musical examples provided in the text.

Both also beg a question which is liable to crop up elsewhere, for example in Ingrid Pearson's chapter. Why is there so little discussion of the clarinet after the 19th century? The truly lay reader in search of information might be forgiven for thinking that there are no concertos of note after c.1850 or no quintets after Brahms, or that there isn't much to say about the clarinet in post-19th century opera. This, of course, is far from the truth, but – *pace* Jane Ellsworth's chapter on players since 1900 – nowhere do we find any discussion of the clarinet's hugely significant role in the music of the 20th century and beyond. Even jazz gets fairly short shrift, both from Ellsworth and Starr in 'The clarinet in vernacular music'. Otherwise Starr's chapter is commendable for presenting an overview of an undervalued side of the clarinet. His tracing of the clarinet's role in musical traditions such as klezmer, or as far afield as Mexico and the Caribbean is original, fascinating and, even if he doesn't delve too deeply into the world of jazz, at least provides a context from which it emerged.

[3] Pamela Weston, *Clarinet virtuosi of the past*. London: Pamela Weston, 1976.
Ibid., *More clarinet virtuosi of the past*. London: Pamela Weston, 1977.
Ibid., *Clarinet virtuosi of today*. Baldock: Egon Publishers, 1989.

The layout of the book is roughly chronological, although Colin Lawson returns to the theme of the early clarinet towards the end. Whereas Rice and Ellsworth talk about the early clarinet from a historical perspective, Lawson draws on his own experience as a performer to raise issues surrounding period instrument performance in the musical world of the present, in which what we can learn from the instruments and techniques of the past is balanced against the demands of a music industry in which Historically Informed Performance has gone from niche to mainstream. Perhaps in all three chapters a little more discussion of the technical development of the instrument would have been welcome. For more detailed discussion of mechanisation and key systems one has to turn elsewhere. The same is true if the reader is seeking more information about the clarinet family as a whole. Apart from the odd passing mention, there is nothing here that addresses the orchestral clarinet's smaller and larger siblings – not even the bass clarinet, let alone the basset horn or the higher pitched or sub-bass instruments.

In summary, anyone expecting a more rounded approach suggested by the title might justifiably feel disappointed, but if one accepts its selectivity, this is a welcome book which complements studies elsewhere and *passim* contributes genuinely new research and insights.

Geoff Thomason

Steuart Bedford with Christopher Gillett. *Knowing Britten.* [London]: Bittern Press, 2021. 208 p. ISBN 9780957167223. Paperback. £18.00.

> *Steuart Bedford (1939-2021) could not remember a time when he did not know Benjamin Britten. His mother Lesley Duff, sang with the English Opera Group in the late 1940s and the whole family was closely involved with Britten and Peter Pears for many years.*

So begins the introductory blurb on the jacket of this little book charting the conductor Steuart Bedford's association with Britten and Britten's music.

Bringing Bedford's and his mother's recollections together was undertaken by the tenor Christopher Gillett who worked with Bedford from the 1980's until the latter's death from Parkinson's disease in 2021. Because of Bedford's frail health, it was decided that the best way of recording his memories would be to use a video camera which Bedford could simply talk to. Gillett's moving account of one of these sessions can be found on pp. 50-51.

Gillett is to be congratulated on a sensitive and engaging piece of work. First-hand recollections are invaluable not only as a mine of information on their subjects but also as a reflection of the times. Bedford was, in Gillett's words, 'tasked by Benjamin Britten to conduct everything and anything that, in time of better health, the composer would have certainly conducted himself', and the reader is drawn immediately into the world within a world which was created by Britten at Aldeburgh. How truly refreshing it is to have these memories which reflect the day-to-day practicalities of performing Britten's works rather than concentrating on close analyses and/or their reflection of Britten's character and personal circumstances. In some ways, one need hardly say any more in this review other than to recommend the work highly. Nevertheless, a few comments, examples and observations are in order.

On a purely practical note, different typefaces and indentations are deployed to distinguish between Bedford's memories and his mother Lesley's 1948 journal extracts (roman face, full margins), Gillett's linking narration (sans serif, full margins) and memories of others (indented roman). Once the reader has grasped this approach, there is no difficulty in following the text. One further delightful touch is the use of quotations from the libretto of *Death in Venice* for each chapter heading, beginning with 'My mind beats on'.

The other point to note in the structure of the book is that the chronological sequence of recollections is interspersed with contemporary reports on the compiling of the book. This particular example concerning a session in the Britten-Pears Library will, I suspect, strike a chord with many *Brio* readers. Bedford and Gillett were looking at old programmes and conversing in 'library whispers', but they become so absorbed in exchanging memories and find it increasingly hard not to snort with laughter that they fall foul of the intern who was looking after the enquiry desk and are reprimanded for disturbing the other reader (who was, quite probably more interested in what they were saying than their own research) … oh dear (pp. 51-52). And here it is surely appropriate to endorse the heartfelt acknowledgement made in the book of the invaluable contribution of the Britten-Pears Archive, source of many of the delightful letters and photographs included.

Perhaps the best way to give the prospective reader of this little volume a feel for its character and contents is to offer a few tasters to illustrate what, to my mind at least, shows its unique value as a memoir. Firstly, the mix of family album and more formal archival photographs complements and enhances the atmosphere of reminiscence. We see, for example, the five-year-old Bedford tucking into a biscuit (p. 27) and Bedford with grandson Alun enjoying an ice cream together in 2020 (p. 177). At the other end of the scale there are, for example, photographs of Bedford with Britten, the English Chamber Orchestra and Janet Baker rehearsing *Phaedra* (between pp. 146 and 147).

Bedford's memories begin with an account from his childhood of that most English of summer afternoon pastimes – a cricket match which the Bedford family attended between Britten's eleven and a team of friends and local people (p. 2 – Steuart was 13 at the time). Thus we embark on an engaging, affectionate and acutely observed journey charting not only Bedford's own life and development as a musician, but the Bedford family's engagement with Britten and the Aldeburgh 'family', full of memories and anecdotes which bring this world of music-making to life in a way which only those involved could possibly create. Let me offer here an example which – for me – typifies the emphasis of the book on the purely practical. At a 1996 recording session for *Albert Herring* which Bedford was directing from the keyboard, Gillett tells us that:

> *From a plastic carrier bag – Steuart's favoured means of carrying scores, books, pencils, sandwiches, etc – he pulls out an arched plastic object shaped somewhat like a question mark. It looks familiar, but out of place… then it dawns on me. I've seen this thing on the back of a washing machine. It's to support the drain hose and make sure it doesn't kink. What on earth is Steuart going to do with that?*
>
> *He digs around in his plastic carrier bag and pulls out a clamp. Using the clamp he carefully fastens the bottom of the plastic gizmo, the washing-machine-hose de-kinker, to the bottom end of the piano's keyboard. He digs in the carrier bag again and produces a small bell and some parcel tape. He fixes the bell to the top end of the plastic gizmo with the tape, making sure that the bell is secure but will ring freely. It does.*
>
> *But what is he going to do with this Heath Robinson contraption that is now fixed to the grand piano? He sits down at the piano, plays a phrase from the opera, flings out his left hand and slaps the bell. Now I get it. Now it makes sense. It's the bell on the door of the Herring grocery shop that rings whenever anyone enters or leaves . . .* (pp. 28-29)

One quickly becomes aware of Bedford as a musician who very much knows his own mind. However, it wasn't until Bedford was in his teens that he began to take a serious interest in Britten's works:

> *. . . the moment when I realised Ben's genius as a composer? That would have been* Albert Herring*, when I first worked on it in 1960 . . . funnily enough when I came to work on it, I sort of knew the tunes, I sort of knew how it went, but I don't quite know how, because I'm sure I never saw a performance in the early days, when my mother was singing in it.* (p. 78)

It was in 1966 that the connection with Britten was re-established: Bedford was offered a post with the English Opera Group and the following year was invited by Britten to assist him during a recording of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

> *You don't say no to that sort of opportunity, working for the very first time on a piece with its composer. So I presented myself at the Decca studios in West Hampstead. The Rolling Stones were recording in one of the other studios, but Ben didn't really have any idea who they were.* (p. 96)

Shortly after that, Bedford was due to conduct *The Beggar's Opera* at Sadler's Wells and he recalls Britten's willingness to spend time with him on the work:

> *He was always very generous about that sort of thing. If you said to him, "Look, I'm doing your piece, have you got some time?", he'd always try and make it possible. He'd say, "Come over to the Red House", and he would play and I would sit next to him at the piano in the library, the beautiful studio that had been converted from a barn, making notes in the score. Receptive ears could learn an enormous amount from the way he played his own music… Ben was fanatically interested in how his music went, and he expected people to do it the way he wanted it; which is why, apart from anything else, he wrote it out very clearly . . .*(pp. 106-7).

And a little further on this is emphasised once again:

> *Ben was either complimentary or not at all. Nothing. The general belief was that if he didn't say anything it was probably OK . . . he liked that I took a lot of trouble trying to get things right and organised. I was meticulous. He approved of that. He really wanted people to sing and play what he wrote. He wasn't very happy if they went off onto another track: "I don't want anybody to interpret my music. I just want them to sing what's there."* (pp. 108-9)

And thus we move through Bedford's continuing engagement with Britten and his works. The book ends in reflective mode as Bedford shares his thoughts on what it was like to work with Britten:

> *Ben was the most important single musical influence in my life. I can speak of him only as I found him – a stern critic, both with himself and others, but always fair, clear thinking, and immensely practical, one who would never spare himself or compromise his own ideals and who with all his prodigious gifts had a touching humility.*

> *Of course, I didn't realise, being younger, that I was taking part in something of historical importance. I should have kept diaries but didn't.*
>
> *Perhaps one day I too would have outlived my usefulness, but he was a creative artist needing to move on. He drained one source dry and moved on. He realised he was doing it but – for his development – he had to do that. Terrible scars were born[e] by people who were hurt by this. For singers it was very hard. He hated doing it.*
>
> *For myself, I found Ben easy to work with. I suspect it was because if he suggested anything I took a lot of trouble to do it. He very often found himself suggesting something to someone and they might have thought they were doing it but it didn't make any difference. And this always used to rile him.*
>
> *However, for me, working with the great, great man was nothing but a privilege* . . . (p. 175)
>
> *I always try to keep to exactly what the score is telling you, which is one hell of a lot. If you open any of Ben's scores and look at the vocal line for just four bars, you'll find there's all sorts of things there – legatos, accents – the relation from one bar to the next. But first and foremost, he did like people to get the notes right.* (p. 176)

Sadly, Bedford died before the book was printed but we are left with an invaluable first-hand account of working with Britten and his music, alongside a touching portrait of Bedford himself. The sense of being there yourself is uncanny. Do read it.

Susi Woodhouse

Stephen Connock, *The Edge of Beyond: Vaughan Williams in the First World War*. Tonbridge: Albion Music Limited, 2021. 245 p. ISBN 9780995628458. Hardback. £25.00.[1]

The 'Edge of Beyond' of the title is not some fanciful flourish of rhetoric, but a true-life attempt vividly to label the reality of trench warfare, indicating perhaps the psychological space which marks a border between the albeit squalid respite of the trenches themselves and the hell of 'over the top'. The phrase was used in a piece written in 1916 at Neuville St. Vaast, Northern France, by Private C. Young of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Young's words appear as an epigraph to Stephen Connock's book: 'Groping our way along the trenches in a Stygian darkness, guided by the voice in front, the duckboards beneath our feet and the touch of invisible walls of sodden clay on either side, I realized for the first time the hopelessness of that distant place known as the Edge of Beyond . . .'. Young's unit was the 2/4th London Field Ambulance, and it was to this company that Ralph Vaughan Williams was assigned when 'joining up' on 31 December 1914. The composer thus, in short order and like Young and thousands of others, found himself confronting 'the Edge of Beyond'.[2]

Stephen Connock, co-founder and prime-mover of the hugely successful Ralph Vaughan Williams Society (Albion Music is affiliated to the Society, but is totally independent of it), is the editor or author of several previous Vaughan Williams-related books, including *The Complete Poems of Ursula Vaughan Williams* (2003) and *Toward the Sun Rising – Ralph Vaughan Williams Remembered* (2018). He was also editor of the Society's *Journal* between 1995 and 2004. Connock determined to write a book on Vaughan Williams and the First World War following a visit he made in 1999 to Arras and Ecoivres (the composer's theatre of service), armed with Ralph's own trench maps, on loan then from Ursula Vaughan Williams, and a later trip to Salonica and Katerini (tracing the path taken by Vaughan Williams as his division crossed the Mediterranean in November 1916). *The Edge of Beyond*, writes Connock in his Preface, 'aims to provide a greater understanding of Vaughan Williams's wartime experiences which are covered only in very general terms in most biographies . . . [it] also seeks to explain the impact of the

[1] Stephen Connock has provided a personal 'preview' in 'Vaughan Williams confronted death; death looked away', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 81, June 2021, pp. 29-31. This brief piece, which reproduces several of the book's key photographs, contextualizes Vaughan Williams's wartime experiences and their effect on his music (Connock compares Vaughan Williams with, for example, George Butterworth, Robert Graves, Ivor Gurney, Patrick Hadley, and Siegfried Sassoon), and gives a short taster of the historical military detail covered in his book.

[2] *The Edge of Beyond* is also the title of a science fiction novel (1958) by Captain W.E. Johns, subtitled 'A Story of Interplanetary Exploration'. William Earl Johns (1893-1968) was a distinguished First World War pilot and flying instructor. After the war he turned to writing and is today best remembered for his well-loved character (and perhaps *alter ego*), 'Biggles'.

war on the music . . . especially a number of key works written in the 1920s when memories of the war remained raw'. While Connock is careful to explain that 'this is a book on a composer during the Great War, not a military history', there is nonetheless military detail in abundance, the chronology and much other material being drawn from Army records and official war diaries (some transcripts and facsimiles are included in the book's appendices). The *mise-en-scène* is thus immediate, vividly drawn, and accurate.

Connock divides Vaughan Williams's military career into four central chronological 'action chapters', each corresponding to specific locations and types of activity: '1914-1916: From Chelsea Barracks to Le Havre', '1916: Private Vaughan Williams on the slopes of Vimy Ridge', '1916-1917: The Salonica Front', and '1917-1919: Becoming a one 'one-pipper' – 2/Lt. R. Vaughan Williams'. The composer served continuously for four years and 197 days (his official 'Military History Sheet' is shown in facsimile at Appendix 7,[3] and shows details of dates and service from 31 December 1914 to 20 December 1917). Preceding these chapters comes 'From Down Ampney to *The Lark Ascending*', covering the years leading up to the composer's war service; and they are followed by 'From 'the old man' to the 'Grand Old Man'', the years from demobilization until Vaughan Williams's death. The chapter 'With rue my heart is laden' then focuses on the effect of the war on Ralph's music itself; and (in what Vaughan Williams might have called 'Epilogue') a concluding chapter summarizes the book's main themes and arguments.

It is not this review's purpose to recount the course of Vaughan Williams's war – to do so would spoil the reader's enjoyment in discovery as Connock's account unfolds (and discovery it will be, given the originality of much material here). The composer's journey through his training with the Royal Army Medical Corps, his posting to the Western Front and work there with the Ambulance, his role as Officer Cadet in the Royal Garrison Artillery, action in the 141 Heavy Battery 86th Brigade, and his appointment as Director of Music for the First Army in Valenciennes, is charted meticulously by Connock. The writer's skill lies in his ability to meld a compelling narrative from official records, contemporary memoirs and letters; from literature and other accounts of the war; and from his personal observations and experiences of locations (on this last, mention of 'a rather downbeat café in Mont St Eloi which was frequented by the . . . ranks including Vaughan Williams', still open for refreshments in 1999, but which is 'now, alas, a private house' is a good and particularly poignant example). The account shirks no difficult detail: the casualties and the routines for their treatment; the mental strain of dealing with the wounded; the nature and experience of the bombardments and gunfire which were permanently to affect Vaughan Williams's hearing.

[3] p. 204.

And the incongruous nature of military life is evident throughout: on page 40, for example, Vaughan Williams is playing Bach on the organ, and on page 41 is on firewood fatigues, and taking part in map-reading training and lectures on bandaging.

The portrait of Vaughan Williams painted by Connock is of a soldier who did all that was required of him, respected and well-liked by colleagues and superiors (though occasionally taken to task and eventually remembered for general untidiness of dress and demeanour), and, in the later words of the War Office, 'a reliable and energetic officer'. Following demobilization on 15 July 1919 Vaughan Williams, though maintaining contact with close comrades, never attended regimental dinners or reunions; he showed 'no nostalgia for the army itself'. Any emotion about, or recollection of his long war service and experience would instead be sublimated in his music and reflected in his general attitude to personal responsibility in public life.

Connock himself, in his Society *Journal* 'preview', admits that while the bookending 1872-1914 and 1919-1958 chapters provide what he hopes is 'useful context, especially for those unfamiliar with the details of Vaughan Williams's life and music', many members of the Society nonetheless 'could probably skip these two chapters'. These are essentially 'potted biography', the information within them being readily available elsewhere, but they do provide a welcome (if over-long) 'leavening', both before and after, of the full-blown detail of military manoeuvers and sheer daily grind contained in the core chapters – a balancing of that account by reminders of Vaughan Williams's life and achievements both before and after the war. 'From 'the old man' to the 'Grand Old Man'', in particular, has insightful comment on various war-related matters: Vaughan Williams's reticence to talk to anybody about his wartime experiences, and declining to contribute to a history of the 2/4th London Field Ambulance; an empathy (musicalized in *Dona Nobis Pacem*) with Walt Whitman who, like Vaughan Williams, had served in field hospitals and was well used to witnessing death in and after combat; and Vaughan Williams's reaction to the Nazi's rise to power during the 1930s. But Connock's focus on the composer's love affair with Ursula Wood during these years, and on the tricky matter of navigating this around his continuing marriage to Adeline, jumps from this chapter's pages as overcooked, almost too luridly painted for a book primarily about a composer and war. In 1938, Connock tells us, Ursula 'brought gaiety, flair, humour, style, poetry – and sex' to Ralph's life, and in 1945 she was still hanging on in with her 'energy, good looks, flair, fun, and poetic influences'. After this build-up we almost sense Connock's relief when, six years later and Adeline dead, he is able to announce that 'Vaughan Williams was at last free to marry Ursula', with the wedding photograph to prove it.

Music is the topic in which most readers of *The Edge of Beyond* will have

the keenest interest, and it of course runs as a thread through the book. In the four 'war chapters' Connock provides various delightful vignettes of Vaughan Williams 'in action' as a composer and working musician while on military service. Before travelling to France, the 2/4th London Ambulance was stationed at Saffron Walden where a band was formed and led by Ralph: 'The instruments were bought with funds raised from canteen profit and from donations given by friends in the town'. This band flourished and gave a Christmas concert on 28 December 1915. And, on the 'bright and clear morning' of Christmas Day in the following year, the Ambulance now in Salonica, 'R.V.W.', recalled his comrade Harry Steggles, 'got our choral society going, and they sang carols under the shadow of Mount Olympus for the first time in history, I'll warrant'. Some nights earlier Steggles and Vaughan Williams had been in a Katerini café, where Greeks danced and 'R.V.W. performed some miracles with pencil and paper writing music'. Vaughan Williams's work as Director of Music at Valenciennes from December 1918 ('happy days', he remembered) was more formal but just as 'hands-on': training officers in music and getting them to conduct; running the HQ Choral Society; reassembling a decrepit organ, lying in pieces in an outbuilding. Overall, the picture given is of the down-to-earth, ever-practical Vaughan Williams, working with, not talking down to, the musicians available to him, joining with them as equals in an almost earthy way, making what was truly 'household music' – a clear preparation for his work as a conductor and composer for amateur musicians once he returned to civilian life. These wartime cameos of the musician soldier are also reminders that this was the same Vaughan Williams who, ten and more years earlier as Music Editor of *The English Hymnal*, ensured that the hymn tunes he included in that collection were 'essentially congregational in character', and that 'fine melody rather than the exploitation of a trained choir'[4] governed his choice.

'With rue my heart is laden' is, however, the chapter which says most about the *effects* of war on Vaughan Williams's own music, necessarily (as Connock says) focusing primarily on the works of the 1920s, given that during his actual war service, and despite fiddling with pencil and manuscript paper in Greek tavernas, Vaughan Williams had neither the time nor the mental space to compose conventionally.[5] But while the compositions of the 1920s brought to the fore a clear processing and musicalizing of recent emotion and experience, it is evident that what Vaughan Williams had been through shaped and influenced his music, and his approach to music, for the

[4] Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'The Music' in *The English Hymnal*. London: Oxford University Press, 1906, p. *x*.
[5] Michael Kennedy, in the second edition of *A Catalogue of the Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) lists (pp. 76-8) only seven small collections of carol and folksong arrangements as Vaughan Williams's works published during the war years, with most of these having been prepared prior to the war. There are no standalone compositions listed as having been written or published between August 1914 and Vaughan Williams's demobilization in July 1919.

remainder of his life. This chapter, potentially the most important one in the book, is rather shorter than might be expected: just eighteen pages against, for example, the twenty-nine of the (non-mandatory, non-war-related) 'From 'the old man' to the 'Grand Old Man''. That imbalance doesn't feel quite right.

Connock points out that, upon discharge, 'Vaughan Williams's peacetime life appeared to resume where it had left off in 1914', and indeed the list of his works from 1920 and 1921[6] supports that assumption: busy with much new composition, with completion of earlier projects (most significantly the orchestration of *The Lark Ascending*), and with publication. Some new works from these early peacetime years allude, often subtly, to wartime experience or memory. The 1921 motet *Lord, Thou Hast Been Our Refuge*, for example, is a setting of Psalm 90, a metrical version of which, by Isaac Watts ('O God, our help in ages past'), had been included in *The English Hymnal*, where Vaughan Williams elected to maintain its traditional colocation with William Croft's fine tune St. Anne – the motet uses the St. Anne melody as a type of descant and as part of the contrapuntal texture. The wartime associations with the hymn and its tune, Connock observes, 'are obvious': their use in services of remembrance during the First World War, and at the London Cenotaph services since. Connock also believes it significant that Vaughan Williams 'should compose a Latin Mass [the Mass in G minor] … within a year of his demobilisation'. Vaughan Williams's work, he postulates, is 'such a spiritual setting' and therefore reminds us all of the sacrifice of Christ, who himself stood 'at the edge of death', mirrored in the Spring Offensive of 1918, when Vaughan Williams and thousands of others did likewise, peering as they did toward the Edge of Beyond: there were 75,000 British casualties between 21 and 26 March alone. The Mass, says Connock, is thus 'part of Vaughan Williams's innermost responses to the First World War', but he doesn't explain quite how or why, as well as overlooking the point that it is the *raison d'être* of all mass settings, of whatever time or place, to remind us of Christ's sacrifice.

The most penetrating insights concern the three works which Connock considers as Vaughan Williams's key musical responses to the war: *Pastoral Symphony*,[7] *Sancta Civitas*, and *Riders to the Sea*. The symphony, says Connock, represents 'the pity of war', *Riders* epitomizes 'grief and family loss', while 'hope for the healing of nations' is found in *Sancta Civitas*. The works together form what the author labels as Vaughan Williams's 'Great War Trilogy' – although 'trilogy' suggests something planned, and almost certainly Vaughan Williams did not conceive these works thus. 'Pastoral', Connock claims (citing the book *The Great War and Modern Memory* by Paul Fussell),

[6] Kennedy, pp. 78-90.

[7] Connock opts for the designation *Pastoral Symphony*, rather than the commonly used *A Pastoral Symphony*. The Vaughan Williams Charitable Trust confirmed to Connock that the former is correct (note on p. 222).

is the antithesis of 'War', a code, almost, to pointing up its opposite, the 'indescribable' (Fussell). In the 'Pastoral Episode' *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains* of 1922, Vaughan Williams highlights this contrast, indeed opposition, between 'pastoral' and 'indescribable' through the music on stage for shepherds in charge of sheep, and the 'references to death and destruction' which occur throughout the Episode's text, including the quotation from Psalm 23, 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death' (the Edge of Beyond by another name, maybe). The sublimation of this 'pastoral/indescribable axis' in *Pastoral Symphony* (it was famously conceived in view of the 'wonderful Corot-like landscape in the sunset' at Ecoivres in 1916, but not completed until 1921) can, says Connock, be 'no coincidence'. In it, Vaughan Williams 'gives expression to his innermost feelings of loss and regret, and allows himself, and us, to mourn for those that suffered … a benediction recollected in tranquility and expressed with total sincerity'.

Riders to the Sea (1932) and *Sancta Civitas* (1923-5) stand in a different kind of polarity, the opera exploring one woman's journey through a particular slough of despond, and the choral work expounding a new life after death. *Riders to the Sea* is a dark and keening lament for the loss to the sea, stoically endured, of Mauyra's father, husband, and six sons, 'a metaphor', says Connock, 'for the losses sustained by so many other families between 1914 and 1918', likewise borne with stoicism. This opera sits, simply put, at the Edge of Beyond. The choral work, however, exaltedly throws up other 'metaphors to represent a new world of beauty, happiness and blessedness' – Vaughan Williams's vision, says Connock, of 'a new world order just a few years after he had directly experienced the horrors of the old one'. The 'Holy City' foresees the 'Celestial City' of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the great 'Morality' that was to be the 1951 culmination of Vaughan Williams's vision of redemption after suffering (as also does, from the distance, *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains*, itself eventually to be directly transplanted into the Morality).

When Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, Vaughan Williams was just one month short of his sixty-seventh birthday, well over the age for any compulsory national service. Yet, serve he did, although in ways remarkably different to those of his earlier military service. As well as practical tasks within his local communities, such as fire-watching and vegetable-growing, Vaughan Williams's principal war work this time round was in a new career as composer of scores for films about, or required by, the conflict; he also suffered the loss of at least one close friend in the bombing of London. Although Connock covers the years between 1939 and 1945 in his chapter dealing with Vaughan Williams after he returned to civilian life, mention of the community work and the film scores is deliberately fleeting, almost

incidental: it is Connock's intention to explore in detail Vaughan Williams and his experiences in the Second World War in a further book, still in progress, and provisionally entitled *The Warrior Musician*.[8] Meanwhile, we are thankful for the new material and Connock's interpretation of it presented in *The Edge of Beyond*. From this we discern it was (perhaps subliminally) Vaughan Williams's goal, and certainly his principal achievement that, through the power, the themes, and the penetrating insight of his music, he could and would carry his listeners over and beyond the Edge of Beyond, or anything comparable (if such thing were possible) – to Delectable Mountains, maybe, or to a Celestial City. Stephen Connock's book delves deeply into explaining exactly how Vaughan Williams's wartime experiences ultimately empowered him to do that.

Simon Wright

[8] Private email, Stephen Connock to the author, 27 June 2021. At the time of writing, no publication date for *The Warrior Musician* had been set.

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EXHIBITION REVIEW

Friends with Benefits: Musical Networking in Georgian London at the Foundling Museum until 1 May 2022

Tuesday 6 April 1773 is the starting point for this new exhibition, upstairs in the Handel gallery at the Foundling Museum in London. On display is a ticket for a charity performance of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital on that day, which provides us with entry to an 18th century London not so much focused on music, as on the musicians themselves – and their very worldly relationships. As the website puts it, it was a time and place where 'not what you knew, but who you knew was of greatest importance'.

The display has been curated by Lizzy Buckle, a PhD student based at the Foundling and Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research into the musical networks that lay behind the plethora of charity benefit concerts organised at this time has formed the background to this exploration of the 18th century music industry. Through five display cases and a mixture of original objects and reproductions on the wall, that detailed research illuminates an aspect of music history in an immediate and relatable way. The central premise is that while musical talent was useful, it wasn't enough to make you successful – instead what we might describe as business and marketing skills were what truly set the most prominent musicians apart. While some of this was to do with self-promotion, the most significant factor seems to have been personal contacts. What emerges is an intricate web of 'who-knew-who', how they knew them, and the importance of all this on engagements and commissions.

Ephemera takes centre stage in telling the story, although there is also an opportunity to demonstrate to a wider public how seemingly dry archival materials such as insurance records and minute books can actually reveal colourful and vivid stories from the past. The fascinatingly detailed expenses for the 1773 concert, recorded in one of the Foundling's minute books, are reproduced near the beginning, enhanced to allow visitors to examine them up close. At first it is the details that jump out – the cost of the wine; the fact that a Mr Jones printed 1200 tickets and 874 were sold. But the list of individual names engaged for the performance soon reveals an extensive and intertwined network of relationships, connected on a number of levels, both professional and personal.

A good example is the Linley family – one of several prominent musical

families at the time. Four of them took part in the concert: Thomas senior and three of his children. Both Thomas and his wife Maria had built up enviable musical reputations, which in turn benefitted their eight children (their house was often referred to as the 'nest of nightingales'). Four of the children came to be frequent performers in oratorio concerts in London, often at Drury Lane, run by John Christopher Smith and John Stanley. Thomas Linley senior later took over from John Christopher Smith as theatre director at Drury Lane, where he and his son then had an enormous hit with their comic opera, *The Duenna*, to a libretto by Linley's son-in-law, Richard Sheridan; partly inspired by Sheridan's own scandalous elopement with Elizabeth Linley (Thomas's daughter) several years earlier. And this barely scratches the surface of these networks. A graphic at the beginning of the display strikingly visualises them as a spaghetti-like jumble of lines connecting people in various different ways.

There came a point when your status and connections guaranteed certain treatment. The four members of the Linley family that took part in the Foundling concert were paid a total of £100, considerably more than anyone else involved, even taking into account their benefaction of £20 back to the Hospital. There is also a sense of posturing here – the fees paid to artists for appearing at these charity concerts were presumably not made public, the assumption being that they were giving their time for little or nothing (the minutes show that some performers did, in fact, waive their fee). The sense of posturing is true too in the saintly descriptions of Elizabeth Linley (very much at odds with what the more gossipy end of society knew of her) and the irony-free letter by Polly Barthélémon, about herself, that was published in 1784 and which begins: "Mrs. Barthelemon, an English Woman of unblemished reputation, without vanity, or shouting her own praise, one who has taken more pains and labour in the art of Music than any other female performer in Europe . . .".

Despite the evident self-interest on display here, it is clear that across this musical community, there was an eco-system sustaining itself through a system of mutual benefit. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the objects on loan from the Royal Society of Musicians. To become a member, the Society required nominations from three fellow musicians. Once membership had been granted though, it provided a formalised version of the network of support – especially in old age or if members fell on hard times.

What is missing from the exhibition, for obvious reasons, are the voices of those people who didn't 'make it'. There are names in the list of expenses about which little more is known and it is interesting to speculate on their stories. It's possible some were gentleman amateurs who had no desire to pursue a career in music; maybe some were students, given an opportunity by their teachers, but who ultimately didn't sustain a career.

This exhibition is a lively and engaging reminder that aspects of the music

industry that we might think of as belonging to the 20th century, or later, have always been there in some form. It continues until 1 May 2021, with some related events along the way. For more information see: https://foundlingmuseum.org.uk/events/friends-with-benefits/.

Christopher Scobie

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