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EDITOR: Nicholas Clark

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EDITORIAL

Nicholas Clark

The second issue of *Brio* for 2022 appears as a new monarch takes his seat on the British throne. Thinking about what new works might be required from Master of the King's Music Judith Weir prompted me to visit her website. Significantly, she maintains that a key focus in this post is her on-going support for the work of school music teachers and amateur music makers. This has already resulted in the composition of numerous pieces for community groups and young musicians. A commitment like this from a composer with such a significant profile is vital to the survival of music education and performance. It continues a noble tradition of well-known, successful musicians who see the student and amateur as the life blood of music making.

Ralph Vaughan Williams is part of that tradition. One of the twentieth century's best-known composers, he was a passionate advocate for that 'great army of humble music makers,' the amateur musician whose work and dedication sustains the livelihoods of many a professional. Whether it is music for brass band, choir, the arrangement of folk song or hymn, RVW's influence has been both far reaching and profound. As his 150th anniversary year draws to a close it seems fitting to celebrate again (following Graham Muncy's essay in 59.1) his life and career by turning attention to the way his music has been presented to us in publication. Simon Wright from Oxford University Press is particularly well placed to do this. He provides a fascinating account of how Vaughan Williams secured a lengthy musical home with, at the time, the country's youngest publishing house through the assistance and foresight of that remarkable figure Hubert Foss.

Of course, helping to maintain a great tradition, as RVW did, requires a solid foundation of music making. With this in mind, Colin Coleman allows us to look to the origins and work of the Concert of Antient Music. From the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries this organisation provided a forum for music and music makers that encouraged performance to flourish and prosper. In an article that tells us much about patronage, and of the celebrities who helped to fund concerts, we also learn something about the practicalities of staging performances and what wages some musicians received for their work. As with the preceding article, we can also see samples of a wealth of material ready to be consulted in libraries and archives.

What can be found in music libraries lies at the core of Alan Poulton's article about his search for Malcolm Arnold's missing autograph scores. A great deal of importance can and should be attached to the preservation of manuscripts, printed scores and ephemera that connect us with the past. Archival material is a means of engaging in time travel: it reveals history and throws light on tradition. The whereabouts of a number of Arnold's manuscripts is, for various reasons, currently unknown. This inspired Alan to enlist the aid of *Brio* readers, inviting us to look through collections to which we have access, to be vigilant. The list of scores unaccounted for is a mixture of unfamiliar and surprisingly familiar titles. However, also included in his survey is a catalogue of formerly lost manuscripts that have been found, some having been tucked away on Library shelves. Proof, if it were needed for librarians, that many a story about a lost work often has a comfortably happy ending.

Music suppliers are also invaluable to the music librarian and musician. Sadly, we lost a champion in this area in 2022 in Richard Priest, founder of Allegro Music and former Treasurer of this branch of IAML. I am grateful to Malcolm Jones for supplying an informative and affectionate recollection of Richard for this issue.

We offer two reviews on recent books, one focusing on a critical edition of the lively early twentieth century correspondence from Kaikhosru Sorabji to Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock). The other review will introduce to many a musical figure from the Scottish Enlightenment, one John Gunn, cellist, antiquarian and champion of the Scottish harp. This is yet another example of how researching the past can bring new information to light.

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"ASK FOSS TO SEE TO IT": VAUGHAN WILLIAMS AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Simon Wright[1]

'It is reported that the head of a famous publishing firm once said, "Why do you young Englishmen go on composing? Nobody wants you."' These words opened an article, 'Who wants the English composer?', written by Ralph Vaughan Williams for the 1912 Christmas Term edition of *The Royal College of Music Magazine*.[2] Vaughan Williams, in 1912, could himself hardly have been thought of as 'young'. The article came just after his fortieth birthday. Vaughan Williams was then almost mid-way through his long life, although still with the bulk of his extraordinary composing career ahead of him. But his own music publishing arrangements in 1912, which we shall consider shortly, were still very unsettled. So, Vaughan Williams, as he set down those well-known music publisher's dispiriting words, was perhaps thinking not only of younger colleagues, but of himself also.

It is tempting to speculate on that famous publisher's identity. In just a few years' time Harold Littleton Brooke was to become a director of the publisher of Edward Elgar's principal works, Novello & Company Ltd. It was of Harold Brooke that Arthur Bliss was much later to write, 'He was a man with definite blind spots where modern music was concerned, and it was no use trying to convince him when he sat listening to it, bored or irritated'.[3] One such blind spot was, apparently, Vaughan Williams himself. Harold had earlier worked in Novello's publishing office alongside August Johannes Jaeger, Elgar's editor, friend, and champion – but Jaeger had died in 1909, and Elgar then rapidly became disillusioned with Novello. In 1911 he wrote to the firm giving notice on his exclusive publishing agreement. It is indicative of Vaughan Williams's theme that a composer of Elgar's stature was forced, in that year, to write these words to his publisher: 'I have never deceived myself as to my true commercial value & see that everything of mine, as I have often said, dies a natural death . . . & is buried in the mass of English music'.[4] In

[1] This article is based on the paper 'Vaughan Williams and Oxford University Press' given at the IAML (UK & Ireland) Annual Study Weekend, St. Anne's College, Oxford, 2 April 2022. That paper, and this article, draw on and develop some material first published in: 'Chapter 16: Music Publishing' in Wm. Roger Louis (ed.), *The History of Oxford University Press*, Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and 'Vaughan Williams and Oxford University Press' in *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 56, February 2013, pp. 3-15.

[2] The entire article is reprinted in Hubert Foss, *Ralph Vaughan Williams: a study* (London: George G. Harrap, 1950), pp. 197-201.

[3] Quoted in Michael Hurd, *Vincent Novello – and Company* (London: Granada Publishing, 1981), p. 114.

[4] Elgar to Alfred H. Littleton, 30.06.1911 in Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Elgar and his Publishers: Letters of a Creative Life* (Vol. 2) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 746.

using the 'famous publisher' quotation in his own article Vaughan Williams was simply agreeing with Elgar, and summing up things as he saw them in Britain as the curtain came down on the Edwardian age – a bleak, unimaginative music publishing landscape offering little to any aspiring, serious composer. 'Nobody wants you.'

This article provides an account of how Vaughan Williams found his own way through that misty landscape, to form a relationship with a newly-established music publisher that was not only to be critical to his success as a composer but which was also to be of reciprocal importance to the publisher itself in establishing its pre-eminent position as the career workshop of many other, younger British composers. That publisher was the Oxford University Press, and this account draws on business records and materials from the Press's archives.

Vaughan Williams's early publishing arrangements

Vaughan Williams withheld many early compositions from publication, but those he felt worthy were offered to, and accepted by, a variety of music publishers. Some folk song arrangements were placed with Novello, and a number of early songs, including *Linden Lea*, were brought out first by The Vocalist Company Ltd., which was taken over in 1912 by Boosey & Co. Boosey was then not yet aligned with Hawkes: that merger, creating what would become one of the most powerful concerns in world music publishing, was only to take place in 1930. *On Wenlock Edge* was first published by Novello, and later moved to Boosey & Co., while *Songs of Travel* was with Boosey from the outset. Other early Vaughan Williams publishers included F. & B. Goodwin Ltd., Joseph Williams & Co., J. Laudy & Co., J. Curwen & Sons, and Bosworth. But the most significant and enduring early Vaughan Williams publisher was Stainer & Bell Ltd., the invented name of a consortium of musicians, teachers, and businessmen formally constituted as a company on 5 November 1907. Stainer & Bell took many of Vaughan Williams's early choral folk song arrangements, *Five Mystical Songs*, and the *Fantasia on Christmas Carols*. Stainer & Bell also published *A London Symphony* in 1920, under their Carnegie United Kingdom Trust publishing scheme franchise. Of this ambitious scheme, which funded the publication of much new music, Lewis Foreman has observed that it set the scene 'for commercial publishers, notably Oxford University Press, who were willing to take risk with such new music'.[5] But Stainer & Bell's own trading results had begun

[5] See Lewis Foreman, 'The Carnegie UK Trust Publication Scheme', *Brio*, Spring/Summer 2000, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 10-35. Oxford University Press (OUP) eventually took over William Walton's Piano Quartet, first published under the scheme in 1924; and, independently, OUP was appointed as publisher of the ten-volume *Tudor Church Music* series for the Trust in 1922, in furtherance of Andrew Carnegie's personal aim, stated in the Trustees' Preface, of 'encouragement of musical development amongst the masses' (this series was soon to be subsumed within the OUP Music Department's list).

(temporarily) to decline from 1914 – their company history admits that the results for that year, published weeks prior to outbreak of war, were 'bad'.[6] Vaughan Williams became concerned that Stainer would be unable to handle the extensive materials for his first opera, *Hugh the Drover,*[7] and so, after the war, negotiated with Curwen, which issued a vocal score in 1924. Vaughan Williams, however, never forgot his indebtedness to Stainer & Bell, and how they had helped him 'when I was comparatively unknown'.[8]

In 1904 Vaughan Williams had been invited to be Music Editor of *The English Hymnal*, a new hymn book being compiled to counter the apparent bad taste and poor content of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the ubiquitous quasi-official Anglican hymnal in use since 1861 and, incidentally, published by Novello. *The English Hymnal* was published, and printed, in 1906 by Oxford University Press. Thus, the tunes and arrangements created for it by Vaughan Williams might be seen as his first association with his future music publisher – DOWN AMPNEY for 'Come down, O love divine', FOREST GREEN for 'O little town of Bethlehem', and that great *English Hymnal* Pre-Raphaelite set piece in which Athelstan Riley's specially commissioned words 'Ye watchers and ye holy ones' are matched with Vaughan Williams's fine harmonization of the German tune LASST UNS ERFREUEN, for example. But this is a false trail. There is no evidence that Vaughan Williams had any direct contact whatsoever with the Press over the book – all business was conducted through the hymnal's owning committee.[9] The project was handled by OUP solely as part of the Press's existing Bibles and hymnals portfolio, not in any sense as a true music publishing endeavour. *The English Hymnal*, although OUP, was for Vaughan Williams an outlier: it was to be almost another twenty years before his name appeared on any further Press publications.

Six months after Elgar wrote his resignation to Novello, the United Kingdom Copyright Act of 1911 received Royal Assent.[10] This was the first legislation that clearly defined and codified the modern rights inherent in music, beyond simple print rights: public performance and recording rights were clearly set down and were thus able to be licensed and monetized; broadcasting later followed organically, being regarded as another form of 'public performance'.

[6] *One More Step – The Continuing History of Stainer & Bell* (London: Stainer & Bell, nd), p. 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

[8] Vaughan Williams to Norman Peterkin, 9 August 1942, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (https://vaughanwilliamsfoundation.org/discover/letters/search-the-letters/), item VWL1679. [The Vaughan Williams Foundation website offers freely available access to the collection of fully annotated transcripts of all known letters written by Ralph Vaughan Williams, a selection of which was published in book form as Hugh Cobbe, *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams 1895-1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). All documents cited in this article were accessed on 30 August 2022.]

[9] The precise terms of the publishing relationship are set out in detail in a contract dated 2 November 1905 between The New Hymn Book Committee and Oxford University Press – the committee's members are named individually in the contract's recital, as is the book's 'literary editor' Percy Dearmer, but Vaughan Williams is not mentioned (OUP Music Contracts files).

[10] https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/1-2/46/contents/enacted [accessed 24 May 2022].

This legislative update was to change music publishing's dynamics forever, moving it rapidly from being primarily a print and distribution operation to a solidly rights-based business. The Act's immediate effect was the creation of specifically music-focused copyright and licensing societies: the Performing Right Society, for example, was founded in 1912. But all of this was then suddenly to go on hold, as the misty publishing scene of 1912 became positively smoky for the duration of the First World War. The United Kingdom Trading With The Enemy Act of 1914[11] prescribed an offence of 'conducting business with any person of "enemy character"'. Suddenly, the many British composers who had published with quality German companies in preference to British establishments were forced to forgo royalties as they suffered the ignominy of seeing their works declared 'alien property'. One of these was Vaughan Williams, whose *A Sea Symphony* was brought out in 1909 by Breitkopf & Härtel. Under the regulations, the rights in this work eventually transferred to a UK company, Stainer & Bell, which issued a vocal score in 1918 and a full score in 1924. Additionally, many composers, again including Vaughan Williams, were on active service, and both composition and music publishing were simply deprioritized for the duration of the war.

Vaughan Williams and Oxford University Press

In the years immediately following the First World War, it was thus clear that the stage was set for the launch of a new, progressive publisher of serious music in Britain – a publisher that would encourage and promote the efforts of concert music composers, and which would necessarily grasp and engage with new national agendas and priorities: schools and education for all, self-help, health care, socialism and the breakdown of class barriers, international relationships and their post-war rebuilding, broadcasting, sound recording. But it is serendipitous, shocking in some ways but appropriate in many others, that that new music publisher was to be the world's *oldest* established *book* publisher, Oxford University Press; and it is no less appropriate that Vaughan Williams, with his own social awareness and commitment to responsibility as a citizen, and his understanding of historical time and continuity, should be drawn to OUP, a department of the University of Oxford. Its operations can be traced back as far as 1478, when the first book to be printed in Oxford was manufactured and issued there by the University. To this day it seems anomalous to some that what is now the world's largest university press, with its famous portfolio of Bibles, dictionaries, reference books, and educational materials, most now both in print and available digitally, should also be running what is often called a 'sheet music business' – 'sheet music' being a colloquialism that covers a complex editorial, manufacturing, distribution, promotional, and rights management operation.

[11] The Act was amended in 1916. It was repealed and replaced by the Trading With the Enemy Act (1939).

Fig. 1: Amen House, Warwick Square, London EC – Oxford University Press's London headquarters at the time the Music Department was founded in 1923. OUP Archive.

The catalyst that facilitated OUP's music publishing (as distinct from publishing hymnals or books on music) was a young educational sales representative, working out of OUP's London city publishing office, Amen House, in the early 1920s: Hubert James Foss (1899-1953). [Figs. 1 and 2.] Foss was a polymath, energetic and equally talented as a writer, composer, pianist, speaker, journalist, typographer, book designer, and, eventually, a broadcaster. He was innately musical and was fully aware of the music publishing situation in Britain as war ended. He was determined to do something about it. With the help of Percy Scholes, already an OUP author by 1920, Foss persuaded his bosses to risk publication of a few choral song leaflets of an 'educational' nature (agreed, on the condition that he had a haircut and discarded his floppy hat, his image being felt rather too bohemian). These leaflets came out under OUP's London imprint in June 1923 – the 'Oxford Choral Songs' series had begun. But Foss then astounded those bosses by turning a dilettante handful of choral publications into a vast and almost unwieldy catalogue of orchestral, instrumental, vocal, choral, operatic, and educational publications within the

space of less than ten years – so much so that 'The Music Department', as it became known, was forced in the early 1930s to leave the plush comfort of parquet flooring, a library, and sherry at 11:00 in Amen House and move into its own home at 36 Soho Square, off Oxford Street, a premises which, as it happened, became equally clubbable. OUP's Soho Square branch became affectionately known as 'The Gateway to Music', housing not only offices but a magnificent music showroom, and the burgeoning music hire library. Control was still exercised from Amen House, and Foss staged concerts and events there as well as maintaining an editorial office. But the Music Department was, to all intents and purposes, autonomous and working out of Soho Square in those early years.

Foss's intentions had been clear, at least to him, from the outset. There was never a systemic strategic plan, but he provided a retrospective manifesto in a report written ten years into the Department's life for the head of OUP's London business, the Publisher to the University Humphrey Milford (while replete with objective facts and figures, this report nonetheless has a subtext of Foss justifying the existence of his department and defending the vast expenditure that he had already made on building it).[12] Foss, in an outburst of post-war nationalistic vigour, was explicit about having moved away from what he called 'German music': '… the rising school of younger English composers as well as the music scholars – in considerable numbers – found themselves crippled in their progress by an inability to find an enterprising or efficient publisher … [Thus] the Press early decided to acquire an already established organization for the selling of printed music, and in 1925 purchased a firm called the Anglo-French Music Company from a body of musicians who had founded it during the war, with the intention of substituting English music for the German music then so widely predominant in the educational world'. The Anglo-French catalogue formed an important early and ready-made plank in the infrastructure of the OUP music catalogue, particularly in piano and chamber music.

Publishing during the 1920s was maintained at fast pace and high volume, meaning that the first printed 'complete' OUP music catalogue (1931) was out of date before it was issued: supplements and supplements to supplements rapidly followed.[13] Looking back in his report on his ten year-achievement in building a full and diverse music list Hubert Foss simply said, 'There was a big job to be done and the Press, seeing the opportunity, decided to take it'.[14] His personal and total engagement with the composers which OUP published in that first decade (Walton, Lambert, Kodály, Bartók, Vaughan

[12] OUP Archive: 'Report on the Music Department of the Oxford University Press', Hubert Foss to Humphrey Milford, 14 February 1933 in MUSIC DEPARTMENT Profit and Loss Accounts 1925-56.

[13] See Simon Wright, 'Oxford University Press and Music Publishing' in *Brio*, Vol. 35, No. 2, Autumn/Winter 1998, pp. 90-100.

[14] 'Report on the Music Department…'.

Williams, Britten) places him in stark contrast to figures such as Harold Littleton Brooke, who sat yawning and annoyed when faced with new music.

Fig. 2: Hubert Foss (1899-1953).
Photograph courtesy of Diana Sparkes (née Foss).

Hubert Foss instinctively sensed the value, importance, and potential of Vaughan Williams, who, at the age of 51 in 1923, had still not settled with one single publishing house. Foss approached Vaughan Williams early in the Music Department's existence and offered to publish his music. 'It is significant that the Press is now the Publisher of Ralph Vaughan Williams and holds many of the best works of Delius, and that there is practically not one living English composer of eminence who does not appear in the catalogue – as well as many American and continental writers', wrote Foss in his 1933 report.[15] The first OUP music publication to bear the name of 'R. Vaughan Williams' (never 'Ralph', by the way) was in fact a transcription for string orchestra of Bach's 'The 'Giant' Fugue', made with Arnold Foster – this appeared as No. 6 in the new 'Oxford Orchestral Series' on 8 October 1925, with optimistically large amounts of stock being delivered: 354 full scores, and 350 of each string part (Foss had not yet learned that fewer Double Bass parts than Violin I would eventually be required in any orchestral set) – full scores were 2*s*. 6*d*. and parts were 4*d*. each. This sold well, and the records show that almost immediately OUP was benefitting from 'broadcasting income' from this title, the British Broadcasting Company, at just three years old, being then the only broadcaster in Great Britain.[16]

Many works solely by Vaughan Williams quickly followed: *Three Poems by Walt Whitman* in the 'Oxford Solo Songs' series (published in 1925), the small stage work *The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains* (1925, eventually to be incorporated into Vaughan Williams's great 'Morality', *The Pilgrim's Progress*), the orchestral *Norfolk Rhapsody* No. 1 (1925), and, eventually to be one of the most important of the early OUP copyrights overall, *The Lark Ascending* for solo violin and orchestra (© 1925, published in 1926) which, almost one hundred years after its original publication, remains a prolifically performed and licensed title for OUP, and regularly crowns such 'charts' as the annual Classic FM 'Hall of Fame'. *The Lark* embodies a time, a place, a mood, and immediate post-war aspirations of flying free and dreams of pastoral, and provides one very good example of Foss's crucial success and prescience in choosing and promoting repertoire with a valuable and long-term future. It is a music publisher's job to sense such things, and to act both commercially and artistically in favour of the copyright, and with *The Lark*, and with many other Vaughan Williams copyrights, Foss and his OUP successors did exactly that. Foss naturally had no prior knowledge of Classic FM, but he certainly anticipated it conceptually, along with mobile devices, time-shift, and many other music access technologies that are now taken for

[15] ibid.
[16] OUP Archive: Music Department Ledger MUSIC SERIES: 3 (Oxford Orchestral Series subsection).

granted.[17] Music publishing is a continuum, and decisions made many years ago still profoundly affect business today.

Vaughan Williams never had any sort of formal agreement or 'retainer' with OUP. It was understood that he would offer OUP most of the music he wrote, and equally that OUP would consider and take that music – an 'unwritten agreement'. In contrast, William Walton, whose music OUP published from around 1925 until Walton's death, was handled on a retainer basis, renegotiated and renewed periodically. The arrangement with Vaughan Williams worked well, and there is no evidence that works were regularly rejected or deliberated over, or that there was any real niggling over terms and conditions. The late 1920s and the 1930s saw a stream of major works by Vaughan Williams coming out under the OUP imprint, at a time, it must be remembered, that Foss and his department were also juggling large projects such Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* and First Symphony, Percy Scholes' enormous *The Oxford Companion to Music*, plus innumerable smaller projects. From Vaughan Williams in those years, titles included the ballet *Job* (published in 1934), the Piano Concerto (1936), Symphony No. 4 (1935), the operas *The Poisoned Kiss* and *Riders to the Sea* (both 1936), *Dona Nobis Pacem* (1936), and *Serenade to Music* (1938). OUP was not only publishing these titles, but becoming deeply involved in their commissioning, their rehearsals, the orchestral materials, and broadcasts and recordings. Also closely involving Vaughan Williams were the collaborative and pioneering collections *The Oxford Book of Carols* of 1928, and the hymn book *Songs of Praise* (the post-war egalitarian answer to the 1906 *English Hymnal*, issued first in 1925 and in an enlarged version in 1931, and rapidly adopted in large numbers of United Kingdom schools, as well as churches). And in 1934 OUP brought out Vaughan Williams's collection of polemical essays, *National Music*. This output for just one of its composers was, overall, an astonishing achievement for a music publisher still very much in its infancy. Vaughan Williams, together with Percy Scholes, was recognized by the Press as very much key to its own success in these years: these were the only two writers to which OUP's Music Department accorded regularly updated publicity leaflets and 'works' catalogues – everyone else tended to be swept up into more general leaflets, lists, and printed publicity.

Hubert Foss resigned from OUP in November 1941. 'This is sad news indeed', wrote Vaughan Williams, '– how shall we get on without you? I did not realize how much I counted on you – "Ask Foss's advice" – "Ask Foss to see to it" or "I'll ask Foss to play it over to me at Amen House" . . . I always admired the way in which you took an interest in even the humblest of music makings – choral competitions, school music etc – realizing the profound

[17] Foss expounded his thoughts on 'mechanical music' (sound recording), broadcasting, and remote access to music, at length, in his extraordinary manifesto *Music in My Time* (London: Rich & Cowan, 1933).

truth that without that foundation the Elgars and the Waltons can't exist.'[18] Foss moved on seamlessly to become a freelance writer and broadcaster and in this 'second career' he gave at least 25 BBC radio talks on Vaughan Williams, and published an important, pioneering study of the composer's music in 1950.[19] Broadcasts and book were both written with insider, first-hand knowledge of the composer and of the works themselves, many of which Foss himself, at OUP, had published.

Just months before his own, early, death in 1953, Foss was giving a radio talk on *Sinfonia Antartica* immediately following its first performance and broadcast. This talk happened to be taped and is one of the few voice recordings by Hubert Foss preserved, and the only one surviving in which Vaughan Williams's music publisher talks of the composer that he supported over many years. It is as if Foss is summing things up in terms of his own publishing policy and personal mission to provide a platform for the national composer: 'A great man has just spoken to us in his own language. From the summit of his eighty years, from the height of his accumulated wisdom, Ralph Vaughan Williams has once again shown us the secrets of his personal vision. I make no doubt of the man's size – Vaughan Williams is a great Englishman, and I believe a great composer. And it fills me with pride and pleasure that his musical language – so much his own – is also the musical language of the English people. It was not imported from abroad, like most of our music for two hundred years; it owes nothing to Vienna, or to Leipzig, or to Paris; its main roots stand in the age-old traditions of English poetry and song.'[20]

Hubert Foss thus remained engaged with Vaughan Williams until the end of his own life, and Vaughan Williams continued to seek Foss's advice, outside of OUP. Within OUP, the relationship with Vaughan Williams continued almost unaltered, following Foss's departure. Alan Frank, who had worked for Foss since 1928, followed in his stead, and saw to press the major works of Vaughan Williams's last fifteen years: Symphonies 6 to 9, the Oboe Concerto, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and the Tuba Concerto, for example. Foss, and Frank following him, did not become involved as publishers of Vaughan Williams's film scores – many of these were written as official war work, and the rights were tied up with The Central Office of Information, or with film companies engaged for the job. But they did advise Vaughan Williams on terms,[21] and in some cases chose to publish excerpts, or suites derived from the film scores – an orchestral suite from the 1943 film *Flemish Farm*, for

[18] Vaughan Williams to Hubert Foss, 6 November 1941, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, item VWL1584.

[19] Hubert Foss, *Ralph Vaughan Williams: A Study* (London: George G. Harrap, 1950).

[20] Script reprinted in full in Simon Wright, 'Hubert Foss on Vaughan Williams: a broadcast script', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 68, February 2017, pp. 3-6.

[21] Correspondence survives, for example, concerning the terms agreed between Ealing Studios and Vaughan Williams for the music of *The Loves of Joanna Godden* (1947) (OUP Archive: Vaughan Williams Contracts file).

example, and a piano arrangement of 'The Lake in the Mountains' sequence from *49th Parallel* (published in 1947).

Oxford University Press in the USA ('OUP Inc.') set up its own music publishing department in New York in the early 1950s, and the office undertook various activities there on behalf of the UK business, including music rental and distribution, and rights management. But OUP Inc. also published various Vaughan Williams titles under its own imprint – arrangements, mainly, or offprints from larger UK titles, required in the US for choral competitions or separate commercial exploitation. The New York office of OUP managed some aspects of the visit by Ursula and Ralph to the USA in 1954, although the departmental manager, Lyle Dowling's, wish to get Vaughan Williams involved with as many parties and receptions as possible was met with blunt refusal by the composer himself, then aged 81. He was much more interested, as he said, to see 'Grand Canyons and such things' than to drink cocktails.[22]

From the earliest publications by Foss, unless they sat within an established series with its own branding and design, careful consideration was always given to the impact of an item's cover. Foss's view was that the cover formed an integral part of the product, a lead into it. He was also aware of the importance and subliminal effect of corporate design and image in establishing brand. In general, this was a concept emerging during the 1930s, for example, within London Transport, which established careful typography, colour schemes, and symbols for its bus and underground train services. Foss, for his composers, developed specific 'brands' for each. For Vaughan Williams, the favoured look was a plain buff cover, typographical only excepting one small red Tudor rose – many of his OUP scores appeared initially in that design. In a way, this cleverly reflected Vaughan Williams's own wry description of his music as 'good plain cooking'. The composer would have disliked the jazzy covers Foss commissioned for Constant Lambert's publications if they had been applied to his own titles (although he was not averse to jazz per se – he once wrote to the *Penguin Music Magazine* stating that 'I have a great admiration of the almost uncanny skill of the jazz composers, though I think it is used occasionally for unworthy purposes').[23]

Foss applied obsessive care to the publications' music pages too. He abhorred what he called the 'jigsaw' effect of the vocal scores produced by Novello, which derived from a process involving multiple small pieces of type assembled in frames, resulting in an untidy, disjointed look on the printed page. This was cheap and cheerful, but Foss favoured the more expensive engraving on pewter plates process, following strict geometric and proportional rules as to layout and design. He had a 'clean air' policy involving wide

[22] Vaughan Williams to Lyle Dowling, 6 June 1954, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, item VWL2827.
[23] Letter partially quoted in *The Penguin Music Magazine*, edited by Ralph Hill, no. IV (Penguin Books, 1947), p. 10 (this quotation reproduced in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, item VWL5129).

margins, blank bars instead of whole-bar rests, crisp and clear rehearsal numbers in circles at top and foot of systems, and other features that would give the printed page a clear, airy look. He used cream-toned paper, to alleviate the glare that would otherwise shine off under lighting from pure white, on an orchestral desk or piano music stand. All OUP's early Vaughan Williams scores benefitted from this overall 'house style', developed at the Press's partner printer, Henderson & Spalding, a company sadly put out of business by wartime bombing twenty years after Foss started to use it for OUP's publications. Hubert Foss, it must be said, was also a Henderson & Spalding adviser and director, possibly acting in a conflict of interest that might be questioned today.[24] But the resultant publications, of Vaughan Williams and all OUP composers, drew widespread praise and appreciation from composers and users alike, and many of those original 1920s, 30s, and 40s, images form the basis of OUP publications to this day and, importantly, have not dated. The orchestral parts produced during the 1939-45 war showed a marked decline in quality: paper rationing, the cost-saving requirement to hand-write rather than engrave, bombing of premises, the melting-down of printing plates, and the short supply of the inks required all contributed to inferior parts. Vaughan Williams noticed and commented, but at the time there was little that could be done – even OUP agreed that 'some of our lithographed parts are deplorable'.[25] Recent modern OUP editions have rectified a great many of these inferior editions.

During Foss's tenure, the Music Department was also responsible for publishing books on music, as well as the sheet music itself, and he saw to it that various titles were commissioned in support of Vaughan Williams's compositions. Within a series of slim, pocket-sized music appreciation books designed for use at concerts, in a series called 'The Musical Pilgrim', there were two books on Vaughan Williams: *An Introduction to the Music of R. Vaughan Williams* (1928) by A.E.F. Dickinson, and the eventually-to-be-inappropriately titled *The Later Works of R. Vaughan Williams* (1937) by Frank Howes. While 'The Musical Pilgrim' was an entirely appropriate label for Vaughan Williams, the works covered in these volumes were later to be subsumed within a single volume by Howes, published by OUP in 1954.[26] The hugely successful *The Oxford Companion to Music* by Percy Scholes (author of the descriptive notes for all the titles, including *A London Symphony*, included in the prospectuses for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust's publication scheme) carried, in its original 1938 edition, a 75-line article on Vaughan

[24] Foss was the author of the in-house Henderson & Spalding style guide *(Printing at Henderson & Spalding's*, privately published, Camberwell, 1926), and of their prospectus *Some Practical Considerations about Good Printing* (London: Henderson & Spalding, nd (but probably *c*. 1926)).

[25] Memorandum, Norman Peterkin to Humphrey Milford, 24 April 1942, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams,* item VWL1641.

[26] Frank Howes, *The Music of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

Williams (in contrast, Schoenberg merited just 42 lines, Richard Strauss 38, Berg 13, and Webern a mere 3 lines). Despite the Vaughan Williams article's relative thoroughness, Scholes could not resist playing head teacher over the composer's 'total ignoring of the code of prohibitions (as, for instance, of consecutives; see *Harmony* 22)'. Unsurprisingly, he then discounts *A Sea Symphony* as 'early' and thus non-canonical, and the *Pastoral* as 'remote and mystical'.[27]

In the years after Vaughan Williams's death, OUP was publisher of a study and catalogue by Michael Kennedy,[28] a biography by Ursula Vaughan Williams,[29] a photographic anthology,[30] and, more recently, the aforementioned collection of Vaughan Williams letters edited by Hugh Cobbe, and one of selected writings, edited by David Manning.[31] The connection between written word and the music, so important to the composer himself, remains a fundamental in underpinning the relationship between Vaughan Williams and Oxford University Press.

The Archival Legacy

OUP's principal business records for music publishing comprise contracts, files, sales and hire library ledgers, copies of printed music, and other artefacts such as proofs, and manuscript copies of works that were later engraved. Because of the length of the relationship with Vaughan Williams, and the high volume of his output, OUP's records for the composer are extensive.

For each work published OUP holds individual publishing contracts and editorial files. The contract sets out the terms on which the work is published, stipulating the various royalty rates – during his lifetime, OUP contracted with Vaughan Williams directly, and after his death with his successors for any work published posthumously. From the start, Vaughan Williams's OUP contracts covered not only sales royalties, but hire, performance, and mechanical too ('mechanical' being the term for royalties arising from gramophone recordings), evidence that Foss was anticipating rights activity and income arising from the exploitation of the titles, not just from the selling of the printed music. This was a modern music publisher at work.

During the whole of Vaughan Williams's publishing career, the written document was the prime means of communication, alongside in-person meetings of which written records were often made in the form of file notes. The editorial file will contain all the essential correspondence and documents relating to the publication: letters to and from OUP and the composer, corre-

[27] Percy Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).
[28] Michael Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
[29] Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
[30] John E. Lunn and Ursula Vaughan Williams, *Ralph Vaughan Williams: A Pictorial Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).
[31] David Manning (ed.), *Vaughan Williams on Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

spondence with editors and music engravers, meeting file notes, estimates and costs from printers, notes about cover designs, and correspondence with conductors, recording companies, performance groups, and others with an interest in the title concerned. There are occasional notes of telephone calls too (Vaughan Williams, down in Dorking in 1934, would have had to call CITY 2604 to be put through to Hubert Foss at Amen House – and there were six lines). All told, the editorial files give a comprehensive picture of how each work came to publication, and who was involved with it.

Hugh Cobbe, to whom unfettered access to OUP's Vaughan Williams files was given, identified approximately 300 letters from the composer to various employees at OUP in these files, and a selection is included in Cobbe's published collection of letters.[32] In general, Vaughan Williams's OUP letters sit in marked contrast to those of, say, Elgar to Jaeger at Novello, of Walton to Foss at OUP,[33] or of Edvard Grieg to Max Abraham and Henri Hinrichsen at C.F. Peters, Leipzig.[34] Elgar and Walton both enjoyed jocular, easy-going relationships with their publishers – the letters of them both are full of banter and bonhomie, and crucially throw light on the pains and the joys of the creative process: through their publisher letters alone we can view new musical works literally coming into being. And with Grieg, the letters simply exude a warm intimacy, indicative of the deep friendships which underpinned his publishing relationships. With Vaughan Williams, there is none of this. Unsurprisingly, his letters speak of efficiency, trust, and getting the job done. Their tone is routinely crisp and business-like: Vaughan Williams skips the niceties and comes immediately to the point. There is occasional wry self-deprecation, but none of the flowery language of which Elgar was so fond. There is little clue as to creative process, and such social interaction as there is feels stilted. 'I have been asked to write a Te Deum for the enthronement of the new Archbp, in Cant: Cath:', wrote Vaughan Williams to Foss on 1 October 1928, 'Wd you like to see it? It will be ready by Wednesday'.[35] And on 3 August 1946 to Alan Frank, regarding the String Quartet in A minor: 'Herewith the 4th Proofs – forgive delay but I have had them checked by Michael Mullinar & the parts were all checked from their own parts by the players – The 1st violin part is in a pretty good mess. Chiefly owing to the vagaries of your copyist who shoved in 8ves promiscuously without (so far as I remember) any authority from the master copy. The result was almost impossible to read.'[36]

[32] See footnote 8 above.

[33] See the letters to OUP staff members included in Malcolm Hayes (ed.), *The Selected Letters of William Walton* (London: Faber & Faber, 2002.)

[34] See https://bergenbibliotek.no/grieg/english/grieg-grieg-eng [accessed 1 July 2022].

[35] Vaughan Williams to Hubert Foss, about 1 October 1928, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, item VWL635.

[36] Vaughan Williams to Alan Frank, 3 August 1946, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams,* item VWL2056.

A file note of 24 April 1942[37] records a meeting at the Music Department's West End office, 36 Soho Square, on 19 April, between Vaughan Williams and Norman Peterkin, Foss's former assistant, then caretaking the Department during the War. Vaughan Williams, wrote Peterkin, looked 'more like an Ancient Briton than ever, but perceptibly aged since I met him last . . . though of course I have frequently talked to him on the phone'. The note covers discussion of wartime paper quotas, the deposit for safekeeping of various manuscripts (including that of the then-unpublished Oboe Concerto), and publishing arrangements for *Household Music*, male-voice arrangements of items from *The Oxford Book of Carols*, and the *Hymn for Airmen*. At the end of the meeting there had been a chance encounter between Vaughan Williams and William Walton, who had arrived at Soho Square unannounced, and this too found its way into Peterkin's note. Vaughan Williams was nicer to Walton than Walton was to him, apparently.

OUP's hire library was based at 36 Soho Square for the majority of Vaughan Williams's relationship with the Press. All music hire transactions were recorded by hand in ledgers, showing details of orchestra, material supplied, performance date, and hire fee charged. As such, the ledgers provide an invaluable performance history for every Vaughan Williams worked published by OUP involving hired orchestral and choral material. They also contain crucial information about how the works were written, and then delivered to those first performing them. The pages for the opera *The Pilgrim's Progress* give the story of the build-up to the first performance at Covent Garden, with material being delivered piecemeal and urgently, as it became ready: 11 January 1951 – 'scores to Acts I and II sent to Temple Savage at Royal Opera House' (Richard Temple Savage was the Orchestral Librarian); 26 February – 'set of 23 wind parts to Act I received from Editorial'; 1 March – 'strings 8.7.6.5.4. and 23 winds for Acts 1 and 2 taken by Mr Noble to Mr Temple Savage this afternoon'; 12 March – 'R.V.W. has taken the Wind parts of Act 3 with him to Edinburgh and delivered to Temple Savage'; and so on, until 26 April 1951 – 'Royal Opera House WC2, Hire Fee for First Performance £78.15.00. and BBC relay fees from Covent Garden £378.00.00'; then, 17 August 1951– 'all parts returned from Covent Garden, also full scores (see letter in file)'.[38] This is a detailed, shimmering mosaic, a vivid history of the rush to complete the performance material for Vaughan Williams's great opera, or 'Morality' as he preferred to call it.

OUP's Printed Music Archive theoretically contains one copy of every title that the Press published, and thus embraces the complete printed output of OUP Vaughan Williams titles. This is very much a working collection, and copies are referred to regularly (by editors as reference copies when

[37] Memorandum, Norman Peterkin to Humphrey Milford, 24 April 1942, in *The Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams,* item VWL1641.

[38] All quotations in this paragraph are from OUP Archive: OUP Hire Library Ledger (Vaughan Williams).

reprinting, preparing new editions, or making selections for anthologies or arrangements; and by the rights staff to track down sometimes elusive information about copyright dates and third-party writer names). Early and later printings and editions of the same titles often throw up subtle changes to the music and its layout, not obvious from any other sources. OUP Inc.'s edition of *Nine Carols for Male Voices* of 1993, for example, gathers for the first time, and in a new music engraving, nine titles that were only ever available as separate leaflets in the UK catalogue – these were the very items discussed at that Ancient Briton meeting with Norman Peterkin, and were first published in London in 1943.

A large part of the OUP Vaughan Williams 'archival legacy' comprises items related to the original composition, publication, and early performances of works in the Press's catalogue: 'publishing artefacts'. These include copyists' manuscript copies of full scores, marked conductor scores, proofs, correction copies, and manuscript orchestral parts. Together they give an immediate flavour of some of the processes in place, and of the issues, at the time when OUP was working with Vaughan Williams – an age where (despite rapid technological advances for music in sound recording and broadcast) all sheet music production and consumption was paper-based, and very often involved using music written out by hand. All the *autograph manuscripts* of works by Vaughan Williams previously held by OUP, for editorial use and then often for safekeeping over many years, have now been made over to his estate, The Vaughan Williams Charitable Trust. These are now mainly deposited in the British Library. Occasionally, new items come to light (for example, the session score and parts of the music for the 1942 film *Coastal Command* – many of the orchestral parts were in Vaughan Williams's own hand, as were some full and short score sections; these materials were transferred from OUP to the British Library in July 2016). Thus, the remaining archival scores tend not to be composer autographs – for Vaughan Williams, more likely they will be copyists' scores, or the working or fair copies of his amanuensis in later years, Roy Douglas, who had immaculate handwriting.

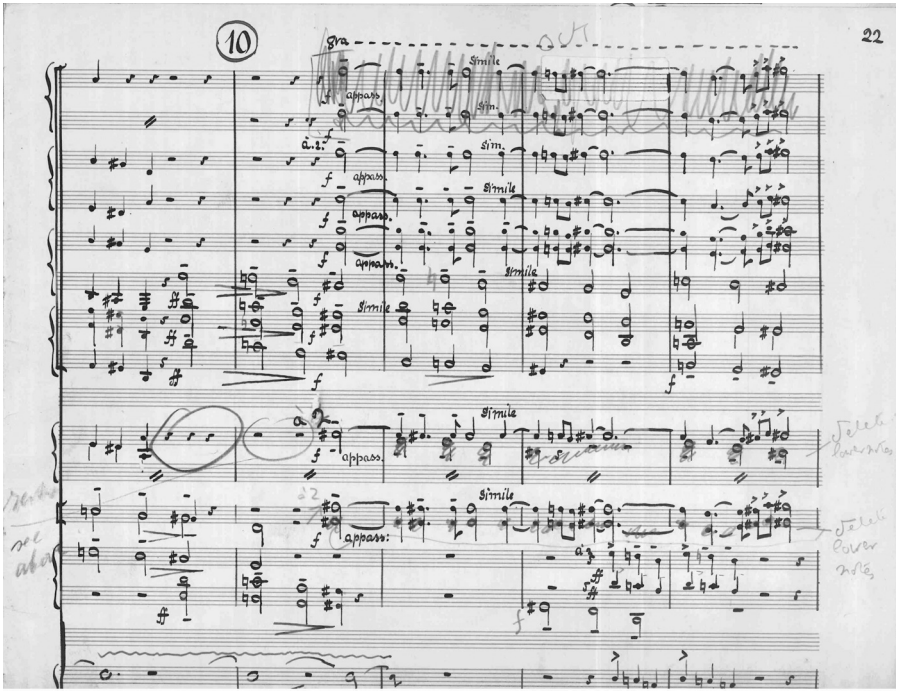

Fig. 3: Early copyist's full score of Symphony No.4 showing deletion of doubling in Flutes and Piccolo in Movement 1, figure 10. OUP Archive.

The OUP collection comprises artefacts for upwards of fifty titles, of which I will examine two representative examples. The first group of examples concerns Symphony No. 4, written between 1931 and 1934. OUP published full and miniature scores in 1935, the miniature score being a photographic reduction of the full score – almost too small to read, as it happens. The autograph manuscript itself is in the British Library, but OUP holds three different historic working copies of the full score:

- A full score on manuscript paper in the hand of at least two different copyists. This score seems to have been used for a variety of purposes: it was clearly Vaughan Williams's own pre-publication reference copy (there is a title label on the front cover in his handwriting, on his Dorking headed stationery) This copy contains various markings in Vaughan Williams's hand on the music pages, including the dedication to Arnold Bax, and certain passages crossed out and which do not appear in any subsequent printed

version – four bars of flute notation, doubling the oboes, at figure **10** in the first movement, for example, have been struck out, and the word 'OUT' written in [Fig. 3.] The score was evidently also used for 'casting off', the process of marking up a manuscript score prior to engraving, to work out extent, page numbers, and cost (there are pencilled numbers throughout which correspond more-or-less to the eventual pagination of the published score; and rehearsal numbers are added in blue crayon, again corresponding to the publication). The score has also been used as 'copy' for the engraving of the published score – there are pencilled instructions specifically addressed to the engraver (circled notes, with the instruction 'these must be engraved at the proper pitch', for example). Finally, the score is marked 'Hire', so may also have been used for conducting. These various uses indicate that this item was a general 'catch all' pre-publication full score, and had passed through the hands of composer, publisher, engraver, and conductors. But in it, the famous alteration to the last note of the slow movement, on the flute, from an F to an E♮, has not yet been made – this was only decided as being required by Vaughan Williams in around 1951.

- The second score is a bound first proof copy of 1935 from the printer, Henderson & Spalding. The score has been used for conducting, including within the USA, as a sticker carries OUP New York's rental library address. The alteration to the last note of the slow movement from an F to an E♮ has been made, but in coloured crayon only.
- The third score is a copy of the regular printed full score edition – it is the former editorial file copy, upon which a running list of corrections was kept, in order that these could be implemented at the next regular reprint. The image is the same as the 1935 proof, although already incorporating previous rounds of corrections (for example at figure **14** in Movement 2, the durational equivalent mark as the music moves from 6/8 to 3/4 is 𝅗𝅥. = 𝅗𝅥., but in the 1935 proof at the same point the mark is ♩ = ♩ – as it indeed is in the manuscript pre-publication score, there in Vaughan Williams's own hand). However, with this particular score, there are handwritten notes on the cover outlining the location and provenance of various new corrections: 'corrected by hand and used for the reprint of April 1958'; 'further corrections made July 1960'; and 'final corrections for the miniature score reprint of 4 October 1976'. Some corrections relate to changes picked up from the composer's own recording – and in this copy the alteration to the last note of the slow movement from an F to an E♮ has at last been properly made typographically, but it

> is clear to see that there has been some untidy manual intervention to achieve this. This score provides direct evidence that, even with a well-established work such as Symphony No. 4, corrections and updates to the published score are still required for many years down the line – both to accommodate composer alterations and to correct previously unspotted typographical errors.

A second example of the publishing artefacts concerns the 1930 ballet score *Job: A Masque for Dancing*. OUP published a full score in 1934, and a miniature score in 1935, but a piano reduction was put on sale well before, in 1931. The reduction was required because, as for any ballet, rehearsals made use of a piano to provide the practise music for the dancers (the piano reduction is thus a purely utilitarian device to facilitate the staging of the ballet and would usually have little or no independent life of its own). For *Job*, the reduction was made by Vally Lasker, Gustav Holst's friend and assistant – Lasker had already made a reduction of Vaughan Williams's *A London Symphony* for Stainer & Bell in 1920. Despite poor sales potential, OUP published a deluxe edition of Lasker's *Job* reduction, of which a very large number of copies was printed (an example of the apparent profligacy of Hubert Foss, which would shortly bring him under scrutiny within OUP). Priced at five shillings (meaning about twelve pounds at 2022 value), the score was printed on glossy white paper, beautifully engraved, with a complete plot synopsis and a reproduction of one of the Blake illustrations upon which the ballet was based – all this going far beyond what was required for basic ballet rehearsals. Few copies were sold, and most remained in stock in 1956, when the price increased to seven shillings and sixpence.

Lasker's original manuscript is held by the Royal College of Music but, pre-publication and for specific use at rehearsals for the staged premiere in London in July 1931, at least two manuscript copies were made. OUP holds 'Copy II', made by a copyist with the initials P.R.R., and dated 'May 1931', only two months before the staged first performance took place. This copy is in black ink, with stage directions in red. The score is marked extensively in pencil, showing changes made, during rehearsal, to accommodate the stage exigencies:

- In the 'Largo sostenuto' section 10 bars after letter **H** two bars are deleted in pencil, reducing the 7 bars of that section in the manuscript copy to the 5 appearing in the published version [Fig. 4.].
- A five-bar cut is pencilled in at letter **Ll**, at the end of 'Dance of the Three Messengers' – but in the published score this became an optional four-bar cut, 'if required by the stage'.

- There is a deleted pause mark at the end of bar 6 of 'Minuet of the Sons of Job and their Wives', but this was not taken over into the printed edition.
- In some cases, changes appear in the printed score which were not marked in the manuscript copy – for example, a change of register in the piano left hand for a few bars in 'Satan's Dance of Triumph'. Clearly, the original register was tried out in the rehearsals, but later rejected.

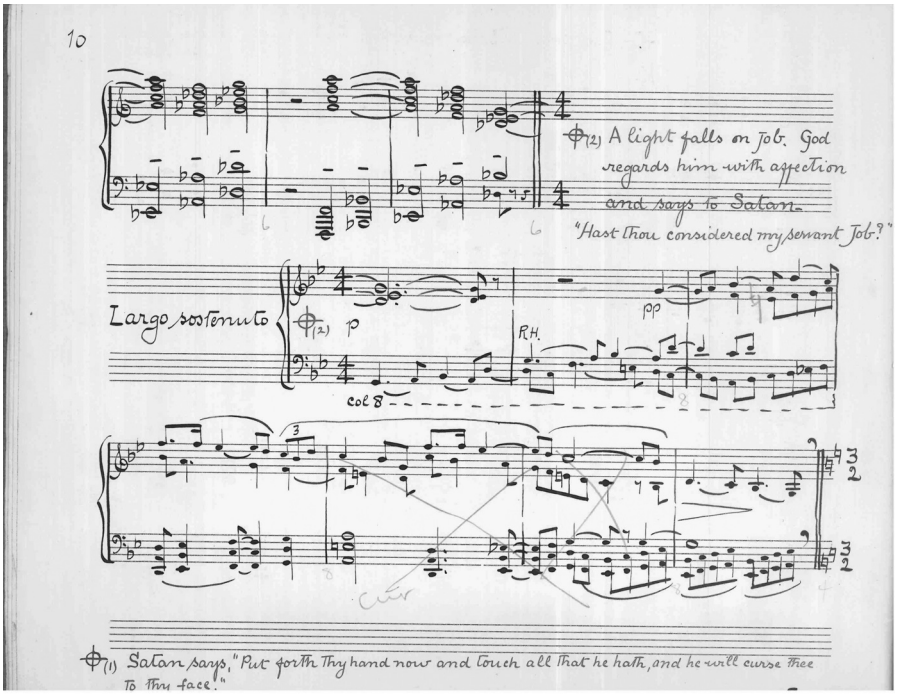

Fig. 4: Copyist's score of Vally Lasker's piano reduction of Job: A Masque for Dancing *showing deletion, made during rehearsal, of two bars in the Largo sostenuto section following letter* H. *OUP Archive.*

All told, this copy of the piano reduction shows clearly how the ballet score was developed and altered as rehearsals took place, and afterwards, leading eventually to the final form of the piece. All the changes adopted into the published piano reduction then had to be assimilated into orchestral scores and parts, and into the final published full score. Piano, piano duet, and two-

piano reductions of orchestral works, much in vogue in the days prior to sound recording and broadcast, have only recently come back into fashion as valid expressions of musical works in their own right. Iain Burnside recorded the *Job* reduction for Albion Records in 2012, so it is now possible to enjoy the fruits of Hubert Foss's excesses of ninety years ago first-hand, and to hear this significant ballet score in a new, or rather a different, light.[39]

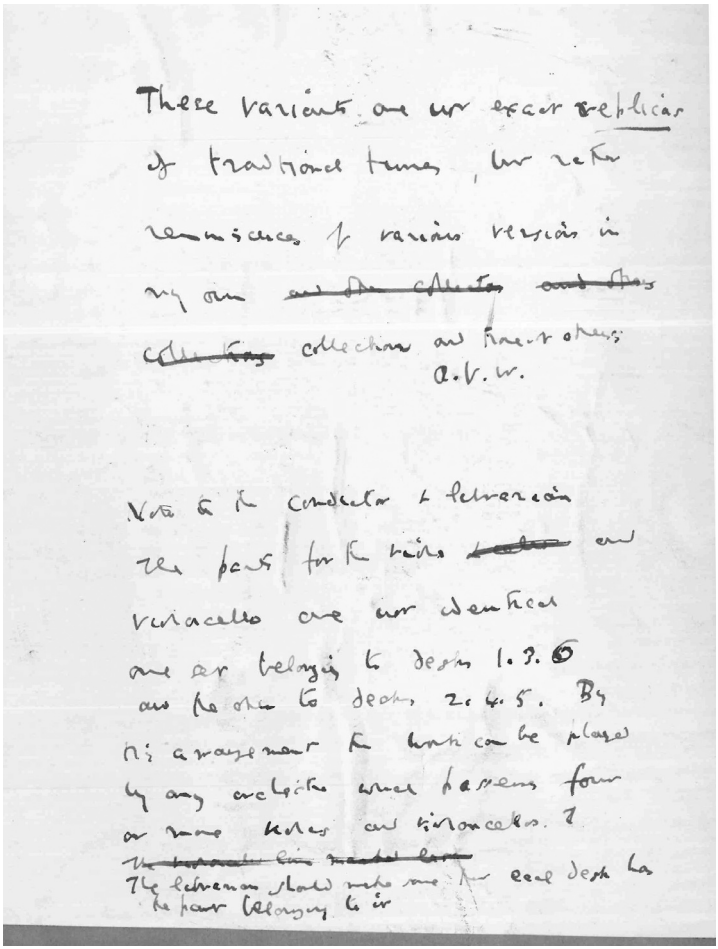

Fig. 5: Vaughan Williams's handwritten note explaining the divisi of Violas and Cellos, pasted into an early copyist's pre-publication manuscript full score of Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'. *OUP Archive*.

[39] Iain Burnside / 'The Sons of the Morning' / Albion Records ALBCD015.

Other significant publishing artefacts include a copyist's score (1939) of *Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'* containing a handwritten note by Vaughan Williams on the divisi instructions for violas and cellos (the note was eventually printed verbatim in the published score of 1940) [Fig. 5.]; a chorus part of *The Bridal Day* 'revised and marked by R.V.W.'; and the five-volume set of full scores used both at the Covent Garden premiere of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and at Adrian Boult's 1971 EMI recording – Roy Douglas's calligraphy, but heavily marked with cuts, changes, and conductor notes [Fig. 6.]. Together, these and the other artefacts all tell, in their own ways, the back-stories of the composer's relationship with his publisher, and how the OUP editions of Vaughan Williams's musical works were brought into being.[40]

Fig. 6. The Pilgrim's Progress: *a set of scores used at the first performance at The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden on 26 April 1951, and later by Sir Adrian Boult. The musical handwriting is by Roy Douglas.*

[40] Since the original delivery of the paper upon which this article is based, OUP has taken the decision to donate the entire collection of Vaughan Williams publishing artefacts to the British Library. This donation is taking place in the autumn of 2022.

Conclusion

Amidst the plethora of tributes which appeared following Vaughan Williams's sudden death on 26 August 1958, OUP's own press release seemed strangely muted. Leaving the heaping of praise to the media, OUP focussed on the publisher's own relationship with the composer. This 'association', as the writer called it, spanned the years from *The English Hymnal* and the publications of the mid-1920s to the ninth symphony, 'which is not due to appear until next month'. That OUP's informal agreement to publish any work offered had held good for over thirty years was, the press release noted, 'perhaps a measure of what was for us an entirely happy, as well as a stimulating, relationship'. In conclusion, OUP set the scene for the almost relentless re-evaluation that Vaughan Williams and his music would enjoy in the years to come: 'Which of his works will last, and which will perish with the passing of time, no one can tell. But we may be sure that *some* will survive. For Vaughan Williams's music expresses something which is not expressed by the music of any other composer, and uniqueness of this sort is imperishable.'[41]

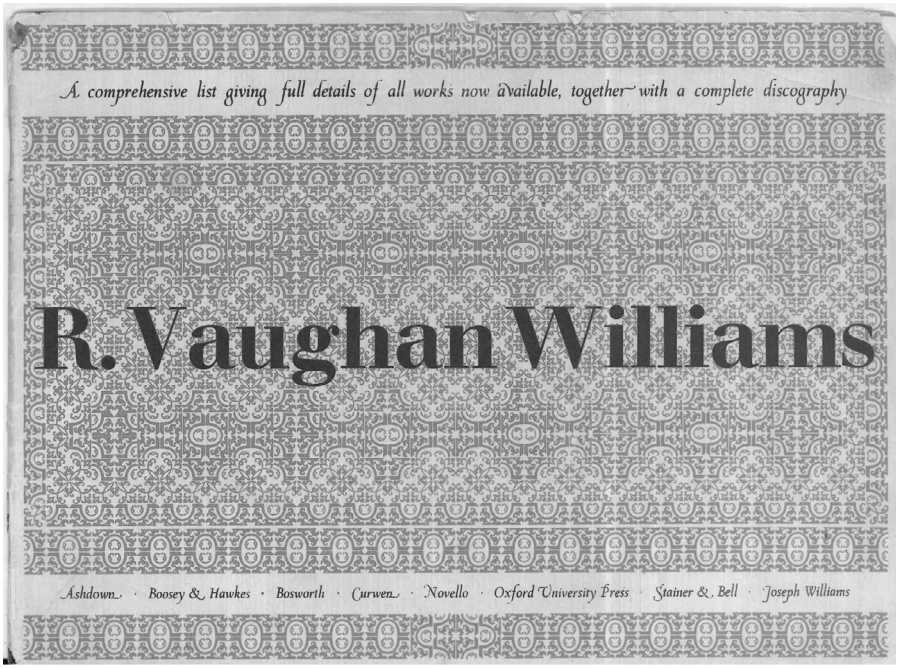

Fig. 7: Multi-publisher catalogue of works by Vaughan Williams, published by OUP in 1962 'on behalf of the music publishers represented within'. Author's collection.

[41] Oxford University Press press release, August 1958.

Four years later, Oxford University Press, in collaboration with the other music publishers who had issued works by Vaughan Williams, brought out what was billed as 'a comprehensive list giving full details of all works now available, together with a complete discography' – the most complete catalogue of Vaughan Williams's works, both musical and literary, then available [Fig. 6.].[42] This catalogue was a classy production – a copy of the famous photograph by Douglas Glass was pasted into each copy. In being comprehensive in listing the details of each of Vaughan Williams compositions, whichever the publisher, the catalogue pre-empted Michael Kennedy's more detailed *Catalogue of the Works,* to be included in his forthcoming study of the music, published by OUP in 1964. The evaluation and sifting process intimated in OUP's press release had begun. The 1962 catalogue was entitled simply *R. Vaughan Williams* and was, according to a note on the back cover, 'Published on behalf of the music publishers represented within by Oxford University Press' – the language was redolent, of course, of the dedication of Elgar's *Enigma Variati*ons, 'to my friends pictured within'. Things had come full circle. Vaughan Williams, in his 1912 Royal College of Music article, had effectively made a plea to music publishers on behalf of English composers, whom he believed 'nobody wanted'. Here, fifty years later, was a group of publishers, headed by his principal music publisher, Oxford University Press, paying fulsome tribute, in their array of available titles, to Vaughan Williams himself, who over those years had emerged as the twentieth century's leading and most representative English composer. Through Vaughan Williams's relationship with Oxford University Press, and in the vibrant music publishing environment which the Press had created, the tide had turned. 'Vaughan Williams arrived on the English scene at the right moment', once wrote Hubert Foss.[43] What he might also have added was that, for Vaughan Williams himself, Foss's own music publishing department at the Oxford University Press had done so too.

Note: Excerpts from and images of materials in the archive of Oxford University Press are reproduced by kind permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press.

Abstract
Ralph Vaughan Williams, in pointing out in 1912 the lack of indigenous publishing opportunity for young English composers, was, in a sense, highlighting his own predicament: by the outbreak of the War, he still had not settled with any single music publisher, although he had placed works with many. A change in copyright legislation, followed by the upheavals of the War itself,

[42] *R. Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, nd (but 1962)).
[43] Hubert Foss, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M.', in programme booklet for Vaughan Williams's 80th birthday concert, London Philharmonic Orchestra/Sir Adrian Boult, Royal Albert Hall, 25 September 1952.

then altered the scene considerably, and by the early 1920s the stage was set for a new player: the Music Department of Oxford University Press, founded in 1923 under the energetic and visionary leadership of Hubert Foss (1899-1953). Vaughan Williams soon joined Foss's OUP list, and the Press became his principal music (and literary) publisher for the remainder of his life. The story of Vaughan Williams and OUP's mutually beneficial publishing relationship (which aligned with modern nationalistic, social, and technological agendas) is told through reference to letters, business records, and scores and other materials held in the Press's own Archive.

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Brio Volume 59, Number 2. pp 28-42

DISCOVERING PERFORMANCE IN PRACTICE: THE CONCERTS OF THE CONCERT OF ANTIENT MUSIC

Colin Coleman

During the early eighteenth-century public concert-giving was generally *ad hoc* in nature; it was not a particularly structured livelihood for musicians as it lacked the continuity of a regular income for the performers involved. The following decades witnessed the foundation of musical institutions and seasonal programmes which ensured a more regular timetable of certainty for performers. Music societies, such as the Academy of Ancient Music, founded in 1726, and the Apollo Academy in 1731 were based in the city of London; the establishment of concert rooms such as Hickford's and the Dean Street Rooms in the West End opened up the genre to the fashionable public. Subscription series became formalised and Handel developed his Lenten oratorio seasons during the 1730s; from the late 1730s onwards these seem generally to comprise around a dozen performances. Concert programmes at this time comprised a regular two-part plan in which half a dozen instrumental works, such as concertos, overtures and solos, alternated with songs and other vocal pieces. Performances in theatres into the nineteenth century, however, seemed to continue to mirror representations on the stage where the entertainment would be divided into three 'acts' with two intervals, most staged works being in three acts.

Several societies and concert series had come and gone by the time the Concert of Antient Music started to take an important part of the season's entertainment. Founded in 1776, the Concert of Antient Music was directed by the upper ranks of society and became an important concert series with aristocratic sponsorship. The directors were actively engaged in the choice of content in the programmes and the individual director's name was printed at the head of the programme. The fact that a good many of the directors of these concerts were enthusiasts of Handel's music most probably ensured King George III's subscription and involvement in this particular series of concerts.

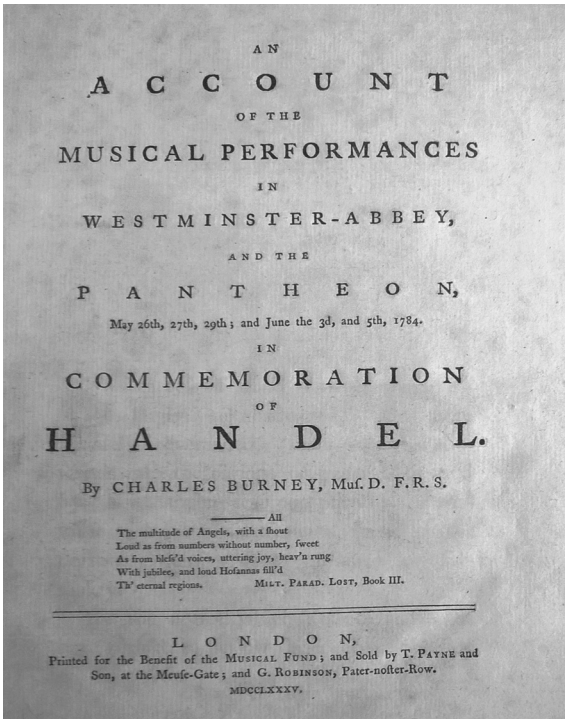
Performances in the concert series featured some of the more notable musicians of the period. The Concert of Antient Music was initially held in a Music Room in Tottenham Street, before moving at the end of the eighteenth century into the Concert room at the Opera House, in the Haymarket. From 1804 the concerts were performed at the Hanover Square Rooms, until the series ended in 1848.

The directors of the Concert of Antient Music had an appreciation of

'older' music when contrasted with modern music, which they considered 'ephemeral' and they had a policy of only performing music which was more than twenty years old. Challenging works from the Renaissance and early Baroque were sought out, with a strong preference from many of the members for Handel's works. Even into the nineteenth century the repertoire barely changed, with the exception of a little Beethoven and Italian operatic excerpts added to some programmes. Each season comprised twelve concerts, and the programme for each concert was chosen by a different 'Director.' Directors of the Concerts included various Dukes, Earls and Lords.

Fig. 1: An account of the musical performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th and June the 3d and 5th, 1784 in commemoration of Handel by Charles Burney (London: Printed for the Benefit of the Musical Fund, 1785), plate no.VII Gerald Coke Handel Collection (GCHC acc.no. 2991).

Three of these directors (the Earls of Exeter, Sandwich and Uxbridge) were the prime movers in the instigation of the Commemoration of Handel Festival in 1784 held at Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon theatre (see Fig.1). This huge festival, which commemorated twenty-five years since the death of Handel and, as they thought at the time, one hundred years since his birth, was by far the biggest public musical event ever held at that time. An impressive five hundred and twenty-five performers took part in the performances, and elaborate structures were raised around the West end of Westminster Abbey to accommodate seating and staging. A new organ which had just been built for Canterbury Cathedral was assembled at the Abbey for these concerts, before being dismantled and taken on to Canterbury. Tickets for the festival were sold for the public rehearsals as well as the performances. King George III was actively involved in supporting the project as well as in the subsequent publication recording the events. He suggested various amendments to the manuscript of Charles Burney's *Account* of the festival which was published in the following year. Further Handel festivals were organised in subsequent years, all with the active support of the King.



AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MUSICAL PERFORMANCES

IN

WESTMINSTER-ABBEY,

AND THE

PANTHEON,

May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784.

IN

COMMEMORATION

OF

HANDEL.

By CHARLES BURNEY, Muſ. D. F.R.S.

——— All
The multitude of Angels, with a ſhout
Loud as from numbers without number, ſweet
As from bleſs'd voices, uttering joy, heav'n rung
With jubilee, and loud Hoſannas fill'd
Th' eternal regions. MILT. PARAD. LOST, Book III.

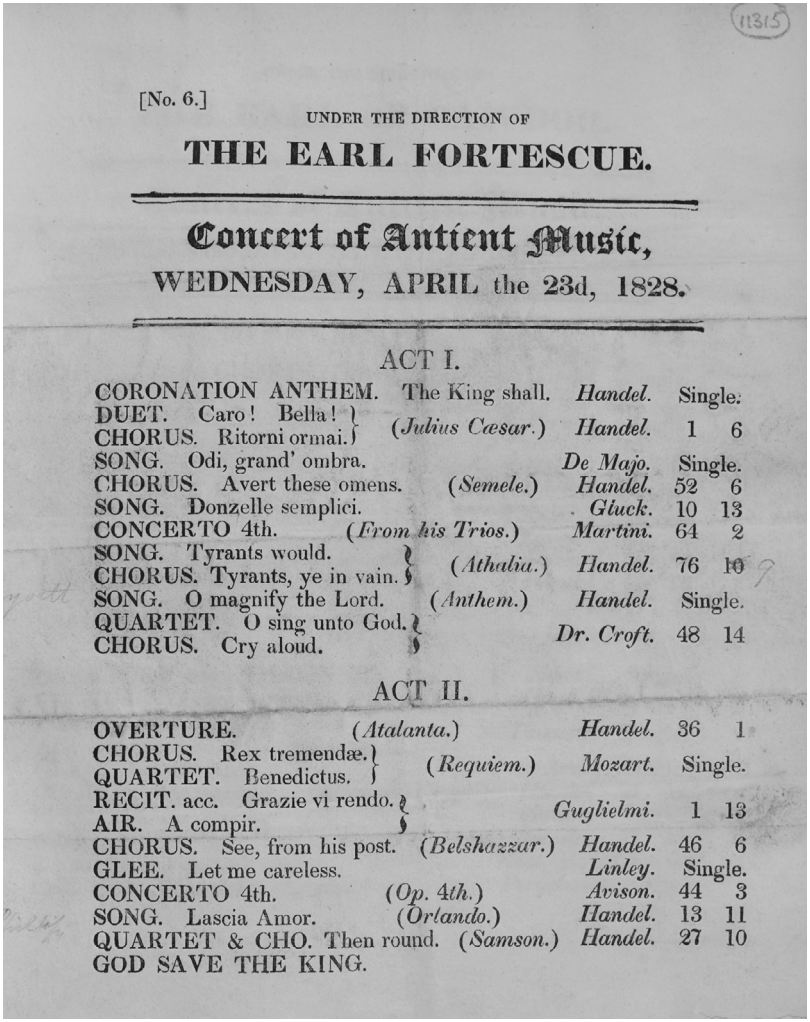
LONDON,

Printed for the Benefit of the MUSICAL FUND; and Sold by T. PAYNE and Son, at the Meuſe-Gate; and G. ROBINSON, Pater-noſter-Row.

MDCCLXXXV.

Fig. 2: An account . . . by Charles Burney (London): Printed for the Benefit of the Musical Fund, 1785, title-page (GCHC acc.no. 2991).

The programmes were printed in a single-sheet format and include the information found in the audience's programmes, including the 'Director' of the programme (he who chose the music), the date, and the works and the composers (see Fig.3).



[No. 6.]

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE EARL FORTESCUE.

Concert of Antient Music,

WEDNESDAY, APRIL the 23d, 1828.

ACT I.

CORONATION ANTHEM. The King shall.		*Handel.*	Single.	
DUET. Caro! Bella!	(*Julius Cæsar.*)	*Handel.*	1	6
CHORUS. Ritorni ormai.				
SONG. Odi, grand' ombra.		*De Majo.*	Single.	
CHORUS. Avert these omens.	(*Semele.*)	*Handel.*	52	6
SONG. Donzelle semplici.		*Gluck.*	10	13
CONCERTO 4th.	(*From his Trios.*)	*Martini.*	64	2
SONG. Tyrants would.	(*Athalia.*)	*Handel.*	76	10
CHORUS. Tyrants, ye in vain.				
SONG. O magnify the Lord.	(*Anthem.*)	*Handel.*	Single.	
QUARTET. O sing unto God.		*Dr. Croft.*	48	14
CHORUS. Cry aloud.				

ACT II.

OVERTURE.	(*Atalanta.*)	*Handel.*	36	1
CHORUS. Rex tremendæ.	(*Requiem.*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
QUARTET. Benedictus.				
RECIT. acc. Grazie vi rendo.		*Guglielmi.*	1	13
AIR. A compir.				
CHORUS. See, from his post.	(*Belshazzar.*)	*Handel.*	46	6
GLEE. Let me careless.		*Linley.*	Single.	
CONCERTO 4th.	(*Op. 4th.*)	*Avison.*	44	3
SONG. Lascia Amor.	(*Orlando.*)	*Handel.*	13	11
QUARTET & CHO. Then round.	(*Samson.*)	*Handel.*	27	10
GOD SAVE THE KING.				

Fig. 3: Performers' programme for the concert on Wednesday 23 April 1828 (GCHC acc.no. 11315).

These programmes have practical references for the performers as the two columns on the right-hand side of the sheet refer the instrumentalist to the relevant sheet music volume (or unbound sheet), and on which page to find

the accompaniment part to the aria, song or overture. For instance, the programme in Fig.3 shows that Handel's Overture to *Atalanta* could be found in *Overtures Volume 1*, page or number 36 in that volume. In 1827 a catalogue of the Library of the Concert of Antient Music was published, in which the contents page reveals the astonishing popularity of Handel's works, which appear to take up about half of the printed catalogue. The overture to *Atalanta* in the illustrated programme was found in bound volumes, numbered 1, of Handel's overtures and concertos. Considering that each instrumentalist or desk of string players would require a part book for that overture (and that each volume therefore contained all 65 of Handel's overtures and were thus quite thick), it is easy to recognise that a set of part books for the overtures alone would have weighed a substantial amount. In the latter half of the twentieth century a standard concert might, for instance, comprise something in the order of an overture, concerto and symphony, and the sheet music parts of the works would probably not be bound with other works. However, for a concert such as the Grand Miscellaneous Concert or *potpourri* event, which was the style of the Concerts of Antient Music, there are often up to twenty works in each programme. If we consider the practicality of preparing and supplying the orchestral parts for some twenty works for a single event, it can be seen that that the orchestral librarian of the time either had great stamina to bring all this sheet music at once or, more probably, engaged help, even if only to carry the music volumes to and from the concert venue. The music porters listed in payment schedules of the period really were required to carry piles of music to and from the concert room. Today it is fairly unusual to find the librarian listed in the programme books. The term 'Music porter' might more accurately describe someone moving the larger instruments.

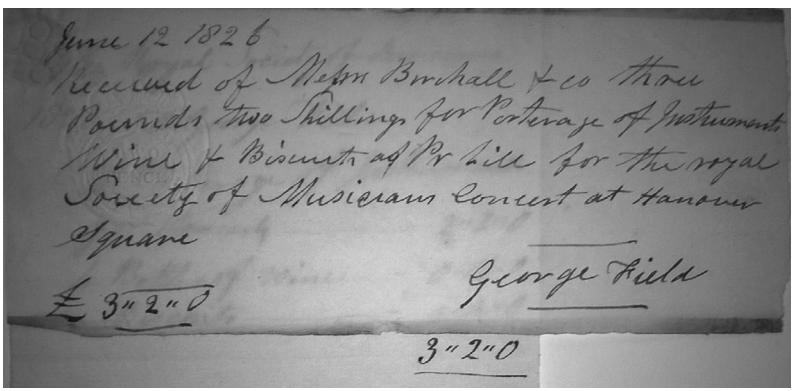

June 12 1826
Received of Messrs Birchall & Co three
Pounds Two Shillings for Porterage of Instruments
Wine & Biscuits &c &c Bill for the royal
Society of Musicians Concert at Hanover
Square
£ 3"2"0
George Field
3"2"0

Fig. 4: Music porterage expenses for the Royal Society of Musicians, 1826 (RSM).

Fig.4 shows a receipt for the porter for the Royal Society of Musicians in 1826. The music porter, George Field, has signed his receipt for payment for his work on the *Messiah* benefit concert. Presumably for this single work performance there would not have been too much sheet music for the orchestral parts to *Messiah*, although it appears that biscuits and wine were required for the performance.

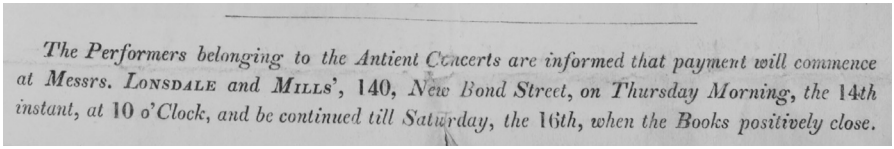

The Performers belonging to the Antient Concerts are informed that payment will commence at Messrs. LONSDALE and MILLS', 140, New Bond Street, on Thursday Morning, the 14th instant, at 10 o'Clock, and be continued till Saturday, the 16th, when the Books positively close.

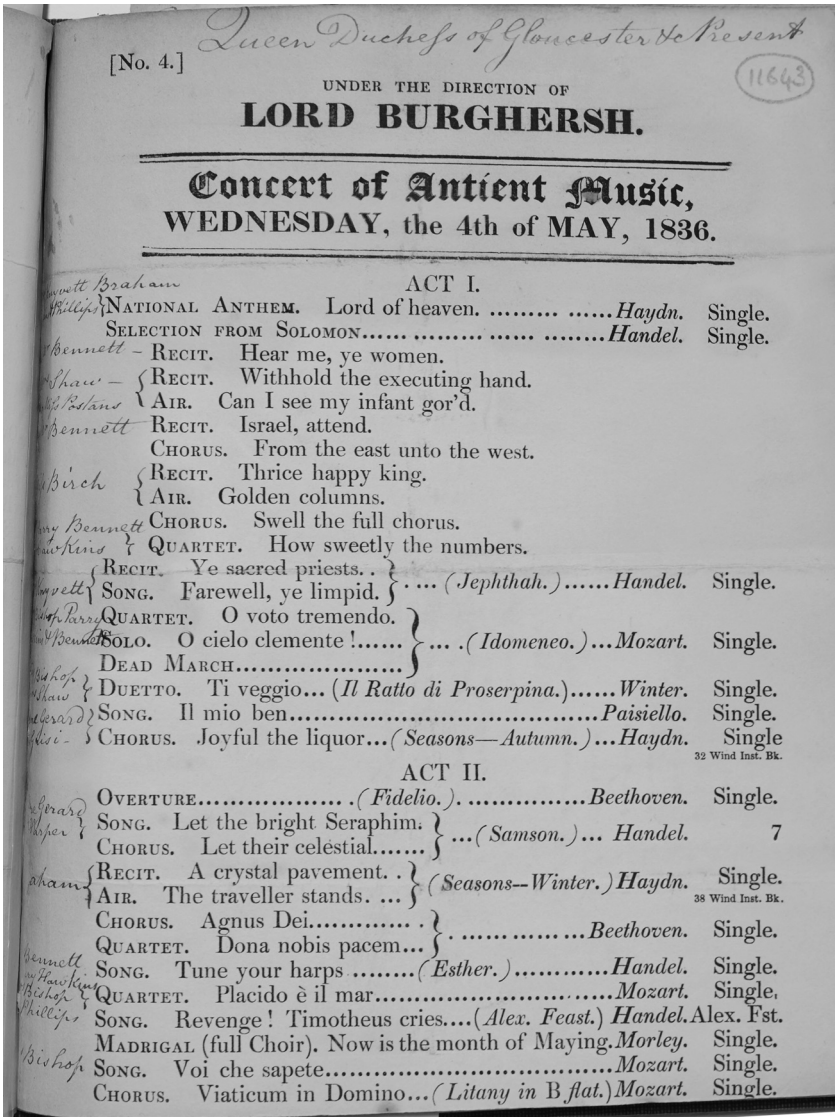
Fig.5: Performer fee (GCHC acc.no. 11361, detail).

The 'performers' programmes' show instructions to the performers about when and where they should collect their payment for playing in the series of concerts.

> *The Performers belonging to the Antient Concerts are informed that payment will commence at Messrs. Lonsdale & Mills, 140 New Bond Street, on Thursday morning, the 14th instant, at 10 o'clock, and be continued till Saturday, the 16th, when the Books positively close.*

The performers had to ensure they were not too busily engaged in other work or teaching, otherwise they might have missed the chance to claim their wages. Lonsdale & Mills were music publishers and printers and ran a music shop in New Bond Street. We know from advertisements, brochures, and proposal documents concerning concert-giving that it was often the music publishers of the period who were heavily involved in performance promotion, ticket sales and related activities, and these documents show that payments made to the performers also seem to be part of their stock in trade.

In the absence of any provenance or ownership name, we can only speculate that it may have been the librarian or someone else integral to the administration of the events who annotated many of these documents. As well as their printed practical directions for the performers, these programmes also contain manuscript additions, noting a variety of details which must have interested the person who made such marginalia – perhaps the librarian was keeping a record of variations to the programmes and changes to the personnel. Some details corroborate what can be found in the public programmes and the press information (either prior to or after the event), but other details reveal new evidence about programme changes, social attendance and performance practice.



Queen Duchess of Gloucester & Present

[No. 4.]

11643

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

LORD BURGHERSH.

Concert of Antient Music,

WEDNESDAY, the 4th of MAY, 1836.

ACT I.

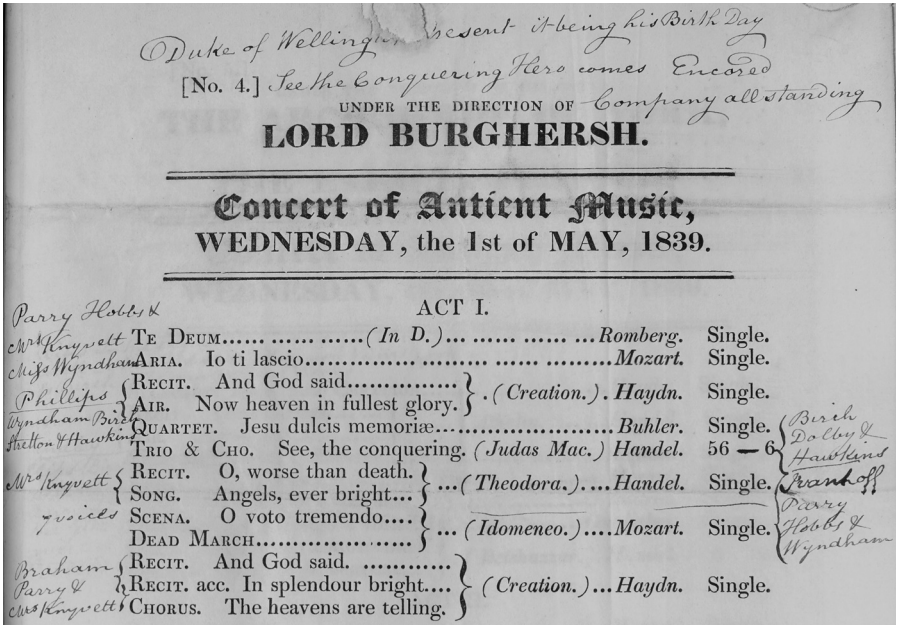
National Anthem. Lord of heaven. ....*Haydn.*		Single.
Selection from Solomon..... ....*Handel.*		Single.
Recit. Hear me, ye women.		
Recit. Withhold the executing hand.		
Air. Can I see my infant gor'd.		
Recit. Israel, attend.		
Chorus. From the east unto the west.		
Recit. Thrice happy king.		
Air. Golden columns.		
Chorus. Swell the full chorus.		
Quartet. How sweetly the numbers.		
Recit. Ye sacred priests.. / Song. Farewell, ye limpid. ... *(Jephthah.)*.....*Handel.*		Single.
Quartet. O voto tremendo. / Solo. O cielo clemente !..... ... .*(Idomeneo.)*...*Mozart.*		Single.
Dead March.....		
Duetto. Ti veggio... (*Il Ratto di Proserpina.*).....*Winter.*		Single.
Song. Il mio ben.....*Paisiello.*		Single.
Chorus. Joyful the liquor...*(Seasons—Autumn.)*...*Haydn.*		Single 32 Wind Inst. Bk.

ACT II.

Overture..... .*(Fidelio.)*. .....*Beethoven.*		Single.
Song. Let the bright Seraphim. / Chorus. Let their celestial..... ...*(Samson.)*... *Handel.*		7
Recit. A crystal pavement. . / Air. The traveller stands. ... *(Seasons—Winter.)Haydn.*		Single. 38 Wind Inst. Bk.
Chorus. Agnus Dei..... . / Quartet. Dona nobis pacem... . ...*Beethoven.*		Single.
Song. Tune your harps .....*(Esther.)*.....*Handel.*		Single.
Quartet. Placido è il mar.....*Mozart.*		Single.
Song. Revenge! Timotheus cries....(*Alex. Feast.*) *Handel.*		Alex. Fst.
Madrigal (full Choir). Now is the month of Maying.*Morley.*		Single.
Song. Voi che sapete.....*Mozart.*		Single.
Chorus. Viaticum in Domino...*(Litany in* B *flat.)Mozart.*		Single.

Fig. 6: Audience attendance information (GCHC acc.no. 11643).

The programme annotations reveal the attendance of some audience members, generally those who were members of the Royal family, aristocracy and upper classes. Fig.6 illustrates an occasion when the Queen Consort to King William IV, as well as the Duchess of Gloucester, who was one of King George III's daughters, attended a performance.


Duke of Wellington present it being his Birth Day
[No. 4.] See the Conquering Hero comes Encored
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF Company all standing
LORD BURGHERSH.

Concert of Antient Music,
WEDNESDAY, the 1st of MAY, 1839.

ACT I.

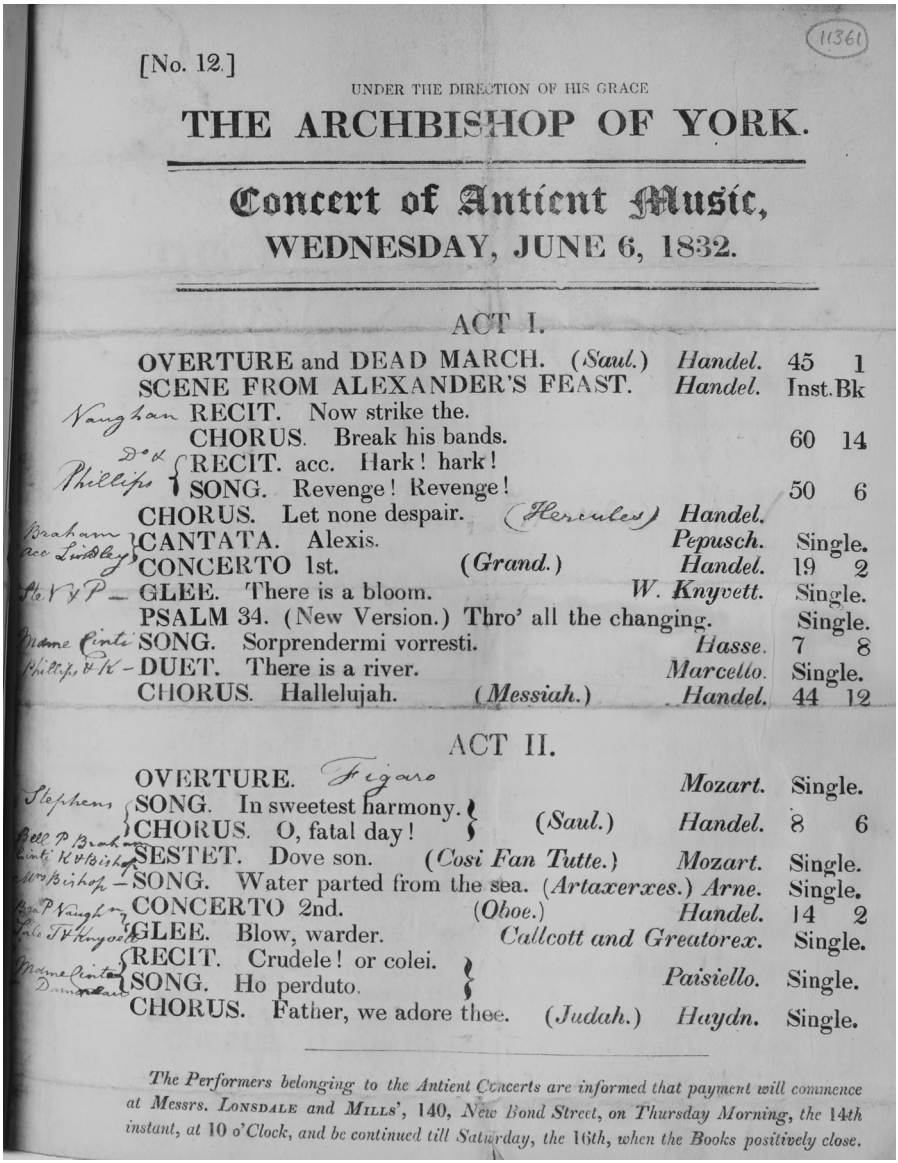
Parry Hobbs &	TE DEUM	(In D.)	Romberg.	Single.
Mrs Knyvett	ARIA. Io ti lascio		Mozart.	Single.
Miss Wyndham	RECIT. And God said	(Creation.)	Haydn.	Single.
Phillips	AIR. Now heaven in fullest glory.			
Wyndham Birch	QUARTET. Jesu dulcis memoriæ		Buhler.	Single.
Shelton & Hawkins	TRIO & CHO. See, the conquering.	(Judas Mac.)	Handel.	56 — 6
Mrs Knyvett	RECIT. O, worse than death.	(Theodora.)	Handel.	Single.
voices	SONG. Angels, ever bright...			
	SCENA. O voto tremendo....	(Idomeneo.)	Mozart.	Single.
	DEAD MARCH			
Braham	RECIT. And God said.	(Creation.)	Haydn.	Single.
Parry &	RECIT. acc. In splendour bright....			
Mrs Knyvett	CHORUS. The heavens are telling.			

Birch Dolby & Hawkins
Frankoff
Parry Hobbs & Wyndham

Fig. 7: Duke of Wellington's attendance (GCHC acc.no. 11665, detail).

The programme for 1 May 1839 (Fig.7) records that the Duke of Wellington attended the concert. The Duke was most certainly a celebrity of the era, known as a first-rank military leader and honoured for his victory over Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, some twenty-four years before this concert. It is fascinating to note that Handel's famous aria 'See the conquering hero comes' from *Judas Maccabaeus* was not only performed, but also encored, and that the assembled company (i.e. the audience) all stood in homage.

The annotations in Fig.8 also identify individual performers, either solo singers or instrumentalists, which note Madame Laura Cinti-Damoreau (1801-1863), Thomas Vaughan (1782-1843) and Henry Phillips (1801-1876). When these principal performers return to the stage for a further piece in the programme the author identifies them simply with their surname initial. The recording of such details can therefore help us to understand repertoire which was suited to particular performers, as well as that preferred by the Director of the concert. Other collections of concert programmes from different series of concerts, such as those which belonged to the conductor George Smart now preserved in the British Library, detail immediate changes to programmes, either through the illness of a performer or someone held up in another venue.



[No. 12.]

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Concert of Antient Music,

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1832.

ACT I.

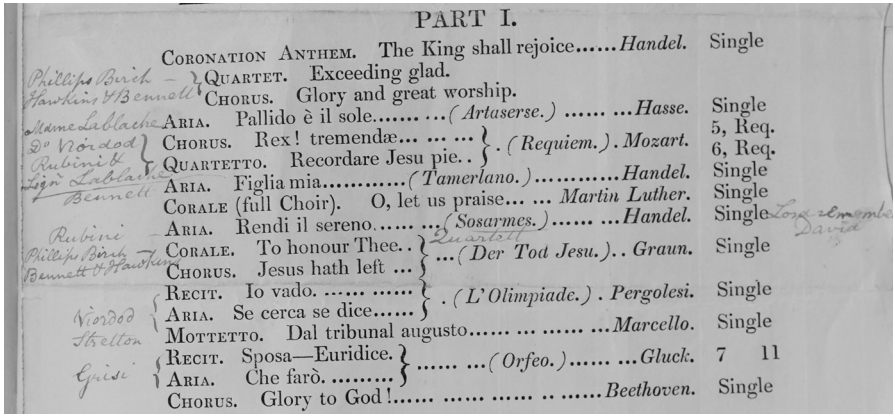
OVERTURE and DEAD MARCH. (*Saul.*)	*Handel.*	45	1
SCENE FROM ALEXANDER'S FEAST.	*Handel.*	Inst.	Bk
RECIT. Now strike the.			
CHORUS. Break his bands.		60	14
RECIT. acc. Hark! hark!			
SONG. Revenge! Revenge!		50	6
CHORUS. Let none despair. (*Hercules.*)	*Handel.*		
CANTATA. Alexis.	*Pepusch.*	Single.	
CONCERTO 1st. (*Grand.*)	*Handel.*	19	2
GLEE. There is a bloom.	*W. Knyvett.*	Single.	
PSALM 34. (New Version.) Thro' all the changing.		Single.	
SONG. Sorprendermi vorresti.	*Hasse.*	7	8
DUET. There is a river.	*Marcello.*	Single.	
CHORUS. Hallelujah. (*Messiah.*)	*Handel.*	44	12

ACT II.

OVERTURE. Figaro	*Mozart.*	Single.	
SONG. In sweetest harmony.			
CHORUS. O, fatal day! (*Saul.*)	*Handel.*	8	6
SESTET. Dove son. (*Cosi Fan Tutte.*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
SONG. Water parted from the sea. (*Artaxerxes.*)	*Arne.*	Single.	
CONCERTO 2nd. (*Oboe.*)	*Handel.*	14	2
GLEE. Blow, warder.	*Callcott and Greatorex.*	Single.	
RECIT. Crudele! or colei.			
SONG. Ho perduto.	*Paisiello.*	Single.	
CHORUS. Father, we adore thee. (*Judah.*)	*Haydn.*	Single.	

The Performers belonging to the Antient Concerts are informed that payment will commence at Messrs. LONSDALE *and* MILLS', 140, *New Bond Street, on Thursday Morning, the 14th instant, at 10 o'Clock, and be continued till Saturday, the 16th, when the Books positively close.*

Fig. 8: Identification of principal performers (GCHC acc.no. 11361).

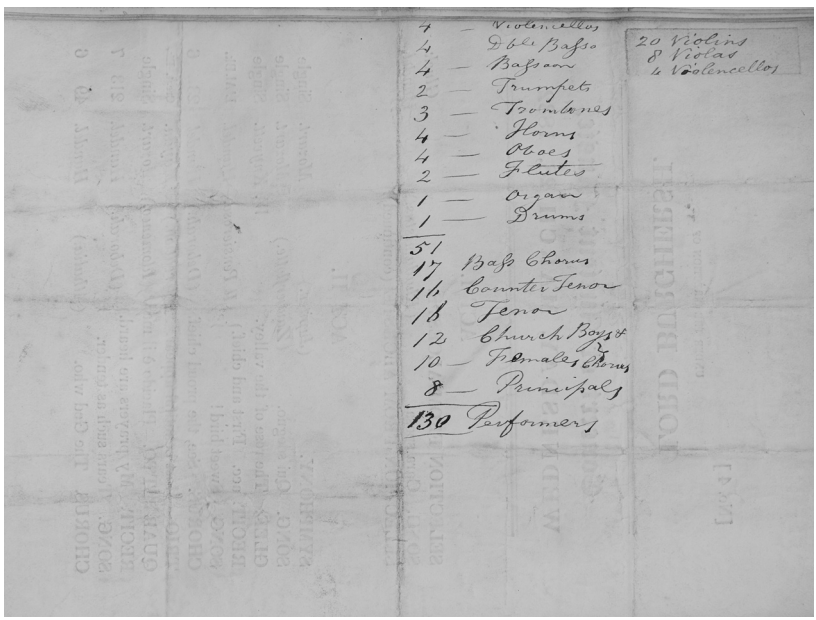


PART I.

Coronation Anthem.	The King shall rejoice.....*Handel.*	Single
Quartet.	Exceeding glad.	
Chorus.	Glory and great worship.	
Aria.	Pallido è il sole..... ...*(Artaserse.)* ....*Hasse.*	Single
Chorus.	Rex! tremendæ... ... ... }	5, Req.
Quartetto.	Recordare Jesu pie.. } *(Requiem.) Mozart.*	6, Req.
Aria.	Figlia mia.....*(Tamerlano.)*.....*Handel.*	Single
Corale (full Choir).	O, let us praise... ... *Martin Luther.*	Single
Aria.	Rendi il sereno..... ...*(Sosarmes.)*..... ...*Handel.*	Single
Corale.	To honour Thee.. } ...*(Der Tod Jesu.)*.. *Graun.*	Single
Chorus.	Jesus hath left ... }	
Recit.	Io vado. .... }	
Aria.	Se cerca se dice..... } *(L'Olimpiade.) Pergolesi.*	Single
Mottetto.	Dal tribunal augusto..... ... .*Marcello.*	Single
Recit.	Sposa—Euridice. } ....*(Orfeo.)*..... ...*Gluck.*	7 11
Aria.	Che farò. ..... }	
Chorus.	Glory to God!..... ....*Beethoven.*	Single

Fig. 9: 12 May 1841 (GCHC acc.no. 11682).

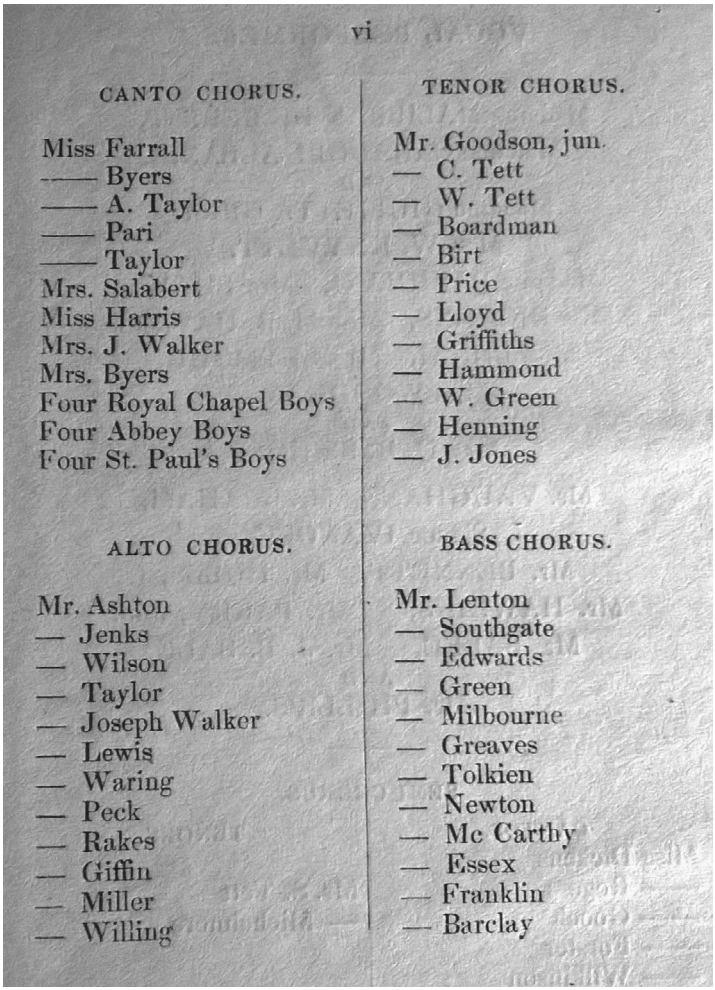
Another programme reveals that the individual writing in these programmes was probably English; the writer has spelled out a performer's name when unsure of it. In Fig.9 we can see 'Viordod' has been written, identifying the French mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot (1821-1910).



4	Violoncellos	20 Violins
4	Dbl. Bassi	8 Violas
4	Bassoon	4 Violoncellos
2	Trumpets	
3	Trombones	
4	Horns	
4	Oboes	
2	Flutes	
1	Organ	
1	Drums	
51		
17	Bass Chorus	
16	Counter Tenor	
18	Tenor	
12	Church Boys &	
10	Females Chorus	
8	Principals	
130	Performers	

Fig. 10: Programme of 28 March 1832 (GCHC acc.no. 11353 verso).

One document records the numbers of performers in each orchestral section. The list shown in Fig.10 is on the back of a programme, and although incomplete (lacking numbers relating to the upper strings), it does show the total number of performers. Looking at the 'audience's programme' for the same event might lead the reader to think there were twelve boy trebles performing (Fig.11), but this manuscript addition indicates that the three main Collegiate Choirs in London took it in turns to take part in the performances.



vi

CANTO CHORUS.

Miss Farrall
—— Byers
—— A. Taylor
—— Pari
—— Taylor
Mrs. Salabert
Miss Harris
Mrs. J. Walker
Mrs. Byers
Four Royal Chapel Boys
Four Abbey Boys
Four St. Paul's Boys

TENOR CHORUS.

Mr. Goodson, jun.
— C. Tett
— W. Tett
— Boardman
— Birt
— Price
— Lloyd
— Griffiths
— Hammond
— W. Green
— Henning
— J. Jones

ALTO CHORUS.

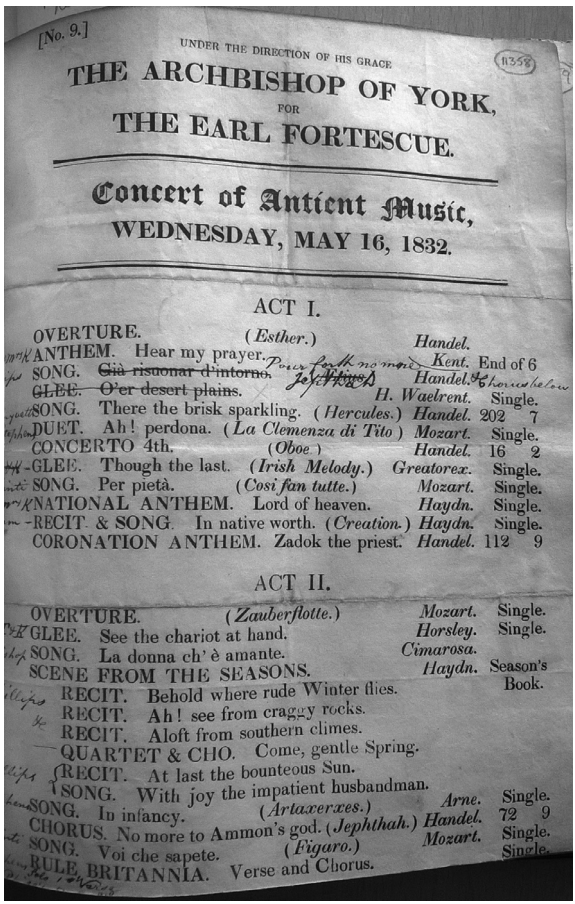
Mr. Ashton
— Jenks
— Wilson
— Taylor
— Joseph Walker
— Lewis
— Waring
— Peck
— Rakes
— Giffin
— Miller
— Willing

BASS CHORUS.

Mr. Lenton
— Southgate
— Edwards
— Green
— Milbourne
— Greaves
— Tolkien
— Newton
— Mc Carthy
— Essex
— Franklin
— Barclay

Fig. 11: Season's programme, 1832, detailing the chorus singers (GCHC acc.no. 3768).

Concert planning has always been the victim of potential last-minute alterations, sometimes due to illness or current affairs. The programme of 16 May 1832 was subject to a change in the advertised works. In the 'audience's programme' is an aria from Handel's *Ezio* but in the 'performers' programme' (see Fig.12) it has been crossed through and a replacement aria has been inserted, namely an aria from Handel's *Jephtha*. In this instance it is most likely that the intended solo singer was unable to participate and the replacement singer either had a slightly different voice register, or chose one of their most comfortably reliable arias, without the need to learn or rehearse a new work.



[No. 9.]

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,

FOR

THE EARL FORTESCUE.

Concert of Antient Music,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 16, 1832.

ACT I.

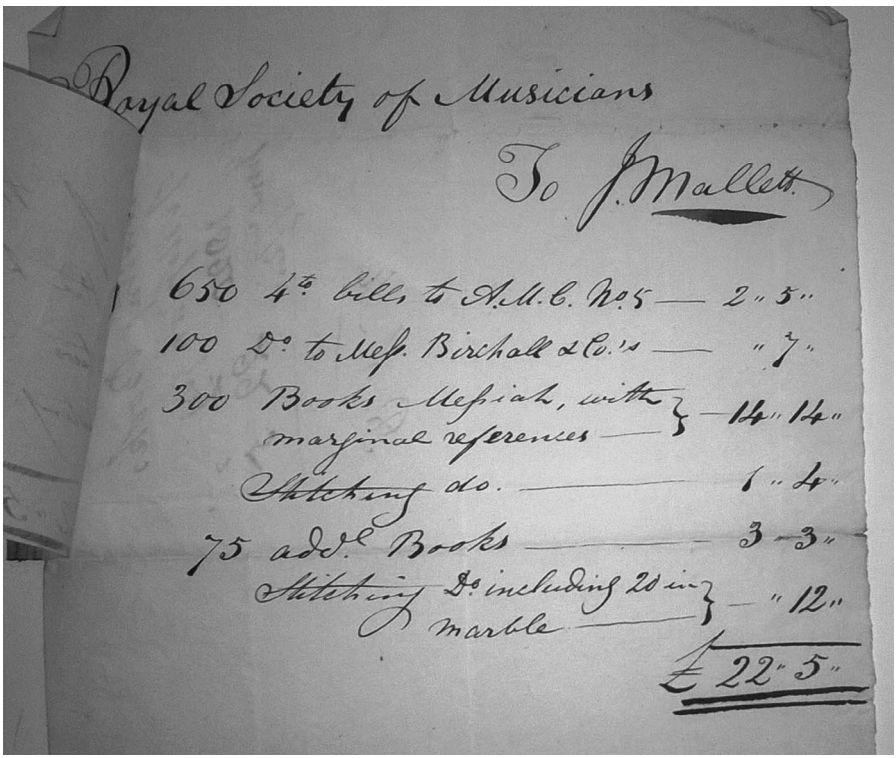
OVERTURE.	(*Esther.*)	*Handel.*		
ANTHEM. Hear my prayer.		*Kent.*	End of 6	
SONG. ~~Già risuonar d'intorno.~~		*Handel.*		
GLEE. O'er desert plains.		*H. Waelrent.*	Single.	
SONG. There the brisk sparkling.	(*Hercules.*)	*Handel.*	202	7
DUET. Ah! perdona.	(*La Clemenza di Tito*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
CONCERTO 4th.	(*Oboe.*)	*Handel.*	16	2
GLEE. Though the last.	(*Irish Melody.*)	*Greatorex.*	Single.	
SONG. Per pietà.	(*Cosi fan tutte.*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
NATIONAL ANTHEM. Lord of heaven.		*Haydn.*	Single.	
RECIT. & SONG. In native worth.	(*Creation.*)	*Haydn.*	Single.	
CORONATION ANTHEM. Zadok the priest.		*Handel.*	112	9

ACT II.

OVERTURE.	(*Zauberflotte.*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
GLEE. See the chariot at hand.		*Horsley.*	Single.	
SONG. La donna ch' è amante.		*Cimarosa.*		
SCENE FROM THE SEASONS.		*Haydn.*	Season's Book.	
RECIT. Behold where rude Winter flies.				
RECIT. Ah! see from craggy rocks.				
RECIT. Aloft from southern climes.				
QUARTET & CHO. Come, gentle Spring.				
RECIT. At last the bounteous Sun.				
SONG. With joy the impatient husbandman.				
SONG. In infancy.	(*Artaxerxes.*)	*Arne.*	Single.	
CHORUS. No more to Ammon's god.	(*Jephthah.*)	*Handel.*	72	9
SONG. Voi che sapete.	(*Figaro.*)	*Mozart.*	Single.	
RULE BRITANNIA. Verse and Chorus.			Single.	

Fig. 12: Change of programme, 16 May 1832 (GCHC acc.no. 11358).

The undertaking of such concert series must have been quite enormous. The subscribers to a series could number over seven hundred. On occasion the performing forces comprised up to 150 personnel. The size of the hall was therefore probably able to accommodate almost one thousand people. The intricacies of administration, which involved taking subscriptions, engaging performers, copying music, providing refreshments and lighting, the printing of programmes, handbills and advertisements, the disbursement of the payments, would all have been time-consuming and, in most likelihood, would have involved a good many people.


Royal Society of Musicians

To J. Mallett

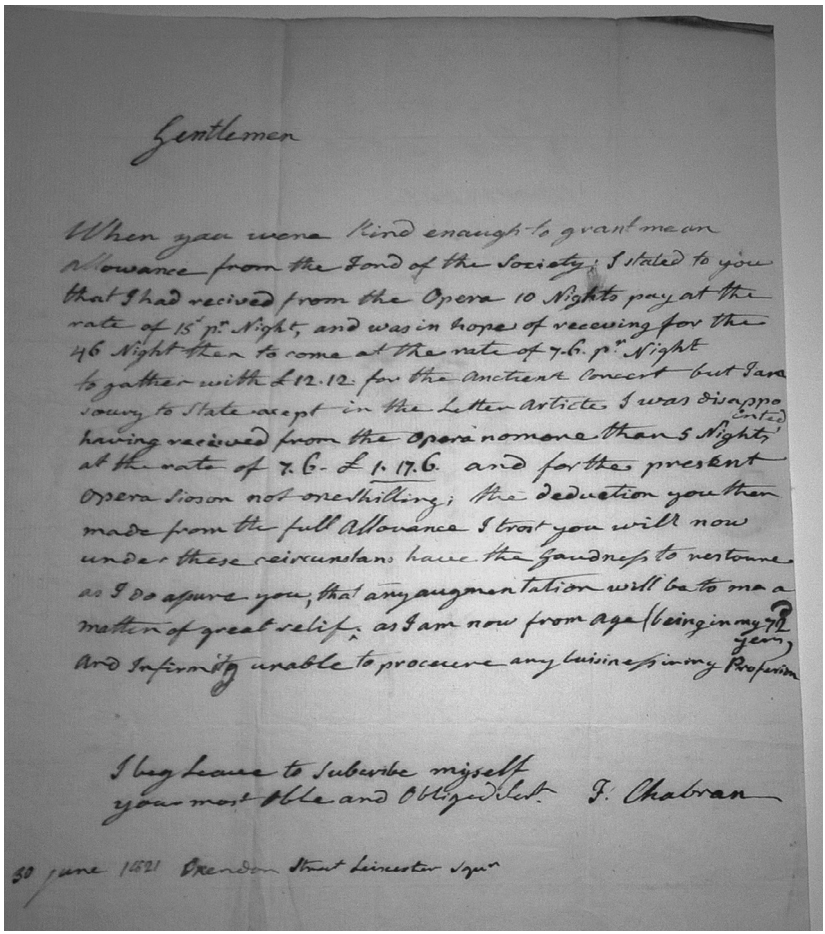
650 4to bills to A.M.C. No 5 — 2 " 5 "
100 Do to Messr. Birchall & Co.'s — " 7 "
300 Books Messiah, with marginal references — 14 " 14 "
Stitching do. — 1 " 4 "
75 addl Books — 3 " 3 "
Stitching Do including 20 in marble — " 12 "
£ 22 " 5 "

Fig. 13: RSM concert printing.

The RSM archives holds a receipt from 1820 for the printing of handbills to advertise the annual fundraising performance of *Messiah*. This shows that six hundred and fifty copies of the performance advertisement were printed in order to distribute at the fifth concert in the season for the Concert of

Antient Music, as well as 100 others for general advertising in Robert Birchall's music shop. The receipt also records that 375 copies of the wordbook of *Messiah* were printed and given a stitched or partial binding.

The finance of the performers must have been considerable. Evidence from elsewhere reveals a claimant on The Royal Society of Musicians, the violinist Felice Chabran, having to note his income and showing his earnings from the Concert of Antient Music.



Gentlemen

When you were kind enough to grant me an Allowance from the Fond of the Society; I stated to you that I had recived from the Opera 10 Nights pay at the rate of 15s pr Night, and was in hope of receiving for the 46 Night then to come at the rate of 7.6. pr Night to gather with £12.12. for the Ancient Concert but I am sorry to State except in the Letter Article I was disappointed having received from the Opera no more than 5 Nights at the rate of 7.6. £1.17.6. and for the present Opera Season not one shilling; the deduction you then made from the full Allowance I trust you will now under these circumstans have the Gandness to restore as I do assure you, that any augmentation will be to me a matter of great relief, as I am now from Age (being in my 71 Year) And Infirmity unable to procecure any business in my Profession

I beg Leave to Subscribe myself
your most Hble and Obliged Sert F. Chabran

30 June 1821 Oxendon Street Leicester Squr

Fig. 14: Felice Chabran's request for assistance from RSM (A052).

We know that at this time Chabran was elderly but that he was still engaged in the opera orchestra for sets of ten nights in the previous seasons, and forty-six nights in the present season (although unfortunately he appears not to have been employed). As a rank-and-file violinist in the Concert of Antient Music he received £12 and 12 shillings for the subscription series.

Other libraries which may hold this different type of documentary material have not yet been identified. Even if there are other copies in existence, the presence of the manuscript additions to this group highlights it as fascinating secretarial documentation of the period. These annotated programmes, alongside the corresponding newspaper reports and administrative documentation about concert-giving, reveal a good deal about the logistics of performances at this period. They shine a spotlight on aspects of concert organisation in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as the auditory nature of concerts in rooms of relatively small sizes with substantial forces and large audiences, the financial matters needed to underpin performances, and the social attendance at such particular events. Most importantly, material such as this provides us with the names of individuals, some of whom were, in the grand scheme of things, rather lowly and impoverished, yet highly capable, who were involved in these artistic occasions and without which these performances would not have taken place.

Abstract

The Concert of Antient Music was an important concert series with aristocratic sponsorship and which featured some of the most notable musicians of the period. In the Gerald Coke Handel Collection is a bound volume of single sheet programmes of the period 1821-1841; these programmes appear to have been issued for the use of the performers, rather than public audience, and include printed statements about when and where performers should collect their payment and include practical references for the performers. Manuscript additions to these printed documents note the attendance of members of the Royal family, aristocracy and upper classes, identify the solo singers and instrumentalists, and list the numbers of performers in each orchestral section. These documents offer a unique insight into aspects of concert organisation in the nineteenth century, of performance management, finance, and social attendance.

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Brio Volume 59, Number 2. pp 43-58

THE HUNT FOR *PURPLE DUST*: A SEARCH FOR MISSING AUTOGRAPH SCORES OF SIR MALCOLM ARNOLD

Alan Poulton

The recent auction of many of Sir Malcolm Arnold's autograph manuscripts and their somewhat uncertain future in a series of scattered locations is of some concern to musicologists and academia. Reference to, and examination of, a composer's autograph score is vital when undertaking any in-depth study of the music. For instance, the fine details of instrumentation, tempo, phrasing, and dynamics should be checked thoroughly in preparation both for publication (or a revised/later engraved edition) and for its first performance (and in some instances the first recording.)

Inevitably over a long period of time many of these precious manuscripts disappear completely. Their rescue from oblivion is therefore a very necessary undertaking for future generations of performers, students and musicologists alike. A major impetus for writing this article is to inspire colleagues to investigate their own collections in the hope that hidden treasures may come to light. It is for this reason that I have compiled a 'priority list' of material that I should like to find. The greater part of this article names and provides brief circumstances regarding the writing of these works. It is divided into two parts: works that exist as autograph alone and works published but whose autograph is currently missing.

Lost autograph scores

The disappearance of a music manuscript can be put down to a number of unfortunate circumstances. For instance, a score could be left behind on a music stand or in a dressing room after the work's only performance or lent to a colleague for it to be locked away, forgotten, in some dark cupboard - only for the key to go missing! There are real examples of scores being left in the back of a taxi or a car or lost in the post; mislaid after yet another long-distance house-move, even appearing on Ebay, or in a provincial auction catalogue. Sometimes scores can be in safe custody only to be mis-filed or mis-catalogued in a publisher's hire library, a university music library or in one of the National Archives.[1]

[1] To emphasise that autograph music can and does reappear after it is thought to be lost, a number of recently discovered Arnold scores are listed separately as an appendix to this article.

Proof of this possibility was brought to my attention with a headline in the *Daily Telegraph* of 22 November 2016, 'Lost work to be played after 100 years ... after its score was found in an untidy library.' Apparently, musicologists had searched the conservatory to no avail - it was not until they had a clear-out that a librarian identified the lost manuscript in a back room 'made inaccessible for decades by the sheer volume of scores in front!' Incidentally, the conservatory was in St. Petersburg and the composer Stravinsky (his *Funeral Song,* an orchestral work of 1909 performed only once before its unfortunate disappearance in Russia during the Revolution!).

In the case of Malcolm Arnold, we can account for some of the disappearances as he, in a moment of typical generosity would occasionally give away an autograph score to close friends, casual acquaintances and, perhaps understandably, the work's dedicatee. There have been recent discoveries of several Arnold autograph scores thought to be lost, which include such works as his Symphony No.7 which was rescued from oblivion when I quickly alerted the composer's daughter, Katherine Arnold, to the news that the iconic score had just gone up for sale on Ebay! The two sets of *English Dances*, which are among the best-known pieces in Arnold's canon, were discovered amid the papers of Bernard de Nevers (Director of Alfred Lengnick and Co during the 1950s and dedicatee of the Dances) initially sent for safe keeping to the Malcolm Arnold Society and subsequently housed at the Eton College Library. In April 1954 Arnold supplied incidental music for an Old Vic Theatre production of *The Tempest*. Produced by Robert Helpmann, with a cast that included Michael Hordern, Claire Bloom, Robert Hardy and Richard Burton, the score, which surely has tremendous historic interest to theatre historians is also now housed at the Eton College Library,[2] along with other recently unearthed works such as the early Wind Quintet and the Clarinet Concerto No.2. The fact that these pieces have all been found after some protracted periods of loss gives renewed hope to the possibility of finding more of Arnold's 70, or so, missing autograph scores.

There are some important works on the list - for instance seventeen major orchestral works including six Overtures, four Concertos and three Ballets, plus a wide range of chamber and solo instrumental music. To put this into perspective: of the 142 works to which Arnold allocated an Opus number, 44 (or nearly one third) of the autograph scores are missing. The situation is worse when analysing the early works - Opus numbers 1-20 inclusive - where fourteen (or over two-thirds) are missing!

[2] In the example of *The Tempest,* it was more a case of discovering a score which was not even thought to be missing! In other words, the full 'orchestral' version of the incidental music to *The Tempest* was known to exist, but no-one knew that the composer had also prepared a piano reduction with cues for Christopher Whelan (the conductor) to use in rehearsal. There may be other examples, such as a piano reduction prepared by the composer, (which Arnold usually did for works involving soloists and orchestra), of the Harmonica Concerto Op.46 and Organ Concerto Op.47, both written in 1954 and for which only the full score exists in published form.

Clearly the priority is to locate the following list of eighteen 'missing' scores (sixteen original pieces and two arrangements) which have truly vanished into thin air. There is no copy or even a sketch of the manuscript in any format, not even a private or off-air recording which may have allowed a reconstruction. Let us examine the eighteen pieces in more detail and, where relevant, outline the research work which has already been undertaken to trace their whereabouts.

The 'priority list' in chronological sequence is as follows:

1. March: Haile Selassie, for piano (1936)
The young composer had been much affected by Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935 and the subsequent fall of the capital Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936. Many years later he was to describe the invasion as 'the second conquest after the Roman Empire'. The arrival of the now-exiled Haile Selassie in London on 3 June 1936 and his address to the League of Nations later that month inspired this first youthful composition.

The score was submitted to Boosey & Hawkes for publication but returned by them to the young composer on 8 September 1936 with the standard rejection letter. The work does not appear in any contemporary catalogue listing Arnold's music but neither do all those extant pieces which Arnold composed for and dedicated to his mother between 1938 and 1943 - it is therefore possible that his earliest composition still survives somewhere.

2. *The Fighting Temeraire*, song for voice and piano (*c.*1938)
We are indebted to Richard Shaw whose article in the Newsletter of the Malcolm Arnold Society, *Beckus 48*, Spring 2003, on Arnold's *Songs and Arias* revealed that Arnold had written this setting of Sir Henry Newbolt's dramatic poem (the subject of which is commemorated in J.M.W. Turner's 1839 painting) around the time of the song cycle *Kensington Gardens*, a collection of settings of the poetry of Humbert Wolfe.

3. Trio for Flute, Cello and Trumpet *(c.*1940)
The Trio was written especially for Richard Adeney and his younger sister (who was a cellist, hence the unusual instrumentation). Adeney recalled it being 'only a little rumba and I'm pretty sure it was thrown away after use'. Apparently, Arnold wrote an easy cello part for Miss Adeney and 'the trumpet played muted throughout!'[3]

[3] Letter from Richard Adeney to the author, 13 June 1995.

4. Sonata in G minor for Flute and Piano (1940)
Richard Adeney stated that 'Arnold wrote a Flute Sonata for me signing it 'A.N.Other'. I'm sure that's lost . . .'.[4] That's as maybe – we do know, however, that this Sonata was premiered by Adeney at the Carnegie Room in Northampton Library on 28 March 1941 with the composer at the piano. The first performance of Gordon Jacob's Suite for Flute and Cornet was also given at the same concert. They later repeated the Sonata (and Jacob's Suite) at a Royal College of Music student recital in London during June 1941.

5. Pavane for Flute and Piano (1940-41)
First performed in a recital programme given in Northampton by Richard Adeney with the composer at the piano, there is an enticing reference to its possible premiere in an article published in the July 1991 issue of *CD Review* in which Arnold was interviewed by Bill Newman. He recalled their performance given at a Quaker Meeting House where some old ladies were chatting on the front row while they were playing. 'Richard looked, stopped, looked hard, then said loudly "Shall we start again?" – he always got away with it. I couldn't!'

The Pavane may have received a second performance at a Royal College of Music student concert in June 1941 where it was described as a 'Flute and Piano solo'. (Among the other pieces in the programme was a trumpet solo from Malcolm Arnold in an arrangement of the song *Silver Threads Among the Gold.* We do not know if this was Arnold's own arrangement: if it was, it is another missing score!).

6. Divertimento for Orchestra, No.1, Op.1 (1942)
First performed by the London Symphony Orchestra conducted by Benjamin Frankel at the Guildhall School of Music in London on 29 May 1945. In 1948 the score was submitted to the BBC's Reading Panel for future broadcast.[5] Though Edmund Rubbra was less complimentary than Lennox Berkeley it was perhaps unlucky to be turned down for broadcasting showing as it did a 'vivid flair for orchestration'. A search several years ago failed to locate the score in the library of the London Symphony Orchestra, the Guildhall School of Music or amid the collections of Dimitri Kennaway, Frankel's son.

7. Two Brass Trio Arrangements [1. Machaut: *Double Hoquet,* 2. Motet: *Marie Assumptio*] (1943)
Arnold made these arrangements for trumpet, horn and trombone for performance at a 'Musical Culture' concert organised by Felix Aprahamian held at St.Peter's Church, Eaton Square, London on 15 August 1944. As well as

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Anthony Meredith, 'New Kid on the Block,' *Beckus*: *Newsletter of the Malcolm Arnold Society,* 103, Winter 2016, p.5.

Malcolm Arnold, the other two performers were Dennis Brain and George Maxted. Both of these arrangements were later recorded in the BBC Studios for broadcast on the Home Service on 15 December 1944.[6] We know that there was a further broadcast on the BBC Third Programme on 1 February 1949 when the Machaut *Double Hoquet* arrangement was played by members of the BBC Symphony Orchestra so the manuscript (or at least a copy) was extant at the time.

8. Quintet, Op.7 (1944)

First performed at a National Gallery concert by members of the London Philharmonic Orchestra on 21 December 1944, and in the presence of the composer (who took leave from the Army to be there) we know that this original version of one of Arnold's earliest chamber music works with its unusual instrumentation was submitted to the BBC Reading Panel in 1945. It was reviewed by Gordon Jacob and Herbert Howells. Whether or not Arnold immediately set about revising the Quintet as a result of their comments is not clear. We do know that he made a revision of the work around 1960 and that this version was published by Paterson the same year. Reference to an early list of works would indicate that the original Quintet's duration was about 20 minutes, the revision was much shortened to around 13 minutes. It is a pity that the original, longer, version is yet another missing score.

9. Symphonic Suite for Orchestra, Op.12 (1945)

Unusually, this work appears not to have received a performance anywhere. Anthony Meredith tells us that when the score was submitted to the Reading Panel in March 1947 both Lennox Berkeley and Herbert Howells were 'moderately positive' but still turned it down for broadcasting.[7] Remembering that the Suite's middle movement was written in memory of Arnold's brother Philip (killed in a bombing raid over Berlin in 1942), Meredith suggests that 'it has to be possible that Malcolm himself destroyed the manuscript soon after these comments were made [by the Panel].'[8] However, it is exceptional to report that Arnold would have destroyed a manuscript. He did, after all, assign his Symphonic Suite with an Opus number and it is included in an early list of Arnold's music, including tempi indications for each movement, duration and full orchestration.

10. (Ipswich) Festival Overture, Op.14 (1946)

This orchestral piece was first performed at Ipswich Public Hall on 12 March 1947 by the Ipswich Orchestral Society conducted by Philip Pfaff. When he

[6] William C. Lynch, 'Brothers in Brass,' *Maestro: Journal of the Malcolm Arnold Society,* 2, October 2015, pp. 45-6.
[7] Anthony Meredith, 'New Kid on the Block,' *Beckus* 103*,* p. 6
[8] Ibid.

moved to London in the early fifties Pfaff must have taken both score and parts with him as the Overture was performed for the second time on 16 February 1952 by the East Ham Symphony Orchestra. We also know that the piece was performed at Trent Park College in the 1960s but despite searches at the College and various contacts who knew Philip Pfaff this important score remains lost.

11. Fanfare for Three Trumpets (1949)
Written for a civic reception on behalf of the Northampton Arts Association held in Northampton Town Hall on 21 October 1949 (Arnold's 28th birthday), it was performed by members of the Northampton Symphony Orchestra's brass section, conducted by Mr R. Richardson-Jones (the local newspaper even named the three soloists). It was hoped that the score of the Fanfare might be located in the Northampton Symphony Orchestra's archives held at the Northampton Record Office in Wootton Hall Park, Northampton but despite searches carried out in December 2016 nothing was found.

12. Tango: Movement for Orchestra (1950)[9]
This is the original middle movement of Arnold's Divertimento No.2 Op.24 for large orchestra written for and first played by the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain conducted by Reginald Jacques at The Dome, Brighton on 19 April 1950. By the time the Divertimento was published by Paterson in 1961 it had a different middle movement title - 'Nocturne' - and the orchestration had been pared down by the composer to a normal symphony orchestra size and given the Opus number 75. The original 'Tango' is lost and enquiries via the library of the NYOGB have revealed no clue as to its whereabouts. One theory is that Arnold may have used some of the material from the 'Tango' section of his earlier Phantasy for string quartet of 1941. There are several instrumental annotations to this score which tend to reinforce this theory.

13. Fantasy for Bass Trombone and Piano (1950)
Stan Hibbert, who was for a time Sir Malcolm's personal representative tells the story[10] of Mike Payne, the long-serving bass trombonist of the BBC Northern Orchestra himself recalling an example of Arnold's concern and consideration for a young player trying to make a start in the music profession. In 1950 Mike Payne was a member of the National Youth Orchestra

[9] See Alan Poulton, 'The National Youth Orchestra and Malcolm Arnold, *Maestro: The Journal of the Malcolm Arnold Society, 2,* October 2015, pp. 55-64.
[10] Hibbert's recollections appear in the booklet for *Arnold 75th Birthday Tribute*, BBC Radio Classics, 1996, 15656 91817-2. For a review of these archival recordings of works conducted by the composer see *Gramophone*'s 75th birthday tribute to Arnold in October 1996: https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/arnold-75th-birthday-tribute [Accessed 14 October 2022].

of Great Britain and attended their Winter Course in Hull where, among the brass coaches were both Ernest Hall and Malcolm Arnold. 'Towards the end of each course it was traditional for each of the students to give a short recital - Mike chose what appeared to be a rather inappropriate item.

Arnold was present at the recital and after the performance stopped Mike in the corridor. "Were you serious about that piece?" he asked "because if you were, I've now heard everything down to a trombonist playing a lullaby. Please don't ever play that piece again for an audition, I'll write you something." True to his word, at the end of the course, Malcolm presented Mike with an original three-minute Fantasy for bass trombone and piano, handwritten on manuscript!'[11] Enquiries via the British Trombone Society to locate Mike Payne or his immediate family have so far come to nothing.

14. *Paddy's Nightmare* (1954)

Scored for a pit orchestra of eight players including strings, clarinet, trumpet, piano and drums, this unique piece was written for Paddy Stone to dance to in the Joyce Grenfell review *Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure,* premiered at the Fortune Theatre in London on 2 June 1954. The review was later transferred to New York's Bijou Theatre on Broadway between October and December 1955. Enquiries through the archives of the Winnipeg Ballet Theatre (where Stone was a choreographer) as well as the Joyce Grenfell, William Blezzard and Richard Addinsell archives have proved fruitless.

15. Purcell: *Mad Bess* song arrangement (1959)

In addition to the *Five William Blake Songs* which Malcolm Arnold wrote for the contralto Pamela Bowden he also arranged two Purcell songs for her to perform at the same concert as the Blake premiere, 26 March 1959. One of these we are familiar with, namely *On the Brow of Richmond Hill*, with words by Tom Durfey (very appropriate as the orchestra was the Richmond Community Orchestra led by Sheila Arnold). However, the other song, *Mad Bess* (or *Bess of Bedlam*, an anonymous poem, published 1683 in *Orpheus Britannicus* Vol.1) is, unfortunately, missing.

16. *A Sunshine Overture,* Op.83 (1964)

This Concert Overture, written at the request of Dame Beryl Grey, was premiered at a Gala Matinee held at the Palace Theatre, London on 14 July 1964, by the Pro-Arte Orchestra conducted by Dudley Simpson. The Overture was also given at the same event held the following July but searches via the RNIB archives, the BBC Library and personally contacting both Dame Beryl Grey and Dudley Simpson have found nothing.

[11] Mike Payne in booklet note for *Arnold 75th Birthday Tribute*.

17. *Song for Tommy Morrisey (c.*1966)
Details about this song were discovered when members of the Malcolm Arnold Society visited Padstow in May 2014 to unveil the special Arnold plaque, generously donated by Frank Brand. After the ceremony, Colin Gregory, a reporter with the *Cornish Guardian*, met up with 90-year-old Jean Morrisey whose husband, Tommy, was a fisherman and folk singer. Mrs Morrissey remembered that '[Arnold and Tommy] used to have a drink and a laugh together and Malcolm Arnold wrote a song especially for my husband called 'Tommy's Titifala'. Mrs Morrisey later recalled that she thought one of her daughters had the music but, as Colin Gregory reported, neither daughter had remembered seeing it 'for over 30 years!'

18. *Songs for Julie Felix* (1970s)
The only clue to the existence, or otherwise, of these songs comes from a letter dated 26 October 1993 from Julie Felix (American-born folksinger and political activist, b.1938) to Sir Malcolm where she writes: 'I am sorry to inform you that I don't appear to have the songs that you wrote for me all those years ago.'

Works published, but whereabouts of autograph unknown
The next part of my survey of Arnold's missing scores deals with autograph manuscripts relating mostly to published works. Here I have attempted to identify possible sources based on information concerning the work's dedicatee and the participants in the first performance, what gap existed between its premiere and eventual publication, and last known sighting.

Orchestral and brass/wind band music
The Overture *Beckus the Dandipratt,* Op.5 (1943) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1948) received twelve broadcasts alone between 1948 and 1953 and it was first recorded by Eduard van Beinum with the London Philharmonic Orchestra in late 1947. The autograph manuscript could have been used as the conductor's copy during this period, in which case it would have been vulnerable to being mislaid Were copies made before publication? Copyist Phil Jones worked for Arnold in the late forties and early fifties and so it is reasonable to ask if he might have been responsible for providing the publisher with a fair copy from the composer's own manuscript?

Similar questions could be asked of Arnold's Horn Concerto No.1, Op.11 (1945) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1947). Both the full score and the horn and piano reduction are missing. It is likely that Phil Jones prepared the latter in his usual distinctive calligraphic hand (the slow movement was published separately by Lengnick also in 1947.) The first performance was by Charles Gregory with the London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Ernest Ansermet. No further performances were documented until the first broadcast

in 1951 with Dennis Brain as soloist, by which time the concerto was published. Arnold could have given the autograph full score to Charles Gregory in the late forties after the work's publication. A likely source will now be the Gregory family who settled in Cornwall on his retirement. Another possibility was the Dennis Brain archive which is now in private hands. However, the current owner has assured me that it is not there and has since e-mailed me a complete inventory to confirm this.

Malcolm Arnold was one of the composers to whom Julian Bream turned to commission new works for the guitar. It would be reasonable to assume that the Guitar Concerto, Op.67 (1959) (Publisher: Paterson,1961), which was premiered Bream, may have become part of his collection. Disappointingly, my enquiries to the dedicatee himself revealed that neither the full score nor the piano reduction were in his possession. Neither is that of the Guitar Fantasy, op.107 of 1970 (Publisher: Faber, 1971) also written and first performed by Bream. A recent enquiry to the Jerwood Library who now have the Julian Bream Archive has confirmed that both autograph scores are indeed elsewhere.

Arnold answered the call of two other musicians who requested work especially from him. The full score and two piano reduction of the well-known and much-loved Concerto for Phyllis and Cyril, Op.104 (1969) Publisher: Faber, 1969), a concerto for two pianos and three hands, are both missing. It is likely that both these scores were presented to the duo by the composer. However, initial enquiries to the Royal College of Music Library who hold the Smith/Sellick archives found that this was not the case.

Arnold's Symphony for Strings, Op.13 (1946) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1947) was first performed by the Riddick String Orchestra conducted by Kathleen Riddick in April 1947. Arnold could have given the autograph score to Kathleen Riddick after the work was published. There were at least four further broadcasts of the Symphony in 1948 and 1949 under Reginald Jacques and Maurice Miles. The notion of whether works find their way into private archives or are lodged on the bookshelves of the musicians who first played them arises when we consider the Clarinet Concerto No.1, Op.20 (1948) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1952). However, the full score of this concerto is in neither the Thea King or Frederick Thurston archives, which are now held in private hands. Neither is the missing autograph of the later clarinet and piano Sonatina, which was dedicated to Thurston. The autograph score of the concerto's piano reduction does exist, and it is unusual for the full score and piano reduction to be separated.

Similarly, Arnold's *A Sussex Overture*, Op.31 (1951) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1951) was dedicated to and conducted by Herbert Menges. The Overture was premiered at the Brighton Dome on 29 July 1951. An unsuccessful search was undertaken at the Herbert Menges Archives at the McMaster University

Library in California. It is possible that the score may be in the library of the Southern/Brighton Philharmonic Orchestra or still with the Menges family in Berkshire.

Both the autograph scores of the complete Coronation ballet *Homage to the Queen,* Op.42 and the subsequent Ballet Suite Op.42a (Published: Paterson, 1953) are missing. The Suite was first performed in Northampton by the London Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by the composer in July 1953. The autograph score of the abridged Piano Suite Op.42b (Published: Paterson, 1953) is also missing.

The two piano rehearsal score for another ballet score, *Electra*, Op.79 (1963) (Publisher: Novello) is extant, but a search of the Royal Opera House Library did not locate the autograph full score. Similarly, the two-piano reduction (for rehearsals) for the ballet *Rinaldo and Armida*, Op.49 (1954) (Publisher: Novello) is also extant, but the autograph remains frustratingly elusive. *Sarabande* and *Polka* (1956) are two further movements from the ballet *Solitaire*. Both their full score and piano reduction are missing. *Solitaire* is published by Paterson (*Sarabande* and *Polka,* 1956) and Lengnick (the two sets of English Dances).

The full score of a 1960 television musical *Parasol* was re-constructed in 1987 by Ian Hytch under the direction of the composer, but what happened to the autograph full score and vocal score remains a mystery. It is possible that it could be part of the Marcus Dods archive (Dods conducted the premiere).

Albeniz: Tango in D arranged for orchestra (1953) (Publisher: Good Music) is a somewhat unusual case in that it begs a number of questions: Who commissioned it? Why an Albeniz tango? Was it Arnold's idea? Why did he not undertake other orchestral arrangements of Albeniz's music? Arnold was, of course, always willing to try new ideas and was interested in various musical genres but there is no particular reason as to why he decided to turn his hand to an arrangement of a Spanish composer's work at such a hectic time.

Arnold's forays into writing for the screen are well known. Perhaps less familiar to audiences is his work for television, particularly work for early television. *War in the Air* was first screened in 1954. The autograph scores of two of the three episodes scored by Arnold, *Maximum Effort* and *Overlord.* are missing. The score for the other episode, *The Fated Sky*, is in the BBC Music Library. The same is true of the score that Arnold provided for the 1977 Granada Television adaptation of Dickens's *Hard Times.* The storyline required an accompanying soundtrack that would complement the austerity of Louisa Gradgrind's shattered hopes, so an arrangement of the 'Cavatina' from the *Little Suite* No.2 for brass band Op.93 was made by Marcus Dods, although what may have happened to Dods's arrangement is unknown. *Water Music,* Op.82 for wind band, orchestral version Op.82b (1964) (Publisher

Paterson, 1965) was first performed at Stratford upon Avon in July 1964 after a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry V.* A copy of the score was found to be with Brian Priestman in South Africa, who first conducted it, but alas he did not know what became of the autograph. He sent me a copy so that parts could be made for a first concert performance at the Royal Northern College of Music in November 1984.

An important brass band work, the Op.114a *Fantasy* (1973) is missing its autograph score. Written for and first performed at the National Brass Band Championpnships in October 1974, the *Fantasy* was dedicated to the Cornish artist Tony Giles.

Grand orchestral music which today forms a central part of the Arnold repertoire is not immune to the dangers of loss or misplacement. Four examples attest to that. *A Grand, Grand Overture,* Op.57 (1956) for vacuum cleaners, floor polisher and four rifles (Publisher: Paterson, 1956) is an exception to other Hoffnung/Arnold scores that are all extant. Some are held by the Hoffnung Estate and others by the Arnold Estate. It is possible that Arnold could have given the score away. The *Four Scottish Dances,* Op.59 (1957) (Publisher: Paterson, 1957) which form part of Arnold's series of dances from all nations of the UK and Ireland is an iconic work which was written for the BBC's Light Music Festival, and yet the whereabouts of the autograph is unknown. It currently shares the fate of the Overture *Peterloo,* Op.97 (1968) (Publisher: Faber 1979), written in celebration of the foundation of the Trades Union Congress.

An orchestration of the Indian National Anthem, commissioned by the Indian High Commissioner Krishna Menon in 1948 resulted in a 78rpm recording, which was later sent to Arnold. I arranged for this delicate recording to be transferred onto a CD and the original 78rpm disc is safely housed at the British Library. This raises awareness of how important it is to maintain records of occasional music, or scores written as a result of commission. A March, entitled *Overseas,* Op.70 (1960) (Publisher: Carl Fischer/Paterson, 1960) was commissioned by the Central Office of Information and written for the opening of a British Trade Fair in New York. There are no records of the exact date, location, name of the band, or the conductor, any of which may have provided clues as to the whereabouts of the autograph.

Finally, an important brass band work, the Op. 114a *Fantasy* (1973) is missing its autograph score. Written for and first performed at the National Brass Band Championships in October 1974. The Fantasy was dedicated to the Cornish artist Tony Giles.

Chamber/instrumental music

When it comes to chamber music and solo instrumental works the possible source of the autograph score becomes even more complex. Consider the case

of the Wind Quintet Op.2, which was found among the papers of Stephen Waters, the librarian of the Dennis Brain Wind Quintet. One might assume that the Dennis Brain Wind Quintet premiered the work, but they did not, neither is there any evidence that the Dennis Brain quintet ever gave a performance. Clearly, they had every intention to do so but there the score lay for decades, excluding the horn part (perhaps Dennis Brain borrowed it to practise his part) only coming to light on the death of Stephen Waters. The demise of a player, whether as a member of a group or as a soloist, may be the route by which other Arnold scores will be found in the future.

Arnold's Three Shanties for Wind Quintet, Op.4 (1943) (Publisher: Paterson, 1952) was famously premiered at a Filton Aerodrome lunch-time concert in the summer of 1943 by the London Philharmonic Orchestra Wind Quintet. It remains a familiar and iconic piece for wind quintet. The same year of its composition saw the writing of the Trio for flute, viola and bassoon Op.6 (1943) (Publisher: Paterson, 1954). It was first performed by players in the wartime London Philharmonic Orchestra, Richard Adeney, Wrayburn Glasspool and George Alexandra at a Committee for the Promotion of New Music (CPNM). Concert in January 1944. It is likely that the original manuscript (and parts) was used for subsequent performance given the much later publication date of 1954. The score could have been mislaid during that time and may have been 'reconstructed' for publication from the parts.

As we have seen, certain musicians are associated with certain pieces and two names come to mind with regard to lost works for wind ensemble. Clarinettist Stephen Waters also provides a link with the Divertimento for Wind Trio, Op.37 (1952) (Publisher: Paterson, 1952), a work which was first performed at a Macnaghten Concert at the Mercury Theatre, Notting Hill Gate, London on the 15 April 1952. It was premiered by Richard Adeney, Sidney Sutcliffe and Stephen Waters. Richard Adeney, another champion of Arnold's writing was the dedicatee of the Flute Sonatina, Op.19 (1948) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1948). We do not, however, know who gave the first performance (although it was likely to have been Adeney). It was four years before the flautist gave the work its first broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme on 1 October 1952. He may have been gifted the autograph score by the composer, along with the earlier Trio Op.6, but this is speculation.

Other works for wind that have links with specific performers include the Oboe Sonatina, Op.28 (1951) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1951) written for and first performed by Leon Goossens in Manchester in 1952. Surprisingly, the autograph is not in the Goossens Archive at the British Library alongside that of the Oboe Concerto (full score). Colin Davis is credited with giving the premiere of the Clarinet Sonatina, Op.29 (1951) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1951), but there is strong evidence that Frederick Thurston, the work's unstated dedicatee, gave the first private performance at a National Youth Orchestra New Year Course in Hull during January 1951. Searches in the Thea King and

Frederick Thurston archives, now in private hands, have also proved unproductive.

A Recorder Sonatina, Op.41 (1953) (Publisher: Paterson, 1953) was written for the blind recorder player, Philip Rodgers and given its premiere by Rodgers on the BBC Home Service in July 1953. The autograph score may have been presented to Rodgers by the composer. And Arnold's Oboe Quartet, Op.61 (1957) (Publisher: Faber, 1966) was sold into private hands via a Bonhams auction on 18 June 2014. It came from the estate of Arnold's doctor Robin Benson (the title page is inscribed: 'To Robin with all my thanks, yet again! Malcolm, October 4/76').

Works for strings or the combination of piano and strings round off the 'priority list' of manuscripts that I am still trying to locate. As is often the case with works written for specific performers the question often arises as to whether the musician who presented the premiere/dedicatee was given the manuscript as a lasting memento of the occasion. Arnold's Violin Sonata No.1, Op.15 (1947) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1947) was first performed at a CPNM concert in October 1951 by Nona Liddell and Daphne Ibbott some four years after publication. The score could have been presented to Nona Liddell by the composer. The Viola Sonata, Op.17 (1947) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1948) was first performed by the work's dedicatee, Frederick Riddle in 1948 and subsequently by Watson Forbes the following year in a BBC Third Programme broadcast.

Arnold's String Quartet No.1, Op.23 (1949) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1951) was given its premiere by the New London String Quartet in a BBC Third Programme broadcast in November 1950, it was followed with the quartet's first concert performance in October 1951, presumably to coincide with the composer's thirtieth birthday.

My searches in the Menuhin archive at the Royal Academy of Music revealed only a copy of the autograph score of *The Five Pieces for Violin and Piano*, Op.84 (1964), however this was found alongside the autograph score of the Double Violin Concerto! Later research indicates that Arnold donated the score of the *Five Pieces* to the Salvation Army in March 1972 and that it was auctioned by Sotheby's in February 1973. It presumably remains in private hands but could appear on Ebay at any time. The Allegri String Quartet premiered Arnold's String Quartet, No.2, Op.118 (1975). However, enquiries via their website did not unearth the manuscript. The Piano Trio, Op.53 (1956) (Publisher: Paterson, 1956) was first performed by the St. Cecilia Trio in April 1956. The Trio included the violinist Pauline Howgill (daughter of Richard Howgill, then BBC Controller of Music), the work's dedicatee.

Lastly, I mention two works for children. *Children's Suite* for piano, Op.16 (1947) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1948) and the *Eight Children's Piano Pieces*, Op.36 (1952) (Publisher: Lengnick, 1952 in their series *Five by Ten*). The fact that there is no documentation or performance record for either piece un-

derlines how important it is to maintain details about the history of a work's evolution, and this includes the preservation of its manuscript.

As this list suggests, it is as easy for quite popular works as well as those less well known to disappear. When we lose a manuscript, we lose part of the context in which it was written, part of the composer's thought process. Whether it is scribbled hastily with abundant crossings out and re-writing, or copied out legibly, a work that exists in the composer's hand provides a valuable link with the past. We risk severing that link if the manuscript is lost.

This article has focussed primarily on the concert works. The fact is, most of Arnold's film scores are presumed either missing or destroyed by the studio, post-filming. Some autograph scores are at Eton College, a few in private hands or major libraries, as in the case of the two 'finds' in the Bodleian and the Jerwood libraries (see list below). The search for the missing film scores is, as they say, a whole new 'ball-game'.

If any of the works mentioned in this article have found their way into a collection to which you have access, or if you can provide any possible further information, please contact Alan Poulton: alanpoulton@hotmail.com

Scores found

Since compiling the *Malcolm Arnold Catalogue of Works* for Faber Music over 35 years ago I have, over the intervening years, had some success in locating over 20 'missing' autograph scores (that is, over and above those recent 'discoveries' mostly housed at the Eton College Library). The library, archive or individual with whom each item or items is now housed is included in brackets.

(i) Symphony No.6, Oboe Concerto (full score), Little Suite No.2 for orchestra, Hong Kong Anniversary Overture, and the Farnham Festival Fanfare (all now housed at the British Library).

(ii) Concerto for piano duet (piano score) and Violin Sonata No.2 (Britten Pears Archive).

(iii) Double Violin Concerto (Yehudi Menuhin Collection, Royal Academy of Music Library).

(iv) Psalm 150 (Walter Hussey Collection, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester)

(v) *Purple Dust: Songs and Themes* (Sean O'Casey Collection, National Library of Ireland)

(vi) *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness*, film score (full score) (Jerwood Library, Greenwich).

(vii) *Suddenly Last Summer,* film score and studio recording of the soundtrack, obtained from the widow of Buxton Orr, who completed the score from Arnold's sketches (Eton College Library).

(viii) Horn Concerto No.2 (original version, full score) (Mills Music

Library, University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA).

(ix) Divertimento No.2 (original version) (Northwestern University Music Library, Illinois, USA).

(x) *Fantasy on a theme of John Field* (John Lill, the work's dedicatee).

(xi) *Variations on a theme of Ruth Gipps* (Lance Baker, son of the late Ruth Gipps, the work's dedicatee).

(xii) *Variations on a Ukrainian Theme for Solo Piano* (Cornelia Kuchmy, wife of the late John Kuchmy, the work's dedicatee).

(xiii) Harp Fantasy, Op. 117 (Osian Ellis, the work's dedicatee).

(xiv) *The Padstow Lifeboat*, Op.94, discovered in Cornwall by Colin Gregory at a local auction (now acquired by, and housed at, Eton College Library).

(xv) Film scores for *The Sound Barrier* and *Report on Steel,* 1948. Dir. Michael Orrom. (the Bodleian Library, via private hands, catalogued as MS.Mus.b.532 and MS.Mus.b.533 respectively).

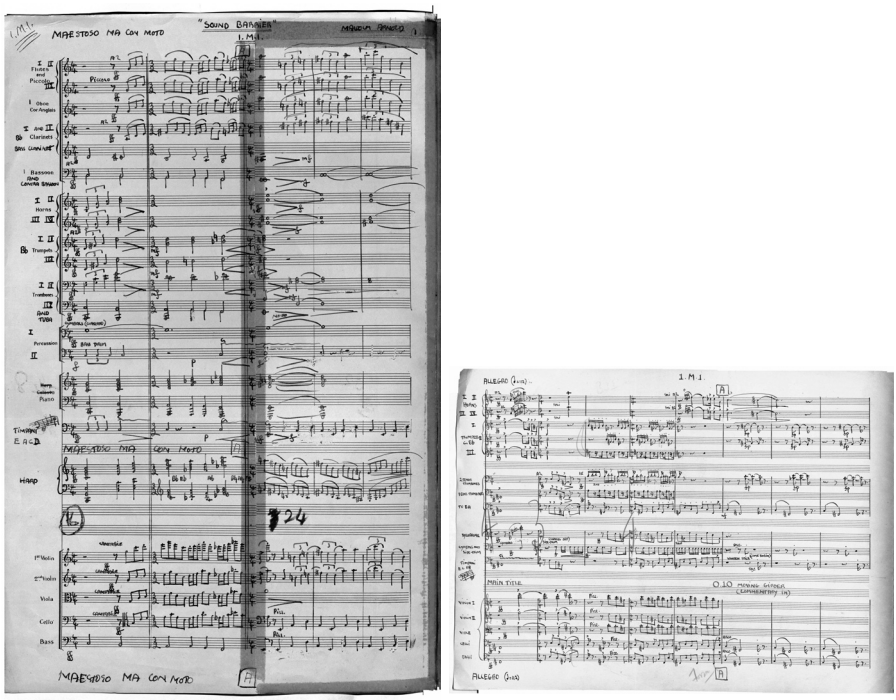

Fig. 1: Score found. Malcolm Arnold's autograph scores for the film The Sound Barrier*, 1952, dir. David Lean.*

Abstract
A number of Sir Malcolm Arnold's autograph scores can be accessed in various collections. Many have been catalogued and records of their existence are available to the public. There are, however, inevitable gaps in the list: works that may have been misplaced amid private or public libraries and archives. This article has the dual purpose of drawing attention to some discoveries of autographs that were previously lost and, importantly, alerting colleagues to what is still currently missing – a catalogue that includes such key works as the Overture *Beckus the Dandipratt*, *Four Scottish Dances* and the Three Shanties for Wind Quintet. As with any composer, it is vital to ensure the preservation of collected works for the benefit of future musicians and musicologists. These are relatively recent scores and the gradual emergence of items like Arnold's once elusive *Purple Dust: Songs and Themes, The Padstow Lifeboat* or the film music for *The Inn of the Sixth Happiness* prove that they are still locatable.

Alan Poulton is a freelance pianist working in the Health Care sector as a music therapist and entertainer. As part of the violin and piano Spectrum Duo, he gives recitals throughout Southern England. He has written several books, including the three-volume Dictionary of Modern British Composers *(Greenwood Press, 2000), numerous pieces of journalism and an autobiography,* A Nice Conundrum. *Alan is also a question-setter on BBC Radio 4's* Round Britain Quiz. *Founding Chairman of the* Alan Rawsthorne Society *he has, for the last eight years, been Chairman of the* Malcolm Arnold Society. *He has recently completed a catalogue of Arnold's music as well as a genealogical survey of the lives of the Arnold and Hawes families,* Rooted in Northampton *(2021).*

Brio Volume 59, Number 2. pp 59-61

OBITUARY
RICHARD PRIEST, 1952-2022

Malcolm Jones

Richard Priest

Well known as a supplier of music, and for fulfilling the role of Treasurer to the UK and Ireland branch of IAML for several years, Richard Priest died of cancer on September 12th in Salisbury District Hospital.

Born in the Midlands, after school he trained as an operatic tenor, and was offered a place with the company at Welsh National Opera. He decided, however, that living out of a suitcase was not for him, although he continued to sing. A variety of jobs followed, including working in a fishmonger's shop. Some experience in retail clearly stood him in good stead when his thoughts turned to selling music.

So it was that I first met him about forty years ago, when he turned up in the Music Library in Birmingham to discuss. rather warily, that he intended to go into the music business. His first thoughts were to set up in the suburbs, where rent was cheaper, but he decided to take the plunge in the city centre – immediately opposite the Central Library and the Birmingham School of Music (as it then was).

From these beginnings he built up Allegro Music, to serve a national and latterly international clientele. In the early days, when public money was more widely available, he supplied a number of libraries. He became the agent for Oxford University Press' reprints, making much available that had gone out of print.

As time went by, he worked with several assistants, but the most significant was to be Barbara Padjasek, who had just finished a course at the local Library School, specialising in music. Failing to find a place in a library, she took up a suggestion to talk to Richard. The rest is history: they were married and ran the business together. For a time, Barbara edited the IAML UK and Ireland branch Newsletter. In 1989 Richard was pressed into service as branch Treasurer when the financial records became problematic; he put things back into order, his commercial experience being invaluable. Latterly, as public money dried up, Richard and Barbara built a new base of customers abroad, and this led to their leaving Birmingham for Herefordshire, where Richard continued the business by mail order in the village of Bishop's Frome. on the Worcestershire border.

Born into a Roman Catholic family, he had an unhappy experience with that church, and took to worshipping in the Church of England where Barbara had been for some while. In fact, their marriage was a Church of England ceremony. Richard began to think of ministry, and he became a Reader. In Herefordshire he took this further, becoming ordained to the local group of parishes in Frome Valley, while continuing to run Allegro Music.

He made the big change in 2017, giving up the business after 35 years to become full-time vicar of the Stour Vale group of churches (seven of them!) near Gillingham in Dorset.

Richard was born with an eye problem which prevented him from driving.

This explains a report of him travelling to one of his churches on an electric bike, dressed in (black) clerical robes and a yellow hi-vis vest. With troubled vision he went, somewhat unsteadily, down the road resembling the flight path of a demented wasp! He also suffered from diabetes. In spite of these difficulties, he was cheerful, supportive and a good friend. His wicked sense of humour was a joy, and he always had a twinkle.

His funeral in East Stour was packed, a testament to the affection in which he was held. To Barbara we send our best thoughts, as we remember Richard with gratitude.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Martin Holmes

George Kennaway, *John Gunn: Musician Scholar in Enlightenment Britain*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2022. xxv, 225 p. ISBN: 9781783276417. Hardback. £75.00. [E-book versions also available]

So, who was John Gunn? When libraries are watching their budgets, prudent stock selection requires justification for every purchase, so an unfamiliar name merits careful introduction. Gunn was a Scottish cellist and antiquarian. A theorist on a wide range of topics, he wrote a history of the Scottish harp, and tutors for the cello and flute. Recognisable and accessible for instrumental learners, Scottish folk-tunes have often been used in such a didactic context, so some readers may have heard of his cello settings of Scottish airs in this sphere.

Gunn lived in Edinburgh, for a while in Cambridge – not as a student – and also in London. He was married to Anne Young, herself a music teacher and the author of music primers, *Elements of Music and of Fingering the Harpsichord* (1790), *An Introduction to Music* (1803, 1820) and a musical game which has periodically attracted the close attention of musicologists. Anne is not the prime focus of this book, but does receive her place in the biographical part of Kennaway's monograph, as such a fitting recognition of an accomplished woman who sadly ended her days in an asylum due to mental illness. John Gunn's pupils were not numerous, but were generally wealthy, and – if we are to take his correspondence with Margaret Maclean Clephane as an example – he took his responsibilities seriously, also suggesting other musical experts with whom they might make contact in specific contexts. Here, I must confess to a particular interest, having researched the Maclean Clephane family's musical interests quite closely myself. (Margaret's widowed mother was essentially a Scottish laird on the Island of Mull in the Hebrides, but she and her daughters also spent part of their year in Edinburgh, and occasionally in London.) I did not have access to this correspondence in my own research but can certainly attest to its usefulness in shedding light on the milieux in which Gunn circulated, and on some of his specific musical and pedagogical interests. The 27-page Appendix, containing eleven of Gunn's letters and one of Margaret's, is followed by 'Personalia' – a welcome listing of the individuals mentioned in the correspondence.

This readable book falls into six chapters, structured to focus firstly on Gunn's biography, and next on his two cello books (1789 and 1800) and the *Forty favorite Scotch Airs, adapted for a Violin, German Flute or Violoncello* (1789). The third chapter is devoted to his *The Art of Playing the German-flute on new Principles* (1793). The fourth chapter addresses his shorter works, including essays on harmony and the piano; and the fifth chapter focuses upon his book about the Scottish harp, *An Historical Inquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland* (1807), which was commissioned by the Highland Society of Scotland. The context of this particular book endows it with specific cultural relevance, for the Highland Society of Scotland was hugely important in this era. Gunn's book gave the Scottish harp increased stature in suggesting that its past role was far greater than his contemporary readers might have imagined. Kennaway's careful dissection of all Gunn's sources, not to mention an examination of Gunn's conclusions (which often appear to be based on sketchy evidence or assumptions), is both detailed and fascinating, and an impressive amount of musicological and bibliographical detective work has plainly gone into it. The final chapter is, of course, dedicated to conclusions.

This overview outlines the subject matter of the book, but the greater significance has not yet been mentioned, and that is the importance of Gunn's place as a musical and pedagogical theoretician in the Scottish Enlightenment, i.e. the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His approach to his instrumental primers and other writings was somewhat unusual, and seems curious to the modern reader, in endeavouring to provide the pupil with a sound theoretical basis before embarking upon actually playing the instrument. Questions of musical interpretation were, to our present-day eyes, barely addressed at all, although this might not have appeared the case to his contemporary readers.

It goes without saying that the book concludes with the expected bibliography and index.

Kennaway's work is incredibly detailed, thoroughly referenced, and has drawn out a multitude of fascinating threads and links for anyone researching the Scottish enlightenment, or indeed, musical pedagogy during that era. At the same time, he profiles a perhaps underknown but more than capable cello teacher, performer, theoretician and author. It is a specialist topic, and as such, is likely to find its natural home in a university or other research library, although it would also sit comfortably in larger public libraries with a regional remit.

The monograph is available in print and digitally, with single and multiple user options for libraries (and a very affordable alternative for private individuals).

Karen E. McAulay

Brian Inglis and Barry Smith (eds.), *Kaikhosru Sorabji's letters to Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock)*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020. xii, 170 p. ISBN: 9780367728243. Paperback. £36.99 [E-book versions also available].[1]

In 1938 the Music Department of Oxford University Press signed an exclusive worldwide agreement with the Anglo-Parsi composer Kaikhosru Sorabji (1892-1988) to distribute and sell the printed scores of his music (songs, piano works, piano concertos). This arrangement then ran on for fifty years, until Sorabji's death. The composer's scores were not published by OUP – privately financed by his father he arranged to have them engraved and printed in Austria, and they appeared under the imprint of other British publishers (J. Curwen & Sons, the London and Continental Music Publishing Company). Neither OUP nor these other publishers managed the copyrights, as Sorabji explicitly reserved these unto himself, in particular the performing right. All the scores of his dense, difficult, and often unusually long works, sitting in OUP's warehouses for many years, carried stern warnings that the works were only to be performed with Sorabji's direct permission. Despite this stricture, OUP invested heavily in the agreement: a lavish descriptive catalogue was issued in which Erik Chisholm in an extensive essay noted breathlessly and in daring analogy with topical science that 'the almost astronomical dimensions of Sorabji's forms are counterbalanced by the intricacy and complexity of the atomic structure of his music'.

Erik Chisholm (1904-1965) was well placed to know. Born in Glasgow, a precocious and talented composer himself, while still a student he started the Active Society for the Propagation of Contemporary Music which, in a way, was Glasgow's answer to Schoenberg's Society for Private Musical Performances in Vienna. The Active Society promoted all manner of contemporary music and, significantly, brought renowned composers to Glasgow to perform it, often in makeshift circumstances. Paul Hindemith, for example, came in November 1930. Bela Bartók visited twice – in February 1932 to play the piano in a concert of his instrumental music and songs, and in November 1933 to give a solo piano recital at the Society's new venue, St. Andrew's (Berkeley) Hall, staying on both occasions with Erik Chisholm and his wife, whose home-made jam Bartók particularly enjoyed (from the second visit there survives a remarkable photograph of a heavily-overcoated Bartók, complete with Homburg hat, emerging stiffly from a train at Glasgow and in a formal handshake with the young Erik Chisholm, stepping forward to greet him on behalf of the Society – in another world this could be a 'still' from

[1] All quotations from the letters of Sorabji and Heseltine within this review replicate the text exactly as given in the transcriptions by Inglis and Smith. No attempt is made here to regularize or comment on idiosyncratic or incorrect spelling or punctuation.

Brief Encounter).[2] Put simply, Chisholm's 'Active Society' fundamentally transformed the Glasgow audience's perception of new music during the decade or so of its existence.

Chisholm's most sensational Active Society coup was the visit to Glasgow of Kaikhosru Sorabji who, on 1 December 1930, there gave the first performance of his *Opus Clavicembalisticum*, then the longest and probably most difficult solo piano work ever written, clocking in at around four hours (and talking superlatives, the landscape-format score of 252 pages is quite possibly the most beautiful engraved and published twentieth-century musical score – the writing is on three, sometimes four, staves almost throughout). As a result of this visit and performance Chisholm and Sorabji developed an intense and intimate friendship – mainly by letter – which prevailed until Chisholm's death. Their correspondence, however, remains little-known. Chisholm's own interest in Indian classical music provided an important catalyst for the two composers' friendship.[3]

The writing of intimate and revealing letters with another composer had, however, already been tested by Sorabji, and seems to have been a preferred way of expressing his thoughts, feelings, and ideas. Between 1913 and 1922 Sorabji had written a sequence of increasingly involved, complex, and revealing letters to the composer Philip Heseltine (Peter Warlock) (1894-1930). The thirty-eight letters and postcards are now with the Heseltine Papers at the British Library, and a critical edition forms the core of this book. Heseltine's replies have not survived, and the editors instead take the unusual but creative step of interspersing, between Sorabji's letters, excerpts from Heseltine's own letters to others (Delius, Cecil Gray, his girlfriend Olivia Smith, for example), where such correspondence illuminates or 'responds to' points being made by Sorabji. This is a solution which works, and we eventually forget that Heseltine's replies to Sorabji are missing. Sorabji wrote to Heseltine first, on 3 October 1913 from his address in St. John's Wood, London. Nine years later the correspondence ends abruptly for reasons unclear. The *Opus Clavicembalisticum* premiere took place just seventeen days before Heseltine's death.

The letters of Sorabji to Heseltine (and therefore the book itself) operate at various distinct (but nonetheless related) levels. The letters' most striking aspects are the glittering accounts Sorabji gives of London musical life, and the vivid expression of his wider views on music and musicians. He sets out his stall in the opening of the first letter: 'As an ultra-modernist musician will you allow me to thank you for and heartily congratulate you on your splendid courageous article in this month's "Musical Times"?[4] / You administer some

[2] See Malcolm Gillies, *Bartók in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 99-106.

[3] See https://blog.archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/2016/09/01/scotlands-forgotten-composer-the-archive-of-erik-chisholm/ (accessed 28 September 2022).

[4] P. A. Heseltine, 'Some reflections on modern musical criticism', *The Musical Times*, 54, p. 848 (1 October 1913) – the article is reprinted as Appendix 1 of the book under review.

good hard blows to the academics and the rest of the musical "stagnators" if I may coin a word! / . . . Much of Beethoven's music is absolutely repellent to me. To Bach and Mozart, Schumann Chopin and Schubert I am faithful . . . but it is among the ultra-moderns that I am in my musical element, there is that in their music which satisfies me completely, what it is I cannot define, but whatever it is, this something is for me at any rate, lacking in much of the older music.'

Thus, 'Skriabine is to my mind a colossal genius'; '"ELEKTRA"! this carried me away as it were a whirlwind'; 'I would willingly give all Beethoven's piano Concertos for Delius' one!'. Stravinsky, however, was always 'a charlatan'. Sorabji devours new music scores – Bartók's *Burlesques* and Berg's Piano Sonata are on his shopping list, but supply issues from continental publishers seemed to increase as war loomed. And Sorabji is adept at being there at the most significant concerts, fully imbibing their sound and atmosphere: 'I went to hear Rakhmaninov on Sunday and heard him play his beautiful Concerto 2. He is a glorious pianist as well as an amazingly fascinating personality'. While sound recording and broadcast were barely established during the period of the letters and are thus not mentioned, Sorabji does have an interest in the cutting-edge musical reproduction tool of its day, the player piano (particularly in relation to his own music). He also enthuses about older instruments such as virginals and harpsichords ('instruments anciens', he calls them) for the performance of older music: Gaveau's instruments in this class from Paris 'looked vastly preferable to the ramshackle museum object that one sometimes sees' – a prescient view of what was shortly to come under the fingers of Violet Gordon Woodhouse, Wanda Landowska, and others involved in the drive to revive 'musique ancienne'. Music publishers come under Sorabji's purview, again in relation to the printing of his own compositions. Yet, above all, it seems to be French music – Debussy, Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Dukas, Fauré – which moves Sorabji to epistolatory ecstasies: *Pelléas et Mélisande* is a 'most exquisite ravishing work'; *Daphnis et Chloé* is described as 'une oeuvre superbe que jai vue representee à Drury Lane en 1914'; and 'The most amazing thing to me about Ravel's Music is the marvellous delicacy, subtlety, exquisite taste and finish . . . He is a most delightful little man to look upon, delightfully Gallic'. All of these views and many more, now revealed here for the first time, provide an invaluable supplement to the already-known public and private writings of other names associated with British music in this period and onwards (for example, Felix Aprahamian, Constant Lambert, Hubert Foss, Edwin Evans, Percy Scholes).

Sorabji's Heseltine's correspondence also provides an alternative view of the so-called 'English Musical Renaissance', as do Heseltine's responses to the same issues in letters to others, both composers firing from the front line, as it were. Elgar (his Cello Concerto was premiered during the course of these

letters) is nowhere mentioned by either composer. The two composers disagree on Vaughan Williams's *A London Symphony* (Sorabji liked it, Heseltine did not), and Sorabji supported Holst's interest in non-Western music, though was not entirely enthusiastic about his work otherwise. *The Planets* is 'the macro-cosmohydrocephalic Universe of Holst . . . Surely a feebler production never diarrhaeoaed from the pen of British Composer???'. For Sorabji, Arthur Bliss was 'Arthur Piss' – of Strauss's *Ein Heldenlaben* Sorabji writes, 'Ye gods how that work shows up the Stravinsky's the Holst's the Pisses…'. And the music of Herbert Howells simply 'gives me pain in my Bowells'. Heseltine, for his part (in a 1920 letter to Delius), holds up Sorabji's 'extraordinary talent . . . bigness of conception . . . [and] technical mastery of means' against 'our genial compatriot Mr Vaughan Holst' – a sly dig at both Holst's original family name (from which the 'von' had been dropped in 1918), and what Heseltine saw as the stylistic generality of English music's two main players immediately post-First World War.[5]

An important strand in these letters is their demonstration (occasionally subliminally, more often overtly) of Sorabji's position, both in the music and the society of his time, as a racial 'outsider', and as a perceived victim of colonial oppression. Seeing the conceited and insufferably arrogant Cyril Scott (composer, 1879-1970), at a concert and 'looking round for recognition and admiration', triggered a thought that one day Sorabji should tell Heseltine 'some tales of what Indians have to endure at the hands of British arrogance'. A long and well-considered exposition of Impressionism, Cubism, and Picasso's use of colour in a letter of 1914 changes course abruptly, and ends in a bitter peroration unrelated to art at all: 'Of course the average blasted Britisher will call any Oriental's idea of colour, or anything else for that matter, barbarous though what could be more hideously barbarous than his own attire and often his whole personality? But let me not get on the subject of British injustice to us again or my pen and feelings will run away with me and I shall perhaps offend you unconventional and refreshingly un-British though you be.' But, behind Sorabji's back, even the 'un-British' Heseltine's letters to his other correspondents (not seen of course by his friend) confirm (in passing but nonetheless with terminology and 'sniggers' that today would shock) the casual racism and prejudice, including a doubting of his ability to judge, that Sorabji, as a person of colour, endured. 'Bela Bartók, about whom my tame Parsee waxed so enthusiastic, disappointed me greatly', wrote Heseltine to his former Eton piano tutor Colin Taylor; and, again to Taylor, 'The blackamore whom you spotted at Ravel's concert was the very man . . . What funnys these Parsees are!!'. To be fair to Heseltine, this language all but disappeared after he and Sorabji met in person, and their friendship was consolidated.

[5] Vaughan Williams is incorrectly listed under 'Williams, Ralph Vaughan' in the Index.

Sorabji's sense of being an 'outsider' tipped into his views on both class and the established Christian churches (Protestant and Catholic – he made no distinction) in Britain and elsewhere. Somewhat chilling views on both form a thread in his letters to Heseltine. In the same letter in which he extolled the virtues of Rachmaninov, Sorabji turns violently against 'the cold calculating obscenity and libertinism of the finished product of "our great Public Schools"' (despite Heseltine having been educated at one); and Christianity is 'a living lie; a gigantic fraud, and an unspeakable hypocrisy'. In particular Sorabji rages against the way that Christianity as embodied in the Churches has 'resolutely set its face against all progress in science and knowledge', and how the Church has done nothing 'to alleviate the vast and appalling distress of the working classes in town and country'. To counterbalance these views, Sorabji writes often of his own pacifistic religious beliefs which, as the editors note, appear 'quite fluid and flexible' (on this, the letters reveal more than can be quoted here).

Finally, and in its own strand, Sorabji's name itself provides important indicators. The editors, in the Introduction, note the various formulations of Sorabji's name as given in the 'signing offs' to the letters ('a bewildering array of nomenclature'), and in other places. Sorabji himself at first appears to make light of this, writing in a flamboyant postscript to his letter of 3 February 1914, 'My name is a curious one. It is either Sorabji-Shapurji or Shapurji-Sorabji but as people make such a ghastly hash of it we call ourselves Sorabji 'tout court'. We have been called among other things Swabby; Soggy; Soralli; Swably, Sorbi, Soppy Scrabby, Sorabeeji, etc: etc: etc: etc. to 40 places of decimals!!'. Though none are taken from the foregoing, six different personal 'sign offs' over the letters' nine years (plus the self-assumed nickname 'Gote' from the second of those years) are identified, Sorabji thereby seeming to perpetuate his own 'curious name' story.[6] As possible reasons for this 'nominal instability', the editors surmise reception into the Zoroastrian faith, a reaction to wartime militarism, a conscious casting-off of colonialism, identity construction, and a manifestation of self-discipline and transformation. Over these years the composer's given name of 'Leon Dudley Sorabji' evolved to the final 'Kaikhosru Leon Dudley Shapurji Sorabji'. Throughout the book, however, consistency is imposed through the letter headings ('Kaikhosru Sorabji to Philip Heseltine'), irrespective of a letter's individual 'signing off' style.

The book is meticulously edited – in particular, copious endnotes provide enlightening detail on many matters, especially on the cast of characters peopling Sorabji's letters. Like the music of the book's chief protagonist, the language (of the letters and indeed of the commentary) is dense and not a little daunting. But the rewards for having penetrated, through this collection, the

[6] Table 1, p.7.

fantastical mind and world of Kaikhosru Sorabji are manifold. One hundred years on, his letters remain visionary, challenging, revealing – and hugely relevant to the big issues of our age.

Simon Wright

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