In Search of Henry Smart (1813-1879)

In his chapter ‘The artist and society’ in The Romantic Age, Stephen Banfield used a phrase that has stayed with me for over 30 years: ‘This phase of militant romanticism in English music came to an abrupt end around 1850’. The period of ‘militant romanticism’ spanned the mid 1820s to the 1840s and promised much, including as it does the early works of such composers as Samuel Sebastian Wesley (b.1810), Edward Loder (b.1812), George Macfarren (b.1813), Henry Hugo Pierson (b.1816), and William Sterndale Bennett (b.1816). All spoke the same musical language as Mendelssohn and Schumann, with its roots in the Viennese classics and the early romanticism of Weber and Spohr. But to their names should be added that of another, less well-known, composer, Henry Smart, born 201 years ago in 1813. While the bluff four-squareness of the hymn tune ‘Regent Square’ (‘Lord of beauty, thine the splendour’) might not suggest membership of this group, a little digging below the surface reveals a different picture. My aim in this short article is to place Smart in English musical life of the 1830s and 40s, to examine some of his early works and to try to account for his neglect – the ‘Smart problem’.

No one researching Smart can fail to be grateful to his devoted friend and biographer William Spark (b.1823), whose full-length study and two shorter memoirs provide the main source of biographical material. But, as Spark noted, there was even then a dearth of source material: ‘He kept no diary – no record of anything: not a single letter could be placed at my disposal by any of his numerous relatives’. Such a remarkable lack of documentary material can only suggest the deliberate destruction of papers, but makes the biographer’s task, whether in 1880 or 2014, much harder. In consequence Spark was forced to rely on his own memories and those of his subject’s relations and friends, and, for the years before his own thirty-year acquaintance began, the reminiscences of Smart and his family. In our own time David G. Hill has managed to elucidate further information about the years Smart spent as organist of Blackburn Parish Church (1832-38) and his first appointments in London, but apart from his book on Smart’s organ music and a further article on the organ music by Graham Barber, musicology has largely passed him by. As a result, there is still much to be discovered about his early activity as a composer, organist, pianist, conductor and critic in the vibrant musical environment of early Victorian London.

What we do know is that Smart was born in Foley Place (now Langham Street) in London’s West End in 1813, and grew up at the centre of the city’s musical life. His father (also Henry) was one of the leading violinists and his uncle, Sir George Smart, was joint organist of the Chapel Royal and prominent in the affairs of the Philharmonic Society and other musical
bodies. As a child Henry would accompany his father to theatrical rehearsals, and by the time the latter died in 1823 he was learning the piano and the rudiments of music. Not until he discovered Cramer’s First Book of Exercises a few years later, however, was he inspired to practise hard. Around the same time he made the acquaintance of the organ builder Joseph Robson who gave him the run of his premises in St Martin’s Lane where, according to Spark, he ‘spent much of his leisure in rambling through their workshops, and in trying his skill on their organs’.6 Another new acquaintance was Mr Neil, organist of All Souls Church, Langham Place, who allowed him to play for a small part of the Sunday services.

Music was not young Smart’s only interest. He would accompany an uncle to lectures at the Royal Institution, while he also discovered Maudeslay’s engineering works in Westminster Road, Lambeth. Here too he was allowed to roam freely, all the while developing his aptitude for technical drawing – a skill that would stand him in good stead in his later work on organ design. This freedom, however, came to an abrupt close when, around the age of 12 or 13, he was sent to a boarding school in Highgate (Lauderdale House, and not – as is sometimes stated – Highgate School). During these years his musical studies were largely in abeyance and when the time to choose a career arrived, his mother’s family pressed for him to be articled to a solicitor. For four years he submitted but, on discovering that the re-assignment of his uncle, to rehearsals at Covent Garden where Spohr’s Zemire und Azor was being prepared for its English premiere. Spohr’s music, still relatively unknown in England, made a deep impression on him. It was at Covent Garden too that he got to know the violinist and arranger William Kearns from whom, Spark noted, ‘he … learnt much’.7 This apart, Smart appears to have been largely self-taught as both organist and composer and never benefited from either the wide exposure to church music enjoyed by cathedral choristers or the formal instruction of the newly-established Royal Academy of Music.

In another respect too 1831 was a significant year, as it saw the publication of Smart’s first compositions – an arietta, ‘Ecco quell fiero istante’ and a canzonet, ‘The Exile’, ‘Composed expressly for, and presented to, the Harmonicon, by Henry T. Smart, Esq.’8 Of the former the same journal declared that it was ‘as a whole, in the smooth Italian style, though a German taste in harmony discloses itself in the concluding symphonies’.9 Such a ‘German taste’ is even more in evidence in the canzonet, where Smart’s handling of chromaticism and tonal parenthesis provides tangible evidence of what he had learnt from Spohr. Over the next twelve months he published a further 35 songs, including a set of Seis Cancionés Españolas del Perú y Chile. The last, issued around May 1832 with a Spanish text and English translation, were dedicated to Señorita Doña Josefa Almarsa by the poet, Guillermo de la Perdiz, with Smart credited as having provided the piano accompaniment. Did he have a connection with any of the parties involved, or was it simply a business deal struck by the publisher, Samuel Chappell, with the young musician? Among the best of these early songs is ‘The star is in the west, my love’ (1833), a setting of an anonymous canzonet published in The Literary Souvenir; or, Cabinet of Poetry and Romance in 1827.10 There are several things to note: the delicate interplay between the piano and the voice, the subtle chromatic inflexions, the pentatonic melody. Or is the opening not pentatonic but a spelt-out added 6th? But perhaps most of all, Smart’s ability to create a work both simple and profound around such a simple tonal pattern of tonic, dominant, tonic.

By the time the song was published Smart had left London for Blackburn, on his appointment as organist of the Parish Church in September 1832. He would remain there for six years and, perhaps because he was cut off from his musical haunts and friendships, proceeded to immerse himself in the theoretical writings of Albrechtsberger and others. Thus inspired, he produced his first substantial work, an extended anthem to commemorate the Tercentenary of the Reformation, ‘I saw an angel fly’ is scored for a quartet of soloists, four-part choir and organ, sets verses from the book of Revelation and was first performed in the Parish Church on 4 October 1835. The parallel with Samuel Sebastian Wesley’s anthem ‘The Wilderness’ is uncanny. That too was his first substantial piece of
church music, also written when its composer was 22 and an exile from the capital. But more than that, both are forward-looking works whose bold use of a contemporary harmonic idiom represented a striking break with tradition. Smart’s homage to Spohr, seen particularly in the pervasive chromatic harmony of the solo numbers, outdoes Wesley’s, although the choruses owe more to the example of Handel and Haydn. But while the work is a notable achievement, Smart could not match Wesley’s individuality and it strikes one as being more derivative than the best of the early songs. This was certainly the view of The Musical World, which noted on its publication, ‘Although we cannot say that this composition of Mr. Smart’s exhibits any distinct character for originality … as an integral work, he may, at any period of his life, look upon it with honest satisfaction’.11

While in Blackburn, Smart, we are told, was a ‘frequent guest’ at the vicarage and retained fond memories of ‘those pleasant evenings, when he profited alike by his vicar’s hospitality and learning’.12 Nevertheless, one suspects that it was with a sense of relief that he returned to the capital in 1838 on his appointment as organist of St Philip’s Church, Regent Street. Now aged 25, he was in a position to establish himself professionally. In addition to his post at St Philip’s he was active as an accompanist and began to contribute music criticism, and later a weekly scientific article, to The Atlas (1838-46?) as well as writing for The Musical World (1839-41), which he briefly edited, before joining the newly-established Musical Examiner (1842-45?). Throughout this time he continued to compose, but the paucity of published works dating from the early 1840s suggest that it was then that he began work on one or more of the operas that occupied him for many years. Given his background in the theatre, it was perhaps inevitable that he should have had operatic ambitions, but only one of at least four projected works, the comic opera Berta; or, the Gnome of Hartzberg, was ever completed and performed. And of that, only six published solo numbers survive. A recitative and air were included in the New Philharmonic Society’s 1852 season (conducted by Berlioz on 28 May 1852) and warmly welcomed by J.W. Davison in The Musical World: ‘If this be a fair specimen of the opera, the sooner it is given to the public the better’.13 Not until 1855 was the opera staged, when Smart was unlucky with the inadequate orchestra at the Haymarket Theatre, while Edward Fitzball’s libretto was also criticised: ‘the absurdity of the libretto’ wrote Davison, means that to ‘describe the plot clearly is impossible, and to describe it at all not easy’. The music, however, was another matter:

The opera is full of beauties, and of the highest order. The melodies are striking and happy, and the instrumentation full, varied, and rich ... The success of the opera was decided ... [and] Mr. Henry Smart ... came forward amidst tumultuous applause and walked across the stage.’14

The Daily News was particularly impressed by the ‘long and highly wrought finale to the first act’ which it considered ‘a masterpiece of dramatic construction’, making the loss of the ensembles all the more regrettable.15 This review, however, sounded a warning with the comment that the opera was ‘far too long, and very considerable curtailment is requisite for its permanent success’. Henry Chorley, known for his lack of sympathy for British music (and taken to task elsewhere by Davison for his anti-Smart bias), was more circumspect, writing that it contained ‘too great an admixture of styles, and too many reminiscences of popular foreign composers’.16 In the absence of the complete score it is impossible to verify his claims. According to Spark it was not Berta but Undine, based on the legend of a water nymph who becomes human on falling in love with a mortal, but will die if he was unfaithful to her, that was closest to Smart’s heart. Despite being the object of many years work it remained unfinished, and while none of the music is known to be extant, Spark’s comment that ‘probably no more remains of this fine work than one charming recitative and romance for a soprano voice’ implies that these survive, presumably as a yet unidentified songs.17 There is also the intriguing, but entirely speculative, possibility that some material might have been re-used in the cantata The Bride of Dunkerron (1864) whose theme is similar: a mortal seeks to marry a sea-nymph, thereby sacrificing both her life and his.

Smart’s other operatic ventures were The Siege of Calais, a setting of a libretto by Planché first offered to Mendelssohn, and a new version, to a libretto by George Macfarren senior, of Orpheus and Euridice, ‘a burlesque of the peculiarities in the compositions of the last century’.18 Whether this ‘embryo opera’19 progressed beyond the drawing board remains an open question, and Spark recorded that when, in later life, Smart was asked about the progress of his operas he ‘generally avoided any question on the subject’.20 Lastly, there was a setting of words from As you like it, the winner of a competition in 1842 for the best song and chorus from the play, which received its first performance (under Mendelssohn) at the Philharmonic Society on 8 July 1844.21

Smart had first made a name for himself as a composer of songs, and his most significant surviving work from the 1840s is the set of Three Songs, published with a dedication to S.S. Wesley in The British Vocal Album series in 1842.22 These are ambitious, large-scale through-composed works that integrate the voice and piano and, fittingly for an aspiring opera composer, also possess a sense of drama. The first, Estelle, is a setting of verses by
George Macfarren senior and enjoyed considerable popularity when new. ‘The most classical song that has proceeded from the pen of an Englishman ... [and] one of the most striking and descriptive songs that modern music can boast’ declared The Musical World,23 while Davison waxed eloquent in The Musical Examiner:

... in the music of Mr. Henry Smart ... and especially in such a veritable poem as his ‘Estelle,’ there is something deeper than ordinary singers can by any possibility lay hold of; its meaning is profound – its poetry subtle, though intense – its character varied and lofty.24

In the space available it is not possible to do more than touch briefly on other aspects of Smart’s career. There is much more to be unearthed about his professional life, both before and after 1850: his work as an accompanist in London and the provinces, his involvement with the Bach Society, his organist’s posts and performances,25 his relationship – if any – with Joseph Joachim (a regular visitor to London) whose nephew married Smart’s eldest daughter Ellen. And not least there is his substantial output, which runs to 42 columns in the British Library Catalogue of Printed Music and deserves reassessment. Yet the fact remains that musicologists have paid his music little attention. Why? This brings us back to what I have called the ‘Smart problem’. Its three main features are: over-reaction against the exaggerated respect in which his work was formerly held,26 prejudice and ignorance. The chief consequence of the first has been an assumption that all his works are on a par with the weakest – and there can be no denying that poor word-setting and verbal underlay mar some of the church music, nor that some of the organ pieces, songs and part-songs are better than others. At times, however, this over-reaction blends into the second category, prejudice. Among those who set the ball rolling was Ernest Walker with his dismissal of the anthems and organ music. Among those who set the ball rolling was Ernest Walker with his dismissal of the anthems and organ music as

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among the most blatant examples of ill-informed comment, but the general lack of discussion of Smart’s songs, or works such as the fine five-part setting of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G, or his large-scale choral works is testimony to the problem.20

It falls to few composers to forge an unmistakable musical identity and Smart was not one of them. But no one could quibble with the remarks by W.H. Husk, author of the article on Smart in the first edition of ‘Grove’: ‘As was his music so was the man – not original, but highly interesting, and always full of life and vigour’.31 As such we ought to hear more of it.

Peter Horton

5. In addition to his work as a critic Smart was involved with the early activities of the Bach Society.
6. Spark, Henry Smart: His Life and Works, 3. Spark refers to ‘the Robsons, the celebrated organ-builders of St Martin’s Lane’, but his comment presumably refers to the firm of Flight & Robson, whose partnership had not been dissolved in 1832, the year Smart left London for Blackburn.
7. ibid, 9. It was also to Kearns that another young composer, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, turned at this time for advice on orchestration.
8. See supplement to The Harmonicon 9 (1831), 212-15.
9. The Harmonicon, 10 (1832), 17.
12. Spark, Henry Smart: His Life and Works, 12.
16. The Athenaeum 1441 (9 June 1855), 680.
17. Spark, Musical Memories, 241-42.
19. ibid.
21. The Examiner, 1 October 1842, 630.
25. After Liszt had declined Berlioz’ invitation to play the organ at the premiere of his Te Deum in 1855, the composer turned to Smart, but this arrangement also fell through. See Hector Berlioz, ed. Denis McCardlin, Te Deum (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), ix.

26. See, for example, Nicholas Temperley writing in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan, 1980), XVII, 390: ‘Smart’s compositions were fantastically overrated by his contemporaries’.


30. A new edition of Smart’s service was issued by the Church Music Society in 2013.


News and Events

Recent West Country Folk Song Research

On the weekend of October 5 and 6, 2013, the English Folk Dance and Songs Society hosted a Folk Song Conference at their London headquarters at Cecil Sharp House. Among the presentations were three from West Country researchers Yvette Staelens, Angela Shaw and Geoff Woolfe. All the conference papers (over 20) are likely to be published in abstract form during the next twelve months.

Yvette Staelens’s presentation explored the association of collector Alice Snow with Cecil Sharp. Snow was a local teacher in Somerton, Somerset. Cecil Sharp’s notes contain 36 songs sent to him by Snow in 1906. They include versions of The Outlandish Knight, The Golden Vanity, Bold Fisherman and William Taylor. The two main singers who gave songs to Snow were Betsy Pike and Mrs Lawrence.

Angela Shaw’s paper was centred on the life of Mrs Jane Gulliver (mistakenly referred to as Gulliford by Cecil Sharp), who lived in and around the Quantocks villages of Bishops Lydeard, Lydeard St Lawrence and Combe Florey from 1862 to 1910. She sang over 40 songs to Sharp and to Henry Hammond in the first decade of the twentieth century, most of which she had learned from her mother and grandmother. Using available archive and census material, the paper considered Gulliver’s life in the context of contemporary social changes in the area, the changing context of her songs during the nineteenth century, and the place they may have had in her life. Gulliver’s songs included Searching for Lambs, The Female Soldier, The Banks of the Sweet Dundee, London Town and Oxford City.

Geoff Woolfe’s paper explored the life of Phyllis Marshall, a song collector from West Monkton, and the lives of the singers from this parish in Somerset. Marshall collected 26 separate songs from the village, where she lived as the Rector’s daughter, in 1916-7. She sent her manuscripts to Janet Blunt, a collector of folk song and dance from Adderbury, Oxfordshire. Marshall had met Blunt while she was a student at Lady Margaret Hall Oxford University between 1909 and 1912. Her time there coincided with the formation of the English Folk Dance Society and the height of Edwardian interest in the revival of folk song and dance.

The most important singer from Bathpool was Mrs Elizabeth Nation, a farm labourer’s wife, born in 1864, who learnt most of her songs from her mother. Her songs included The Spotted Cow, Lord Bateman, The Constant Farmer’s Son, and a version of London Town. Phyllis Marshall also collected four songs from Mrs Ellen Millington, the local village school teacher, and from women who worked at the Creech St Michael paper mill.

The paper about Phyllis Marshall has been published at www.mustrad.org.uk (link to ‘Articles’) and includes images, copies of archive material and song transcriptions.

The English Folk Dance and Songs Society and the Vaughan Williams Library last year launched the ‘Full English’ project, which enabled a wealth of archive material to be digitised, including the manuscripts of Cecil Sharp, the Hammond brothers and Janet Blunt. This facility, available at www.vwml.org.uk (link to ‘Full English’), has been of immense help to researchers and performers alike.

NABMSA News

CHOMBEC Corresponding Member (and former Visiting Fellow) Nathaniel Lew reports on some recent activities of the North American British Music Studies Association:

Diana McVeagh Prize Winner Announced

The North American British Music Studies Association (NABMSA) is pleased to announce that the winner of the 2013 Diana McVeagh prize is Victory through Harmony: The BBC and Popular Music in World War II, by Christina Baade, published by Oxford University Press.

Dr Baade is Associate Professor in Music and Communication Studies at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Her research interests include early twentieth-century popular music; radio studies and the
British Broadcasting Corporation; gender, queer, and critical race theory; and the historical interactions of mass media and music.

In their report, the selection committee described Dr Baade's work as 'an impressive examination of how the BBC engaged with popular music during World War II in an attempt to encourage morale,' and wrote the following commendation: ‘Victory through Harmony’ exemplifies interdisciplinary research and writing. Not only does Baade write a book about popular music in Britain during WWII, she also balances her investigation with other facets at issue during those years, including a cultural study of the radio, the intertwining of nation-state and cultural ideals, and social transformation. The writing is never too technical to appeal to non-musicians, and the widespread appeal of this work will surely enable its use across disciplines. In addition to these outstanding qualities, Victory through Harmony is simply well written. Baade's prose compels the reader in much the same way that the music she examines captured the ears of those who heard it.

In addition to awarding the prize to Dr Baade's book, the committee singled out Harrison Birtwistle’s Operas and Music Theatre by David Beard, published by Cambridge University Press, for honorable mention. NABMSA awards the Diana McVeagh Prize biennially to the best book on British Music. The prize is named in honor of pioneering British music writer, Diana McVeagh, who is the author of books on and musical editions of British composers Edward Elgar and Gerald Finzi, among others.

Byron Adams Student Travel Grants

The North American British Music Studies Association announces the creation of the Byron Adams Student Travel Grants. The prize is named in honor of the scholar, author, and composer Byron Adams, who, in addition to his broad-based and groundbreaking contributions to the understanding of music in Britain since the late nineteenth century, has long been a mentor to numerous members of NABMSA and the musicological profession as a whole.

The purpose of the Byron Adams Student Travel Grants is to make NABMSA’s biennial conference accessible to as many students as possible. NABMSA is currently raising funds to endow the grants. When the endowment reaches $10,000, NABMSA will award grants to one or more doctoral-level students who deliver papers at its next conference. The grants, which will not exceed $500 per individual and $1,500 per conference cycle, will offset travel, lodging, and registration expenses. Grants will be awarded on the basis of financial need, the quality of the student's paper abstract, and the strength of the recommendation letter received from a faculty advisor.

The Spackman family was very active in music-making in nineteenth-century Corsham and two members of the family, Henry – known as Harry – and his younger brother Herbert, transported their musical abilities to New Zealand. Harry (1850-1941) arrived in New Zealand first, in October 1882, with Herbert coming out later. Herbert (1864-1949) did not prosper with his music to the same extent as his older brother, and he returned to Corsham in 1900. Harry, however, had a long, successful and varied musical career. While he worked mainly as an organist/choirmaster in Napier, Gisborne and Wanganui, he also taught violin, piano, organ, singing and harmony privately. His pupils in music theory included his wife Amy and his brother Herbert, and both were successful in Trinity College of Music examinations in 1892. He operated a music shop too, and it was in association with this retail business that Harry provided an extensive piano tuning service, claiming to have been trained at Brinsmead's piano manufactory. He was also in demand as an adjudicator at music competitions, most notably for the contests associated with the Wellington Exhibition of 1896-7, and as a conductor he formed the first orchestral society in Napier in 1905. Harry died in Wellington at the age of ninety-one in 1941. His eldest son, Clement Roy, continued the musical tradition of the family, with a professional musical career in New Zealand that stretched for over forty years.

Born in Napier on 10 June 1887, Roy – as he was always known – was the second child and eldest son of Harry and his first wife. His mother, Amy (née Coxall) died in Gisborne in 1894, leaving behind a family of three young children: Dora, Roy, and Irene. By all accounts Amy was a fine amateur singer, leading the church choir and on occasion performing vocal solos. Harry remarried in 1895 to Frances Parnell, and had two more children, Arthur and Dulcie.

Roy was educated in Gisborne, Napier, and then at Wanganui Collegiate School from 1898 to 1901, where his father was music master. His life was spent mainly in two cities of New Zealand: Napier up to 1928, and then, until his death in 1961, Dunedin. Little is known of his early musical training, but it is very likely that he
received some from his father, as Roy was active as an organist, conductor, school music teacher and composer – a very similar musical mix to his father's. Unlike his father though, Roy did acquire some formal musical qualifications when he graduated with a Mus.B. from the University of New Zealand in 1940.

When living in Napier, Roy was music master at Napier Boys' High School and organist at St Paul's Presbyterian Church, holding both positions from 1912 to 1928. He was also conductor of the Napier Operatic Society and the orchestral societies in Napier and the closely adjacent town of Hastings. In addition he taught violin and viola for a period at a school in Havelock North. In 1916 he married Aileen Moore, who was a prominent young pianist from Dunedin. She was a pupil of Mrs Blanche Levi and as well as being successful in music competitions held in Dunedin, Christchurch and Wellington, she scored very high marks while progressing through Royal Academy of Music exams.

They moved to Dunedin in 1927, primarily for the organist and choir master position at the Knox Presbyterian Church, which he held until his death in 1961. He was also music master at both the Otago Boys' and Otago Girls' high schools, and class singing teacher at St Hilda's Collegiate School. He was also associated with the Dunedin Orchestral Society, the Dunedin Operatic Society, and the Otago Branch of the Registered Music Teachers' Association. Indeed, he was the Otago region representative on the New Zealand Music Teachers' Registration Board from 1953 until his death in 1961. His musical talents were also in demand as a judge at music competitions throughout New Zealand.

Archival papers and compositions of Roy Spackman are available from several repositories. The Hocken Library, a research library of the University of Otago, contains a large deposit of his papers including many of his original compositions. He wrote extensively from about 1913 onwards, writing for a diverse range of ensembles and genre. These include works for the stage (6), choral works (9), orchestral (10), string quartet (2), songs (23) and instrumental solos (16). Hidden amongst them are some original compositions by his wife, Aileen, which are mainly for piano. Also amongst the nearly seven linear metres of material are a number of scrapbooks (1898-1960) regarding various aspects of Spackman's musical activity as well as his other interests. There are also some papers relating to his father's musical work, both in New Zealand and prior to him emigrating from England.

The Turnbull Library, the research library associated with the National Library of New Zealand in Wellington, also has some of Spackman's compositions, albeit very small in number. These are merely duplicates of material contained at the Hocken Library. However, the Turnbull Library does contain papers and letters of Herbert Spackman, including his diaries written in shorthand, which have been published by two of his daughters.²

Whilst many of Spackman's compositions were written for schools and amateur societies, one composition deserves a special mention. His cantata The Burning of the House of Hades, written for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra, won second prize and £30 in the choral section of the musical competition associated with the New Zealand founding centennial celebrations in 1940. The first prize was won by Douglas Lilburn with his cantata Prodigal Country. It was no disgrace to come second to this work, as it marked the return home from overseas study by Lilburn, and the beginning of a career as the pre-eminent composer of New Zealand.² Both works were given a radio broadcast performance in November 1940 by an assembly of musical forces conducted by Andersen Tyrer.

As well as his musical contribution to New Zealand society, Spackman was active in other areas too. His interest in local politics saw him serve as a borough councillor for four years in Napier, and as deputy mayor for a similar period. He was also a keen sportsman, and played first class cricket for the province of Hawke's Bay, as well as being a provincial representative in hockey.

Spackman died on 16 May 1961, the result of a car accident while visiting New York. His wife had died earlier, in 1940, and he was survived by his only child, Molly Colbert.⁶

This brief biographical outline of Roy Spackman's musical life shows that he did indeed continue a family musical tradition in the Colonies. There is still plenty of scope for further investigation about his musical training, what influences can be seen in his compositions, and a detailed analysis of his compositional style.

The career of Donald Francis Tovey, 'the greatest musician we had', in the words of Casals, his lifelong friend and dedicatee of his 1934 violoncello concerto, remains without easy parallel: probably few music students today appreciate just how central Tovey was to British music and music-making in the years between the wars. Educated at home by his tutor Sophie Weiss, under whose direction he was composing works in sonata form at eight, and reading full scores at twelve, Tovey rapidly forged the vast knowledge of the repertoire which informed all his criticism. Originally coming to prominence as a virtuoso, he once claimed to be 'within memorising distance of sixty-five concertos', and gave the first performance of his piano concerto, under Henry Wood's baton, in 1903. In addition to the two concertos his oeuvre includes chamber works, a symphony and an opera, The Bride of Dionysus, which reflected his classical studies. Apart from the Cello Concerto, his major works were all composed before the First World War. For nearly forty years Tovey the soloist, chamber music player and lecturer was regularly and conspicuously before the public in this country and abroad. He was also a conductor, author, educator, editor and broadcaster. Tovey's all-round proficiency goes some way towards explaining the degree to which he embedded himself in our national consciousness during his meteoric career, which ended just after the outbreak of the Second World War, when he was still in post in Edinburgh University's music chair after nearly half a century of non-stop activity. Born in 1875, when imperial influence was at its height, Tovey was a child of Empire: 'in but not of' the twentieth century. This article is an attempt to assess the significance of his legacy and to measure how enduring his contribution to music criticism and British musical life has been.

Tovey's musical philosophy grew out of immutable concepts and seems to have changed little throughout his career. He regarded the classical style, with Beethoven as its prime exponent, as the ne plus ultra of musical expression, rather than as a step in the evolutionary process and throughout his career he saw a close parallel between the formal principles that govern the classical style and those on which Greek drama is based. To Tovey, form and tonality were synchronous: 'A Toveyan analysis was integrally, at its best, an analysis of tonal relationships'. As a result, he had little interest in music written after 1910, and regarded the seventeenth century as being 'choked with weeds'; the eclecticism of this approach supplies ammunition to those who question the continuing validity of his criticism. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of his criticism is his rejection of the principle of thematic transformation: having completed and edited the Art of Fugue, incorporating the B.A.C.H. motive, in 1931, regarding it as his greatest work of scholarship, he wrote a few years later of the opening of Beethoven's fifth symphony: 'no great music has ever been built from an initial figure of four notes'. Tovey commonly describes variations of thematic ideas which have occurred earlier in a work as new figures, rather than reworkings of material already presented, a theoretical stance comprehensively rebutted by Rosen, who points out that 'every composer before the twentieth century played with the shape of his themes, abstracting them from the exact pitches.' But Tovey himself, with typical perverseness, does sometimes acknowledge thematic relationships, notably in the music of Elgar. Kerman called his dogmatism 'Johnsonian'; it should be noted, too, that Tovey was not immune to the 'desire to shock', another trait he shared with the great Doctor.

Tovey's best-known works, the Essays in Musical Analysis (London, 1935-9) began life as programme notes for Edinburgh University's Reid Orchestra. It would be more accurate to describe the Essays as commentaries with analytical overtones: readers were gripped not only by Tovey's insights but by his majestic prose, replete with wide-ranging analogies and rich in puns, while his use of metaphor and imagery excited imaginations already whetted by the vital language of that other child of Empire, and Tovey's close contemporary, Rudyard Kipling, who invited the Toveys to lunch at Batemans in 1920. The Essays were written for the 'naive listener' (Tovey's code for amateurs), setting them apart from most modern music criticism which is, as Kerman points out, written for professionals. In Spitzer's view his criticism 'refuses to date'; paradoxically, it is the vintage quality of his elaborate prose, so central to his analytical style, and so far removed from the economy of utterance fashionable today, that has ensured the uniqueness of his criticism. The breadth of Tovey's reading and cultural awareness is staggering: biblical, literary and classical references rub shoulders with allusions to the Loch Ness Monster and (in one of his talks) the Theory of Relativity (Albert Einstein once played second violin in a performance with Tovey). Kerman states 'No one would read Tovey were it not for

3. Douglas Lilburn (1915 – 2001) has been variously described as the 'elder statesman' and 'grandfather' of New Zealand music. In addition to winning the choral section of the competitions of the centennial celebrations, he won first and second prizes in the orchestral class with his Drysdale Overture, and Aotearoa Overture.

'The Tove' Today
Matthew Thomas
that prose', though today's cash- and time-strapped students, brought up in an era of soundbites, are likely to be less entranced by what Youngren calls the Victorian polymath's 'dowish obfuscations'. At times Tovey's prose risks becoming 'a dangerous semi-poetic analogue of the music itself', while Machlin points out that Tovey's abstruse analogies can seem confusing, even laboured. Olet lucerna, as Tovey himself might have said.

But Machlin sees Tovey's prose as an essential tool of his critical approach. In his analysis of Schubert's B flat piano sonata, D960, 'Tovey uses metaphor and language to convey his sense of the drama's progress', the ebb and flow of Tovey's prose mirrors his own enthusiasm for the music, which he shares with the reader. In this respect, too, his critiques differ from their modern counterparts, which tend to be dispassionate and dissecting in character. Tovey focusses on the foreground in his analyses: only now and again do his reflections touch on deeper analytical points which he rarely follows through. He holds the door ajar to a deeper realm of music criticism (such as Schenker's theory of prolongation) but does not proceed through it. Perhaps he feared that his readers would tire of in-depth analysis and be unable or unwilling to follow him there 'if he taxed him or her with special subtleties'; his quicksilver intellect may also have wearied of lengthy explanations. It should be remembered that the Essays had their genesis as programme notes, and spatial and other considerations must often have precluded Tovey's writing at greater length. But even A Companion to Beethoven's Piano Sonatas (London, 1931), a bar-by-bar breakdown of the sonatas' tonality and phrase construction, rarely delves beneath the surface, and his superficial treatment of the famous fantasia which begins the Moonlight op. 27 no.2 sonata demonstrates Tovey's limitations when he is writing about less structured forms. Tovey's preoccupation with sonata form causes him major difficulties when a piece – but not its compositional procedures – has met with his approval: he simply refrains from discussing the techniques involved, as Machlin demonstrates apropos the Schubert sonata.

Although 'the twentieth century ... has come to expect something more rigorous from analysis', in Spitzer's view, 'Tovey remains one of Britain's greatest writers on music, who 'influenced Kerman, Rosen and others'. Tovey's best writing is found in his essays on the Classical period. As he proceeds through the Romantic period, the reader has to make greater and greater allowance for the rigidity of viewpoint, which largely stems from his reverence for the First Viennese School: 'his evolutionary model of style, oriented towards the perfection of the classical style and the supremacy of Beethoven, is set firmly against teleological notions of artistic progress'. Even in his own day there was resistance in the British musical establishment to his entrenched views, and now that we can look back with the benefit of hindsight at the different paths music has taken, Tovey seems more and more isolated in his rejection of so much twentieth-century music whose composers 'speak a different language which I do not know'. Dunsby and Whittall point out that Tovey did not bequeath us a systematic analytical theory, but also point out that although Tovey's British contemporaries, notably Edwin Evans and Abdy Williams, were working at a deeper level at the same time as Tovey, there was little appetite in the UK for in-depth music analysis. Perhaps that is why his edition of the Well-tempered Clavier (fingered by Harold Samuel, Associated Board 1924) does not include a rigorous analysis and relation of the works' mensuration to their dance structures comparable to Fritz Rothchild's.

Tovey's legacy in the field of education was considerable: 'everything he did, outside composition and actual performance, was in a sense educational'. His Associated Board edition of the Beethoven sonatas in conjunction with Harold Craxton (1931) is notable for its performing and philosophical insights (Parry, his tutor at Oxford, thought his philosophical gifts at least equal to his musical ones); it and his edition of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier (with Harold Samuel, 1924) have only recently been superseded. His two series of Sunday afternoon radio talks, which he illustrated at the piano, broke new ground using the new medium of broadcasting, while making him known to an even wider public. Tovey's pioneering spirit was also evident in his championship of the Emanuel Moor duplex-coupler piano, which included a second keyboard pitched an octave higher adjacent to and coupled to the ordinary keyboard, tripling the instrument's sonority; Tovey, who possessed both upright and horizontal examples, thought Moor's invention would make the ordinary piano 'as extinct as the Dodo within ten years'. However, the instrument, which would have massively extended pianistic resources and horizons, did not find favour and Tovey's vision of the country's concert halls equipped with duplex and even triplex-coupler pianos was not realised.
Like many of his contemporaries, including Elgar, Beecham and the great self-taught violinist Albert Sammons, Tovey never studied music full-time; 'an English scholar and gentleman' (and eventually a knight), musician and philosopher who ‘knew something about everything and everything about something’, Tovey carved out a unique niche for himself in British musical life by dint of scholarship, personality and pianistic ability. It is regrettable that Tovey the pianist did not leave a recorded legacy: a Tovey Beethoven cycle might have taught us much, but we have to be content with his writings and compositions. Stanford, an exacting judge, thought of the piano concerto, and Casals thought the cello concerto the finest written for the instrument. It is regrettable that Tovey did not leave a recorded legacy: a Tovey Beethoven cycle might have taught us much, but we have to be content with his writings and compositions. Stanford, an exacting judge, thought of the piano concerto, and Casals thought the cello concerto the finest written for the instrument. 

Viewing him in terms of all-round musical activity, no British musician has had a higher profile, been more closely identified with all aspects of British music (note ‘British’ because of his long Scottish connection), or shown greater versatility as, in his own words, ‘a conductor, producer and teacher of music' than Donald Francis Tovey.  

1. Tovey’s Oxford nickname, after Lewis Carroll’s Jabberwocky; Mary Grierson, Donald Francis Tovey (London: OUP, 1952), 32.  
2. ibid, 109.  
6. Donald Francis Tovey, Symphonies and other orchestral works (London: OUP, 1989), 53.  
8. Tovey, Symphonies, 300.  
11. Letter from Rudyard Kipling to Tovey, 10 December 1920, inviting the Toveys to lunch at Batemans, Tovey correspondence, Papers of Sir Donald Tovey, Edinburgh University.  
12. Kerman, ‘Tovey’s Beethoven’, Write All These Down (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 162.  
14. Tovey, Essays in Musical Analysis, vol. VI (London: OUP, 1939), 112; Tilmouth, The Classics of Music, xxxii; Grierson, Tovey, 214.  
15. Kerman, Write all these Down, 170.  
17. Kerman, Musicology, 151.  
19. Machlin, ‘Tovey’s Prose’, 244.  
20. Kerman, Write all these Down, 167.  
25. ibid.  
30. Grierson, Tovey, 51.  
32. ibid, xlii.  
33. ibid, xxx.  
34. ibid, 214.  

What's in a name?  

Celia Durk  

Pseudonyms are widely used in the theatre and during the rise and heyday of the West End musical comedy (1890-1920) many of the collaborators in this popular genre adopted pseudonyms. These pseudonyms were used quite openly and did not disguise the identity of the person concerned. So what was the point of adopting a pseudonym? The reasons appear to be various.  

Ivan Caryll, the composer and conductor of such hit shows as The Shop Girl (1894), was born Felix Tilkin. Caryll was concerned with his public image. It was his habit to arrive at the theatre in a carriage complete with coachman and footman. Dark, bearded and perfectly dressed he was sometimes mistaken for a Russian nobleman. Possibly he chose his pseudonym as being more glamorous than Tilkin. The public may have not known his real name but friends in the profession called him Felix. In contrast Howard Munkittrick adopted ‘Talbot’ as a pseudonym due to his father, Alexander Munkittrick, disowning him. Munkittrick senior wanted his son to train for the medical profession but the young Howard, determined to be a musician, paid his own way through a composition course at the Royal College of Music and, at his mother’s suggestion took her maiden name of Talbot. He subsequently had a successful career as composer and conductor for shows.

James Davis, after a short career as a solicitor, became a journalist. He was working as the drama critic for *Sporting Life*, when a chance meeting with the impresario George Edwardes launched him on a career as a librettist, writing the ‘book’ for *A Gaiety Girl* (1893). He adopted the pseudonym Owen Hall (owing all), an ironic comment on his extravagant lifestyle and inability to meet his extensive debts. He went on to write, among others, the shows *The Geisha* (1896), *A Greek Slave* (1898), and *The Girl from Kays* (1902). In effect, the sobriquet denoted a side of his character and writing which was quite separate from his journalistic endeavours and far more lucrative. Also in a punning vein, the comedian Arthur Roberts used the name ‘Payne Nunn’ when he wrote the book for the burlesque *Claude Duval* (1894). A similar case to that of Davis pertains to Arthur Reed Ropes. Ropes was a Chancellor’s prize for poetry. Under the pseudonym stretching over more than four decades. As Art hur Reed lyricists of the West End musical stage with a career written a history of Europe.2

Thus, in taking on a post as drama and music critic on the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1890, Monckton did not preclude his being able to take on briefs, although none seem to have arisen until 1895 when he held a watching brief for Alfred Douglas at the court proceedings against The Marquess of Queensberry.

Between his graduation and taking up the post on the *Gazette*, Monckton's musical activities under his own name, as reported in the press, were limited to appropriate social settings. Just prior to his graduation, some of his part songs had been published. He performed and composed for Lord and Lady Norton's society events. He conducted an amateur orchestra at meetings of The Primrose League, a Conservative political group, of which his Oxford friend, Alan Mackinnon, was the secretary. In addition he performed at various charity events. This was all very correct for the young barrister about town.

‘Leslie Mayne’s’ musical life during this time was much busier. The majority of the musical activities Mayne undertook were in conjunction with Oxford friends who clearly knew who he was, so that there is no indication that Monckton sought to hide his identity. The first appearance of the pseudonym is in the *Morning Post* which featured an advertisement, in March 1886, for a charity performance at which Lady Monckton, his mother, also performed.5 Furthermore, it is chronicled that Monckton returned to Oxford, where he would have been well known, to serve in the capacity of musical director for the Oxford University Drama Society. He conducted Arthur Sullivan’s music for *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1888, also contributing some of his own compositions. In 1889, for *Julius Caesar*, he composed and directed (according to Elliott’s *Amateur Clubs and Actors*) ‘some very charming music’. However, press reports of these productions feature Mayne as conductor, composer and musical director, with no mention of the name Monckton.7

Leslie Mayne had several song settings published in a collection. On three occasions he conducted a string band at a Primrose League meeting and also conducted an amateur orchestra for The Windsor Strollers at the Theatre Royal, Windsor. He appeared at two charity concerts and accompanied the 48th annual production by the ‘Old Stagers’ based in Canterbury, contributing the music of a song for the comic epilogue. Oxford friends Arthur Bourchier and McKinnon were in the cast.8 Mayne is next heard of as being involved in a matinee production which was staged at Terry’s Theatre on 15 May 1889. This was the first performance of the play, *The Grandsire*, an adaptation of *Le Flibustier*.9 On 6 December 1889 *Mummies and Marriage* was given at The Exhibition Palace, Folkestone. The show was a musical adaptation of *An Illustrious Stranger*, by Oxford friends Alan Mackinnon and J.G. Adderley. This was advertised as having ‘new and original music’ by Leslie Mayne.10

It may be that Monckton envisaged a dual career as barrister and musician, though this would have been hard to sustain at the level of activity that he undertook as Mayne. It is possible that, on taking up the post at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he began to see himself as a professional musician rather than an aspiring barrister. For whatever reason, from the end of 1889 Monckton no longer attached the name Leslie Mayne to his musical compositions. *The Grandsire* was given again in
May 1890 with Monckton credited under his own name.11

In addition to composing music and setting lyrics, Monckton also wrote lyrics and he continued to use the name Leslie Mayne for these. Lionel Monckton’s friends felt him to be a ‘strange character’, with an air of breeding and a handsome face, but a cynical and caustic manner, he was always aloof and nobody seemed to win his confidence.12 Yet the song lyrics he wrote display a light-hearted and playful nature at odds with this perceived persona. One of the most memorable of the Mayne/Monckton songs ‘Moonstruck’, written in 1909 for his wife Gertie Millar in Our Miss Gibbs, features the lyric ‘I'm all aquiver when the moonbeams glance, That is the moment when I long to dance’. Perhaps as Leslie Mayne, Monckton was able to express an aspect of his personality that was otherwise deeply hidden.

6. The Morning Post, Monday, March 08, 1886.
8. The Era (London, England), Saturday, August 10, 1889 & Saturday, August 17, 1889.
12. Boosey, Fifty Years of Music, (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), 141; Kuhe, Obituary of Monckton, unidentified newspaper, Theatre Collection, University of Bristol.

that determined its character, quantity and use. The dominant Hollywood industry, with its production line methods and specialised salaried workers, manufactured closely synchronised and lengthy scores. The American system employed composers to write music, and orchestrators to cast it into lush, string-heavy arrangements attuned to popular tastes. The much smaller British industry was characterised by films with less music overall, and music that was generally less tied in a moment to moment relationship with the film. The music enjoyed a greater freedom from formulaic restrictions, and exhibited more variation in its character, orchestration and use from film to film. This diversity presents a challenge when seeking to summarise the defining elements of British film music, in contrast to the greatly more standardised and homogeneous musical scoring associated with the classical Hollywood film.

Film music in the British industry was dominated by three highly influential music directors: Muir Mathieson, first at Alexander Korda’s London Films, then with the Rank Organisation and independently; Ernest Irving at Ealing Studios; and Louis Levy at Gainsborough. In conjunction with the music directors, scores were commissioned on a film-by-film basis, and this produced two positive outcomes for British film culture.

Firstly, the majority of composers working in film were also engaged in musical activities outside the industry in order to make a living, and thus the spectrum of film music was enriched by their more varied musical backgrounds and the influences of their other endeavours. Secondly, it enabled scores to be commissioned from eminent concert composers, which both raised the profile of music in the British film and allowed music to be promoted as a marker of quality.

The precedent for the concert composer working on a film score had been set by Arthur Bliss, who, at the request of H G Wells, had provided music for Things To Come (William Cameron Menzies, 1936), which proved to be something of a landmark, although it may be felt today that the film does not wear its years lightly. The film initiated a tendency for scores that eschewed close synchronisation with screen action in favour of more impressionistic music, which in its greater independence retained recognisable elements of its composer’s individual style. This type of scoring allowed concert composers to begin writing music before the completion of filming, alleviating to some degree the restrictive time schedules imposed on film composers, and it also made it easier for material to be rearranged for the concert hall, as Bliss had done with his Things To Come score, when he conducted the music at the Proms in 1935 while the film was still in production.

The practice of commissioning scores from established concert composers was welcomed by both composers and filmmakers. For composers, film work...
Addinsell, who composed the popular ‘Warsaw At the lighter end of the musical spectrum, Richard backgrounds to provide music for British films. regarded as a vi rtue being made of necessity in a small scores for Addinsell’s melodic gifts are also to the fore in his ‘Going To See You Today’, among many others. ‘Old Time Dancing (Stately As A Galleon)’ and ‘I’m Grenfell, for whom he set the songs ‘Three Brothers’, Clemence Dane and later collaborated with Joyce Desmond Hurst, 1941), worked in the theatre with Charles Williams provided music for many films before it was the accepted practice to credit individual composers (notably Hitchcock’s ‘Blackmail’, 1929) and went on to score ‘The Night Has Eyes’ (Leslie Arliss, 1942) and ‘While I Live’ (John Harlow, 1947), which includes the popular piano piece ‘The Dream of Olwen’. Williams specialised in melodic light music, and his work has been further popularised through his theme tunes, for example the long-running radio programmes ‘Dick Barton, Special Agent’ and ‘Friday Night is Music Night’, and also to accompany the early television interlude ‘The Potter’s Wheel’. Whereas Addinsell and Williams, along with Hubert Bath (composer of the ‘Cornish Rhapsody’ from Leslie Arliss’s ‘Love Story’, 1944) and Hans May were more associated with light music, other composers undertook film work alongside work for the concert hall. William Alwyn (who composed the scores for Carol Reed’s ‘The Way Ahead’, 1944, and ‘Odd Man Out’, 1947), and Brian Easdale (composer for Powell & Pressburger’s ‘Black Narcissus’, 1947, and ‘The Red Shoes’, 1948) were also engaged in serious composition. Alan Rawsthorne and Bernard Stevens (Lawrence Huntington’s ‘The Uptumed Glass’, 1947) were primarily serious composers who accepted film commissions. Benjamin Frankel, whose notable scores include ‘Dear Murderer’ (Arthur Crabtree, 1947) and ‘The Importance of Being Earnest’ (Anthony Asquith, 1952), meanwhile, studied composition, piano and violin, began his career as a musician and arranger for jazz and dance bands, wrote prolifically for films and also maintained an output of serious music that included eight completed symphonies and embraced twelve-note composition.

To return to the form of British film music, I have noted two distinctive departures from the dominant Hollywood template. Firstly, it is less reliant on a close shadowing of on-screen action, although the level of synchronisation between music and image depends to some extent on the musical style of individual composers and the dramatic requirements of the subject. Richard Addinsell, Benjamin Frankel, William Alwyn, Alan Rawsthorne and Bernard Stevens demonstrate an assured facility in creating dramatically integrated film music, in contrast to the generally less closely aligned, but no less effective, atmospheric settings of Arthur Bliss, William Walton and Vaughan Williams. It would be a generalisation to state that composers working in Britain completely eschewed rhythmic synchronisation for dramatic effect, as many were highly adept at the practice. The distinction lies both in the frequency of its use, the sometimes subtle difference between a musical parallelism with the image and the more slavish representation of every on-screen movement, and the suitability of the technique to the subject. For example, Alan Rawsthorne’s score for the gothic costume drama ‘Uncle Silas’ (Charles Frank, 1947) is a masterful exercise in heightening the extravagant tale it accompanies; it does not shy away from bold melodrama. It incorporates stinging orchestral blasts at shock moments, and music that, if not directly synchronised in a cartoonish way, matches
closely the tempo and tone of the images. This contrasts strikingly with the same composer's work for The Cruel Sea (Charles Frend, 1953), where the music is largely atmospheric and used extremely sparingly.

Secondly, there is generally less music used in British films, and it is frequently absent where convention might dictate its use. Consequently, dialogue scenes are not underscored as a matter of course or scene changes invariably smoothed with the help of music. One positive outcome of not employing a constant orchestral accompaniment was that it enabled contrasts to be drawn between music and its absence. By the interplay of the two on the soundtrack, the presence of music is highlighted. Although all film music performs broadly similar functions within the film, differences in the style of the music, and its structural use, reflect the cultural preferences of the country of its production.

This is not to overlook the contributions of a number of émigré composers working within the British industry at this time. These include the Hungarian Miklós Rózsa, who worked for Alexander Korda at London Films on scores for, among others, The Four Feathers (Zoltan Korda, 1939) and The Thief of Bagdad (Michael Powell, Ludwig Berger, Tim Whelan, 1940); the Polish Allan Gray (Józef Żeligowski), whose scores for Powell and Pressburger's films include The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp (1943), I Know Where I'm Going! (1945) and A Matter of Life and Death (1946); and the Viennese Hans May, who scored the Gainsborough costume dramas Madonna of the Seven Moons (Arthur Crabtree, 1944) and The Wicked Lady (Leslie Arliss, 1945), as well as darker subjects for the Boulting Brothers, including Thunder Rock (1942) and Brighton Rock (1947).

Music may impart a certain British character to a film, both through its intrinsic style and when and how it is used. Music is a deceptively potent aspect of mise-en-scène and may endow a film with a specifically British resonance. My contention is that this is not merely the result of historical circumstance, but that it also reflected the specific intentions of practitioners within the industry, and enabled British film culture of this era to present a richly varied soundscape which encompassed and embraced the diversity of the musical backgrounds of its composers.

In 2012 Paul Mazey completed his MPhil research into music in British cinema of the 1940s and 1950s, with a particular focus on melodramas and musical narratives. In 2013 he returned to Bristol to begin doctoral research and he is currently exploring the conjunction of landscape and music in British cinema of the same period.

**Reviews**


Stephen Banfield

Private Willis, in his midnight epiphany about Liberals and Conservatives, was not the only person to have pondered how Nature divides everything into two sorts. Many of us will have been disposed to comprehend music in its entirety through binary or ternary divisions: not just the vocal/instrumental, published/unpublished, and sacred/secular categories beloved of dictionaries and catalogues, but the more culturally aligned distinctions of private/public, serious/popular (or art/folk/popular), and professional/amateur. But, appropriate to a Grenadier Guardsman’s reflection as it would be, have we ever been inclined to view all music, at least in the long 19th century and at least in Britain, as either military or civilian? Hitherto, perhaps not. But with Herbert and Barlow’s monograph to hand, this way of looking at things will now be seen to possess profound explanatory force.

Consider some of the facts. The Royal Military School of Music (Kneller Hall) opened in 1857 with full government funding and a universally praised professional curriculum that could hardly have been in stronger contrast to the earlier shambles of the Royal Academy of Music and later one of the National Training School. All its pupils were double-handed, playing instruments from more than one family (including strings), and one sees what is surely an offshoot of this professional ethos in the ‘reed’ versatility of
present-day Broadway and West End pit players. Yet paradoxically, the educational and cultural sphere of wind and brass in Britain and its dominions was so separate from that of strings, voice and keyboard well into the 20th century that the Associated Board examined only six clarinettists in the whole of the 1930s. (See David Wright’s recent history of the ABRSM for a major piece of research nicely complementing that of Herbert and Barlow.) Numbers of military musicians were impressive: Herbert and Barlow calculate that there were upwards of 160 bands supported by the military in Britain in 1856, and that many of them were much larger than the regulation maximum of 21 players; thus we may be talking about considerably more than 5000 professional musicians serving at that date, upwards of 5000 also being the figure arrived at by the military musician and scholar Jacob Kappey for 1894. (Kappey put the number of players employed by the military across Europe at that time at 51,732.) I myself have estimated that at the beginning of Queen Victoria’s reign there may have been some 5000-6000 instrumentalists in the west country alone, though there is no knowing how many of these were more than casual fiddlers, fluters or drummers, were musically literate, or had received the regimental training or military sponsorship that was a robust tradition long preceding Kneller Hall.

The implications are enormous. The meticulous and exhaustive research, enormous depth of experience, and exemplary clarity informing Herbert and Barlow’s account turn the British aristocracy and even royalty from philistines into diachronic patrons of music (for regimental bands were long funded privately by the officer class, and it was the Duke of Cambridge who was determined to set up Kneller Hall). Cosmopolitan repertoires, high standards, foreign bandmasters and populist appeal dissolve most of our insecurities about national status, modernism, and romantic originality in music. But while the intimate connections between military music and the brass band movement are fully explored by Herbert and Barlow, so too does the separation between military and civilian cultures prove at times acute. Elgar, for all his Pomp and Circumstance marches, never himself wrote for military band. Most thought-provoking of all, and the subject of Herbert and Barlow’s final chapter, is the fact that 60-80% of all British forces, including their bands, were stationed overseas at any one time, in the Empire or in continental conflict. (The Empire similarly informs one chapter of Wright’s book on the ABRSM.) The British military played a major – one might argue, the predominant – role in creating and sustaining the soundscapes of the ‘red’ parts of the globe, be it in the pit of the Theatre Royal, Kingston, in the weekly band concerts in the mess at Poona, on the pier at Limassol, or when soldiers trod the boards to depict both sexes in their amateur dramatic productions – something about which Herbert and Barlow might have said more, John Lowerson’s book Amateur Operatics: a social and cultural history (2005) not appearing in their bibliography.

Minor niggles have no further place here. This book is a magnificent achievement. Now, as Herbert and Barlow themselves point out, someone needs to do something comparable for the Navy.

Karen McAulay, Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Era (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013; Music in 19th-Century Britain series)

Nick Nourse

Throughout much of the second half of the eighteenth century, and for many years of the nineteenth, Scotland found itself the subject of the attentions of a stream of characters, all seeking to record Scottish song. Some, like Joseph Ritson and William Stenhouse were antiquarians, professing a wish to preserve Scotland’s heritage before it was lost; others were music publishers with financial motives to drive their endeavours. One or two, of which James ‘Ossian’ Macpherson is the most famous, were charlatans. Beginning with the earliest Scottish song collections of Joseph and Patrick MacDonald in the 1760s, and concluding in 1888 with the death of the English song collector and publisher, William Chappell, Karen McAulay sets out to furnish the reader with a comprehensive history of a satisfyingly large and complex subject.

McAulay is, if nothing else, thorough. Adopting a chronological approach to her subject, and showing quite clearly the book’s origins in a PhD, Chapter 1 introduces the early, mid-17th century song collectors and the problematic James Macpherson. The latter is the principal focus of attention, in particular Macpherson’s creative methods, the later critical analysis of his work, and concluding with an account of the official inquiry by the Highland Society of
Scotland. Chapter 2 moves on to the antiquarian collectors that straddled the new century. But whilst highlighting the act of collecting 'in the field' – and again in Chapter 3 in the section, 'How? Campbell's Methodology' – I was struck by the obvious missed opportunity for McAulay to compare her subjects, their methods and intentions, with Cecil Sharp and the many others of the Edwardian folk revival.

Chapter 3 is another display of the author's zeal and productivity in uncovering connections, lineage and influences in her sources. The chapter also features one of the very few musical examples that support her arguments. It seems that the author's promise and insistence that hers is a work about Scottish song collections with music (author's emphasis) means only that the musical content of her sources has been used to limit the extent of her study: it avoids her having to account for the many song collections without music as well (my emphasis). The decision is perhaps inevitable in such a data-rich study. The author and publisher must, however, have recognised that placing such emphasis on the borrowed title phrase, 'our Ancient National Airs', and repeatedly reminding us that this is a study with music – first used page 1, line 2 – in a series of books on 'music in 19th-century Britain', sets up an expectation that music will feature prominently in the book; it does not. Not that it is entirely absent (Chapter 2 is the most music-heavy), but the student of music will undoubtedly find themselves seeking additional sources to fill the missing musical gaps. Scott, The Singing Bourgeoisie (OU, 1989 and Ashgate, 2001) will answer many of the queries, as will Fiske's admittedly now rather dated English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century (1973), even select passages of Charles Hamm's Yesterdays (1979) will address some of the issues; it is telling, perhaps, that none of these three sources appear in McAulay's bibliography.

The musically-informed reader might also find that McAulay never quite appears fully in control of her understanding or presentation of any genre of music beyond art music. In particular, although she stresses the study is one that considers the songs as they were received at the time of publication, laden phrases such as 'normal diatonic harmony' (28), 'proper song settings' (110) and 'proper musical arrangements' (113) are never given context to clarify whether these are comments that refer to the author's assessment of musical practices of the period, or whether they reveal the author's own ideas and prejudices on what she considers normal/abnormal or proper/improper music. But for me the greatest omission is the continued sidestepping of the question of 'folk song'. Although the author's position is seemingly set out in her Introduction, where 'folk' is briskly dispatched as too problematic and time-consuming to warrant attempting to define it, she continues to make use of the term at intervals thereafter. Whilst definitions of 'folk music' and 'folk song' are not easy, her subject, and the emphases on 'national airs' and antiquarian collecting, demands that a clearer definition and explication of the issues involved be made.

Unfortunately, this lack of clarity stayed with me for much of the remainder of the book. This is a shame, because there is a great deal of information to be had from McAulay's endeavours. Chapter 4, for instance, is a broadly even-handed and non-judgemental attempt to consider the question of faking 'folk' song. McAulay singles out a number of particular examples and illustrates her point thoroughly with first-class research, much of it based on private correspondence between the song collectors and their publishers. Her research is also allowed to open out on occasion into broader issues of Enlightenment and Romantic culture and thinking. Not surprisingly, the 'cultural geography' of wild Scotland features large, and the likes of Rousseau and Edmund Burke are given some, but maybe not enough, space.

Herein lies the problem: McAulay has tried to fit too much in. Too often the desire to add yet another fact or relationship means that her subjects are rarely given space to breathe and to come alive. The constant stream of data also becomes wearing, and this is not a book you pick up and read for pleasure. Although the content is clearly written, what I believe McAulay has produced is a dictionary and detailed family tree of Scottish song collectors; who they were, who they knew and who influenced them, and what their sources were. The result is a detailed and mostly comprehensive reference work in which one would go in search of concentrated bibliographic information on an individual or a specific publication. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, I found the final chapter, in which William Chappell is given the majority of the pages, to be far more rewarding than much that had preceded it, the additional room meaning that her subject this time is set out in a far more leisurely and digestible fashion.

All criticism aside, Our Ancient National Airs is a worthy addition to any library with an interest in the history of Scottish music. The work will no doubt provide specialist researchers with ample material as a starting point for further lines of enquiry, and the general reader will also, with a little perseverance, turn up many interesting facts about which they previously knew nothing.