BRITISH MUSIC FOR CLARINET AND PIANO 1880 TO 1945: 
REPERTORY AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

By

Spencer Simpson Pitfield

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of 
Ph.D. in Performance Practice

The University of Sheffield 
Music Department

December 2000
Summary

This thesis is a study of British music for clarinet and piano composed between the years 1880 and 1945. The research has established a considerable repertoire of pieces, many of which are completely unknown to clarinettists today. There are two types, sonatas and character pieces. The discussion focuses on a number of substantial works. The sonatas by William Henry Hadow, William Henry Bell, George Frederick Linstead and Roger Fiske have been published (2000) in connection with this study, and critical analyses of the sonatas by Hadow and Fiske are included in the thesis, as are analyses of ‘character’ pieces by Richard Henry Walthew and Joseph Charles Holbrooke. It is the author’s opinion that many of the works discovered demand close attention from contemporary performers.

The thesis includes chapters on the British social background and its effect on musical activity; on Brahms's influence; on instruments and on the British playing tradition. The Brahms/Mühlfeld relationship was probably the single most important element in establishing a strong clarinet culture in Britain at the turn of the 20th century. Native compositions were extremely popular throughout the period and indigenous performers achieved high levels of technical and artistic ability. The research noted a gradual swing away from the 'simple-system' towards the 'Boehm-system'. However, neither system dominated the other and throughout the period many disparate instrumental systems were in use in the British Isles.

A chapter on performance practice draws upon evidence from early recordings. Playing before 1900 was regimented and exact in execution. After the turn of the 20th century there was a move towards freer, less restricted playing. This culminated in the outstanding playing of Reginald Kell. His refinement and artistry were unsurpassed by any other native performer of the period.
Contents

Introduction 1-5

Chapter 1: British Social History and Performance Culture 6-22

Chapter 2: Brahms’s Influence 23-43

Chapter 3: Instruments 44-59

Chapter 4: The British Playing Tradition 60-81

Chapter 5: Sonatas 82-113

Chapter 6: Character Pieces 114-146

Chapter 7: Performance Practice 147-174

Conclusion 175-180

Appendix 1: Catalogue of Works 181-188

Appendix 2: Associated Board Syllabuses Pre-1964 189-192

Appendix 3: Musical Examples (separate to main document)

Appendix 4: Rosewood Editions (separate to main document)

Bibliography 193-204
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Alan Brown, my supervisor at Sheffield University, for his patient guidance and continued encouragement. I am also indebted to Professor Colin Lawson, Goldsmiths College University of London, for his considerable support and specialist advice throughout the research period.

Many individuals have contributed valuable knowledge and support to this study. I would especially like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to the following people: Michael Bryant, Oliver Davies, Colin Bradbury, Pamela Weston, Jack Brymer, Alan Hacker, Nicholas Shackleton, John Playfair, Ewart Willey, Richard Platt, John Walthew, Stephen Linstead, Nicola Hazelwood, Paul Harvey, Andrew Smith, Peter Bell, Gwydion Brooke, Dr. Jane Ellsworth, Dr. Norman Heim, Dr. David Fennell, Dr. James Sclater, Dr. Glenda Goss, Dr. Heinrich van der Mescht, Debra Jones, Russell Tandy, Larry Ashmore, Peter Taylor, Josephine Leighton, Ingrid Pearson, James Davies, LucyAnn Palmer, Johanna Martin and Paul Vaughan.
Introduction

The subject of this study is British music for clarinet and piano written between the years 1880 and 1945. No detailed examination of this topic has previously been attempted, although some articles in related areas have appeared in journals, together with a small number of dissertations.¹ The thesis includes a work list, as complete as possible, of British works for clarinet and piano within the chosen research period.

A few of these works have stood the test of time, and are familiar to players and listeners today; but the majority has been almost forgotten. In the writer's opinion the neglect of these little-known works is unjustified: many of them are of considerable artistic value, and deserve greater public recognition.

The reasons for the neglect are numerous. In the period under research, the negative British reaction to native works was compounded by the limited success of British compositions abroad. The feeling in Britain that 'foreign music is best' was extremely prevalent during the research period.² The teaching establishment, by working from a restricted repertoire base, exacerbated this neglect.

Other cultural factors led to the demise of these British duo works in the years after 1945. These included changes in the type of performing

¹ Relevant American dissertations have been written by Dr. Norman Heim, The Use of the Clarinet in Published Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano by English Composers 1800-1954, D.M.A. Rochester, 1962, and Dr. Jane Ellsworth, Clarinet Music by British Composers, 1800-1914: A Repertorial Survey, D.M.A. Ohio State University, 1991. Further information on American theses can be obtained from the International Clarinet Association Research Center, Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742, USA. Most American magazine articles have been sourced from The Clarinet, USA. British theses of import have been written by Nicola Hazelwood, The Effects of English Clarinet Playing Created by the Rift in Styles between Kell and Thurston, B.A. Welsh College of Music and Drama, 1992, and Andrew Smith, A Study of Leading British Clarinet Players of the 20th Century and Works Written for them by British Composers, RAM GRSM, 1976. British articles have appeared mostly in the Clarinet & Saxophone magazine.

² For further information regarding this statement see Eric Blom's Music in England (London, 1942).
venues and shifts in the dominant compositional genre. The tradition of
drawing-room concerts, chamber music ‘impromptus’ and the character
piece was overtaken after c.1945 by a swing in public demand for large-
scale orchestral works. Of course, the chamber music concert continued
(now in a formalised context), but the impetus did move away from the
smaller, more intimate recital.

From the 1980s in the United Kingdom, there has been renewed interest
amongst performers, teachers and musicologists in these little-known
compositions. For reasons described in Chapters Five and Six, a small
core of these so-called ‘standard’ works (like Howard Ferguson’s *Four
Short Pieces* (1937), Gerald Finzi’s *Five Bagatelles* (1945) and John
Ireland’s *Phantasy Sonata* (1945)) have been popular since their
composition. This list has been extended in the last few years with works
such as Alice Mary Smith’s Sonata (1870) published by *Hildegard*
editions (1999), Charles Harford Lloyd’s *Bon Voyage Impromptu* (1887),
and Sir Edward German’s *Romance* (1892) both published by Colin
Bradbury’s *Lazarus* editions (1998). This revival is continuing with the
publication of Sonatas by William Henry Hadow (1897), William Henry
Bell (1926), George Frederick Linstead (c.1932) and Roger Fiske (1941).
These sonatas have been researched and prepared by this author, in
conjunction with Michael Bryant’s *Rosewood* publications (all published
2000).

There are two central reasons behind this post-1980 resurgence. Most
prominent is the desire to extend a one-dimensional clarinet repertoire,
which is lacking depth especially when compared to that of stringed
instruments. Secondly, the revival of these lyrical melodic works may be a
reaction to the performance of (post)modern compositions, which has
dominated British clarinet culture in the second half of the 20th century.

---

3 *Hildegard* editions, P.O. Box 332, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania PA 19010, U.S.A.
4 *Lazarus* editions, P.O. Box 14324, London, W5 2YS, United Kingdom.
5 *Rosewood* editions, 61 Oak Hill, Surbiton, Surrey, KT6 6DY, United Kingdom.
Chapter One, entitled Social History and Performance Culture, highlights the social and musical situation in Britain during the period of study. The chapter focuses on the British wind band tradition, the arrival of professional performers, mass entertainment, education and music colleges, Associated Board examinations and syllabuses. It closes with a discussion of technical innovations: gramophone, radio and cinema.

Chapter Two discusses the relationship between Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) and the clarinettist Richard Mühlfeld (1856-1907) and the influence of these two German artists on the establishment of a British clarinet tradition after 1880.

Chapter Three deals with significant developments in clarinet manufacture and design between the years 1880 and 1945. The chapter also provides a comprehensive survey of the types of clarinets in use in Britain during the period of study. These include an analysis of foreign instruments and an examination of the burgeoning British manufacturing industry. Finally, the chapter highlights specific instruments used by prominent British clarinettists in the research period.

Chapter Four focuses on the development of the British clarinet playing tradition. This chapter looks at the most renowned performers of the time and provides a picture of the shifting position of the clarinet in Britain from 1880. The chapter also discusses the effect of clarinet tutors (written by these prominent artists) and focuses on the fruition of British clarinet technique. The chapter closes with a discussion of the so-called 'English School' of clarinet performance.

Chapters Five and Six examine the sizeable known catalogue of music for clarinet and piano composed between the years in question. Of course, no list of this type is exhaustive. No doubt, many fine works from the period wait to be discovered. Therefore, these chapters make only an initial step towards uncovering a body of diverse and original
compositions for clarinet and piano. Specific ‘forgotten’ works, which stand out for their fantasy and depth of expression, are examined in detail.

Those works that are selected will be analysed critically in terms of the following parameters: the use of texture, counterpoint, tonality, form, structure, harmonic progression and melodic movement, as well as the relationship between clarinet and piano. The use of the clarinet - in particular range, technical complexities, and choice of instrument (A or B flat) - is explored.

Not all works listed in Appendix 1 are discussed in Chapters Five and Six. A number of these compositions are of little importance in terms of performance. They are primarily didactic in nature. Nevertheless, these elementary compositions are included in the final catalogue because they provide valuable insights into the British clarinet culture of the period. The sheer size of this perhaps ‘superfluous’ didactic repertoire points to a flourishing clarinet teaching school, which expanded in the late 19th century. These chapters will trace the emergence of these educational compositions and gauge their effect on the clarinet culture. A revival of this relatively large portion of ‘simple’ compositions would benefit beginners and pedagogy in the future.

Chapter Five isolates the extant sonatas from the catalogue of works from the period. Compositions in this genre are most ambitious in terms of concept, structure and length. The chapter briefly highlights some of the more recognised works from the period, but also examines hitherto little-known sonatas: those of William Henry Hadow, William Henry Bell, George Frederick Linstead and Roger Fiske. Two works are analysed in closer detail: Hadow’s Sonata (1897) and Fiske’s Sonata (1941).

Chapter Six studies the so-called ‘character’ pieces for clarinet and piano. These short and colourful works embody a meaningful part of British
cultural heritage and are central to the establishment of an instrumental tradition. Two representative pieces are selected for critical analysis: Richard Henry Walthew's *A Mosaic in Ten Pieces* (1900) and Joseph Charles Holbrooke's *Nocturne* opus 55 no. 1 (1912).

Chapter Seven deals with performance practice. In this chapter the focus is on notable performers of the past and their interpretations, as revealed by the considerable range of surviving recordings from the period. These recordings will be compared chronologically and in the light of late 20th-century trends. Other important areas of discussion will be instrumental mechanism, tone, vibrato, rhythm, tempo and tempo flexibility, technical security, dynamics and articulation.

The study has four Appendices. Appendix 1 is a complete list of works researched. A considerable number of these are still unavailable in print in the year 2000. Appendix 2 lists the pre-1964 Associated Board Syllabuses. Appendices 3 and 4, which are separate to the main text due to reasons of size, include musical examples referenced in the document and the four *Rosewood* editions published as a result of this research (Hadow, Bell, Linstead and Fiske). The thesis concludes with a bibliography.
Chapter One

Social History and Performance Culture

"To interpret music outside of its proper historical context is quite simply to misunderstand the notation."\(^1\)

This chapter examines the impact of social change on the emergence of a performing arts culture in Britain after 1880. This developing performance culture laid the basis for a creative environment where demand for clarinet and piano works increased. As the opening quote states, a knowledge of historical context is vital to an understanding of the creative impetus of the period. It is equally relevant to modern-day performance.

1. 'RENAISSANCE'

After 1840, Britain experienced a sustained period of economic growth and improved social stability. The standard of living amongst the lower and middle classes had changed for the better, wages had increased and working hours had fallen. The improvement in the working conditions of the lower and middle classes from 1847 generated an increasing demand for more forms of public entertainment.\(^2\) With the standardisation of the working week by 1870 the general population began to afford greater luxuries, in their use of leisure time and surplus income. The new open practice of free trade made many articles, which would have been luxuries only thirty or forty years earlier, readily available. These far-reaching changes, improved general education and a more prosperous situation amongst the population, soon affected the arts. The lower and

\(^1\) Finson, 'Performing Practice in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Music of Brahms', *The Musical Quarterly* LXX No. 4 (Autumn 1984), p.460.

\(^2\) The working week was reduced in 1847 to 50-60 hours, or five and a half days. The Factory Act, otherwise known as the Ten Hour Act, protected female and non-adult workers especially and as a direct result of this act the practice of Saturday 'half-holidays' was standardised by 1870. Lowe, *Modern British History* (London, 1984), p.203.
middle classes began to support the emergence of a variety of new musical events after 1870. These included festivals, open-air concerts by brass bands, military bands and provincial wind bands. A church music revival around the same date also generated a number of new amateur choral societies.\textsuperscript{3}

An emerging intellectual elite, part of the ever-increasing graduate community, lent its weight to this musical resurgence. By c.1900, a pianoforte became commonplace in many Victorian drawing rooms. Salon recitals and, at a more public level, operas and symphonic concerts found an audience in this expanding intellectual class.\textsuperscript{4}

During the 19\textsuperscript{th} century (and the early part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century) the most common venue for British popular music was the music hall. This institution was a feature in most urban centres, providing regular vocal concerts of comic and sentimental natures to the emerging lower and middle classes.\textsuperscript{5} As part of the programme, dramatic narrative ballads (written in collaboration with poets of the period) were performed. This tradition can be linked to the character or miniature piece for clarinet and piano (see Chapter 6). These character pieces made instrumental representations of the vocal ballad in a typically warm, melodious form of 'British sentimentality'. Emerging after 1880, they were translations of the music hall's vocal idiom - now appearing on the salon and concert hall stage in front of elite upper class audiences.

By 1880, musical diversity became an integral aspect of day to day British life throughout the class structure. An increasing number of competent clarinettists emerged out of this musical renaissance, eager to perform for all types of musical occasion. For them, a new generation of well-trained

\textsuperscript{3} In this respect, Britain was, and is still, richer than most other European countries. In all major British cities well-trained choirs are commonplace as a result of 19\textsuperscript{th}-century musical expansion. Raynor, \textit{Music in England} (London, 1980), p.164.
\textsuperscript{5} Turner, \textit{English Music} (London, 1941), p.43.
British composers produced a wealth of clarinet and piano literature over a relatively short period of time. This literature, in its two main genres, will be examined later in this thesis.⁶

2. THE WIND BAND TRADITION

“The development of military bands in England [Britain] contributed to the advancement of the clarinet and its literature” - Norman Heim.⁷

The wind band tradition in Britain did a great deal to help popularise the clarinet during the last decades of the 18th century. Its influence continued to be felt in performance and composition well into the 20th century.⁸

Geoffrey Rendall suggests that the first wind band grouping was begun by Frederick the Great in 1763. His ensemble consisted of two oboes, two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons.⁹ This grouping would have been used for military purposes in battle.¹⁰ Initially clarinets were pitched in C and D, but the pitch of B flat for clarinet was standardised in most wind band groupings by c. 1800.

The type and number of wind bands changed dramatically in Britain between 1800 and 1900. Most new bands appeared as a result of more footguard divisions forming wind ensembles for ceremonial marching (from c. 1850).¹¹ This meant that each marching band functioned originally

---
⁶ See Chapters 5 and 6.
⁹ This early wind band was an enlargement of the older clarinet and French horn alliance, which was a very popular wind grouping in the French military for many years.
¹¹ Rendall states: “During the first half-century [19th] London makers supplied the English market, thirteen-keyed clarinets for soloists, six to ten-keyed instruments for the bulk of regimental and militia bands, and church musicians. They were small-bored, slender instruments
as a separate entity. It was only by c.1924 that it became necessary for these disparate military bands to standardise their pitch.\textsuperscript{12} This standardisation enabled military wind ensembles to perform as 'massed bands' without the problem of varying pitch.\textsuperscript{13} These combined concerts were symbols of an imperialistic age, which manifested itself in ceremonial demonstrations of military power. Eventually, these massed bands introduced mainstream repertoire (by leading composers of the day) to the military band tradition.\textsuperscript{14} In works by composers like Gustav Holst (1874-1934) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), bands explored orchestra-like dynamics and expressive qualities previously untested by military ensembles.\textsuperscript{15}

A degree of professionalism resulted from the challenge these works presented and the need to work as a refined ensemble lifted the performing standard of many military bands (by c.1930).\textsuperscript{16} This implies that the ability of individual players was enhanced and as a result, some particularly skilful military bandsmen became soloists (see Chapter 4).\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{12} The bands adopted lower-pitch (a' = 440) in c.1924. See Chapter 3 for more information on pitch regulation.


\textsuperscript{14} J. C. Holbrooke was much impressed with clarinet potential in military bands and is quoted as follows: "Such clarinets! Did ever Englishman's heart beat at all normally, when the Coldstreams and Grenadiers clarinets have a swing! Ye Gods! Out, ye violins". Farmer, \textit{Military Music} (London, 1950), p.70.

\textsuperscript{15} For example, a review of a concert given at St. James's Hall under the baton of L.J.P. Zavertal (n.d.) mentioned in \textit{The Musical Times} of 1893 states (under the heading of the Combined Bands of the Royal Artillery): "He seems to have developed an orchestra out of his bandmen"; the article continues by adding, "no such a pianissimo has been heard in London for many a long day...and other conductors will do well to note the fact". Scholes, loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{16} J.A. Kappey, writing in the conclusion of his book \textit{Military Music, A History of Wind Instrumental Bands}, summarises the high artistic aspirations of military bands at the turn of the 19th century: "I doubt whether the singing of 'Home, Sweet Home' by the most renowned prima donna at a concert at Albert Hall is capable of evoking half the tender emotions which the same tune will produce when played by a military band when serving at one of the far off colonies of this great empire. Let us sincerely hope that all in whose power it is, directly or indirectly, to influence military music will set before themselves a high ideal, so that in the near future it may be raised into the realms of ART". Op. cit., p.95.

\textsuperscript{17} Farmer states that "the military musician played no small part in popularising the clarinet, and many an early player attained fame after graduation from the ranks". Op. cit., p.42.
Not all bands were attached to the armed services. A number of civil bands, based on the military model of wind, brass and percussion, were also active. One such band, 'The London Civil Band', was established in 1910 by Sir Thomas Beecham (1879-1961) to “arrest the alleged decline of English wind playing and explore new sources of sound colour.”\(^\text{18}\) Beecham's observation shows that whilst the clarinet was popular at this time, the relative quality of its performance had deteriorated. The establishment of the London Civil Band was an attempt to arrest this decline. Consisting of approximately 47 players, it was prominent enough to be featured in *The Musical Times* in November 1912. This article describes the type of music this band performed, stating that it had “…familiar music arranged for it, and composers of repute have been asked to compose new music with this group in mind.”\(^\text{19}\) The appearance of bands like the London Civil Band illustrates the artistic heights to which wind bands had evolved in Britain since Frederick the Great's initiative in 1763.

3. PROFESSIONAL MUSICIANS, VENUES, FESTIVALS, SOCIETIES

From c.1860 there was a rapid change in instrumental music away from amateur performers towards professional players.\(^\text{20}\) These professional artists responded to public demand, improving the level and quality of concerts. Before 1880, this demand for professionalism dramatically affected the number of active amateur performers in Britain. However, the amateur music-making tradition righted itself by c.1900 and has remained strong in Britain. Today, it is still a significant feature of social life.\(^\text{21}\)

Another important development reflecting changes in musical culture was the building of concert halls during the 1880s and 1890s to accommodate

---

\(^\text{18}\) Scholes, op. cit., p.500.
\(^\text{19}\) Scholes, loc. cit.
\(^\text{20}\) This ‘modernising’ process in performance was to experience considerable resistance. For many years there was significant opposition to the employment of professional musicians.
\(^\text{21}\) Turner, op.cit., p.44.
the demand for larger audiences. Equally influential was the new and extensive rail network, which allowed musicians and audiences to travel between destinations with greater speed and increased comfort. The ease of day excursions from the larger cities also meant that sizeable numbers of travellers could visit country and seaside resorts. As a result of the increased number of holiday-seekers, local music enthusiasts established artistic festivals. Such festivals included Peterborough and Lincoln (1882), Brighton (1870), Cheltenham (1887), Bournemouth (1895), Scarborough (1899), Dover (1901), Southport (1906), Torquay and Hastings (c.1913), and Canterbury (1928).

Unlike other prominent music-making nations in the 19th century, Britain had no state-run orchestras or opera houses. Before the 19th century the Chapel Royal, the armed services and universities provided most official and ceremonial music. In 1813 the Philharmonic Society was founded. Its main intention was to promote classical music (both orchestral and chamber) and raise the standards of the time. Initially, these concerts were open only to subscribers. By 1841, however, tickets were available to the general public. Other societies followed the Philharmonic's initiative. In 1859, the New Philharmonic Society appeared but this lasted only until 1879. Perhaps of greatest orchestral importance was the establishment of the Crystal Palace Orchestra, organised by Sir George Grove (1820-1900). This orchestra, conducted at Saturday afternoon performances.

---

22 For example the Albert Hall and Queens Hall (built 1893).
24 These festival directors were almost always active amateur musicians, and not professionals.
25 Rendall refers directly to travelling musicians, stating: "During the festival season in the autumn of each year the leading London professionals formed a sort of travelling circus, travelling from city to city, staying four days in each, and giving seven lengthy concerts in cathedral and shire hall". Op. cit., p.67 and Scholes, op. cit., pp.157-8 and pp. 166-8.
28 G. Grove was an engineer and educationist. He was the editor of the first edition of the celebrated Dictionary of Music and took an active part in the organisation of the Crystal Palace performances.
concerts by Sir August Manns (1825-1907), was reputed to be the mainstay of musical culture in Britain between 1855 and 1901.

By c.1850 other important 'artistic' centres established themselves as musical rivals to London. For example, Manchester opened its Free Trade Hall in 1856. Under the guidance of Sir Charles Hallé (1819-1895), orchestral performances were a weekly occurrence by 1860.

The Liverpool Philharmonic Society was established in 1845. This city too had an active performance culture. Another important musical venue was Sheffield. Here, chamber music concerts were organised by the bassoonist John Parr (1870-1963) from 1930. By 1945, over a hundred chamber music concerts had been given at the Victoria Hall (Sheffield) with approximately a thousand different works performed. First performances figured prominently in these programmes and Sheffield became a centre for new original British wind compositions.

---

29 A. Manns was a German born conductor. He promoted concert programmes of seldom-performed works and also new works by British composers.
30 A. Manns began the Crystal Palace Saturday afternoon concerts in 1855. Initial works performed were based on the Palace's existing wind band instrumentation but with time a full orchestra was established. Until its disbanding in 1901 the Crystal Palace Orchestra performances on Saturday afternoons attracted large and appreciative audiences. These concerts were without doubt strong competition in both quality and repertoire for those performances given in central London. Musgrave, The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 67-72.
31 C. Hallé was a pianist and conductor of German birth. Under his direction an enlarged group of musicians was able to give the first orchestral concert in Manchester on 30 January 1858. He was the founder of the Royal Manchester College of Music in 1893.
33 Nettel., op.cit., p.157.
34 J. Parr, a railway clerk of 40 years, collected wind instruments and music both in Britain and on his many travels in Europe. He played bassoon and contra-bassoon in most of the well-known orchestras from 1894 onwards. Personal correspondence between M. Bryant and the author (21 May 1999).
35 George F. Linstead wrote the following about John Parr and his concerts: "The venture at first was tentative and exploratory, but has since justified itself in the bringing to light of many works not only of antiquarian interest but some of real historical significance. It is therefore not surprising that a well-known music critic once described the Parr concerts as being 'the most unique' in Europe". 'John Parr and his Concerts', The Musical Times (June 1945), p.172.
4. TEACHING AND MUSIC COLLEGES

As a result of greater prosperity amongst the lower and middle classes, demand for instruments, sheet music and tuition increased. After c.1870 the number of musicians seeking professional employment grew dramatically, creating a surplus of players. Many who could not find performance work turned to a career where they were more in demand: instrumental teaching. By c.1890 young, unqualified and inexperienced players were taking pupils and, as is documented by many writers, a vicious circle of instrumental under-achievement ensued.

However, this tendency towards quantity over quality was not always a feature of the period under research. The foundation and efforts of the first Board of Education (1870) inspired improvements in musical tuition. Advances in the status of music, whilst not reaching all schools throughout England, saw a majority of institutions offering a broad spectrum of music subjects in their academic curricula by c.1910. Subjects included instrumental lessons and class music - incorporating didactic use of song, music appreciation and occasionally Dalcroze Eurhythmics. Early gramophone companies like His Master's Voice (HMV) also became involved, producing various records to encourage musical appreciation and understanding for school children. By the end of the 19th-century musically literate school graduates emerged as a feature of British musical culture.

36 Elrlich, op. cit., p. 78.
37 It seems that this instrumental under-achievement was still present as late as 1948. F. Thurston is quoted as follows: "The number of good teachers is few, and they are so busy performing that they have little time to spare for teaching, besides which the remuneration is usually not very high". "The Clarinet and its Music", *Penguin Music Magazine* Vol. VI (1948), ed. Ralph Hill, p. 37.
38 The Board of Education developed from the Elementary Education Act.
39 This is the study of 'evolving rhythm through bodily movements' which was founded by the Swiss violinist Emile Jacques-Dalcroze (1865-1950). He visited Britain in 1912 and shortly afterwards the 'London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics' was founded.
40 HMV began to produce records encouraging musical appreciation in schools from c.1940. Scholes, op. cit., p. 622.
Early in the 19th century, it became clear that to obtain performers and composers of quality, new specialist academies for music education had to be formed. The foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1822 aimed at improving the limited numbers of well-educated musicians, but in fact many years of poor management and restricted funds resulted in far fewer graduates than expected joining the major orchestras.\textsuperscript{41} A lack of financial support from government and patrons delayed payment to professors and many initially worked entirely unpaid.\textsuperscript{42} As a consequence, the Academy and later the Royal College of Music (founded 1882) were initially unable to achieve the quality of education for which they were originally established.\textsuperscript{43} Indeed it is reported that by 1870, fewer than 10 percent of Britons following distinguished professional performing careers had come from the Academy.\textsuperscript{44}

By comparison, in the years following 1870 the celebrated military music school at Kneller Hall grew quickly in size and strength. Before 1900 its importance for British wind playing far outstripped that of the Academy and College.\textsuperscript{45} The staff consisted of nine permanent professors, four visiting professors and a schoolmaster who provided general education.\textsuperscript{46} Kneller Hall had outstanding instrumentalists on the teaching staff, notably Henry Lazarus, and took some seventy students each year.\textsuperscript{47} Unfortunately, many of the historical records of the school of music were lost during the Second World War when Kneller Hall was used for military

\textsuperscript{41} The Academy of Music received its Royal Charter in 1830.
\textsuperscript{42} Thomas Willman (1784-1840) was involved with the Royal Academy of Music from its inception. He, like many others, was at first not paid on a regular basis.
\textsuperscript{43} The Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music were not the only music schools founded at this time. Other important institutions established included the Trinity College of Music (1874) and the Guildhall School of Music (1880). Other schools, which have not survived, included the Handel College (1859), the National College of Music (1864) and the Crystal Palace School of Music (c. 1881). The fact that so many major music schools were founded within the space of some thirty years is representative of a huge upsurge in musical interest amongst the general population.
\textsuperscript{44} Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{45} Kneller Hall was opened in 1857.
\textsuperscript{46} Binns, \textit{A Hundred Years of Military Music} (Gillingham, 1959), p. 92.
\textsuperscript{47} See Chapter 4.
training purposes. However, Paul Harvey, a professor of clarinet at Kneller Hall between the years 1969 and 1995, has drawn up a list of clarinet professors employed at the music school from its inception until 1945. It is significant that not only Lazarus but also many other influential British clarinettists including Julian Egerton, George Clinton and Charles Draper taught there. The complete list follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Sullivan</td>
<td>1857 (and Brass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Florian Mandel</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lazarus</td>
<td>1858-1894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Martin</td>
<td>1861-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Parke</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian Egerton</td>
<td>1890-1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.E. Ingham</td>
<td>1898-1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George A. Clinton</td>
<td>1900-1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard G. Owen</td>
<td>1905-1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Draper</td>
<td>1913-1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.W. Stutley</td>
<td>1914-1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O. Smith</td>
<td>1919-1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Booth</td>
<td>1921-1939(^49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Carr</td>
<td>1946-1949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kneller Hall produced a number of leading British wind instrumentalists before 1945 from its standard two-year course. An innovator in music education, it was one of the first musical institutions to insist that pupils attend other concerts to broaden their musical horizons. This holistic approach to music education helped to produce wind players of outstanding technical ability, who for the first time could express artistry and emotion on their instrument. Kneller Hall holds an important place in wind education in Britain. Its artistic success exemplifies the move from

\(^{48}\) The School of Music was based at Aldershot 1939-45. Personal correspondence between P. Harvey and the author (30 June 1998).

\(^{49}\) P. Harvey does not list a professor of clarinet from 1940 to 1945. Personal correspondence with
military bandsman to instrumental soloist - a key development in the establishment of the so-called 'English School' of wind performance (see Chapter 4).

Despite the difficulties attached to the establishment of the Royal Schools of Music, their combined effect on the music profession in Britain by the turn of the 20th century was hugely significant. Once financial infrastructure had been put in place, these schools began to attract the finest teachers and, because of this, the most talented students. By the turn of the 20th century, their success - coupled to greater access to instruments and sheet music - meant that music had become a more popular and viable profession.

5. DIPLOMAS AND GRADED EXAMINATIONS

In his account of the music profession in Britain, Cyril Ehrlich assesses the impact of the introduction of diplomas as professional qualifications by specialist music high schools before 1882. This new approach placed these institutions on a more respected academic footing.\(^5\) Ehrlich singles out the importance of the Royal Schools of Music Associated Board examinations. Founded in 1889, this board's first examination took place in 1890. However, this was not the first musical examination of its kind in Britain. In 1859, the Society of the Arts (founded in 1753) began examinations in theory and composition. This society, which in 1847 became the Royal Society of the Arts, initiated the practice of graded examinations - a remarkable feature of musical education quite peculiar to Britain.\(^5\)

In 1890, the first Associated Board Examinations attracted 1,141 candidates. The examinations were divided into two sets: School

\(\text{footnotes:}\)

50 Ehrlich, op. cit., p.119.
51 Scholes, op. cit., p.629.
Examinations and Local Centre Examinations. In the first fifty years, the number of entries for clarinet in each division was low: one or two candidates per year. The Local Centre Examinations for 1933, for example, saw only one Grade 4 candidate. No other candidates appear until 1936 when there were two Grade 5 applicants. In 1938 and 1939, there were just two applicants in Grades 3 and 5 respectively. From 1940 to 1944 there were none at all. School Examinations produced even fewer applicants than the Local Centre Examinations. In 1918, there was one applicant on Lower Level, and in 1928 to 1929 just one at Intermediate Level.52

By 1913, 80 percent of Associated Board applicants took elementary piano exams, 8 to 10 percent took theory, less than 7 percent undertook string exams and the figures for voice and other instrumental examinations were negligible. This indicates that, well into the 20th century, clarinet instruction occurred on an individual and private basis. It also indicates that most aspiring musicians preferred to take up the piano or a stringed instrument rather than a wind instrument.53 Clearly, the effect of the Associated Board examinations on the establishment of a British wind tradition was negligible.

None of the pre-1945 clarinet syllabus lists have survived. However, a hand-written card-file system still remains at the Associated Board.54 This card-file system lists pieces, composers and the years in which they were set for pre-1964 examinations.55 Before 1964, pieces were selected for particular individual exams from the existing card-file system if and when needed, and mostly in a random way.56 The card-file system was instituted in 1901 and added to progressively from 1905 (until 1964). Charles H. Lloyd’s Bon Voyage Impromptu (Lower) and Sir Edward

---

52 Personal correspondence with Debra Jones, Syllabus Assistant, the Associated Board (8 July 1998).
53 Ehrlich, op.cit., p.119.
54 The first annually printed set wind syllabus only occurred in 1964.
55 See Appendix 2 for complete pre-1964 card-file listings.
German's *Andante and Tarantella* (Higher) appeared in the first year of examination (1901).

The selection process on the card-file system was extremely inconsistent and erratic before 1945. It appears that non-specialists struggled in the early years to institute graded values on particular works. The notion that a piece of music could be rated in a quasi-scientific manner initiated the practice of 'graded' clarinet performance. This haphazard approach to the classification of music and performance is clearly flawed. In 1913, the second movement of the Mozart Concerto was graded at level five whilst Sir Edward German's *Song Without Words* was graded at level seven (in 1935). When comparing the technical and artistic difficulties inherent within these two works, it is apparent that the practice of graded examination was highly dubious before 1945.

A wealth of valuable information survives in these card-files. Most significantly, they provide an index of the type of repertoire popular throughout this period in Britain. In the early years, there is a fairly equal division of works between British and foreign composers. Before 1920, for example, British works were represented by Sir Edward German, *Andante and Tarantella* (1901/04), Charles H. Lloyd, *Bon Voyage Impromptu* (1901/04), Richard Walthew, *Four Meditations* (2nd Set)(1913) and William Waterson Studies (1901/04). Foreign compositions by H. Berthold, *Song Without Words* (1905), W.A. Mozart, Concerto (1913), C. Saint-Saens, *Pavane* from 'Etienne Marcel' (1914/17), C.M. von Weber, Concerto No. 2 (1914/17), Ludwig Wiedermann, *Practical Theoretical Studies for Clarinet* (1909/12) and C. Fricke, *100 Progressive Studies for Clarinet* also appeared. In this pre-1920 category, the continent had two more pieces than those representing native composition. However, by

---

56 Personal correspondence with D. Jones, Syllabus Assistant, the Associated Board.
57 See Appendix 2.
58 The Schumann *Fantasy Pieces* opus 73 was set as a test-piece in the North of England Music Festival competition (open to all woodwinds) in 1928. The Associated Board did not take them up until the 1960s. Personal correspondence between J. Brymer and the author (7 March 1999).
c.1930 repertoire listed on card-files sees a huge swing in favour of British compositions. British works by Betty Balfour, Arnold Bax, William G. Bentley, Philip Browne, Adam Carse, Thomas Dunhill, Howard Ferguson, Gerald Finzi, Joseph C. Holbrooke, William Y. Hurlstone, John Ireland, Clarence Raybould, Ernest Read, Charles V. Stanford, Ernest Walker and Ralph Vaughan Williams appeared. These sixteen British composers were listed alongside just one new foreign composer - Johannes Brahms.

The surviving card-files show year to year inconsistencies in the grading system. For example, Howard Ferguson's fourth movement from the *Four Short Pieces* was upgraded from five to six in 1960, and then in 1964 downgraded back to five. In 1963 Philip Browne's *A Truro Maggot* (see Chapter 6) - a simple, catchy work - was set for Grade 8. In 2000, this work might only achieve a Grade 5 or 6 rating. As a whole, the standards of clarinet examination have become more rigorous. Evidence points to the conclusion that within the research period (pre-1945) the majority of clarinettists were not expected to display high levels of technical ability. However, general technical virtuosity increased after 1945, probably as a result of the increased popularity (and ease of execution) of the Boehm-system (see Chapter 3).

The pre-1964 card-files show that the Associated Board syllabuses often had the effect of supporting and validating a work. Some of those compositions fortunate enough to be included in the pre-1964 Associated Board repertoire survived far better into the 20th century (in terms of publications, concert performances and academic attention) than those that were not. The works of Arnold Bax, Thomas Dunhill, Howard Ferguson, Gerald Finzi, William Y. Hurlstone, John Ireland, Charles H. Lloyd, Charles V. Stanford and Ralph Vaughan Williams are examples of this (see Appendix 2).
However, at least fifty percent of British works included on this pre-1964 Associated Board list slipped into obscurity in the middle to late 20th century. Compositions by William Bentley, Philip Browne, Adam Carse, Joseph Holbrooke, Clarence Raybould, Ernest Read, Richard H. Walthew and William Waterson fell away from the regular British clarinet repertoire after 1964. The reasons for their failure may have something to do with the fact that all these compositions fall into the miniature piece genre (see Chapter 6). The unsophisticated character of these short compositions probably was not deemed significantly meaningful in post-1945 British clarinet culture.

6. NEW DIRECTIONS

The music profession in Britain expanded rapidly after c.1900. This was soon to change. The Great War of 1914 forced many performers to leave the country in order to take part in the war effort. Many foreigners, who had contributed extensively to the professional music scene, were also forced to leave a now xenophobic Britain. Of even greater significance to the decline of the music profession in Britain was the emergence of the gramophone, radio and cinema. These wartime technological innovations eventually reduced the need for 'live' performance and performers. By 1945, professionalism had dwindled, arts education had suffered and the success of concert venues had declined.

1905 saw the first double-sided gramophone records placed on the British market. In 1925, electric recording was established and by the late 1920s radio, under the auspices of the newly formed British Broadcasting Corporation, was broadcasting to homes throughout the country. Cinematography, having been invented as early as c.1860 in France, was

59 The following were introduced in quick succession: gramophone (1899), sound broadcasting (1919), electrical recording (1925), talking films (1927), television broadcasting (1936), the long-playing record (1948). Bornoff, Music and the 20th Century Media (Florence, 1972), p.9.
60 Initially titled British Broadcasting Company, this organisation was established in 1922.
introduced to London around c.1910. These cinema films remained 'silent' in Britain only until c.1927.

These technical innovations did not immediately influence musical employment negatively. In fact, improved pay and working conditions for musicians were the order of the day until c.1930. In 1928, The Musical Times reported that the broadcasting of concerts actually increased attendance at live performances: "It may prove ... that the BBC, so far from killing the public concert, will give it a new lease of life. Its [broadcast] concerts at the Queens Hall have clearly tapped a fresh public. At each concert I have found myself surrounded by refreshingly unsophisticated folk."  

Silent movies provided even better paid and more secure employment for musicians. Cinemas employed a broad spectrum of performing artists including pianists, organists and small orchestral ensembles. It was not unheard of for cinemas to commission complete original scores from native composers to accompany new films. With the increase in live broadcast transmissions, the British Broadcasting Corporation founded its own orchestra, thus creating more orchestral positions. The possibility of recording for gramophone resulted in an upsurge of orchestral work in the recording studios. The 1920s were good times for orchestral players in Britain. The period presented better pay and working environment for musicians, providing near immunity from unemployment.

However, after 1930 these technological innovations began to threaten live music making. The 1930s signalled a change in the relationship between the audience and the performer. Recorded music broke the

---

61 Ehrlich, op.cit., p.186.
63 Unlike concert performances these new silent movies showed seven days a week, often twice a day.
64 Scholes, op. cit., pp. 801-2.
65 The newly formed Musicians Union and Incorporated Society of Musicians together with other Unions had considerable strength at this time.
audience-performer link that had always guaranteed a demand for music and employment for musicians. With the arrival of films with sound, large numbers of performing positions were lost overnight. This, coupled to the worsening political and economic situation, made it difficult for performers to find alternative employment.

However, reduced opportunities for employment did raise musical standards through greater competition. By the outbreak of the Second World War, the music profession (scarred by a lack of demand) was much more professional and exacting in its performance standards. This new competition contributed significantly to the emergence of world-class British clarinet virtuosi in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

These developments, together with the first signs of the impending 'great recession' (post-1945), heralded the close of the so-called 'golden years' of clarinet playing in Britain.
Chapter Two

Brahms's Influence

"Clarinettists who are not fully developed musically and are happy just playing the instrument instead of using it to music's end would be well advised to turn their attention to a less complex style". ¹

Reginald Kell's statement in 1960 confirms his high regard (probably representative of British performers' opinions) for Brahms's clarinet compositions. Brahms's works were warmly embraced in Britain within the period under research. In British musical culture, these compositions represented the ultimate challenge, or 'bench-mark', for clarinet performance.

The chapter investigates Brahms's impact on the revitalisation of clarinet chamber music in the United Kingdom in the years around 1900. It is intended also to show how Brahms's compositions continued to influence British composers in the years up to 1945. Richard Mühlfeld's contribution to the British clarinet 'renaissance' and his close personal friendship with Brahms were vital to the British regeneration. The chapter will focus on this German clarinet virtuoso, his relationship with Brahms, and his very particular approach to the clarinet and its literature.

1. JOHANNES BRAHMS (1833-1897)

Brahms's symphonies, concertos and other orchestral works were premièred in Vienna, Hamburg, Karlsruhe, Leipzig, Hanover, Meiningen, Budapest, Cologne and Breslau. ² On his travels to these cities he

² Meiningen was where the first performance of Brahms's 4th symphony was given on 25 October 1885. It is possible that Brahms met Mühlfeld on this occasion. This cannot be substantiated. New Grove, 1980, 3, p.174.
encountered a considerable number of professional clarinettists and he became aware of the diverse capabilities of the instrument. His sensitivity to the clarinet’s orchestral potential and his understanding of the character of its various registers have often been appraised in literature.³

Brahms formally gave up composing in 1890. A year into his retirement, however, he was introduced to the already well-known clarinettist Richard Mühlfeld (1856-1907). A friendship formed which was to result in four of the most valued additions to the clarinet repertoire in the 19th century. These four works by Brahms can only be compared to Mozart’s Concerto, Quintet and Trio. No other composer has been able to integrate the clarinet so completely into larger ensembles in such a way as to highlight the instrument’s tonal and technical characteristics whilst, at the same time, demonstrating its true soloistic capacity.

2. RICHARD MÜHLFELD (1856-1907)

Richard Mühlfeld, the youngest of four brothers, was born in Salzungen in 1856. He and his brothers received early lessons from their father, who taught Richard violin and clarinet. In 1873, he was accepted into the court orchestra of Saxe-Meiningen as a violinist. Mühlfeld’s artistry quickly resulted in his promotion to the principal clarinet position in Meiningen in 1879.⁴ He held this appointment until his death in 1907. Although not asked to act as court conductor in Meiningen, Mühlfeld was required to take sectional rehearsals. His rigour in rehearsal is well documented, and it helped to establish the orchestra at its famed level of excellence after 1880.⁵ Indeed, the wind section of the orchestra had the best reputation in Germany. He was also an accomplished male-voice choir conductor, and was the general music director of the court theatre in 1890.

⁵ Grove II, 1904, p.314.
Mühlfeld was a prominent and prolific performer. He premièred many compositions and had many works dedicated to him. A list of these compositions appears in Mühlfeld’s diary. The list was presented to the International Clarinet Society Conference in 1984 at Roehampton, London. It is incomplete, and is included below to give an idea of the type of works Mühlfeld performed. The marking (D) refers to works which were dedications.

Gustav Jenner Sonata op.5 (1900)(D)
Wilhelm Berger Trio op.94 (1905)(D)
Max Reger Sonatas op.49 (1900)
Alexander Zemlinsky Trio op.3 (1897)
Max Bruch 8 Pieces op.83 (publ. 1910)
Carl Reinecke Introduction and Allegro Appassionato op.256 (D)
Trio op.264 (1903)
Trio op.274 (1906)
Wilhelm Reif Concerto (c.1885)
Waldemar von Baussnern Serenade (1905)(D)
Stephen Krehl Quintet op.19 (1902)
Charles Stanford Concerto op.80 (1902)(D)
Henri Marteau Quintet op.13 (1906)(D)

7 P. Weston writes: “Astonishing to relate, Mühlfeld gave the first ever performance at Meiningen of the Weber Concertino in 1886. It was 75 years since its composition and this shows that Mühlfeld was a discerning player and well aware of what works were important for his instrument up to that time”. ‘Meine Primadonna - Brahms’ Clarinettist’, Clarinet & Saxophone Vol. 13/3 (1988). p.27.
8 The diary is still in the possession of the Mühlfeld family.
9 This list was obtained from Michael Bryant. He made notes directly from the original Mühlfeld diaries in summer 1984. Personal correspondence between M. Bryant and the author (12 July 1998).
11 Simrock published the first edition.
12 Previous principal clarinet of the Meiningen orchestra. Sacchini, op.cit., p.12.
13 C. V. Stanford later withdrew the dedication to Mühlfeld as he never performed the work.
14 The first edition, which was published in 1907, carries the dedication to Mühlfeld in French.
Mühlfeld’s international reputation was enhanced by a considerable number of concert tours. He performed throughout Germany and Austria and visited England on many occasions. When in Britain, Mühlfeld collaborated with the Joachim Quartet and the British pianist Fanny Davies (see later).

Pamela Weston describes Mühlfeld’s interpretations as “dramatic and very moving”. Rendall notes that he “played less as a clarinettist than as a fine and sensitive musician who, excelling in artistic phrasing and in the finer points of expression, had chosen the clarinet as his means of expression”. Clara Schumann heard Mühlfeld perform at a rehearsal of the Brahms Quintet on 17 March 1893 in Frankfurt. She wrote in her diary that his playing was “... at once delicate, warm and unaffected and at the same time it shows the most perfect technique and command of the instrument”. She continued by saying that “nothing can exceed the depth of meaning and beauty that he can put into a phrase, and in all kinds of music his performance is a perfect model of what musical interpretation can be”. The Times newspaper, in a review of the first London performance of the Brahms Quintet opus 115, writes:

Herr Mühlfeld is a superlatively fine artist, and not only his tone, but

---

15 C.F. Schmidt published this trio, which is scored for clarinet/violin, viola and cello.
18 Weston, loc.cit.
21 Grove II, loc.cit.
the perfection of his phrasing, the depth of his musical expression, and his absolute ease and finish, mark him as a player altogether without parallel in England at least. His broad delivery of the declamatory passage in the Adagio won him special honour at the close of the movement, and it was not a mere act of courtesy on the part of Dr. Joachim to suggest to the new-comer that he should acknowledge the reception.  

However, not all contemporary opinions on this artist were so favorable.  

Oscar W. Street wrote:

...as for Mühlfeld himself, he was undoubtedly a very fine artist; his phrasing was carried to a high pitch of perfection, but his tone and execution at times left much to be desired. The somewhat extravagant praise that was lavished upon him when he visited this country was, I think, in some measure due to our extraordinary national habit of glorifying foreigners at the expense of our own people, a habit which this terrible war is fortunately doing much to destroy. We have had, and still have, players in some respects his equal, and in others clearly his superior.

Street concludes by saying: "...but at the same time we do not forget that it was due to Richard Mühlfeld’s playing that Brahms left us these lovely works, and we honour his memory accordingly".

Another less than complimentary comment about Mühlfeld’s playing was made by R. McDonald (n.d.), a clarinettist from Scotland, who heard him, when in London. McDonald says, "Mühlfeld was a violinist and self-taught clarinettist. I thought his execution was good, but his tone very ordinary".

Brahms probably first met Mühlfeld on a visit to Meiningen in March
1891. Fritz Steinbach, the court conductor at the time, introduced Mühlfeld to Brahms. A private performance was organised. Lawson suggests that Mühlfeld performed the Mozart Quintet on this occasion. Although he does not make it clear, his evidence for this is based conceivably on the work's prominence in late 19th-century chamber music culture, and its apparent effect (inspiration) on Brahms's own Quintet.

3. BRAHMS'S SONATAS, TRIO AND QUINTET

The impact of Brahms's chamber music (especially his Trio opus 114 and Quintet opus 115) on pre-1945 British clarinet culture was considerable. The reception of these works by British critics, although varied, generated a serious re-evaluation of the clarinet in musical culture. After 1900, when Brahms's works began to have considerable impact in Britain, the clarinet moved out of its traditional music hall and military spheres. It began to be seen in a more serious light. Contemporary opinions of the Trio and Quintet provide the basis for assessing the impact and prominence of Brahms on British chamber music.

Brahms dedicated all four of his clarinet works to Mühlfeld. The Trio in A minor opus 114 and Quintet in B minor opus 115 were completed at Ischl in the summer of 1891. After considerable deliberation between the two over technical and tonal matters, Brahms, Mühlfeld and the Joachim Quartet played through both works in front of the so-called ducal circle. This trial performance was given at Meiningen Castle in late November 1891. The first performances of the Trio and Quintet took place at one

p.5.
28 It is possible that Brahms heard Mühlfeld perform with the court orchestra as early as 1881 under the direction of the influential conductor Hans von Bülow. This cannot be substantiated. Sacchini, loc.cit.
29 Lawson also suggests that the relationship between Mozart and Stadler can be seen to mirror that of Brahms and Mühlfeld. Op.cit. p.1.
30 Rendall, op.cit., p.80.
31 A close group of friends, mostly performers and composers. Street, op.cit., p.107.
of Joseph Joachim’s quartet concerts at the Berlin Singakademie on 1 December 1891. Both works met with immediate success. At this first performance the audience demanded an encore of the Quintet’s Adagio. The Brahms Quintet was the only work ever performed by the Joachim Quartet that was not exclusively scored for string quartet.

The Quintet remained one of Brahms’s most popular works in the 20th century. MacDonald suggests that it shows Brahms at the summit of his powers of organic development and motivic variation, adding that it embodies perfect expression and a spirit of mellow reflection. Geiringer calls it a work of retrospection. He identifies the nucleus of the whole composition in the Con Moto Finale, which is a series of variations with a rondo-like character. By contrast, the Trio’s emotional range has left it less open to these so-called ‘comfortable’ interpretations. It differs considerably from the Quintet in the matter of instrumental balance. The cellist has greater prominence, often relegating the clarinet to the role of accompanist.

It is significant that the Trio and Quintet were often performed together in the years after their composition. The rivalry, perhaps better termed

34 Rendall, op. cit., p.81.
35 May, The Life of Johannes Brahms Vol. II (London, 1905), p.250. However, it is possible that Samuel Coleridge-Taylor’s Quintet in F# minor opus 10 was performed by these artists. This remains unsubstantiated.
36 The première British performance of the Quintet opus 115 was reviewed by The Times on 29 March 1892: “In the case of a work of such incontestable genius it is useless to withhold expressions of admiration until after a second hearing; the form in which it is written is, besides, so clear that its general scope and drift need hardly overtax the powers of the merest tyro to appreciate. The quality which first strikes the hearer is that of homogeneity. The key, B minor, is hardly departed from during the whole work, the thematic material is welded together by the use of a phrase which appears, in various modifications, in nearly every section, and, finally, the disposition of the instruments is so skilful that the tone of the wind instrument, instead of standing apart from that of the strings, seems merely to complete their volume and perfect their quality”. Reproduced in the Clarinet & Saxophone Vol. 1/8 (1984).
39 MacDonald, op. cit., p.366.
parallel existence, of these works meant that they were often compared.\textsuperscript{40} Homer Ulrich in his book on \textit{Chamber Music} (1948) calls the Trio "somewhat dry". He goes on to say that the work, whilst maintaining the clarity of form and technical workmanship of earlier compositions "lacks lyric beauty and seems to be preoccupied with rhythmic development".\textsuperscript{41} The Quintet was immediately popular with critics.\textsuperscript{42} Ulrich notes that, when placed alongside the Trio, the "picture is radically changed" in the Quintet, with imaginative details, variety of texture and far greater beauty and charm of melody.\textsuperscript{43} In support of the Trio, Oscar W. Street writes that the \textit{Adagio} has "as fine music as any movement in the two works".\textsuperscript{44}

In July 1894, after a break of three years, Brahms wrote the two clarinet Sonatas opus 120.\textsuperscript{45} These Sonatas are the last chamber music Brahms composed.\textsuperscript{46} The first performances were given in Vienna on 7, 8 and 11 January 1895.\textsuperscript{47} The Sonatas seem to refer back to the Quintet, especially in the tender melancholic clarinet tone.\textsuperscript{48} MacDonald writes that "since there were virtually no classical models for such a combination, he

\textsuperscript{40} Fuller-Maitland states that the "trio has suffered by the simultaneous publication of one of the most masterly and the loveliest of all the master's works, the quintet for clarinet and strings in B minor, op.115". \textit{Brahms} (London, 1911), p.128.


\textsuperscript{42} Alec Robertson writes the following in a review of the Brahms Trio opus 114 which was recorded by R. Kell, A. Pini and L. Kentner in 1941 (original Decca DX 1850 // Columbia DX 1007-9): "A great deal of mud has been thrown at the A minor Trio and even devout Brahmns take an apologetic line in regard to it. The most destructive criticism appears in Daniel Gregory Mason's "Chamber Music of Brahms", the most constructive - as one might expect - in "Cobbett", Tovey's article. It is obvious enough that the work is not to be compared with the great quintet - why should it be? That it is experimental, and that Brahms, in the third movement, \textit{Andantino}, does descend to the commonplace." \textit{The Gramophone} (May 1941), p.270.

\textsuperscript{43} Ulrich, loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{44} Street, loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{45} On 5 December 1997 the autograph score of these Sonatas was sold at Sotheby's in London. The 67-page manuscript consists of the complete piano score and separate clarinet parts for both Sonatas. Significantly, both the score and clarinet parts include extensive revisions and corrections, in both blue ink, crayon and pencil. The score is inscribed with the following dedication: "To Richard Mühlfeld. The master of his beautiful instrument. In heartfelt and thankful memory!". For further information see R. Adelson's 'The Autograph Manuscript of Brahms' Clarinet Sonatas Op. 120 - A Preliminary Report', \textit{The Clarinet} Vol. 25/3 (1998), pp. 62-65.

\textsuperscript{46} Geiringer, op.cit., p.245.

\textsuperscript{47} New Grove, op.cit., p.174.

\textsuperscript{48} Geiringer, loc.cit.
[Brahms] was establishing a new genre with pieces which have remained cornerstones of clarinet repertoire ever since". Finally, in a similar vein to Kell’s statement above, Tovey (writing about the first movement of the E flat Sonata) suggests that “players who cannot make of this movement one of the most mellow products of all chamber music should leave Brahms alone”.

4. THE JOACHIM QUARTET AND FANNY DAVIES

By 1900, an artistic circle of prominent performers began to bridge the musical divide between Germany and Britain. The most influential members in this development were Mühlfeld, Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) and the English pianist Fanny Davies (1861-1934). Although not directly involved in performances of Brahms’s works in Britain, Brahms and Clara Schumann were other members of this artistic circle.

Joseph Joachim was an Austro-Hungarian violinist, composer, conductor and teacher. His strong friendship with Brahms is said to have benefited the composer immensely. His quartet was involved (right from the beginning) in the performance of the composer’s early chamber works. Like Brahms, Joachim was a noted opponent of the so-called ‘New German School’ led by Richard Wagner. He lamented Wagner’s new and radical compositional direction “…preferring to defend his art principles on the grounds of absolute music”.

Roger Thomas Oliver writes that Joseph Joachim was responsible for generating interest in Brahms’s works in the United Kingdom. After

49 MacDonald, op.cit., p.362.
53 Grove I, 1879, p.270.
54 New Grove, 1980, 9, p.653.
1862, Joachim was a regular visitor to England. His trips soon became an annual event. In 1877, Joachim conducted the first British performance of Brahms's First Symphony in C minor in Cambridge, where he was also awarded an honorary doctorate.\textsuperscript{55}

The most influential figure in bringing Brahms to Britain was probably Fanny Davies. She collaborated with Mühlfeld in the British premières of the two Sonatas opus 120 and Trio opus 114.\textsuperscript{56} Davies spent two years studying with Clara Schumann at the Frankfurt Conservatory.\textsuperscript{57} During this time her playing acquired an "...accurate technique, full tone, fine style and power of phrasing".\textsuperscript{58} Her British debut was at the Crystal Palace on 17 October 1885, playing Beethoven's Fourth Concerto in G major. During this period, she performed extensively. In this, her first professional season, she met and performed with Joachim and his quartet.\textsuperscript{59} This partnership prospered and Davies performed with Joachim in Berlin on 15 November 1887 and in Leipzig on 5 January 1888.\textsuperscript{60} Many of her programmes were based on works by Brahms, Schumann and Beethoven. In the Grove Dictionary (1904) it was written of her that: "...although her playing of Schumann and Brahms is what chiefly distinguishes her from her contemporaries, her musical tastes are of the widest, and she has brought forward new works too numerous to mention, interpreting them with remarkable skill, sympathy and insight".\textsuperscript{61}

Fanny Davies's article on Brahms as pianist and interpreter in Cobbett's \textit{Cyclopaedic Survey of Chamber Music} (1963) provides many insights into Brahms's ideas regarding performance and expression.\textsuperscript{62} She notes that as a performer he was "...free, very elastic and expansive and that a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} New Grove, loc.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{56} New Grove, loc.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Davies was one of the last representatives of the so-called 'Clara Schumann tradition'.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Grove II, op.cit., p.670.
\item \textsuperscript{59} New Grove, 1980, 5, p.273.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Grove II, loc.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Grove II, loc.cit.
\end{itemize}
strictly metronomic Brahms was unthinkable". Davies points out that Brahms was exact with his expressive markings. A crescendo-decrescendo specification applied not only to tone but also to rhythm. Concerning tempo, the article states that Brahms often performed at speeds slower than indicated. For example, his choice of tempo for the third movement of the A minor Double Concerto for violin and cello, marked presto non assai, focused on the non assai in the indication. Davies remarks that it was "... not in the least idea of presto". Davies continues by saying that the most essential element in a performance of Brahms is the choice of tempo. The tendency should be to play the Andantes quicker and the fast movements slower. The tempo should be gauged to best characterise the detail of a movement. Davies’ article closes with the well-known Brahms quote: “Do it how you like, but make it beautiful”.

5. BRAHMS, MÜHLEFELD AND BRITAIN

Rendall draws attention to three reasons for Brahms’s cultural dominance in British clarinet circles: the overpowering freshness and originality of Brahms’s works, the musicianship of Mühlfeld, and the arrival in Britain of a wind player of high standing. Both Brahms and Mühlfeld saw Britain as an important artistic and cultural centre. Their identification of Britain as a lucrative market for their endeavours is made clear by their ensuring that the best possible venues and performers were obtained. On 16 December 1892, Joachim wrote to Stanford in Cambridge asking for assistance in the organisation of a Mühlfeld/Joachim Quartet performance of the Brahms Quintet in Britain. In this letter Joachim suggests that Mühlfeld be engaged. No British player, he continues, could match the gypsy style necessary for the correct expression of the piece. Stanford responded to this letter asking whether Julian Egerton would be suitable.

63 Cobbett, op. cit., p. 182.
64 Cobbett, op. cit., p. 183.
65 Cobbett, op. cit., p. 184.
for the clarinet role. But Joachim was insistent to the point of making the inclusion of Mühlfeld a condition of giving up the manuscript. Clearly, his professional jealousy and his desire to protect potential engagements in Britain in the future were the driving force behind his insistence on Mühlfeld.

This perseverance paid off. Joachim and Mühlfeld gave the London première of the Quintet at a Monday Popular Concert on 28 March 1892. This performance was reviewed by *The Times* in highly positive terms and subsequent performances were given by the same artists in London, Liverpool and Manchester.

The impact of the Quintet on British musical culture was immediate. Julian Egerton attended the 1892 London première of the work. One month later, he performed the Quintet in Cambridge, "...doubtless very differently in style". In early May, George Clinton gave another London performance of the work. This rendition drew stern criticism from George Bernard Shaw. He wrote that:

Mr. Clinton played the clarinet part with scrupulous care, but without giving any clue to his private view of the work, which, though it shews off the compass and contrasts the registers of the instrument in the usual way, contains none of the haunting phrases which Weber, for instance, was able to find for the expression of its idiosyncrasy. The presto of the third movement is a ridiculously dismal version of a lately popular hornpipe.

Another tour by Mühlfeld to Britain in 1895 involved two more performances of the Brahms Quintet. However, these concerts were performed with local quartets and not with the Joachim Quartet. By 1895,

---

66 Rendall, loc.cit.
67 Grove II, op.cit., p.314. This initial performance of the Quintet by Mühlfeld was probably supported financially by Adolph Behrens (n.d.), a generous admirer of Brahms’s music.
68 Lawson, op.cit., p.13.
69 Lawson, loc.cit.
70 Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94, Criticisms Contributed Week by Week to the World*
the Brahms Trio and Quintet were receiving regular performances in the United Kingdom. The best-known British performers of the day were drawn to these intense compositions. Players like George Clinton and Julian Egerton were soon joined by Charles Draper and later Reginald Kell in Quintet and Trio performances. Draper recorded the Quintet in 1917 with the London Quartet (two abridged movements) and in 1929-30 with the Léner Quartet. Reginald Kell recorded the Quintet with the Busch Quartet (1937) and Fine Arts Quartet (c.1945)(see Chapter 7 for more information on period recordings).71

As might be expected, the reputation already gained by Brahms in Britain with his Trio and Quintet put the anticipated arrival of the two clarinet Sonatas opus 120 in 1895 high on the agenda. Mühlfeld brought them to England, performing them for the first time in London on 24 June, with Fanny Davies as the pianist.72 This performance, at the St. James’ Hall, was the first public performance of the Sonatas after publication.73 The Sonatas were eagerly taken up by British clarinettists of the day. By the turn of the century (20th), a flood of performances had established all four of Brahms's works for clarinet at the centre of an emerging 'serious' wind music performance culture.

6. INFLUENCE ON BRITISH COMPOSERS

"It could be argued that this variety of styles and idioms might well have rediscovered the clarinet as a recital and chamber instrument without the partnership of Brahms and Mühlfeld, but there can be no doubt that Brahms's encounter with the clarinet acted as an immense influence and stimulus to later composers of different nationalities and styles".74

72 Street, loc.cit.
73 May, loc.cit.
74 Lawson, op.cit., p.87.
This statement could not be more relevant than in the United Kingdom. The number of clarinet sonatas composed by Britons in the period from 1870 to 1890 was small (see Chapter 5). Only Alice Mary Smith's Sonata in A major (1870), Charles Swinnerton Heap's Sonata (publ. 1880) and Ebenezer Prout's Sonata opus 26 (publ. c.1890) appeared. The Smith Sonata, which was written for A clarinet, is a fine work with an especially beautiful middle movement. Jack Brymer suggests that the Prout Sonata "speaks with a now out-moded voice, but has charm and is brilliant in parts - worth exploration". Lawson refers to the Heap Sonata as "dry and unimaginative", but his assessment overlooks a number of free flowing, spontaneous melodies and an energetic, colourful final movement. Indeed, Jane Ellsworth writes that because of these features, "Heap's Sonata ... is a fine and interesting work".

By the end of the 19th century, a number of factors were generating an active clarinet culture in Britain. Brahms's influence, coupled to Mühlfeld's dynamic performances, was contributory. Other factors were the ever-improving clarinet mechanism which facilitated easier performance (see Chapter 3), and the military band expansion, which created more players, many of whom progressed to become professional soloists (see Chapters 1 and 4). The establishment of professional music colleges in the United Kingdom not only produced performers of quality, but also established a school of active young composers who added to the clarinet's repertoire (see Chapter 1). The emergence of an arts and culture-orientated community, no longer reserved for members of the rich elite but crossing all class boundaries, added impetus to the clarinet's resurgence.

75 This increased interest in clarinet chamber music can be seen in the large number of new Quintets that were to appear in Britain: Howells Rhapsodic Quintet (1921), Stanford Two Fantasies, Somervell (1913), Holbrooke (two quintets) (1914), Scott (1923), Bowen (1932), Wood (1937), Gipps (1942). Of these listed composers, many were also to write significant works for clarinet and piano.

76 A. M. Smith's maiden name was White. The Sonata, which was edited by Richard Platt, is published by Hildegarde editions, P.O. Box 332, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania PA 19010, U.S.A.


78 Lawson, op.cit., p.8.

79 Ellsworth, "Clarinet Music by 19th Century British Composers: A "Lost" Repertoire"
7. STANFORD AND BRAHMS

Sir Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) was a strong Brahms devotee. He studied initially at Cambridge, and continued early composition lessons under Carl Reinecke (1824-1910), who gave him a solid grounding in Germanic principles and tastes. He travelled widely on the continent, meeting with Brahms and Jacques Offenbach (1819-1880). In 1876, he attended the opening of the Bayreuth Festival Theatre. Stanford's internationalism was exceptional when compared to that of other British composers of the period. Although a British patriot, he was profoundly affected by the continental tradition exemplified by the music of Brahms.

Stanford wrote a large volume of works in most genres, but it is his church music that remains most popular today. In 1883, Stanford's reputation as the leading composer of the day was strengthened by his appointment as professor of composition and orchestral playing at the Royal College of Music. In this capacity, he taught many promising young composers. These included Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), Gustav Holst (1874-1934), Herbert Howells (1892-1983), Arthur Bliss (1891-1975), George Butterworth (1885-1916), Frederick John Bridge (1844-1924) and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912). Indeed, Stanford was remembered in his time as teacher first and a creative artist second.

Stanford often used the works of Brahms as examples of exceptional...
artistry. After a concert of the Brahms Quintet in 1895 at the Royal College of Music, he was moved to challenge his composition class to write a similar work. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912), then only 20 years of age, produced an especially individual and complex Quintet, opus 10 in F sharp minor, which was premièred on 11 July 1895. Street suggests that this work has "...absolute originality, and bears no resemblance to Brahms from beginning to end, unless it be in the masterly manner in which both composers, each in his different style, have blended the clarinet-tone with the strings". Street continues saying that this Quintet was the "...only one [Quintet] that in my opinion [Street's] deserves a place alongside those of Mozart and Brahms". The success of Coleridge-Taylor's Quintet was such that it was played by Mühlfeld and Joachim's quartet and was published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1906.

Stanford's importance to this study lies in his devout espousal of Brahms's compositional principles. This was manifested not only in the way he taught his composition class, but also in his own works. His output for clarinet confirms his devotion to Brahms. Apart from the Sonata opus 129 (1911), works for clarinet include the Three Intermezzi opus 13 (1880), Concerto opus 80 (1902), Fantasy in G minor (1921) and Fantasy in F major (1922).

Stanford's Three Intermezzi opus 13 although not indebted to the Brahms Quintet and Trio place great emphasis on lyrical phrase structure and

---

86 Street, op. cit., p. 108.
87 This is not insignificant recognition for a British composer of such young years.
89 F. Thurston notes that Stanford's Concerto opus 80 has a "definite flavour of Brahms. The individual and lyrical beauty of this work makes it all the more strange that it is so seldom heard". 'The Clarinet and its Music', *Penguin Music Magazine* Vol. VI (1948), ed. Ralph Hill p. 35.
well-rounded form. Stanford uses standard ternary form in all three movements with the A sections contrasted against short B sections. The thematic material in the two sections is strongly related in each of the *Three Intermezzi*.

Stanford's Sonata opus 129 (1911) is strikingly similar to Brahms's F minor Sonata and also incorporates elements of the Brahms Quintet. His utilisation of the clarinet follows Brahmsian patterns, in the use of triplet passages and in the large intervals involving changes of register. The Sonata's second movement, *Caoine* - Irish lament - is reminiscent of the second movement of Brahms's Quintet.

A 1904 article on Brahms in the 2nd edition of the Grove Dictionary describes the second movement of the Quintet as a slow movement with free dialogue between wind instrument and violin. It is, the author writes, "...perhaps the most effective thing ever written for clarinet". MacDonald elaborates on the Grove author's idea by describing the middle section of this movement as a "series of florid clarinet arabesques that spiral and swoop over a fantastic string texture of rustling tremolandi. The effect is of wild, spontaneous improvisation and yet the structural logic is undiminished". Cobbett's description of this section depicts a Hungarian

---

91 The *Three Intermezzi* were written 11 years before the Trio opus 114 and some 15 years before C. V. Stanford could have heard the Brahms clarinet Sonatas opus 120. C. Bradbury writes the following in his editor's note to the Chester edition of the *Three Intermezzi*: "Much has been made of the influence of Brahms on Stanford's music, and Stanford was obviously familiar with the Brahms Clarinet Trio, the Quintet and two Sonatas opus 120 when he wrote his Concerto and Sonata. No such models, however, influenced his masterly use of the clarinet in the *Intermezzi*”. Chester, 1979, J.W.C. 55205. Although no such Brahmsian wind model could have influenced Stanford in the *Intermezzi*, it is clear that other harmonic and structural elements from Brahms were incorporated in this composition.

92 All three of the *Intermezzi* include fine melodic phrases within a well-defined structural plan - here ternary form. These two aspects are clearly Brahmsian traits: "...for the most part his works are built on themes of utmost beauty and tenderness ... never, since music was a conscious art, have the ideals of its structure been so continually fulfilled as they were by Brahms". Fuller-Maitland, op.cit. pp.68-70.


94 MacDonald, op.cit., p.364.
band led by a clarinettist. He writes, "...one will be thrilled on recognising exactly Brahms' treatment of the instrument here". 96

Stanford's second movement in his Sonata embodies the above statements. It captures the free flowing atmosphere of Brahms's Adagio in the Quintet whilst maintaining a generic style, expression and structure. This marriage is even more significant in the light of the complication of Stanford's use of melodic material, which is clearly of Irish folk origin. Despite these foreign melodic features, the similarity between these two movements is considerable; Stanford is unable to hide his idolisation of Brahms. This probably accounts for the relative unpopularity of Stanford's instrumental works in the 20th century. Stanford was not able, in this respect, to step out of the shadow of Brahms.

8. OTHER COMPOSERS

Richard H. Walthew (1872-1951) mentions the considerable influence of Brahms on native British composers. In a letter to Katherine Hurlstone dated 27 April 1943 Walthew states: "Brahms was an object of worship at the Royal College of Music, and his music influenced our young composers very strongly". 97 Many composers within the parameters of this research show clearly defined Brahmsian elements in their compositions for clarinet and piano.

Donald Tovey's (1875-1940) Clarinet Sonata opus 16 was written in 1906 and published by Schott in 1912. As with the Brahms Sonatas, the solo part may be performed on either viola or clarinet. Tovey's model for this genre of wind sonata derived from a German aesthetic. Heim relates the technical elements of the Tovey Sonata directly to procedures used by Brahms: "Increased melodic activity is perceptible in the approach to a

96 Cobbett, op. cit., p. 181.
climax of a phrase or section. Here the composer introduces imitation, overlapping of phrases, and dialogue between instruments, a combination often evident in the Brahms Sonatas. Later in his dissertation, Heim suggests that, like the earlier British Sonatas by Charles Swinnerton Heap (1879), Ebenezer Prout (1886) and Charles Villiers Stanford (1911), Tovey wrote his Sonata in a "spirit of Romanticism". He adds that "although the works are original in all respects, the [British] composers, were strongly influenced by the German composers of the 19th century; the French influence is much less evident".

The Tovey Sonata treats both the clarinet and piano melodically, and as in the Brahms Sonatas, the piano part is not subordinate. There is continual dialogue between the instruments, which propels the music forward, and the feeling of pulse usually does not coincide with the bar line. The harmonic language is conservative for 1906: firmly tonal yet free in its use of seventh chords, suspended ninths, chromatic inflexion and modulations. The phrases in the clarinet line are usually two to four bars long. The solo part (as in the Brahms Sonatas) focuses on the smooth, legato, sonorous qualities of the instrument. Articulation is predominantly slurred, with very few tongued sections. The clarinet range is also modelled on the example of Brahms, with high notes reserved for climactic points. As in the Brahms Sonatas, Tovey incorporates flourishes in the clarinet part, with phrases which are not limited to individual registers. These phrases often encompass two octaves or more.

Arnold Bax (1883-1953) was a 'brazen Romantic'. "My music is the expression of emotional states" he wrote, "I have no interest whatever in sound for its own sake". He was heavily influenced by the German

---

99 Heim, op.cit., p.294.
100 The Tovey Sonata includes shifting accents from the downbeat and regular use of syncopation.
tradition of composition, admiring Wagner and Strauss.\textsuperscript{102} John Ireland (1879-1962), who was taught by Stanford, belonged to a small group of composers subsequently termed 'English Impressionists'.\textsuperscript{103} His compositional education was based on Beethoven and Brahms, but Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky later influenced him.\textsuperscript{104} Whilst many of his contemporaries, such as Vaughan Williams and Holst, developed a compositional language based on English folk-song, Ireland evolved a harmonic style closer to French and Russian models.

The Bax (1934) and Ireland (1943) Sonatas show the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic influence of Brahms.\textsuperscript{105} In both these works, there is an effective melodic balance between the instruments. Despite the increased complexity of Bax and Ireland's harmonic language (in relation to pre-1930 British sonatas), both refer to the Brahms Sonatas in their broadly based Romantic idiom. This harmonic complexity is achieved through chromaticism, dissonance, and the occasional use of modal writing. Bax and Ireland extend Brahms's boundaries of rhythmic variety, using shorter values and more interesting textures and counterpoint. These two sonatas differ from the Brahms Sonatas further in that they expand the range of the clarinet, now occasionally exploiting the extreme high register of the instrument, and incorporate through-composed structures.\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{103} Phillips, \textit{The John Ireland Trust} leaflet (1995). 35 St. Mary's Mansions, St. Mary's Terrace, London W2 1SQ.
\textsuperscript{104} Stuart Scott writes: "Early influences on the music of Ireland were Brahms and Dvorák, particularly on his early chamber works. This fact brings to mind the time when Ireland took an early chamber work to his teacher, Stanford. On looking at the composition Stanford returned the score to Ireland and remarked - 'All Brahms and water me'bhoyl!'". Scott later continues: "...it was from this composer [Brahms] that Ireland developed a fine sense of architecture". \textit{The Chamber Music of John Ireland}, \textit{Composer} (Spring 1975), p.22.
\textsuperscript{105} See Chapter 5 for more information on the Bax and Ireland Sonatas.
\textsuperscript{106} The Bax and Ireland Sonatas are rhapsodic when compared to earlier English Sonatas by Heap, Prout and Toovey, which are more conservative in formal design. The Bax Sonata has only two movements. The first, \textit{Molto Moderato}, is in D major. The second, \textit{Vivace}, is primarily in the parallel key of D minor. The Ireland \textit{Phantasy Sonata} is in one movement, which consists of six contrasting sections. See Chapter 5 for more information on these works.
Of course, not all the works composed within the study period show strong Brahmsian traits. In general, the genres of greater weight - sonatas and suites - owe allegiance to Brahms. Shorter works often bypass this imposing German composer by basing themselves pre-dominantly on folk-like melodies of a native cast. An example is Finzi's *Five Bagatelles* (1945) (see Chapter 6).
Chapter Three

Instruments

Steady improvements to Johann Christoph Denner's (1655-1707) clarinet prototype in c.1700 had resulted, by 1770, in the so-called 'standard classical clarinet' (with five-keys) in widespread use across Europe.¹ By 1800, more keys were being added. Jacques Francois Simiot (1769-1844) of Lyons, for example, manufactured 12-key clarinets. Heinrich Baermann (1784-1847), the great German virtuoso, was in possession, in 1809, of a 10-key instrument by Johann Griesling (1835-1871) and B.M. Schlott of Berlin.² The need for many different instruments pitched in various keys was superseded when Iwan Müller (1786-1854) produced a clarinet which was capable of performing in all keys ('omnitonique'). Whilst various competing instrumental builds were in use in late 19th-century Britain, Müller's achievement led the way to establishing, or standardising, what was later known as the 'modern' clarinet.

Müller built his new clarinet in 1808 in collaboration with Johann Baptist Merklein (1761-1847) of Vienna. Gentellet (no first names or dates known) of Paris produced a version of this design from c.1814.³ Gentellet's instrument possessed 13-keys and incorporated tone holes, which were countersunk and placed in well-calibrated acoustical positions. These developments were made possible by extended keywork. When opened, the redesigned key-work allowed sufficient space for ventilation.⁴ This clarinet developed on the technical aspects of the five-keyed 'standard classical clarinet' in the areas of padding, venting,

⁴ Pads were made from leather with soft wool filling which reduced air-leaks considerably.
springing, key disposition and, of course, 'omnitonique' versatility. Some thirty years elapsed before these developments were reliably refined. Müller's 13-keyed clarinet, however, supplied the basis for the so-called 'German' system.

In the mid 19th century, Hyacinthe Klosé (1808-1880), a clarinettist and teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, revolutionised the developments already made by Müller. Klosé's efforts established the so-called 'Boehm' system of clarinet design. Collaborating with the Parisian instrument builder Louis Auguste Buffet (1816-1884), Klosé experimented with improvements between 1838 and 1843. His invention was patented in 1844. It possessed seventeen keys and six rings allowing the fingers to control twenty-four tone holes. The original patent of the Klosé/Buffet Boehm clarinet was revolutionary and refined enough to keep its basic design throughout the 20th century, excepting a few minor adjustments. This instrument at once solved the problem that existed with Müller's instrument. An economy of finger work facilitated dramatic new technical ease for the player. In particular, Klosé's clarinet did away with the necessity for forked-fingering.

The Klosé clarinet, along with the Klosé tutor of 1843, was quickly employed throughout France. Its establishment outside France, however,

---

6 The instrument is today termed Boehm as the principles governing its construction were taken from those ideas applied by Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) to his new flute system. His design consisted of ring-keys by which a finger could close one tone hole whilst simultaneously closing another tone hole at considerable distance away from the finger action. It was this principle which allowed for the first time a huge number of better acoustical combinations to be employed on the flute and it was from this idea that Klosé proceeded to develop his new clarinet.
8 No longer would it be necessary for fingers to glide (or slide) from key to key as the lower joint right and left hand little finger combinations (for the three lowest tone holes) could now be played on either side.
9 This is the practice of using unequal and irregular finger combinations on the instrument. This still occurs on German system clarinets and it can be said that today this is the single most important difference between the two main fingering systems of the so-called French and German schools. Importantly, it must be remembered that the Boehm-system still has some forked-fingering present, although quite minimal in relation to the Müller system.
was slow. The Brussels Conservatoire, for example, only adopted the instrument and its system in the late 1890s.\textsuperscript{10}

Although remembered largely for his invention of the saxophone, another innovator in clarinet design was the Belgian, Adolphe Sax (1814-1894). Sax invented an improved Müller-type clarinet in 1842.\textsuperscript{11} This instrument bridged the gap between Müller's instrument and the 20\textsuperscript{th} century's so-called German system.\textsuperscript{12} Along with other key-arrangements, Sax's clarinet added a pair of rings to the lower joint, vastly improving the intonation of the B/F sharp twelfth.\textsuperscript{13}

1. MÜLLER/ALBERT AND BOEHM CLARINETS

In the extensive foreword of Lazarus's tutor, \textit{New and Modern Method} (1881), the author discusses the Boehm and Müller systems at length.\textsuperscript{14} His views provide a valuable survey of late 19\textsuperscript{th}-century British opinion concerning the clarinet. The common clarinet of the milieu, according to Lazarus, was a 13-keyed, 2-ring Müller design.\textsuperscript{15} Lazarus's preference, though, is for the new Boehm-system. He explains: "The imperfect notes, the cross fingerings and difficulties experienced in the ordinary system completely disappear in the Boehm-system. Now almost every French clarinet player performs upon it and a great many Belgian, German and Italian artists use it". He continues: "...this beautiful instrument [system] is certainly easier to learn for the beginner, and we much regret to see it so

\textsuperscript{10} Rendall, op.cit., p.99.
\textsuperscript{11} Sax exhibited a clarinet with 24 keys in 1835. New Grove, 1980, 16, p.530.
\textsuperscript{12} Young's \textit{4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments} includes just two listings of clarinets by A. Sax. The first is of a 13-key instrument which is now lost. It was originally exhibited in London at the Royal Military Exhibition in 1890. The second listing, perhaps more relevant to the above information on Sax, is of a 7-key instrument dated around 1843 in ebony with brass key-work which is today housed in the Madrid Conservatoire. It must be noted that this is a selective listing and Young only references those instruments he has viewed. This is clearly why there are only two clarinet listings under Sax and not more. (London, 1993), p.201.
neglected by the profession. It is in general use all over the continent on account of its superior qualities as regards tone, fingering and correct intonation. A day will come when it will supersede all the other systems. 16

The comparison Lazarus makes between the Müller/Albert and Boehm-system clarinets contributed to a long-lasting debate. 17 The only real advantage of one design over the other was in the fingering system. The Boehm-system is quicker, more responsive, has keys which are more comfortably placed but is not necessarily more 'logical'. Rendall, for one, questions the claim for its increased logic suggesting that the Boehm-system requires: "...nimbleness of choice [cognitive] while the Müller [system] calls for nimbleness of finger". 18 Other differences are in the mouthpiece design and reed set-up. The Boehm instrument employs a wide mouthpiece with a shorter lay than the Müller. The longer lay of the latter, in turn, requires a harder reed, which is smaller than in the Boehm-system. There are also considerable differences in bore diameter and in the quality of sound (as a result of variations in bore, tone-hole disposition and the amount of key-work). 19 The Müller design and its later variations were commonly termed the 'simple-system'. This label referred to the relative lack of keys and the necessity for fork-fingering in the Müller/Albert system. The term 'simple-system' was, however, misleading. Historically it detracted from the pure, warm sounds and the revolutionary technical improvements accomplished on the basis of Müller's design.

15 The so-called Patent C#, which was adapted from Oboe design, was added shortly after this date (exact date unknown). A new edition of the Lazarus Tutor, dated 1910, includes this key in the editor/publisher foreword notes. This made the number of keys 14.
16 Lazarus, loc.cit.
17 See later for closer discussion of the Albert clarinet.
18 Rendall, op.cit., p.100.
19 Bore diameter in both Boehm and Müller clarinets was highly variable. As John Playfair has suggested in private correspondence, an Albert of the period has a bore diameter of c.15mm, similar to the large Boosey & Hawkes 10-10 bore, which appeared later at 15.2mm (17 January
2. BUILDERS

A large number of instrument builders were active in Europe during the period of this study, but only a few had a significant impact on the clarinet in Britain. In 1825, France, Belgium and Germany dominated clarinet production in Europe. Most of these continental makers, like Albert and Selmer (see later), were not leaders in clarinet design and development, but fine builders who only realised and adjusted the ideas of their more revolutionary counterparts (Müller, Klosé/Boehm, Buffet and Sax).

Belgian builders, especially, produced instruments of high quality. The two most famous, both based in Brussels, were Charles Mahillon (1813-1887) and Eugene Albert (1816-1890). Both designed instruments based on the Müller system. The Mahillon firm, founded in 1836, produced a range of instruments including cornets, bassoons and clarinets. Like most other builders of the time, the company also produced clarinet mouthpieces for its instruments. Mahillon’s clarinets were popular in the United Kingdom amongst military musicians.

Albert’s famous Müller system brand was established in 1842. The Albert instrument was characterised by a shorter bottom flare/bell (when compared to a contemporary Boehm), a wide bore of about 15mm (similar to Boosey & Hawkes 10-10) and a gentle but definite tapering of tone holes. The Belgian clarinettist Wuille (n.d.) introduced the Albert clarinet

---

1999). Perhaps the only consistent difference between Boehm and Müller systems can be seen in a shorter bottom flare (bell) on Müller designs.

20 Rendall, op.cit., p.96.
22 Rendall states that Mahillon’s instruments were considered “little inferior” to Albert’s. ‘A Short Account of the Clarinet in England During the 18th and 19th Centuries’, Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association LXVIII (London, 1942), p.62.
23 Mahillon was credited with the introduction of the Patent C# key in c.1862 (14th key). It seems that the Albert clarinet had a larger bore than the Mahillon instrument. Rendall, Clarinet (London, 1954), p.105.
to Britain in the 1850s. Its immediate popularity was due to its reliability, solid intonation and general excellence of workmanship. Indeed, Rendall states that "Tonally they [Alberts] have never been excelled and rarely equalled". Albert's London agent was initially Louis Jullien (1812-1860), but, from 1848, the well-known Samuel Arthur Chappell (1834-1904) sold his instruments in the United Kingdom. The Albert clarinet dominated the professional clarinet market in the United Kingdom for the whole of the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, its success was partially responsible for the slow uptake of the new Boehm instruments, which could not match the Albert instrument's warm sound quality.

The appeal of the Albert instrument in Britain was such that its popularity was difficult to dislodge even until the 1940s. Francesco Gomez (1866-1938), in a letter to Robin Chatwin dated 15 December 1934, wrote: "In my opinion however I found the intonation on the Albert 14-key clarinet less imperfect than on the Boehm, when used by players of the same standard as those on the more modern model, on the other hand I consider the tone of the Boehm in the upper register quite as good in every way as the Albert 14-key". McDonald, in another letter to Chatwin dated 26 July 1943, wrote: "... my first set of instruments was by Albert of Brussels...they were splendid instruments and I only parted with them when I wanted a set with improved mechanism".

Full names and dates unknown. It is said that he was a brilliant performer who possessed massive richness of tone especially in the chalumeau register. Rendall, op.cit., p.73 and p.105.

Rendall, op.cit., p.62.

Rendall, op.cit., p.73.

H.E. Adkins in his *Complete Modern Tutor* (London, 1927), which focuses on the simple-system design, writes as follows on 'Tone': "The characteristic beauty of the Clarinet lies in its noble tone. M. Hector Berlioz in his "Art of Instrumentation" considers it the best fitted of all woodwind instruments to sustain, swell, and diminish tone, even to the unique quality of an echo, or secondary echo". (Foreward notes, no page number given).


It can be assumed from these quotes that the Albert instrument compared well with respect to sound quality and intonation with the Boehm. However, the second quote from McDonald raises questions about the greater technical versatility of the Boehm-system over the Albert/Müller. Halfpenny. op. cit., p.4.
From this evidence, it is clear that the lingering appeal of the Albert clarinet lay in an unrivalled tone and unwavering intonation. These qualities, which belied its relative mechanical/technical insecurity, are commented upon, in 1980, by Nicholas Shackleton: "Müller system instruments made by Albert of Brussels...had better tone and intonation than [other] contemporary models".31

France had a number of influential pre-1945 builders whose instruments found popularity in the United Kingdom. Martel and Brothers, based in Paris between 1900 and 1940, produced a new Boehm instrument, which was supplied to Hawkes & Co. in London.32 Another name to emerge in Britain around the turn of the century was Henri Selmer (1858-1941). Selmer established his business in 1885 making reeds and mouthpieces. In 1900, he moved into Boehm-system clarinets.33 A third influential French manufacturer was the famed factory of Buffet-Crampon.

According to John Playfair, most early 20th-century French makers built similar designs.34 French builds, generally, had relatively large bores: 1930 Buffet, 14.9mm, 1920 Selmer, 14.7mm and 1938 Selmer full-Boehms, 14.9mm (A) 15.15mm (B flat).35 Another feature of these older (pre-1945) Boehm French clarinets was that "the holes on the A were not consistently smaller than on the B flat (as they are today), which gives the two instruments (A and B flat) a much closer feel. Indeed, early French makers went to considerable trouble to free up the A and damp down the B flat, whereas the late 20th-century makers were more interested in tuning".36

33 Waterhouse, op.cit., p.370.
36 Playfair, loc.cit.
3. BRITISH DESIGN

In early 20th-century Britain, the tendency was to use foreign instruments, especially from Belgium and France. This was largely due to the lack of quality in British-made clarinets. The history behind Charles Draper’s surviving pair of clarinets demonstrates this lack clearly. Although these instruments bear the insignia ‘Louis & Co.’, a company Charles Draper founded at 176b King’s Road, Chelsea, London, they were in fact produced by Martel of Paris. As was common practice at the time, both instruments were imported into Britain, and then re-stamped and sold under an assumed British name.

A number of individuals were active in trying to improve the standard of clarinet making in Britain. One family in particular, the Clintons from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had a seminal impact in the 1880s and 1890s. James Clinton (1852-1897) was responsible for the design and subsequent production of the so-called Combination Clarinet. This instrument (which was manufactured from 1891 by the James Clinton Combination Clarinet Company Ltd.) had a moveable liner in the barrel area that allowed the clarinet to switch directly between the pitches of B flat and A. This bold, original design however, never found support...
amongst professional players. This was because, despite its solid design, it incorporated large amounts of key-work. The *Combination Clarinet*, therefore, proved weighty and cumbersome. More significant than this, though, was its inconsistent intonation in all registers and in both tonalities.

James's older brother, George Arthur Clinton (1850-1913), continued the family pre-occupation with new instrumental designs. He invented the so-called *Clinton-Boehm* instrument (probably in the late 1870s) in collaboration with David James Blaikely (1846-1936). This new design was taken on, built and marketed by Boosey & Co. The invention was a mixture of Albert and Boehm-systems. Rendall writes that it was "...elaborate in mechanism but not unpractical, and worthy of adoption by players of the Albert model who have not had the time or opportunity to make a complete change of fingering".

George Clinton's finest instrumental invention was his *Clinton System* clarinet, which was first produced around 1885. This system differed from the standard simple-system in its forked F vent, its re-sited C#/G# key, its Barret action and its lengthened A flat touch. It was an ingenious

---

43 Rendall, loc.cit.
44 The Bate Collection holds one of these instruments. It is referred to as follows: "Double tonality: an inner metal tube (now missing) turns and presents a second set of holes to the keys and fingers; it is said to be out of tune in both tonalities". James Clinton/Patent/ Catalogue number: 4047.
45 The *Clinton-Boehm*, which is today also termed 'half-Boehm', had its little-finger keys arranged as on the Boehm-system.
46 The author has not been able to locate an invention date for this design. However, J. Playfair thinks that the *Clinton System* was possibly invented before the *Clinton-Boehm*. This cannot be verified. Personal correspondence with author.
47 Rendall, op.cit., p.75.
48 Baines, op.cit., p.137.
49 Forked F vent: this converts .../o. into a completely vented fingering fully available for B flat in the low register. Hole V, from which the note issues, is moved a little further down the joint (almost level with the F key) and is covered by a plate with an upwards extension so that finger V may still fall in its natural position. The vent key remains open for B flat/F to compensate for the closure of hole VI. Re-sited C#/G# key: the C#/G# is drilled through the tenon and socket that connects the joints (correct alignment being assured by a metal stop). The hole is thus larger and correctly sited benefiting C#, G# and high F. Barret Action: adapted from the oboe to give high register C and B flat and low register F and E flat. Lengthened A flat touch: so that this key may be operated by finger II if so desired. Baines, op.cit., pp. 137-8.
A design incorporating solid intonation with a flexible and free-flowing mechanism. Its popularity was sustained well into the 20th century. Anthony Baines, in his book of 1967, wrote, “the names of well-known players who use, or have used it, would make an impressive list.”

However, the true success story of British clarinet building was the Boosey & Hawkes (B&H) Symphony Series 10-10 (built after 1930). Boosey & Co. started producing wind instruments in 1851. In 1880, the firm invited Eugene Albert to visit London as a clarinet advisor. It was around this time that the company started to sell Albert’s instruments in the United Kingdom. The success of this and other Boosey & Co. clarinets soared (especially the Series 10-10) after the company’s merger with another clarinet manufacturer, Hawkes & Son, in 1930.

The Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 borrowed from a broad selection of continental Boehm-system designs. Although a hybrid of sorts, it departed fundamentally from other European clarinet design in two areas. Firstly, it had a larger bore width of about 15.2mm, compared to approximately 15.00mm or less on the continent. The larger bore was developed to satisfy the British demand for a warmer, darker sound. Also the sound “match[ed] the increased power of wide-bored brass instruments, [suiting] larger concert halls where a small sound would be

---

50 Chatwin wrote that “The Barret Action...has been successfully used on Albert type clarinets; it is still fitted to the well-known “Clinton Clarinet” and is used by some fine players”. Unfortunately, this quote does not clarify which Clinton design the author referenced. ‘Some Notes on the History of the Clarinet’. The Musical Progress and Mail (London, December 1938), p.66.

51 Baines does not list the ‘well-known’ names referred to in this quote. Loc. cit.

52 Boosey & Hawkes also produced the ‘Imperial 926’ model. This instrument design, which appeared around the time of the Boosey & Hawkes 10-10, had a bore size of 15mm and was advertised as ‘small bore’. Of course 15mm was still bigger than most contemporaries on the continent.

53 Waterhouse, op. cit., p.40.

54 Hawkes & Son clarinets, with a French-style bore, were used extensively in military bands: mainly 14-key (simple-system), but also Boehm (based on Martels). Personal correspondence with John Playfair.

55 The first Boosey & Hawkes 10-10s were produced around 1930 and Frederick Thurston’s pair, which is today in the possession of Geoffrey Acton (Framlington, Suffolk), was possibly the first to be built. Thurston’s pair of clarinets has the serial numbers 30255 (A) and 30256 (B flat). Shackleton/Puddy. op. cit., p.28.
swallowed".\textsuperscript{56} Secondly, the Boosey & Hawkes 10-10 was lower-pitched at $a' = 440\text{hz}$.\textsuperscript{57} This pitch was necessitated by a general swing towards a standard $a' = 440\text{hz}$ in the early 1930s in Britain.\textsuperscript{58}

The Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 became the standard British and international Boehm design. Only one major modification - the inclusion of an extra vent key for the right hand clarino register F sharp - was necessary after 1940. A publicity advertisement (no exact date given) from the period sells this extra vent key on the basis that it improves facility and intonation.\textsuperscript{59} The clarino register F sharp was a forked note, which was indistinct in sound. This was because of the masking effect when the second hole on the lower joint was closed. Geoffrey Acton added this extra key after the Second World War.\textsuperscript{60}

The Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 was an instrument of outstanding workmanship. It was built from African blackwood and was finished with silver plated key-work. It was an instant success. By 1940, most professional Boehm-system clarinetists in the United Kingdom were using it. This is not to say that it did not have its drawbacks. The general


\textsuperscript{57} Instruments on the continent preferring $a' = 442\text{hz}$ and above.

\textsuperscript{58} It is relevant here to mention a few points concerning the change in concert pitch in Britain over the last 150 years or so. Perhaps the best description can be found in Halfpenny's article titled 'The Boehm Clarinet in England', \textit{Galpin Society Journal} Vol. 15 (London, 1977): "Well before the middle of the last century the barbarous practice was adopted in England of raising the overall pitch of the orchestral ensemble and Opera on the grounds of added brilliancy. The process could hardly be called gradual. Pitch was raised by very nearly half a tone, and pinned there for the better part of fifty years. Although officially annulled in 1896 it took years more to put the process in reverse, for not only native but foreign makers of wind instruments were heavily committed to the supply of the English (British) sharp-pitched market. The Albert Hall Organ was not lowered until 1933, and the last big institution to flatten its brasswind was the Salvation Army in the early 1960s. In my youth just after the Great War (World War I), all local amateur orchestras in England were playing at sharp pitch". Halfpenny, op. cit., pp.6-7. It is the author's opinion that this change back to lower-pitch greatly enhanced the demise of the popular Albert instrument as all players now needed new clarinets pitched to $a' = 440$. The greater technical versatility of the Boehm-system resulted in most players choosing this new mechanism, although many were at first not convinced of its benefits over the Albert.

\textsuperscript{59} This advertisement was obtained from records kept at Boosey & Hawkes, Edgware.

\textsuperscript{60} The exact date for the addition of this key cannot be established. Records at Boosey & Hawkes do not convey this information. Andrew Smith's article states that Acton designed the F sharp vent to "counteract this note's tendency to flatness of pitch". 'Portraits. 4: Frederick Thurston', loc. cit.
standard of intonation throughout the registers, for example, was inconsistent.

The last batch of Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10s was produced in July 1983. They were B flat instruments and were a group of 10 with serial numbers running from 559880 to 559889. Production of the Boosey & Hawkes 10-10 was stopped for financial reasons in the autumn of 1983. By this time the Buffet R13 clarinet had well overtaken the Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 in popularity.

4. BRITISH PLAYERS' INSTRUMENTS

In his 1942 article, Rendall refers to what he terms the 'old' and 'new' schools of English (British) clarinet performance (see Chapter 4 for more information on 'English School'). He suggests that Thomas Willman (1784-1840) led the 'older' school. This style of clarinet playing, he continues, moved via Lazarus into the modern ('new') school, which was headed by Draper and Anderson. His division of British clarinet playing into two schools, therefore, is based primarily on a shift in the dominant instrumental system: Müller to Boehm. The opposition of these two schools is clearly in evidence, he feels, in the antagonism 'old-school' British clarinet instrument makers felt towards the 'new' Boehm-system at the turn of the 20th century. Rendall explains: "English [British] woodwind makers did what they could to oppose the innovation. They had never made Boehms, and did not recommend them for the military with whom most of their business was done. Their attitude, in fact, was frankly obstructionist and reactionary, and this state of affairs lasted well into the present century [20th]."

---

61 Obtained from written records kept at Boosey & Hawkes, Edgware.
62 However, the Boosey & Hawkes 10-10 large bore tradition continues today in the form of Peter Eaton’s Elite model and instruments by Luis Rossi, Chile.
63 It is here suggested that the correct terminology should denote "British School", as players came from all over the British Isles and not just England.
This division in the British clarinet tradition also played itself out in the life of Henry Lazarus (1815-1895). Lazarus played on simple-system clarinets throughout his career. Despite this, he encouraged his pupils (Charles Draper and George W. Anderson among others) to switch to the new Boehm-system. It is interesting that he never attempted to make the change himself. His first teacher, John Blizzard, the bandmaster at the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea, gave two of his earliest instruments to Lazarus in c.1838. Both of these instruments, pitched in B flat and A, were produced by Thomas Key (?-1853) of Charing Cross. The B flat instrument, dated c.1825, was made from boxwood and ivory. It had 12 flat round keys cast in brass. The A clarinet, probably from the same period, was made from stained boxwood and ivory. The A clarinet had 13 keys, which were slightly domed and were mounted on blocks. Lazarus played on both these instruments until 1855 before changing to clarinets built by Jesse Fieldhouse (n.d.). Rendall notes that these Fieldhouse instruments incorporated "...some features of the Boehm-system, and were calculated to give greatly increased freedom of execution." In c.1860 Lazarus moved from his Fieldhouse clarinets to Albert instruments. This was, Rendall suggests, a retrograde step because the Belgian instruments were "merely much improved Müller versions." 

---

64 Rendall, op. cit., p.77.
65 This is not completely true. P. Weston tells us that Lazarus purchased a Boehm-system Buffet-Crampon A cocus wood instrument sometime between the early 1860s and 1872. Weston states that "there seems little doubt that the smallness of its bore deterred him from going any further with the excursion, but he saw the decided advantages of the system". Weston, ‘Lazarus's Instrument Collection’, National Association of College Wind and Percussion Instructors Journal (London, Winter 1974/1975), p.6.
66 Heim writes that James Conroy (c.1875), a pupil of Lazarus and bandmaster, was a pioneer in the use of Boehm clarinets in England. It is said that Conroy introduced Lazarus to the Boehm-system in 1860. The Use of the Clarinet in Published Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano by English Composers 1800-1954 (Rochester, 1962), p.22.
67 Lazarus perhaps felt he was too established on the simple-system mechanism to make this change himself.
68 John Blizzard (n.d.) was also first clarinet in the band of the 1st Life Guards and fought at Waterloo. He taught Lazarus in Chelsea from about 1825 to 1829. Weston, More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past (London, 1977), p.55.
69 Rendall, op.cit., p.73.
70 Weston, op.cit., p.4.
71 These instruments are today housed in the instrument library of Boosey & Hawkes, Edgware.
72 Rendall, loc.cit.
73 Rendall, loc.cit.
The Bate Collection at the University of Oxford houses two Lazarus Alberts, which were produced in the mid 19th century (no specific date indication given).\(^{74}\) One instrument is pitched in C and the other in B flat.\(^{75}\) Lazarus’s instrument collection, which was sold by auctioneers on 19 June 1895, included no less than eight Alberts. Weston suggests that the “preponderance of one maker leaves no doubt that Lazarus found in him [Albert] his ideal. This ideal did not concern fingering but quality of tone; the large bore of the Albert clarinets gave the richness of sound he so desired”.\(^{76}\)

Julian Egerton (1848-1945) played on simple-system instruments by Fieldhouse throughout most of his career.\(^{77}\) Although made from ebonite, they were similar to those performed on by Lazarus in the 1850s.\(^{78}\) As explained earlier, Charles Draper used French Martel Boehm-system instruments.\(^{79}\) It is likely that he, like most of his contemporaries, began his career on simple-system instruments before switching to this Boehm option.\(^{80}\) Indeed, this was definitely the case for Frederick Thurston and

\(^{74}\) Bate Collection numbers 457 and 458.
\(^{75}\) These instruments have the following markings: [6-pointed star] / E. Albert/A Bruxelles/[star]/sole agent/[star]/S. A. Chappel/45 New Bond Street/London/[star]/[star]/Approved by Mr Lazarus. Frederick Thurston gave both instruments, which are sharp pitch, to Philip Bate. No. 457: Clarinet in C, simple-system, cocus wood – “much poorer quality than No. 458, to such an extent that one questions whether it really did belong to Henry Lazarus”. No. 458: “Simple-system, silver-plated, cocus wood, with patent C#, roller on cross C#/G# linking to the long keys, roller on cross E flat/B flat and B flat/F”. This information was obtained from the Bate Collection computer checklist. A less detailed printed catalogue of the instruments in the complete collection is available: The Bate Collection of Musical Instruments 9th edition (May 1996), ed. Jeremy Montagu, p.18.

\(^{76}\) Weston, op.cit., p.5.
\(^{77}\) These instruments had originally belonged to George Tyler (n.d.), a fine clarinettist who was a member of the Royal Italian Opera and Philharmonic Orchestra (died 1878). Egerton was forced to change these instruments only when standard pitch was changed in the late 1920s, early 1930s.
\(^{78}\) Rendall notes that these were possibly the first instruments to be made of this plastic composite material. Op.cit., p.75.
\(^{79}\) J. Brymer notes that Draper changed to Boehm-system “...when he heard a couple of Italians in a visiting opera company playing Boehm-system clarinets. It was sickening he said (Draper). They played everything so much more smoothly than I could and I was conceited enough to believe... that it was not my fault. So I got a pair of Boehm clarinets the next week ... and in a couple of weeks I could do them all in the eye”. From Where I Sit (London, 1979), pp.37-38.
\(^{80}\) According to P. Weston he changed to Boehm-system in 1895 while a student of Lazarus and Fieldhouse. Shackleton/Puddy, op.cit., p.26.
Jack Brymer. 81 Brymer's father was a clarinettist who played on a 'simple' Mahon instrument with Sonorous reeds. Jack Brymer probably followed his father's example in terms of his choice of instrument, before settling on Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10s in 1936/7. 82

Puddy and Shackleton comprehensively describe Reginald Kell's pair of clarinets. 83 Kell's clarinets were stamped Excelsior/Sonorous/ Hawkes & Son; B flat no: 13471 and A no: 12366 (c.1925). 84 Puddy and Shackleton tell us that the instruments are standard Boehm-system clarinets, which incorporate some stylistic differences peculiar to 1920s fashion. These details include a single pivot screw on the left hand E/B and F sharp/G sharp and a flat spring instead of needle spring on the left hand C sharp/G sharp key. The bores are 14.8mm in diameter. Significantly, Martel did not make these instruments. They were of British build - at least in terms of assembly. Puddy and Shackleton write that they resemble the standard Selmer instrument of the period closely. 85 Kell made a few other minor modifications, most notably on the B flat, which has some wax inserted in the right hand tone holes to improve intonation. Kell's collection of instruments, housed in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historical Instruments, also include a mouthpiece stamped...

---

81 It is thought that after the simple-system instruments Thurston first played Martels and then later changed to Boosey & Hawkes 10-10s. Personal correspondence with John Playfair.
82 These facts about Jack Brymer and his father were obtained from personal correspondence between J. Brymer and the author.
83 Shackleton/Puddy, op. cit., pp.28-9.
84 Although most Excelsior Sonorous clarinets were produced by Martel, John Denman tells us that Kell was of the opinion that his instruments had been produced in London by Hawkes & Co. Denman, 'Memories of Reg Kell', Clarinet & Saxophone Vol. 7/1 (1982), p.8. Norman C. Nelson notes that Kell used a different set of clarinets for all his British recordings: "...for all his British solo recordings he used to borrow a pair made for Hawkes in Paris by the Martel brothers before the Great War". 'King of the clarinet - Reginald Kell remembered', International Classical Record Collector (Spring 1999), p.43.
85 The implication here is that British builders of the period were in fact copying continental designs.
'British Made/A. Warrell/Maker'. A. Warrell (n.d.), who lived in Deal (Kent), was an eminent mouthpiece specialist well-known before 1939.

Of the British artists discussed above, Lazarus and Egerton performed on simple-system instruments throughout their careers. Draper, Thurston, Kell and Brymer began on simple-system instruments before changing to the Boehm-system. Both systems, together with less well-known designs like Clinton, were widely used in the United Kingdom well into the 1950s. At the end of his foreword to the *Clarinet Technique* (1956) Thurston writes: "To avoid complication over fingerings for the various systems of clarinets still used, I have presumed that the player has a chart to suit his instrument. A few of the remarks apply to the Boehm only, as it is the most widely known, but most of the examples should be workable on any system".

This passage clearly implies that the standardisation of the clarinet system in Britain was a long and arduous process. Even in 1956, some hundred years after the innovations of Theobald Boehm, a wide variety of clarinet designs (both 'old' and 'new') competed for incorporation into the disparate tradition of British clarinet performance.

---

86 We are told that this mouthpiece was finely crafted with an opening of c.1.1 mm. Gibson, 'Reginald Kell: The Artist and His Music', *The Clarinet* Vol. 511 (1977), p.8.
87 A. Warrell is listed in the *New Langwill Index* but no further information is given.
Waterhouse, op.cit., p.421. John Playfair in personal correspondence with this author confirms that he has no knowledge of this mouthpiece maker (17 January 1999).
Chapter Four

The British Playing Tradition

Since the beginning of the 18th century the clarinet, and predecessors such as the chalumeau, have been played in the British Isles. Over time, a strong performance tradition developed which had a profound effect on native composers. This chapter will highlight the position of the clarinet in Britain around the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thereafter it will discuss the outstanding performers of the period. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the so-called ‘English School’ of clarinet performance.¹

1. PLAYERS BEFORE 1880

Before 1880, the British Isles had a number of prominent clarinettists. The introduction of the clarinet to the British Isles has been traced to the Hungarian multi-instrumentalist Mr. Charles. He performed the first documented concert to include a clarinet on 12 May 1742, in the Neale’s New Musick Hall, Dublin.² Other outstanding pre-1880 clarinet performers included John Mahon (1746-1834) and Thomas Lindsay Willman (1784-1840). Mahon was the first British player to write an instrumental tutor, establishing a tradition in native teaching methods.³ His tutor, entitled A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, was published by Goulding, Phipps and D’Almaine in 1786.⁴ Willman, on the other hand, was the most

¹ It is interesting that the idea of an ‘English’, rather than a ‘British’, school of clarinet playing emerged. Ironically, the ‘English’ musical tradition attributed at least some of its diverse character to figures like the Scottish clarinettist R. MacDonald and composers with Irish connections, like C.V. Stanford and G.A. Osborne.
³ Weston, op.cit., p.252.
⁴ Mahon’s tutor was written for the five-keyed clarinet and seven-keyed basset-horn. The tutor depicts reed above embouchure and states that the mouthpiece should not be placed too far into the mouth because of the string binding. It includes fingering charts (for clarinet and basset-horn), twelve easy lessons for two clarinets (selected from favorite Scottish, Irish and French Airs), eight exercises, four concertante duets and cadenzas or preludes in different keys. It handles transposition and the final page lists exercises for C, A, D, B and B flat clarinets. The
celebrated British clarinettist of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.\(^5\) Oscar W. Street records that his "tone and execution were remarkably beautiful, and his concerto playing admirable."\(^6\) Willman also wrote a tutor for the instrument entitled *Instruction Book for the Clarinet* in 1825-26.\(^7\)

2. THE CLARINET IN BRITAIN A CENTURY AGO

The most valuable information relating to the position of the clarinet in Britain a century ago appears in the first two editions of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.\(^8\) Dr. William H. Stone (1830-1891) wrote the article on the clarinet in the first edition dated 1879, together with articles on other wind instruments of the orchestral family. The 1879 article forms the basis for that in the second edition, with only a small number of additions in the latter. Stone’s articles outline a number of issues relating to the clarinet. These include its history, repertoire, transposition, construction and acoustic properties.

Stone’s 1879 Grove article opens with a description of this period’s instrument, mouthpiece construction and design. The author, rather than picking up on new techniques, prefers a survey of the “older and more usual form” of fingering. This “more usual form”, significantly, was the simple-system. He continues: “Boehm or Klosé’s fingering is hardly so well adapted to this as to the octave-scaled instruments. It certainly

---


7 The introduction to Willman’s tutor reads as follows: “The Clarinet has long been considered by the whole Musical Profession as the most beautiful of Wind Instruments. On the Continent it is very generally cultivated, nor is it improbable that in the course of a few years its merits will procure for it an equal degree of attachment from English Amateurs; for surely a Tone that nearly rivals the finest human Voice, and an extent of Octaves that may vie even with the ample range of the Violin, are excellencies that must at no very distant period share a considerable portion of popularity”. Quoted from Thurston, *Clarinet Technique* (London, 1956), p.1.

removes some difficulties, but at the expense of greatly increased complication of mechanism, and liability to get out of order".9

In his discussion of mouthpiece construction Stone describes the reed as being secured to the table usually with a "waxed cord, but a double metallic band with two small screws, termed a ligature, is now employed". This early metal ligature design consisted of two separate bands that were positioned at either end of the reed shoulder. The reed, which was originally held upwards, was being directed downwards in England, France and Belgium around 1879.10

Stone continues by listing B flat, A, C, F and D clarinets together with the basset-horn, bass clarinet and tenor clarinet as instruments employed regularly by British performers. This situation persisted well into the 20th century. The F clarinet, he adds, has been "mercifully given up, except in an occasional piece of German dance music".11 He concludes that the "basset-horn is perhaps the most beautiful of the whole [clarinet] family". His opinion of the bass clarinets in 1879 is that "none of them are very satisfactory". The sheer number of pitched clarinets (added to the diversity of mechanical system) in circulation at the time provides evidence of the versatility of period performers.

Thereafter, the article discusses the available clarinet repertoire in 1879. Stone points to Haydn as the first composer to score for clarinets. In the works of Mozart, the clarinet concerto ("in his best style"), the basset-horn obbligato from Clemenza di Tito, and the exclusion of the clarinet from the Jupiter symphony ("notwithstanding his [Mozart's] obvious knowledge of its value and beauty") receive specific attention.12 A survey

---

9 Grove I, op.cit., p.361.
11 Grove I, op.cit., p.362.
12 Grove I, op.cit., p.363.
of other composers, including Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Weber, Spohr and Rossini, leads Stone to the rather speculative conclusion that "...no instrument has a greater scope in the form of solo or concerted music specially written for it". In an appended repertoire list, solo and chamber music assembled by Stone and Leonard W. Beddome (1851-1920) ("whose collection of clarinet music is all but complete"), lesser-known works by Onslow, Kalliwoda, Romberg, Hummel, Kreutzer, Neukomm, Reicha, Pauer and Reissiger join the standard 1879 repertoire surveyed in the main text. A comparison between this first edition appendix and the second edition list of 1904 reveals a dramatic 20-year stylistic shift. The second edition adds the complete solo and chamber works of Brahms, Stanford's *Three Intermezzi* and, peculiarly, Coleridge-Taylor's *Four Characteristic Waltzes*. The inclusion of Stanford and Coleridge-Taylor is one of the earliest indications that British works for the clarinet were gaining a foothold in the standard British wind repertoire.

Near the end of his article, Stone devotes a few words "...to the weak points of the instrument". His first concern, in 1879, is pitch and tuning. The pre-Boehm's susceptibility to atmospheric changes ("a caution often neglected") and his observation that it "...does not bear large alterations of pitch without becoming out of tune" is highlighted. His conclusion is that the instrument is the most difficult of "...all orchestral instruments" to play in tune. He suggests that, because of these inconsistencies in tuning, the clarinet be allowed to take over from the oboe and tune the orchestra (as was the case in the Crystal Palace Band of the period), and that the practice of using more than two clarinets at any one time should

---

13 Grove I, op.cit., p.364.
14 L.W. Beddome had Ebenezer Prout's Sonata (1882) dedicated to him. See Chapter 5 for further information.
15 Complete listings of works are as follows: Onslow; Sextet op. 30, Nonet op. 77, Septet op. 79. Kalliwoda; Variations op. 128 (with orchestra). Romberg; Quintet (cl. and strings). Hummel; *Military* Septet op. 114. Kreutzer; Trio op. 43. Septet op. 62. Neukomm; Quintet op. 8 (cl. and strings). Reicha; Quintet (cl. and strings). Quintets for wind ops. 88-91 and 99-100. Pauer; Quintet op. 44 (pno. and winds). Reissiger; Concertos ops. 14b, 63a and 180. Grove I, loc.cit.
16 It is unknown whether the *Four Characteristic Waltzes* were in fact a clarinet and piano arrangement of the orchestral work of the same title dating from 1899. Grove II, 1904, p.546.
be discontinued and that the C instrument be dropped as the “weakest of the three” (C, B flat and A clarinets).¹⁸

Stone’s second concern relates to the management and control of the reed. He explains that a player of 1879:

...however able, is very much at the mercy of this part of the mechanism. A bad reed not only takes all quality away, but also exposes its possessor to the utterance of the horrible shriek termed *couac* by the French. There is no instrument in which failure of lip or deranged keys produce so unmusical a result or one so impossible to conceal; and proportionate care should be exercised in its prevention.¹⁹

In 1880, the technical/mechanical deficiencies of the clarinet family counteracted its claim to true popularity in British culture. The sheer variety of instruments added to the ill-formed and confused nature of its reputation and the resultant performance culture was in constant flux.

3. PLAYERS 1880 to 1945

Henry Lazarus (1815-1895) was famed “in both orchestral and solo playing for beauty and richness of tone, excellent phrasing, and neat and expressive execution”.²⁰ Reviewing a recital at St. James’s Hall, George Bernard Shaw underlined Lazarus’ expertise: “...yet there is no use in

---

¹⁷ Grove I, loc.cit.
¹⁸ Stone implies that the central pitch of the clarinet is least flexible when compared to other wind instruments. Therefore, he feels it would be best to take a common pitch from the clarinet instead of the oboe.
¹⁹ Grove I, loc.cit.
declaring that 'he played with his usual ability', because his ability is still, unfortunately for us, as far as ever from being usual'.

Lazarus, although recommending the newly developed Boehm-system to his pupils, used a simple-system clarinet (see Chapter 3). Like almost all wind players before 1900, Lazarus began his career in a military band, the Coldstream Guards, where he served for nearly ten years. He purchased his discharge in order to pursue a solo and orchestral career. The diverse, freelance nature of Lazarus's subsequent activity was typical of musical performers in the early years of their professionalisation in Britain. Anxious to become part of the lively festival scene he participated, for example, in the first performances of Felix Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* and *Elijah*, which were conducted by the composer. In 1838, Lazarus was appointed second clarinet to Willman in the Sacred Harmonic Society Orchestra. Lazarus held numerous teaching posts and was appointed to the Royal Academy of Music in 1854. He was a visiting professor to Kneller Hall, and was the first clarinet professor at the Royal College of Music upon its foundation in 1882. He held the last two positions until the age of seventy-nine. Lazarus was also an extremely active chamber musician, organising numerous chamber concerts around the United Kingdom to further knowledge of the clarinet. The New Grove (1980) tells us that "his elegant and pure tone were ideally suited to the occasional pieces in vogue at the time, but his more important contribution lay in the great number of larger-scale chamber works and obbligatos which he introduced to the public." By the middle of the 20th century, Bernard Shaw, *London Music in 1888-89 as heard by Corno di Bassetto (later known as Bernard Shaw) with some further Autobiographical Particulars* (London, 1937), p.60.
23 Weston, op.cit., p.256.
24 Grove I, op. cit., p.108.
25 Lazarus was also an active composer for the instrument. One of his most popular works, Fantasia on *I Puritani*, was performed in 1861. Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London, 1977), p.349.
century, he was revered as the greatest 19th-century exponent of British clarinet performance.27

In the foreword of the New and Modern Method for the Albert and Boehm Clarinet, by Berr, Müller and Neerman, approved revised and corrected by H. Lazarus (1881), Lazarus writes that the clarinet is the "King of reed instruments".28 This manual was the second tutor in Europe to be written for the 13-keyed clarinet. (The first was Ivan Müller's Methode pour la Nouvelle Clarinette 1820.) Lazarus's foreword describes the author's preference among prevalent clarinet systems: "...all the music in this work is equally adaptable to the ordinary 13 keys, Albert or Boehm clarinet. But of all, the Boehm-system proved the best, it being perfection".

The ambitious 364 page tutor begins with directions for clarinet performance: "A conscientious artist should not only be punctual but arrive early enough to have time to warm, regulate and tune the instrument before the performance". Lazarus's concern for presentation further recommends an 'economy and reserve': "...when performing before an audience, bear a calm appearance, emit the sounds without showing externally the difficulties that have to be overcome. This will greatly impress those around you with the apparent facility of your execution". He continues that to "...move a head, balance the body, rise the shoulders as a mark of expression, fill up your cheeks etc." merely amuses the audience. A concise fingering chart for the simple-system instrument and a similar chart for the Boehm-system are appended to these directions.29

The tutor is subdivided into two main sections. Section one includes a technical discussion of 15 melodies from operas, 8 Fantasias and 15

29 The simple-system fingering chart, pages 6 to 14, includes an extensive table of shakes (trills). The Boehm-system chart is just two pages, 15 and 16.
studies in the medium register. The second section includes 10 studies, 24 varied scales, 24 stylish duets, 3 Grand Artistic duos, 25 Grand studies, 15 Grand melodious studies, 3 Grand Duos de Concert and 5 solos by Lazarus. The section concludes with an examination of reed making and a list of common musical terms. Lazarus's 1881 tutor made significant advances in clarinet teaching in Britain. Its solid technical basis coupled to artistic studies and sound production exercises made it a valuable document in its day. It compares favourably to the Klosé Method (1843), which established itself as the conventional Boehm-system tutor in the 20th century. The only real weakness of Lazarus's tutor, in relation to the conventional 20th-century Klosé document, is that it bridges the gap between Müller and Boehm-systems. It is not specific to one fingering system.

John Henry Maycock (1817-1907), who also trained in the Coldstream Guards, was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians and played first clarinet in the Royal Italian Opera and the Drury Lane Orchestra. Maycock was famed for his expertise in bass clarinet and basset-horn performance. He had a number of works composed for him, for example, Balfe's The Heart Bowed Down - a song with basset-horn obbligato. Weston suggests that Maycock performed Mendelssohn's Concert Piece for basset-horn, clarinet and piano at St. James' Hall on 24 June 1868, with Lazarus. It is also thought that he played the first basset-horn in Mozart's Serenade K.361 for thirteen wind instruments on 1 April 1857.

30 The 'medium register' refers to throat register.
31 These solos include Fantasia on Favorite Scottish Melodies, I Puritani Variations and Ma Normandie. The catalogue at the end of the document also includes other works for clarinet and piano by English composers: Bishop, Bright, Clappe, H. Clarke, Clarke, Clinton and Reyloff. Of course at this time reeds were self-made.
32 Klosé Method is still the most used Boehm-system tutor in worldwide clarinet culture (early 21st century).
33 The Coldstream Guards Band was the leading military band around this period.
35 Weston, op.cit., p. 171.
Rendall laments that this work is “seldom played today [1942] for lack of basset-horns, and rarely in its entirety”. 37

George W. Anderson (1867-1951), a pupil of Henry Lazarus, adopted a Boehm-system clarinet early in his career and developed a particularly “sweet and delicate tone”. 38 He gave the first performance of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor’s Quintet opus 10 in F sharp minor at the Royal College of Music on 11 July 1895. 39 Anderson was a member of the London Symphony Orchestra from 1904 to 1943. He also served for some 20 years as the orchestra’s director. In 1941, he became professor of clarinet at the Royal Academy of Music, where he taught until 1951.

Julian Egerton (1848-1945) played with an “...extraordinary beauty of tone, and charm and finish of ... style”. 40 His father was a court musician. When the private band of Queen Victoria was re-organised in 1870, Egerton took over from his father to play the ‘Clarionets’. 41 Whilst a member of this band, Egerton began to undertake orchestral engagements playing under many fine conductors, including Sir Charles Villiers Stanford. Egerton was the first British player to perform the Brahms Quintet, in Cambridge in April 1892, 42 a month after hearing Mühlfeld’s London première of the work. 43 Weston speculates that Egerton’s interpretation would have had a simple charm not at all like the extravagant and fiery German. 44 During his long career, he held a number of teaching posts. He was appointed visiting specialist to Kneller Hall in

---

37 This is an interesting statement. Written as it was in 1942 it indicates a clear shift away from chamber music performance. It also shows that basset-horns were no longer readily available at this time. Rendall, loc. cit.
38 Weston, op. cit., p.26. John Dennian, who was first taught by Anderson at the Royal Academy of Music, states that he was “...a fine player, his tone very rich and his technique sound and safe”. ‘Dennmania’, The Clarinet Vol. 8/3 (Spring 1981), p.44.
39 Street, op.cit., p.108.
40 Rendall, op.cit., p.76.
42 Egerton is known to have performed the Quintet again in 1898 and the Sonata opus 120 no. 1 in 1900. Weston, op.cit., p.261.
43 The Brahms Quintet was first performed in Britain at a Monday Popular Concert on 28 March 1892. Street, op.cit., p.107.
44 Weston, loc.cit.
1889 and took over as professor of clarinet from Henry Lazarus at the Royal College of Music in 1894, relinquishing both these posts in 1910.\(^{45}\) Egerton's son also played the clarinet. Julian Egerton (jnr.) (1887-1932) was a member of the Philharmonic Orchestra and the Royal Horse Guards Band (between 1905 and 1925).\(^{46}\)

George Arthur Clinton (1850-1913) was noteworthy not only for the clarinet mechanism he developed (see Chapter 3). He was also a prominent chamber music performer responsible for founding the Wind Instrument Society, which gave regular concerts of wind music in the 1890s at the Queen's (small) Hall in London.\(^{47}\) Oscar W. Street called him "...a brilliant executant, and a most conscientious and thorough musician".\(^{48}\) R. McDonald, a clarinettist from Edinburgh, wrote that he was a "...great player who had a most glorious staccato".\(^{49}\) Clinton became principal clarinet of the New Philharmonic Society Orchestra in 1873 and the Crystal Palace Orchestra in 1874.\(^{50}\) He popularised the Weber, Spohr and Mozart concertos alongside the Brahms Quintet and William Yates Hurlstone's Sonata.\(^{51}\) Hurlstone later dedicated the *Four Characteristic Pieces* to Clinton.\(^{52}\) Although he taught at Kneller Hall and Trinity College,
Clinton exerted most influence on the artistic scene as professor of clarinet at the Royal Academy of Music, London.\textsuperscript{53}

George Clinton's younger brother James was also a fine clarinettist (see Chapter 3). A soloist in the Crystal Palace Orchestra under August Manns (like George), he rivalled his brother's playing ability.\textsuperscript{54}

Charles Draper (1869-1952) accepted an open scholarship to the Royal College of Music in 1888. He studied initially with Lazarus, but moved on to Egerton after Lazarus's retirement in 1894. He had an unprecedented control of soft passages and an incredibly fast tonguing technique.\textsuperscript{55}

Unlike most clarinet players of the time (who performed with the double-lip embouchure), Draper performed single-lip. Posterity tells us that this was because he had large front teeth that interfered with the clarinet mouthpiece.\textsuperscript{56} Whatever the case, he became the first notable exponent of the single-lip embouchure in Britain.\textsuperscript{57}

Weston records that those musicians still alive in 1971 who had heard both Draper and Mühlfeld agreed that Draper was the finer clarinettist. Whilst Mühlfeld played with the fire and tone of a violinist, Draper captured all the clarinet's true qualities.\textsuperscript{58} Draper left nothing to chance in his clarinet performances. Hester Stansfeld Prior wrote in the \textit{Royal College of Music Magazine} (1953): "...his attitude to comparatively unimportant concerts was the same. No detail was passed over at rehearsal nor time grudged to make a performance as perfect as

\textsuperscript{53} Street, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{54} Halfpenny, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{56} It is interesting to note that Draper, who played single-lip his whole life, suggests double-lip embouchure in the English translation of the Klosé method (1906): "Do not allow the teeth to come in contact with the reed or with the mouthpiece". Fitz-Gerald/Draper, \textit{Klosé Method}, Hawkes & Son (London, 1906).
\textsuperscript{57} Today almost all clarinettists use single-lip. This was not always the case in Britain. Most players up to the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century utilised a double-lip embouchure, which meant that both sets of teeth were covered by the lips. This practice disappeared as it limited performance stamina and was painful.
\textsuperscript{58} Weston, op.cit. p.264.
possible". This perfectionism is apparent, for example, in his personal copy of the Brahms F minor Sonata opus 120. The manuscript preserves Draper's pencilled-in remarks such as: "Opening theme - Trouble ahead! Second subject bar 38 - Prayer", and "Semi-quavers, bar 53 - Old man grumbling".

In 1905, Draper co-founded the New Symphony Orchestra in London. This orchestra later changed its name to the Royal Albert Hall Orchestra. He enjoyed long associations with the Three Choirs Festival, the Leeds Festival Orchestras and the Philharmonic Society of London Orchestra. Draper gave the first performance of Stanford's Clarinet Concerto opus 80 with the composer conducting on 2 June 1904. Although he clearly had a tremendous impact on the development of clarinet culture, Draper held only one major teaching position during his lifetime. He was professor of clarinet at the Guildhall School of Music between 1895 and 1940, but also held shorter appointments at the Royal and Trinity Colleges and Kneller Hall.

Draper had a generously round tone, attributable in part to Henry Lazarus's teaching and his Martel Boehm-system clarinets. He was the first prominent British clarinettist vehemently to support the idea of the Boehm's 'superiority' over other systems. Draper writes in the introduction to his Clarinet School based on Klosé's method (1906): "All students, but particularly those who desire to enter the professional ranks of Clarinet

---

60 Prior, loc.cit.
61 Street, op.cit., p.112. Hester Stansfeld Prior writes: "Those of us whose College days date back to the 'nineties' remember Charles Draper as one of the most prominent amongst many outstanding pupils of that time. His playing of a clarinet concerto by Weber at a College concert is thought to have prompted Stanford to write a concerto specially for him, and the appearance of Brahms's late chamber music gave full opportunity for his beautiful phrasing and use of rubato. As is well known, the clarinet quintet, trio and two Sonatas were written for Mülhfeld, and, after he first introduced them to this country, it was Charles Draper who familiarized them to countless music lovers". Loc. cit.
players, are seriously advised to study very closely the 'Boehm-system' as explained and taught in this work before making their final decision".  

His preference for the Boehm-system grew out of his acquaintance with the Spanish-born clarinettist Francesco Gomez at the Royal College of Music. Both Draper and Anderson changed to the Boehm-system in 1892 or 1893 under Gomez’s supervision.

Frederick Thurston (1901-1953) received his first lessons from his father, a military bandsman. With the prospect of clarinet lessons from Draper, he followed in his prospective teacher’s footsteps on an open scholarship to the Royal College of Music. After graduation in 1930, Thurston was appointed principal clarinet of the newly formed British Broadcasting Corporation Orchestra under Sir Adrian Boult.

C.B. Rees records that Thurston was an artist who lived intensely and worked with a fierce concentration. Music was a passion. As a performer he was extremely self-critical. Thurston had a warm sound and clear, penetrating pianissimo. He achieved these sounds on British-made Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 clarinets (see Chapter 3). Thurston had numerous works dedicated to him and, not surprisingly, he gave many premières. His list of dedications includes John Ireland’s Phantasy Sonata, Herbert Howells’s Sonata, Malcolm Arnold’s first Concerto opus 20, Alan Rawsthorne’s Concerto and Quartet and Elisabeth Lutyens’s Five Little Pieces opus 14. He took part in the first performances of the Phantasy Sonata by Ireland, Gerald Finzi’s Concerto opus 31, Herbert Howells’s Sonata and Arthur Bliss’s Quintet opus 50. He argued for the

---

63 The Klosé method was edited and revised by C. Draper and John Fitz-Gerald. Hawkes & Son (London, 1906).
64 Francesco Gomez (1866-1938) and his brother Manuel (1859-1922) were both fine clarinettists. Born in Seville they studied first at the Paris Conservatoire before coming to London in 1886. Manuel Gomez is today especially remembered for never using the A clarinet and transposing almost all repertoire onto the B flat instrument.
65 Halfpenny, op.cit., p. 3.
merits of British compositions like the Stanford Sonata in *The Clarinet and its Music* (1948): "...the individual and lyrical beauty of this work makes it all the more strange that it is so seldom heard".\(^{67}\)

Of Thurston's surviving recordings most are of recently composed British music (see Chapter 7). This appreciation for contemporary works is confirmed by Blom in 1954: "[Thurston was] happiest in his interpretation of works by modern composers".\(^{68}\)

Thurston was crucial to British clarinet culture after 1930, not only in terms of performance, but also in his writings about the clarinet and in his extensive support of native composers. In this sense, Thurston was a central figure, contributing to an emerging post-1900 arts establishment in Britain.

Thurston produced a clarinet tutor in 1939. The first edition of *The Clarinet - A Comprehensive Tutor for the Boehm Clarinet* was published by Boosey & Hawkes and the work was revised in 1953.\(^{69}\) The introduction to the 1953 edition, an historical sketch by Rendall, states that "...in the last thirty or forty years [from c.1913], the Boehm clarinet has been steadily gaining ground in this country, and in a decade or two will no doubt supersede the older patterns entirely". In the first section of Thurston's tutor, "Basic fingerings and getting started", the author makes several significant points which distinguish his ideas from those of his British predecessors.\(^{70}\) He advocates a "natural, comfortable position", he suggests "standing up...the top lip may also cover the teeth but this is not

\(^{67}\) Thurston, op.cit., p.35.
\(^{69}\) The tutor was prepared with Alan Frank (b.1910) who was a pupil of Thurston. Copy consulted: The Royal Academy of Music, no: 033051.
\(^{70}\) The Preliminaries focus on four main areas: Position of the Instrument and Hands - "...it is advisable that the player should always practise standing up". Mouthpiece and the Lips - "...the top lip may also cover the teeth but this is not at all necessary". On Breathing - "...breathing should be controlled from lower down, i.e. from the diaphragm". System in Practising - 1) better to practise regularly, 2) do not play when tired, 3) master each technical point before proceeding,
at all necessary", and writes a unique (for its time) paragraph on breathing "controlled...[and] from the diaphragm". After the second section, which focuses on technical and musical studies, the author gives a list of orchestral excerpts. This reflects his predominantly orchestral background. The 1953 revision appends a list of recommended repertoire. This list includes a large number of British works: Balfour *Three Highland Sketches*, Bax Sonata, Browne *A Truro Maggot*, Dunhill *Phantasy Suite*, Ferguson *Four Short Pieces*, Finzi *Five Bagatelles*, Hurlstone *Four Characteristic Pieces*, Ireland *Phantasy Sonata*, Lloyd *Suite in the Olden Style*, Murrill *Prelude Cadenza and Fugue*, Samuel *Three Light Pieces*, Stanford Sonata and *Three Intermezzi*, Tovey Sonata. The list is evidence of the popularity of native compositions in the late forties and early fifties.

Thurston also produced three volumes of *Technical Studies* in 1947, and a book, *Clarinet Technique*, which was published posthumously in 1956. In this book he sets out his musical ideal: "Your technique must be good only because if it is not your musical expression will be impeded. There is no other reason for technique". This statement confirms that by the 1950s, the perspective of the average clarinettist (to whom Thurston's comments were aimed) had developed to a point where technical security could be peripheral to artistic 'freedom'. By contrast with earlier writings (like Draper's 1906 *Klosé* tutor and Adkins' 1927 method), endless lists of minute technical considerations were replaced by sensible, imaginative musical suggestions.

---

4) try to avoid virtuosity and keep to an evenness of rhythm, 5) repeat mistakes and always try to discover why you went wrong, 6) always aim for a good tone.

71 This is a significant advance on H.E. Adkins's 1927 tutor. *The Complete Modern Tutor for the Clarinet* which writes, in italics: "The teeth on any account must not touch the reed or mouthpiece.


Reginald Kell (1906-1981) started the clarinet at the age of fourteen. He had begun his musical studies on the violin but his preference for the clarinet won him a scholarship, in 1929, to study under Haydn Draper, nephew of Charles Draper, at the Royal Academy of Music. He filled a teaching post at his alma mater between 1935 and 1939 and, later, from 1958 to 1959. His appointment to the Academy on Haydn Draper's death was notable because he was by far the youngest person ever to assume such a position. In 1941, he became a Fellow for his contributions to music at the Academy. During Kell's tenure at the institution, Thurston was professor at the Royal College of Music. An element of rivalry emerged between these two artists based on significantly different teaching methods.

Kell was principal clarinet, at some point, in most of the major British orchestras. These included the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra (1931-1932 and 1946), the Royal Opera House Orchestra (1932-1936), the London Philharmonic Orchestra (1932-1936), the London Symphony Orchestra (1936-1939), the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra (1942-1945) and the Philharmonia Orchestra (1945-1948). The effect of his style on the clarinet establishment was considerable.

In his article in *The Clarinet and its Music* (1948), even Thurston admitted that the high regard European musicians held for British clarinettists was in some way due to Kell: "...before the Second World War Reginald Kell

---

74 Quoted text appears in the Foreword. Loc.cit., no page numbers given.
75 James Sclater has written a number of articles on R. Kell, which will be serialised in *The Clarinet* magazine from December 2000. Personal correspondence between J. Sclater and the author (4 August 2000). J. Sclater, Mississippi College, 710 Dunton Road, Clinton, MS 39056, U.S.A.
76 Haydn Draper (1889-1934), who studied at the Royal College of Music, was also a renowned clarinettist. He had an active teaching and performance career but has been somewhat overshadowed in historical records by Charles Draper. Haydn Draper played in the Queens Hall Orchestra and it is now thought that Sir Henry Wood wrote the famous cadenza from his *Fantasia on British Sea Songs* especially for him.
77 Indeed, this perceived 'division' is so strong in late 20th-century British clarinet culture that Nicola Hazelwood has written a dissertation titled *The Effect on English Clarinet Playing Created by the Rift in Styles between Reginald Kell and Frederick Thurston* (Welsh College of Music and Drama, 1992).
was invited to adjudicate the woodwind playing at an important festival in Vienna. 78

In 1948, Kell emigrated to the U.S.A. He returned to Britain only in 1971. In America, Kell made numerous recordings (see Chapter 7) and in 1968 published his celebrated clarinet tutor, "The Kell Method for Clarinet - A Comprehensive Course in 3 Volumes" (1968). 79 All three volumes include fingering charts and notes on how to hold the clarinet, embouchure, and breath control. 80 Book One presents the fundamental rudiments of clarinet technique. Book Two focuses on three areas: so-called "instant-technique", trills and style or character exercises, and a complete spectrum of scales. Book Three deals with staccato playing from early technique up to advanced ability. The three volumes together make up a substantial clarinet tutor.

Michael Bryant describes Kell in the following terms: "Despite his background, Kell stood slightly outside the English tradition. He broke new ground by playing in a strongly expressive manner, using vibrato expansively. His style was a total revelation, and while many attempted to follow in his footsteps, few could match his natural flair for musicianship". 81

4. 'ENGLISH SCHOOL'

Norman Heim defines a school of performance as being "...based upon ideas transmitted from teacher to student". "...Any distinct school of playing the clarinet", he continues, "will consist of methods which have

---

79 Published by Boosey & Hawkes, Oceanside New York, 1968. Copy consulted: British Library, no. g 353e (2).
80 This fingering chart has pictures of a B & H Series 10-10 clarinet.
81 Bryant, programme notes for Clarinet Classics CD CC 0005.
been passed on by the great artists of the day”. The tutors of Mahon, Willman, Lazarus, Thurston and Kell, who have been highlighted in this chapter, are just a few examples of known native methods. Heim refers to those British tutors available in 1880:

- **Tutor for the Clarinet** (1855). Joseph Williams, London.

At least ten other tutors appeared within the period of study:


---

83 Heim, op. cit., p.2.
84 The first four tutors are kept at The Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, Oxford (obtained from computer records). The final three tutors are listed in the Catalogue of Printed Music and the last method is available at the Royal Academy of Music Library.
85 “A Splendid Book for Practice” containing a selection of solo clarinet parts of standard overtures, ballet music and suites. This tutor also includes the following pieces: F. Godfrey, *Reminiscenses* of Auber, England, Ireland and Scotland. E. German, *Three Dances* from ‘Nell Gwyn’. P.E. Fletcher, *3 Light Pieces*. H. Bunning, *3 Dances* and *Norman March* from the incidental music of ‘Robin Hood’.
86 This method is divided into eight sections: 1) first principles of music 2) the bars, time figures, dots and rests 3) graces, marks, signs and words 4) the clarinet 5) picture - simple-system clarinet 6) Tonal exercises in C,F,B flat,E flat,G,D,A 7) Some minor scales in A,E,B,D,G,C 8) popular music including Bishop *Home Sweet Home* and *My Pretty Jane*, Hatton *Goodbye Sweetheart* and Wallis *Let Me Like a Soldier Fall*. This tutor includes seven major and just six
- Gambarro Nine Caprices (1911). Revised G.A. Clinton. CPM h.2189.g.(2.).
- Mohr 8 Grand Studies (1911). Revised G.A. Clinton, Boosey & Company. CPM h.2189.g.(5.).
- Klosé Clarinet School (1906). Revised J. Fitz-Gerald and Charles Draper, Hawkes & Son.

The sizeable number of clarinet tutors produced before 1945 by prominent native artists points to an active teaching and performing tradition in the United Kingdom. However, at least four of those tutors listed above (Klosé, Mohr, Gambarro and Berr) were adapted from methods well established on the continent. At least until 1911, disparate foreign methods supplemented the repertoire of contemporary British clarinetists. The document itself recognises it is severely limited in technical content: “If you want to improve, buy Langley’s Tutor”.  

87 Major H.E. Adkins was Director of Music at Kneller Hall when this tutor appeared in 1927. The method was prepared in conjunction with Louis Booth who was professor of clarinet at the time. Although entitled ‘modern tutor’ it only includes a simple-system fingering chart.  
89 This thorough British edition of the Klosé method includes both Boehm and simple-system fingering charts. This of course differs from the original French version, which only handled Boehm-system. The introduction to this tutor states the following under ‘The Boehm-System’: “This work was no doubt written by Klosé expressly for this system [Boehm], but its educational and practical information is so great that it has been in general use in England as a School for all kinds of Clarinets...and now to render it more acceptable to performers in the English speaking world who still prefer the ‘simple-system’ of fingering...Hawkes & Son have included just as complete a description and diagram of the “simple-system”, therefore no student will be debarred from gaining any further knowledge this work can give”. This reference gives a clear indication that in 1906 the popularity of the simple-system amongst British clarinetists far outweighed the Boehm design.
documents. The 'English School', at this stage (c.1911), struggled to articulate its own definitive personality against these 'invading' influences.

Rendall closes his article, 'A Short Account of the Clarinet in England During the 18th and 19th Centuries' (1942), with a discussion of British tone, technique and musicianship. Referring to tone, he writes, "...our players from the time of Willman have always excelled in beauty of tone". This tone, he notes, is characterised by "...perfect clarity, which as in singing, comes largely from perfect intonation". His discussion of technique states that "English players have always been notable sight readers and executants, even when natural agility has been hampered by old fashioned mechanism. Today, when the use of the Boehm-system is all but universal, virtuosity is commonplace". "...It is not entirely a matter of improved mechanism", he concludes, "there seems to be an ever increasing natural aptitude". In his final section on musicianship, he records the impact of the new college tradition on the "unimaginative" playing common 50 years before (in the late 1800s). "...A solid background of education and general culture", he finishes, "goes a long way in creating a finished artist". The implication here, whether it is correct or not, is that players in the late 1800s lacked "education and general culture". Conceivably because music colleges had not yet become firmly established.

Heim describes two main 'streams' of British performance in 1962. The first, influenced by Thurston and established by Willman, Lazarus and Draper, favoured a close lay mouthpiece and a moderately stiff reed. This combination gave the clarinet "...a refined, firmer sound with control..."  

---

90 This is still the case in contemporary British clarinet teaching.  
91 Rendall makes it clear on a number of occasions in this article that he sees the Müller system and Albert instrument in particular, as greatly inferior to the new Boehm-system.  
93 Heim, op.cit., pp.27-8.  
94 A. Baines states that a close lay mouthpiece and harder reed were used to "...carry the full liquidness and expressive power up to the top of the upper register". Woodwind Instruments and Their History (New York, 1967), p.122.
of tone gradations". The second 'stream' (according to Heim) used a more open lay mouthpiece and a softer reed. Kell led this 'flexible' approach, which incorporated elements of vibrato and glissando (possibly an off-shoot of Draper's efforts) (see Chapter 7). Kell's largely individualistic approach was similar to the French ideal, however, and rare in Britain.

Thurston's sound concept and 'set-up' was the more popular and traditional approach. It was the true 'English School'. In the 1940s, the 'shifting' notion of this school was strongly reliant on its developing association with the Boosey & Hawkes Symphony Series 10-10. This wide bore instrument produced a darker, almost Germanic, sound character than its French contemporaries (see Chapter 3). English School characteristics included much wider dynamic ranges - often with an emphasis on pianissimo - varied sound colours and increased musical expression (when compared with early 20th-century native performance).

By 1945, a distinctive home-grown sound in clarinet performance was established. The English School had freed itself from the dominance of continental traditions. British clarinet culture had become a completely self-supporting entity; with its own instrument, its own teaching methods, its own artists and its own style of performance.

Kell's 'second stream' within pre-1945 British performance culture remains an anomaly. His cosmopolitan approach in performance came from genius - not from any national style. Whilst he may not represent pre-1945 British performance, his radical break with tradition substantially affected post-1945 performance culture. Indeed, the lack of consensus

96 When asked about his vibrato Kell replied: "...if nothing else, it did a lot of good by stimulating interest in the clarinet, which heretofore had been a rather obscure instrument among the public". Collis, 'Reginald Kell', The Clarinet Vol. 1 (1950), p.6.
97 In hindsight, Heim's perception of 'two streams' was probably influenced by the prominence of Kell in America (c.1962 when Heim's dissertation was completed).
amongst British players in terms of a national style makes the idea of an 'English School' after 1945 rather spurious.
Chapter Five

SONATAS

After the recent performance of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford's Sonata for pianoforte and clarinet...we were treated to some extraordinary effusions in the press, the tenor of which was that the clarinet is an unsatisfactory instrument for anything in the nature of a solo sonata, owing (as it was said) to its comparative inflexibility and somewhat monotonous tone-colour.1

Oscar W. Street's observations, in 1916, make a point of the cool reception of clarinet sonatas in early 20th-century Britain. The negative opinion towards the clarinet which Street identifies resulted not only from its 'inflexible' reputation, but also from the small number of popular, tuneful and native works available to play before 1920. Street disagreed with the popular assessment of the clarinet:

Of course, the correct opinion is diametrically opposite. The particular beauty of the clarinet lies in its extraordinary flexibility of tone and its unique capacity for light and shade, ranging from a very powerful fortissimo to an almost inaudible pianissimo; in fact, in the words of Mr. Hadow in the 'Oxford History of Music' it is 'an instrument which we should probably rank next to the violin for beauty of expression'. Hence composers such as Weber, Schumann, Brahms, Niels Gade, and our modern musicians, Sir Charles Stanford, Mr. Walthew, Dr. Harford Lloyd, Mr. Donald Tovey, and the late W.Y. Hurlstone, besides many eminent French composers - and it may be many also of other nationalities, of whom I am ignorant - have all thought it worth while to write for clarinet and pianoforte, and have given us many valuable and delightful examples of their genius under this heading.2

The most thorough discussion of British clarinet sonatas composed around the turn of the 20th century appears in Heim's The Use of the Clarinet in Published Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano by English Composers 1800-1954 (1962). Heim's work focuses on six sonatas written between 1880 and 1945 by composers from the British Isles: Charles Swinnerton Heap (1847-1900), Ebenezer Prout (1835-1909), Sir

---

Donald Francis Tovey (1875-1940), Sir Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), Sir Arnold Bax (1883-1953) and John Ireland (1879-1962). His list overlooks at least seven other sonata composers. This chapter unearths a forgotten repertory of as yet unknown sonatas by William Henry Hadow (1859-1937), George Alexander Osborne (1806-1893), William Henry Bell (1873-1946), George Frederick Linstead (1908-1974), Mary Anderson Lucas (1882-1952), Roger Fiske (1910-1987) and York Bowen (1884-1961).

In this chapter two representative 'focus' works will be analysed in closer detail: Hadow's Sonata (1897) and Fiske's Sonata (1941).

1. 'LOST' SONATAS

The researcher has been unable to locate two British sonatas from the study period. Confusion surrounds the possibility of a William Yates Hurlstone (1876-1906) Sonata. The researcher's opinion is that a sonata for clarinet and piano in fact never existed. All references to a 'Sonata', for example in Pamela Weston's *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (1971), relate incorrectly to the Sonata for cello and piano in D major, which was published posthumously in 1909. It seems that a clarinet and piano version of this Cello Sonata was in circulation in the 1920s although this too is lost. Hurlstone's *Four Characteristic Pieces* (1909) for clarinet and piano and Manuel Gomez's (1859-1922) arrangement of the *Adagio Lamentoso* from the Cello Sonata (2nd movement) for the same combination heightened the confusion (see Chapter 6). To the researcher's knowledge, all references to an 'original' clarinet and piano sonata are misinformed.

---

2 Street, loc. cit.
3 Newell's *William Yates Hurlstone, Musician and Man* (London, 1936), includes a list of 'Principal Works' which does refer to a 'Sonata' for clarinet and piano published by Cary & Co.
4 The cello Sonata in D major was written for May Muckle (1880-1963).
5 Pamela Weston confirms this in personal correspondence with the author (10 September 1995).

2. CONTEXT: SONATA 1880-1945

In an article for the October 1906 issue of the Royal College of Organists Journal Sir William Henry Hadow wrote:

Thus despite all the differences of temperament, education and method, it would seem that there is one connecting link that binds together the more famous members of the Romantic party. As a rule their instrumental music is at its best because at its most characteristic, when it takes some simple outline - such as we may find in the days of Bach and Rameau - fills it with a design the determining principle of which is in the main poetic.

---

6 A letter reportedly written by Hurlstone on 4 March 1901 compounds this confusion by referring to a 'Suite' for Clarinet and Piano. This 'Suite' most likely refers to the Four Characteristic Pieces. Personal correspondence between Richard Platt and the author (18 March 1998).
7 The Coleridge-Taylor Society have no knowledge of the existence of a Sonata for clarinet and piano. P.O. Box 56, Croydon, CR9 6JQ.
9 The New Grove article lists this Sonata under 'Works - Instrumental': "Cl Sonata, f, c.1893, not publ.". Loc., cit.
10 Programme notes for this concert were obtained through personal correspondence with Michael Bryant.
Hadow clearly adopted an anti-modernist stance, preferring to perpetuate the historical compositional legacy and retain tradition.

Hadow's ideas represented the quintessential British approach to the sonata at the turn of 20th century. He espoused a simple formal structure as the basis for a free-flowing, lyrical and melodic line. He confirms this poetic bias in his book *Sonata Form* (1896):

The 'Romantic' composers who succeeded [the Viennese dynasty of Beethoven and Schubert] were much more interested in problems of style and expression than in problems of structure; they took Bach for their leader rather than Beethoven, and, while they did admirable service on the poetic side of music, on the formal side they were almost retrograde...Since 1850 the Ternary Sonata form has passed into a further stage of development. In the history of musical structure Brahms is the direct successor of Beethoven, and has carried his predecessor's work to an even higher stage of organisation. So far as concerns the separate movements he has done little more than master Beethoven's principles and apply them to the style and phraseology of the present day; but in the construction of the form as a whole he has further aided to break down conventions and to reform the code in accordance with the logical requirements of human nature.  

Most British composers of the epoch supported Hadow's 'straightforward' approach to the formal structure of the sonata. Stanford wrote:

...music has one advantage over other arts, in that, being itself a subtle and intangible entity, it can create its own forms and vary them more completely than they can. But one rule is common to them all; no matter how free the design, the proportions must be preserved if the work is to make any sensible appeal to human intelligence. A new form in music may require study and frequent hearing to understand it, but if it is logical and founded on a thorough knowledge and control of means, time will endorse it...In the treatment of form, as in the control of invention, the only path to originality is through sincerity of expression on the lines of natural beauty. The moment originality is forced, extravagance, exaggeration and *bizarrié* become inevitable.

The ideas of Hadow and Stanford formed part of a wind compositional style (peculiar to Britain), which focused on a formal plan derived from the

---

'standard structures' of early to middle 19th-century Europe. As a result, at least until c.1930, wind sonatas composed in Britain displayed little, if any, variance from this traditional continental model. However, later works (post-1930) began to stretch these formal boundaries. Duo compositions by composers such as Linstead, Bax, Ireland and Fiske (see later) not only incorporated fewer movement divisions, but also occasionally began to adopt the 'new' concept of a through-composed structure. However, even these structures were relatively tame developments when one compares them to formal innovations happening in Europe after c.1920.

The rise of the through-composed work in native wind composition was almost entirely due to the influence Walter W. Cobbett (1847-1937) had on British musical life. His chamber music competitions, which were instituted as early as 1905, aimed to bring to light the talents of young British composers. Composers were encouraged to write through-composed works titled Phantasy. Conceived as a modern replacement for the old English Fancy (or 'Fancie'), these pieces were "designed to encourage a break with ossified Sonata-forms by resurrecting methods of an earlier time" (see Chapter 6 for more information on the 'Phantasy').

Early Phantasy compositions focused on works scored for more substantial chamber groupings: i.e. string quartets and piano quintets. However, by the early 1930s, native wind composers had begun to introduce the through-composed format into sonata-like structures, thus widening the scope of formal variation available.

3. PRE-1880 SONATA

Geoffrey Bush states that 19th-century Britain was "dominated by the piano...and the most characteristic form...was the 'accompanyed sonata'." These accompanied sonatas were mostly duos with violin or cello, with the limited number of wind compositions usually written for the

---

16 Bush, op. cit., p. 381.
flute. By the turn of the 20th century, however, a small number of native composers had produced sonatas for other wind combinations, such as clarinet and piano. Thereafter, the amount of music available for the clarinet and piano combination was to increase steadily during the first half of the century (20th).

Alice Mary Smith (1839-1884) composed the only extant pre-1880 British clarinet sonata. This work in A major, written between March and December 1870, was probably scored originally as a clarinet concerto. This cannot be confirmed. Henry Lazarus gave the first performance of the sonata with the composer on the piano on 14 December 1870. The programme notes from this recital introduce the work as a Duo Concertante for Pianoforte and Clarinet in A. Julian Egerton (1848-1945) performed the second and third movements of the sonata (Andante and Allegro pastorale) at the composer’s memorial service in June 1885.

Jane Ellsworth provides a thorough analysis of this sonata in her dissertation Clarinet Music by British Composers, 1800-1914; A Repertorial Survey (1991). In the conclusion of her discussion of the sonata’s first movement (Allegro), she writes: “The first movement...shows Smith’s strong gift as a melodist. While she is not as accomplished in her developmental technique, she does seem able to make a development section work when she approaches it from a

---

17 Smith’s married names were Alice Mary Meadows White. She was often known by these names and this has resulted in occasional confusion. Smith was one of the first female composers to achieve significant recognition in Britain. During her career she was appointed professor at the Royal Academy of Music and was the first woman to be elected Professional Associate of the Royal Philharmonic Society (in November 1867).
18 The second movement Andante is described as ‘with orchestral accompaniment’ in The Musical Times (1872): “…another most welcome item in the programme was the melodious Andante for clarinet, with orchestral accompaniment, the composition of Mrs Meadows White (formerly Miss Alice Mary Smith), which was played to perfection by Mr. Lazarus and was received with favour due both to the composer and executant”. Loc.cit., p.628.
19 The New Philharmonic Society’s Sixth Soirée Musicale (14 December 1870).
20 Personal correspondence with Richard Platt. Platt and Ian Graham-Jones co-edited the version, which was recently published by Hildesgarde Press, P.O. Box 332, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania PA 19010, U.S.A.
melodic, rather than contrapuntal standpoint. Overall her handling of sonata-form is straightforward, organised, and effective."²¹

This statement neatly summarises the strengths (and weaknesses) of the Smith Sonata.²² The work's significance for posterity was the ground-breaking step it took towards the establishment of a national clarinet sonata style.

4. 1860 TO 1900

Four sonatas were composed within this period: Heap's Sonata in B flat major (1879),²³ Prout's Sonata opus 26 in D major (1882)²⁴ (first published 1886),²⁵ Osborne's Sonata (c.1892)²⁶ and Hadow's Sonata in G major (1897). (The Hadow Sonata will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.)²⁷

Heap, who was principally a conductor, composed mostly vocal works including an oratorio, two concert overtures and three cantatas. His Sonata, which was dedicated to Henry Lazarus, is in three movements:²⁸ Allegro grazioso, Adagio and Allegro spiritoso.²⁹ The first and third movements are in the tonic key of B flat major, with the second movement in the sub-dominant. Major and minor scales form the basis of the harmonic plan with root movement in perfect fourth and fifth intervals common. The melodic material is scored pre-dominantly for the clarinet

²² Music in Britain - The Romantic Age 1800-1914 mentions that the Smith clarinet Sonata is “the only work of hers [Smith’s] which stands any chance of revival today...a fluent, fully professional piece, which could well be a useful addition to the repertory”. Bush, (London, 1981), ed. Nicholas Temperley, p. 389.
²³ Published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1880. For this reason the Heap Sonata is included in the 1880 to 1900 grouping.
²⁴ An article on Prout’s music confirms the date of composition in The Musical Times (1 April 1899). Personal correspondence between Oliver Davies, Royal College of Music, and the author (26 May 1999).
²⁵ First published by Augener, the Prout Sonata is currently published by Stainer & Bell, 23 Gruneisen Road, London, N3 1DZ.
²⁶ Published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. (plate number SLW 668). Currently out of print.
²⁷ Published in 2000 by Rosewood publications in conjunction with the author.
²⁸ This dedication appears on the title page of the 1880 Breitkopf und Härtel edition.
with the piano acting, almost entirely, in a subordinate role (see example 1, 1st movement, bars 1-10). The Adagio's main theme, which is especially lyrical, is representative of the common approach within the period of 16 bar melodies (4+4+4+4), which can be sub-divided into two 8-bar groupings. The first 8 bars are performed by the piano (see example 2, 2nd movement, bars 1-16). Texture throughout is transparent.

Prout's reputation today rests on a large number of academic treatises. The New Grove Dictionary (1980) refers to his writings as "remarkably thorough and independent, [but they] are based on an approach now outmoded".30 His Sonata has four movements:31 Allegro maestoso, Scherzo, Largo espressivo and Rondo.32 The first and fourth movements appear in the tonic key of D major. The second movement is in B minor (relative minor) with its trio section in B major. The third movement progresses to F sharp major (mediant key relationship). As in the Heap Sonata, thematic material usually appears in the clarinet. For the most part melodic material is straightforward, and thematic development is achieved through repetition of 'key' motives (here often broken chords). The texture is largely homophonic but does include occasional contrapuntal passages, which offer glimpses of a contrasting character (see example 3, 1st movement, bars 48-49). The first and fourth movements are lengthy, and in the author's opinion this reduces the overall impact.

Osborne's Sonata is an arrangement of the composer's earlier Cello Sonata.33 The exact date of copying out by Osborne is unknown, but like

---

32 Oliver Davies and Colin Bradbury refer to this Sonata as "by far the strongest of the small group of Victorian clarinet Sonatas, with idiomatic and often brilliant writing for both instruments". Programme notes for Clarinet Classics CD CC0022 (1998).
33 G.A. Osborne's cello Sonata was not the only composition arranged for the clarinet by the composer. His Andante and Rondo for violin and piano also has an alternative clarinet part. Published by Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. (plate number SLW 670). Personal correspondence between M. Bryant and the author (17 April 1997).
the Heap Sonata, it was dedicated to the leading performer of the day - Henry Lazarus. The Sonata has three movements: Allegro moderato, Andante, Finale (allegro). The tonic key of B flat major is employed in both fast movements with the relative minor key utilised in the slow movement. As in the Heap and Prout Sonatas, the Osborne Sonata concentrates on strong dominant to tonic cadence movement. However, cadential movement is occasionally varied with the use of plagal and deceptive progressions. The texture is always transparent with frequent use of imitation between instruments (see example 4, 2nd movement, bars 27-28). The Osborne Sonata has a particularly lyrical theme in the slow movement, which is heard above a pizzicato-like bass in the piano (see example 5, 2nd movement, bars 3-17). The final movement is characterised by increased rhythmic energy as the composer employs a 'catchy' syncopated first subject (see example 6, 3rd movement, bars 1-16). This increased rhythmic movement heightens interest, although regular periods of static motion dominate.

5. 1900 TO 1930

Three sonatas were composed during this period: Tovey's Sonata in B flat major opus 16 (1906), Stanford's Sonata opus 129 (1911) and Bell's Sonata in D minor (1926).

Tovey's Sonata was composed in 1906 and published by Schott in 1912. It is in three movements: Allegretto, Allegro con spirito, non presto and Andante tranquillo, largamente ed amabile. The first and last movements are in the tonic key of B flat major, with the unusually 'fast' second movement in the relative key of G minor. The Sonata makes free use of imitation and the overlapping of phrases (mostly of short duration) (see example 7, 3rd movement, bars 60-62) as the instruments play in dialogue with each other. Rhythmic complexity is heightened by the regular use of triplet against quaver patterns. Syncopation is also regularly used. Various

34 The Schott plate number is S&Co. 6979.
35 This Sonata has alternative versions for viola and violin.
rhythmic motives are utilised and these give the effect of a shifting pulse - especially over the bar line. The Sonata is characterised throughout by use of the chromatic scale and unison or octave movement (see example 8, 1st movement, bars 161-164).

Stanford’s Sonata was written in December 1911. The exact date of completion of each movement is marked on the autograph manuscript. Stainer & Bell published the Sonata in 1918. The work is dedicated to Charles Draper and Oscar W. Street. Charles Draper and Thomas Dunhill (1877-1946), piano, gave the première on 16 March 1916, as part of a Dunhill Chamber Concert series. Dunhill, who had the advantage of a first-hand knowledge of this Sonata, describes it as follows: “...a beautifully wrought composition, deserving a special word of praise. It is a notable addition to a rather scanty repertory, and boasts a slow movement, in the form of a “Caoine” (or Irish lament), which is deeply expressive and poetically conceived”.

The first movement is in F major. It employs a number of recurrent thematic motives with heavy emphasis placed on triplet figures (see example 9, 1st movement, bars 76-79). The second movement, Caoine or ‘Irish lament’, is a modal monophonic ‘song’ with heavy ornamentation and melodic variation. The movement is characterised by rolled chords and dark timbres in the piano part, which underscore an ‘expanding’ main theme (through variation), in the clarinet part (see example 10, 2nd


37 Allegro moderato 24 December 1911, Caoine Adagio (quasi Fantasia) 25 December 1911, Allegretto grazioso 28 December 1911. The complete manuscript is kept at the Cambridge University Library (number MS.add.8341).

38 Stainer & Bell. 23 Grueneisen Road. London, N3 1DZ.

39 This performance was held at the Steinway Hall. London. *The Times* review of the première states (March 1916): “In the Sonata...Stanford has concentrated chiefly on the capacity of the clarinet for the expression of a smooth cantilena. The piano part is so far subordinated to this in the first and last movements that they may almost be regarded as solo movements with accompaniment. The slow movement called ‘Caoine’, stands out from the suave and leisurely style of its surroundings in a rhapsodic style in which both instruments share”. T. Dunhill was in possession of the autograph manuscript until his death, whereafter Cambridge University purchased it.
movement, bars 1-3 and 15-19). By adjusting form and tonality, the composer successfully integrates a 'Celtic' character with a Germanic compositional style. The third movement, a Rondo, returns to the tonic key of F major. It is based on a three-note motive (see example 11). This movement refers to motivic material initially announced in the first and second movements. This contributes to the 'cyclical sense' of the Sonata.

Bell's Sonata in D minor was composed in Claremont, Cape Town in 1926. Dedicated to his son 'Oliver M. Bell', the autograph manuscript notes that it is scored for 'clarinet (viola) and piano'. Bell studied composition with Sir Charles Villiers Stanford and later became professor of harmony at the Royal Academy of Music. He emigrated to South Africa in 1912. The Clarinet Sonata was always obscure and is almost completely unknown today. Indeed, it is so overlooked that the account of Bell's life and work in the South African Music Encyclopedia (1982) does not list this sonata.

The Bell Sonata is in four movements: Allegro moderato, Moderato grazioso, Adagio, Allegro non troppo. The Sonata is firmly tonal. Beginning in D minor, the work progresses through the related keys of F

---

42 The manuscript of this Sonat is held at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. The author is grateful to the University librarian Lesley Hart, and Peter Bell, a family relative in Britain, for giving their permission to publish this work. Released in 2000 by Rosewood publications in conjunction with this author.
43 He held this position from 1903 to 1912. William Henry Bell - An Interim Sketch and Worklist*, *British Music* Vol. 11 (Essex, 1989), p.20.
44 Bell was initially Principal of the South African Music College, Cape Town (from late 1912). When this institution merged with the newly established University of Cape Town, he became the first professor of music there. He is also remembered today for helping to form the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra and the 'Little Theatre' (established at University of Cape Town in 1930). Bell retired in 1935. *Catalogue of Music and Manuscripts by W.H. Bell* (no date), compiled by L.E. Taylor, University of Cape Town (no.11917.de.11).
45 Bell wrote predominantly vocal music. However, he is known to have written three other Sonatas: Sonata for violin opus 11 (1897), Sonata for violin in D major (1918) and Sonata for cello in A minor (1927). He also wrote two Operas, five Symphonies and a viola Concerto.
and B flat major (2nd and 3rd movements) before returning to the tonic key (4th movement). The first and fourth movements incorporate free-flowing melodies with regular interplay between instruments and this accounts for the most 'inspired' elements within the work (see example 12, 1st movement, bars 29-37). The Bell Sonata emphasises a shift away from the melodic dominance of the soloist over accompanist common to works before 1900, in favour of increased interplay between instruments. This composition utilises varied rhythmic motives, which are mostly simple in design. Bell chooses the unusual metre of 24/8 in the second movement - significant because of the bar's 9/8+6/8+9/8 groupings. The intention is to divide the bar into three clear asymmetrical beats. Areas of ritardando and tempo fluctuations appear throughout (see example 13, 1st movement, bars 45-52) and considerable dynamic gradation is common. Whilst these elements are not unusual for the period, the fact that they are fastidiously marked into the score indicates a highly prescriptive approach from the composer.

6. 1930 TO 1945

Six sonatas were composed during this period: Linstead's Sonata (c.1932), Bax's Sonata (1935), Lucas's Sonata (1938), Fiske's Sonata (1941), Bowen's Sonata (1943) and Ireland's Phantasy Sonata (1945). (The Fiske Sonata will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.)

Linstead's imaginative Sonata is a significant addition to early 20th-century British repertoire. Its exact date of composition is unknown, but the composer's son believes it to be sometime between January and March 1932. The clarinettist William Roystone (n.d.) and the composer performed it at a John Parr Chamber Concert on 26 March 1932. The Sonata's relative obscurity limited the number of early performances. This

---

47 Published in 2000 in conjunction with Rosewood publications and this author.  
48 The Sonata comes towards the end of a bound set of manuscript scores dated 1928 to 1941. It is possible that it was in fact completed in late 1931. This cannot be substantiated. Personal correspondence between Stephen Linstead and the author (5 May 1999).  
49 A copy of this programme was obtained through personal correspondence with Michael Bryant.
obscurity does not relate to its origins in Sheffield, which at that time was a mecca for wind performance under John Parr's patronage (see Chapter 1, page 12). Rather the piece's pre-Ireland disjointed melodies and high technical demands placed it outside the easily accessible ambience of Parr's concerts.

Linstead lived most of his life in Sheffield and lectured at the University from 1947. His style was highly individualistic. Stephen Linstead writes about his father's approach to composition as follows: "[he] wrote in a variety of styles as the muse took him but always in the most meticulous way, sometimes jocular, sometimes very serious and difficult...he was a very English composer, a countryman at heart, delighting in the glories of the countryside which surrounds Sheffield, and influenced by the English tradition of church music".

The Linstead Sonata was immensely important for the development of a more exploratory and expressive 20th-century clarinet tradition in Britain. Whilst not equalling the heights of lyrical artistry and invention achieved by Bax and Ireland, it led the way in two significant areas. Firstly, it dramatically increased the technical expectations placed on performers (when compared to pre-1930 sonatas). This new virtuosity is in evidence in the clarinet's wide register shifts - often made quickly (see example 14, bars 36-40) during long, technically demanding semi-quaver passages (see example 15, bars 193-201). The piano score is equally complex with challenging rhythmical interplay between left and right hands (see example 16, bars 28-29) and sections which leap across the keyboard (see example 17, bars 61-63). Secondly, the Linstead Sonata was the first British composition of its type to be through-composed. Within this structure it incorporates considerable contrast which is emphasised.

50 Linstead was appointed music critic of the Sheffield Morning Telegraph in 1940. As a pianist he was one of the most frequent contributors to John Parr's monthly chamber music concerts at Victoria Hall, Sheffield (1930-1957). *Who's Who in Music* 4th edition (London, 1962), ed. David Simmons, p.129.

51 Other chamber music includes a violin Sonata, two string quartets and a sextet and quintet for wind. He also wrote two works for brass band, piano solos, songs, an opera and ballet. "George F.
through tempo change, rubato, ritardando and the use of fermata (bar 148). The formal structure, which includes a prelude and postlude (bars 1-4 and 224-234), is clear despite the lack of traditional movement separation.

The Bax Sonata (1935), dedicated to the composer's friend Hugh Prew, is in two movements: *Molto moderato* and *Vivace*. The only other chamber works Bax composed including the clarinet were a *Nonet* (1930) and a *Concertante* (1944) - with cor anglais and French horn. Bax was heavily influenced by the Wagnerian tradition. Like Linstead, his approach to harmonic structure and development retains firmly tonal centres. The *New Grove* (1980) describes the "luxuriant chromatic harmon[ies with]... broad songlike themes" which are characteristic of his compositional style. Andrew Smith refers to the Sonata as a "... highly atmospheric work, richly textured and chromatic in a 'post-romantic' way".

The Bax Sonata begins in D major with the first subject stated immediately in the clarinet part (see example 18, 1st movement, bars 1-11). The second subject, beginning in bar 42, is in F major (see example 19, 1st movement, bars 42-51). This movement's development section begins in E minor (bar 74) passing through the keys of E flat minor (bar 87), B major and C minor (implied bars 96-113), before the recapitulation in bar 128 (return of D major). The second movement again opens with the first subject exactly announced by the clarinet, but here the piano's theme seems equally important (see example 20, 2nd movement, bars 1-11).

---

Linstead, a short biography and repertoire list' (n.d.). Obtained through personal correspondence between Stephen Linstead and the author.

52 The original edition was produced by Murdoch, Murdoch & Co. The Sonata was assigned to Chappell & Co. in 1943.

53 The *Nonet* is scored for flute, oboe, clarinet, harp, string quartet and double bass.

54 For more in-depth information on the Bax Sonata see Alexander, "The Bax Sonata for clarinet and piano", *The Clarinet* Vol. 8/1 (February 1983) and 8/2 (May 1983). Jack Brymer describes this Sonata as "A work which the composer used to enjoy hearing, and the more romantic the approach the better". *The Clarinet* (London, 1976), p.212.

55 He travelled to Germany in 1905 and attended a complete season of performances of music by Wagner and Strauss.


Here, the tonal centre is less clearly established (however, mostly D minor). A short development section begins in bar 18. The second subject begins in bar 49 (F minor) with the first subject returning at Tempo 1 (bar 79). The second subject returns in bar 110 (a clear return to D major, in contrast to the movement's pre-dominantly minor character).\textsuperscript{58}

The Mary Anderson Lucas Sonata (1938), dedicated to Pauline Juler (b.1914),\textsuperscript{59} was first published by Hinrichsen.\textsuperscript{60} Like the Bax Sonata, it has two movements, marked Andante and Moderato scherzando. The work makes a feature of extremely transparent textures and a sparse orchestration (see example 21, 1\textsuperscript{st} movement, bars 32-36). The composition changes metre regularly (i.e. second movement incorporates 2/4, 4/4 and 6/8), and requires a degree of dexterity from the clarinettist. Many passages are technically difficult because of obscure tonality (see example 22, 1\textsuperscript{st} movement, bars 92-95). This sonata lacks an inspirational or creative edge, and, in the author's opinion, is merely of musicological significance in the epoch.

By contrast, the York Bowen Sonata (1943) was a substantial addition to the pre-1945 British duo repertoire. The New Grove Dictionary (1980) describes Bowen as a "pianist of remarkable brilliance".\textsuperscript{61} He composed a number of important works: three piano concertos, solo concertos for violin and viola, a Symphonic Fantasia, a Symphony in E minor, solo concertos for violin and viola and suites for piano. The Bowen Sonata (also dedicated to the clarinettist Pauline Juler) remained in manuscript form for forty-one years. This was corrected in 1985 with an edition

\textsuperscript{58} The Chappell edition (1943) of the Bax Sonata omits two complete beats from the composer's original manuscript. This omission occurs in the second movement (from bar 11). Contemporary performances should correct this passage, as the composers' intention is undoubtedly to maintain a 'fluid link' over the bar division (by means of semi-quaver movement in the clarinet score). See example 29, 2\textsuperscript{nd} movement, bars 11-12, for original manuscript version.

\textsuperscript{59} Pauline Juler studied clarinet with Charles Draper. She performed with the New London Orchestra and premiered Howard Ferguson's Four Short Pieces at the Wigmore Hall in 1937. She recorded the Howard Ferguson Octet Opus 4 in 1933 (Decca DK 10957).

\textsuperscript{60} Edition Number 45a. This edition is currently out of print. A photocopy of the Sonata was obtained through personal correspondence with Michael Bryant.

\textsuperscript{61} New Grove, 1980, 3, p.136.
prepared and published by Emerson. Jack Brymer, writing in 1976, described the Sonata’s lamentable position: “Unfortunately in manuscript. A work which should have been published long ago. Lyrical and brilliant in parts, it will find a ready public when this is rectified [publication].”

The Sonata is in three movements: Allegro moderato, Allegretto poco scherzando and Allegro molto con fuoco (Finale). A dark and mysterious mood pervades throughout. Melodically based, the Sonata’s sense of balance or structure is clearly secondary to its singing clarity and lyricism. Clarinet phrases often turn into virtuosic arabesques which quickly cross between the registers (see example 23, 3rd movement, bars 29-36). This sonata incorporates numerous passages of chromatic movement (usually appearing in the solo part) (see example 24, 2nd movement, bars 85-86).

Of all these works, Ireland’s Phantasy Sonata (1943) had the most significant impact on the British sonata tradition in the 20th century. This is confirmed in the number and popularity of annual performances documented in the United Kingdom before 1996. The Phantasy Sonata was premiered by the dedicatee Frederick Thurston and the pianist Kendall Taylor at a Boosey & Hawkes chamber music recital on 5 February 1944. Stuart Scott writes:

The clarinet was one of Ireland’s most favoured instruments and he had longed to write another chamber work for that instrument...but although he had tried he was never satisfied. Ireland’s interest and attraction to the clarinet dates from the time when he heard Richard Mühlfeld play in London. For Ireland the climax of his career as a composer of chamber music came with the production of the Fantasy Sonata - a work of which he was very proud. It...shows the composer at his full stature as a creative artist. The music is full of varied changes...

---

62 Emerson edition No. 166, Windmill Farm, Ampleforth, Yorkshire.
64 This ‘dark’ mood no doubt stems from the ‘desperate’ atmosphere created by the Second World War.
65 Published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1945 (B&H 8956). The original manuscript of the Sonata is lost.
66 Peter Taylor and the John Ireland Trust substantiate this. Personal correspondence with the author (17 April 1996).
67 This performance was at the Wigmore Hall. F. Thurston is known to have performed the Sonata on numerous occasions throughout his career.
of mood and it is a complex piece of ensemble writing, both parts being interwoven into a texture of great subtlety. The writing for the clarinet taxes the virtuosity and musicianship of the best players.  

The Phantasy Sonata, which is through-composed, evolves from two distinct ideas (subjects). The initial idea is stated by the clarinet at the outset (see example 25, bars 1-5). The second subject, which is announced by the piano, appears in bar 60 (see example 26). The development section, which is clearly introduced by a short solo clarinet recitative, begins in bar 150 with thematic material announced by solo piano (see example 27). The development is characterised by a strong thematic relationship of material. The sectioned coda increases the tempo under a 'con risoluzione' marking (see example 28, bars 253-272), leading the sonata into a fiery and impassioned close.

This sonata announces a radically new approach to the manipulation of instrumental timbre. The composer's technical grasp of the clarinet is married to an ability to balance innovation against the resources of the piano. The well-structured and texturally dense piano writing contributed considerably to establishing the reputation of this sonata.

The Linstead, Bax, Lucas, Bowen and Ireland sonatas continue to emphasise tonality. However, there are occasional passages that are highly chromatic. The use of ninth chords and more complex dissonances, achieved through added seconds, fourths and sixths, adds interest to harmonic structures. These works are often more linear or polyphonic than earlier examples (pre-1930). The simultaneous interplay of melodic lines is a common feature (amongst instruments). Unlike pre-1930 sonatas, which focus on the repetition of melodic material, works within this epoch transform themes (as in the Ireland Sonata). In a general sense, there is a move towards fewer movements. Both the Linstead and Ireland sonatas are through-composed.  

---

When compared to pre-1930 compositions, these sonatas are rhythmically complex, often using irregular groupings. The technical demands made of both instruments are heightened - with the clarinet range stretched to the boundaries of 'comfortable' possibility. The Ireland Sonata, for example, regularly employs the extreme high register (up to and including B flat⁶). Articulation is mostly slurred, with staccato passages employed in areas of increased tension. Textures become fuller as these works conjure up a more sophisticated timbral picture.

7. FOCUS
7.1 WILLIAM HENRY HADOW

William H. Hadow (1859-1937) was one of the pre-eminent scholars of his day. Educated at Malvern College and later Oxford University, he followed a varied career in academia, writing and music.⁷⁰ He lectured in classics at Worcester College, Oxford, became Principal at Armstrong College, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1909-1919), and was later appointed Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University (1919-1930).

Hadow's best-remembered legacy is the so-called 'Hadow Report'. This report revolutionised the general education of children over eleven years of age. However, H.C. Colles writes: "Through it all [his varied pursuits] he never lost sight of the music, and his influence on the musical life of this country was possibly even greater than on scholarship".⁷¹ H. J. Foss confirms Colles's assessment of Hadow's impact on the state of British music:

⁶ Significantly, the Linstead Sonata was composed approximately eleven years before the Ireland Phantasy Sonata.
⁷⁰ Hadow's writings include Beethoven (London, 1917), Citizenship - Stevenson Foundation Lectures (Oxford, 1923), Church Music (London, 1926), A Comparison of Poetry and Music (Cambridge, 1926), Landmarks in Education (London, 1927), Collected Essays (London, 1928), Richard Wagner (London, 1934). It is noted in one of Hadow's essays, Music and Education, The Place of Music in Life (first presented Texas 1926), that the composer cites the voice, violin and clarinet as examples of timbres that can give sheer physical pleasure to the ear, with specific reference, in the case of the clarinet, to the Schubert Octet.
Without the liberalizing influence of Hadow, the musical life of this country could hardly have become what it is today [1937] - the most significant in the world. Neither of these statements is exaggerated. Neither of them is written in forgetfulness either of other people's work or other nations' achievements. But Hadow, as one of the most powerful forces for culture in our age, preferred to remain in the background. His academic positions, distinguished though they were, are quite incommensurate with the extent and nature of his personal work [here musical].\(^\text{72}\)

Foss may have shown a little too much enthusiasm (and a good deal of national bias) in the year of Hadow's death, but his words do communicate the esteem in which Hadow was generally held.

Hadow's Sonata for clarinet and piano was written in 1897. The manuscript is kept at Worcester College, Oxford. In three movements, Allegro, Maestoso and Finale - Allegro giocoso, quasi presto, it is scored for A clarinet. The Sonata is a warm, lyrical composition, which aimed to satisfy Hadow's highly nationalistic musical aspirations. These aspirations are clearly voiced in his writings. In this passage, he compares British artistic culture and musical expression to that of the continent: "We have our own vision of beauty: a vision of English skies and English woodlands, of Gainsborough and Constable, of Chaucer and Milton. So far as our music can embody and express this ideal so far will it advance, firmly and confidently, along the lines of its great tradition as a living language."\(^\text{73}\)

The first movement, which is in sonata-form, is marked Allegro. The tonic key of G major is strongly emphasised in the opening symmetrical phrase (i.e. bars 1 and 2 are built on the tonic chord). Later bar 9 incorporates an imperfect cadence, which is followed by the return of the tonic in bar 10. The exuberant first subject, 16 bars in length, consists of two 8-bar groupings. The second 8-bar grouping (bars 9-16) makes slight adjustments to the initial melodic statement (these adjustments begin in bar 12). A bridge passage occurs in bars 18 to 41, linking the first and second subjects. This passage incorporates the first significant reference

in the work to chromaticism (bars 18-19), whilst also importantly introducing two new similar phrases which recur later in the movement (bars 18-21 and 22-25). The bridge passage moves into the second subject by way of a flowing solo link in the clarinet part (bars 40-41). The more melancholic second subject (when compared to the character of the first subject), which fluctuates between the keys of E major (bar 42) and C# minor (bar 50), is initially stated by the solo piano (bars 42-50) with the clarinet re-stating and extending it thereafter (bars 51-62). Bars 63 to 71, which are in the key of E minor, announce new material that has a Wagnerian character. This Germanic character is heightened in bars 73 to 76 when the clarinet adds imitative interplay to the score. The following keys are apparent within this section: G minor (from bar 72), E minor (returning in bars 86-88) and E major (announced by perfect cadence bars 96-97). The theme in bars 97 to 112 (re-appearing in bars 303-318) could be called a 'codetta' theme. The exposition closes in bar 112 as the music moves back towards G major.

The development section begins in bar 113. This section is initially characterised by the recurrence of the first subject which alternates between instruments: bars 113 to 116 (piano), bars 125 to 128 (clarinet) and bars 129 to 133 (piano). This is then briefly interspersed with material from the 'second group' (material first stated in bar 63). Thereafter first subject material appears again in instrumental alternation: bars 193 to 194 (piano), bars 203 to 204 (clarinet) and bars 205 to 206 (piano). When the second subject recurs, it also alternates between instruments: bars 165 to 174 (clarinet), bars 175 to 180 (piano), bars 181 to 184 (clarinet) and bars 185 to 189 (piano). The development section includes much use of triplet movement (first announced in bar 97), creating increased forward motion, and fuller harmonies in the piano, which are clearly more chromatic than those employed within the exposition (i.e. bars 133-149). Bars 205 to 208, which are played by solo piano, function as a bridge passage in order to facilitate the recapitulation (recapitulation begins in bar 209). This 'linking' passage is strongly related to the bridge passage played by the clarinet, which first occurs in the exposition (bars 40-41). Bars 199 to 208 include a
dominant pedal - a common feature at this point within classical sonata-form movements.

The recapitulation begins in bar 209. The return of G major (tonic key) is again emphasised by a perfect cadence (last beat of bar 208 to first beat of bar 209). Thematic material first announced in the exposition is here restated. For example, bars 34 to 39 from the exposition are repeated almost exactly in bars 241 to 246 (only slight changes to accompanying patterns within the piano parts). The recapitulation includes a lot of rescoring - material previously given to the piano now appears in the clarinet part (and vice versa). The movement closes with a brief coda (beginning in bar 319). This coda focuses on thematic material from the first subject. Throughout this short closing section the tonic key of G major is heavily emphasised. This can be seen in the firm tonic pedal note (bars 337-346) and extended ‘final’ perfect cadence (last two bars: 350 and 351).

There can be little doubt that Brahms heavily influenced this first movement. Brahmsian elements are here strongly reflected in Hadow’s relatively straightforward approach to sonata-form design, and to certain prominent thematic material employed (i.e. material presented by the clarinet part in bars 34-42, which is very similar to opening statements in Brahms’s Sonata opus 120 no. 1).

The second movement *Maestoso* has a ternary form - ABA¹. Section A opens with the clearly established tonic key of C major - the Sonata’s sub-dominant key. This tonic is reinforced by a perfect cadence occurring in bars 15 to 16. As in the first movement, the main theme is stated in the first 16 bars and can be sub-divided into two 8-bar groupings. However, as a contrast to the first movement, here the opening theme is given to the solo piano. The clarinet joins the piano in bar 17 with an almost exact restatement of the first 16 bars. Playing for the most part in unison (melody doubled), only slight changes occur when compared to the opening 16 bars. For example, the clarinet is required to function in a clearly
accompanimental role from bars 25 to 28. This role allows the piano to regain melodic dominance towards the end of the section.

The B section begins in bar 33. This section falls into four clear subdivisions. The first, bars 33 to 56, begins and ends in the key of A minor. It is built on a chordal harmonic progression (generally one chord per bar) which explores a number of remote keys. Tonality here consistently contrasts diminished and dominant chords with resolutions to firmer tonal centres. For example, F# diminished chord (bar 39) resolves to E major (bar 40), C# dominant 7th chord (bar 43) resolves to F# major (bar 44) and D# diminished chord (bar 54) resolves to E major (bar 55). Other implied tonalities within this first sub-division include D minor (bars 37-38) and D major (bar 45). The second sub-division occurs in bars 57 to 65. This section, which suggests a bridge passage, is based on the opening theme of the movement. Tonally it moves from A major to F# minor (the key of the next theme - sub-division three). The third sub-division, bars 66 to 81, is based on an 8-bar theme, which is heard twice. This theme could be regarded as an evolution of material first heard in bar three of the movement. The fourth and final sub-division of section B begins in bar 82 (until bar 107). Its character returns to the chordal harmonic progression idea originally heard in the first sub-division (bars 33-56). Here the unchanging dominant 7th chord, bars 102 to 107, has a relatively non-inspirational effect, in spite of the accelerando and crescendo markings.

The return of section A' begins in bar 108. The main theme is re-stated (again 16 bars in duration), but here the clarinet joins with the piano immediately, transposing its original entrance first stated in section A up an octave. Section A' then reverts to thematic material first stated in section B (third sub-division: bars 66-81). This reference, which is characterised by the semi-quaver triplet pattern linked with a quaver, appears in bar 126 and continues almost until the movement's close (bar 135). Consistent with the close of the first movement, the composer uses a pedal note to conclude the second movement. This pedal, on the tonic
note of C, begins in bar 131 (second beat) and runs until the final chord of the movement (bar 137).

The third movement *Finale - Allegro giocoso, quasi presto* - reverts to the tonic key of G major. As with other clarinet sonatas from the period (i.e. Stanford's Sonata of 1911), this final movement is the weakest artistically of the three. It lacks the first movement's thematic invention and melodic clarity, instead placing heavy emphasis on a rhythmically active and well-developed structure. Here the preferred form is sonata-rondo - ABACABA.

The lively and energetic opening theme (or first part) of section A is initially played by the solo piano (bars 1-12) and thereafter the clarinet (bars 13-25). Lasting until bar 62 (first beat), section A has a clear binary structure. The first and second parts of section A are both repeated: first part bars 1 to 12 (repeated bars 13-24) and second part bars 26 to 41 (repeated bars 42-61). The repeat of the second part of section A is slightly extended (when compared to the first statement). Beginning in the tonic key of G major this section progresses through the keys of F major (bar 26) and A minor (bars 28-30). The first rudimentary imitation to be found within the movement can be located in bars 28 to 29.

Section B, which begins on the first beat of bar 62 (overlapping with the conclusion of Section A), is characterised by a continuous dotted quaver linked to semi-quaver pattern (which first appears in the piano). Beginning in G major, the section highlights the tonality of A major (perfect cadence bars 69-70), although much of this section reflects the dominant related key of D major (i.e. D major perfect cadence bars 100-101). Section B has increased rhythmic movement and demonstrates more interplay amongst instruments (i.e. the link between bars 77 and 78 where the clarinet takes over from the piano). This section demonstrates the increased use of imitation at one bar's distance (i.e. bars 94-97 and 102-105).
Section A recurs in bar 116. This section is shorter than the opening statement of section A - it occurs here without the repetitions (finishes in bar 143).

Section C is longer than earlier sections. Beginning in bar 144 in the key of C major, it continues until bar 198. Based on an 8-bar theme, new thematic material is here announced by the solo piano (bars 144-151). This material is based on triplet movement in the right hand, over wide slurred leaps in the left hand. The theme is repeated (with varied textures) in bars 152 to 159 and 176 to 183. The entry of the clarinet in bar 152 is especially important, because it introduces syncopation between instruments. This section later develops into imitative interplay when the clarinet performs triplet movement alternating with dotted-quaver plus semi-quaver patterns in the piano (bars 192-195). This section implies the tonality of G minor (bar 160) and in bars 191 to 198 a dominant pedal appears.

Material from section A, as expected in the tonic key of G major, returns in bar 199. Again in binary structure this section appears without repeats, but with the extended second part (bars 211-230). This third appearance of the main theme is more contrasting when compared with earlier statements of section A material. The piano part features triplet movement in the right hand and slurred wide leaps in the left hand (strongly related to thematic material first announced in section C). Later this section implies the key of F major, bar 211, before announcing a more triumphant character, which is emphasised by the dynamic level of fortissimo (bars 219-230).

The recurrence of section B material begins in bar 231. In bar 239 material first announced in bar 70 re-appears. The thematic reference back to material employed in the original section B continues until bar 274.

After a short bridge passage, headed accelerando (bars 275-285), section A returns in its most reduced form of the whole movement - just 4 bars
Thereafter the work moves to a swift close by means of a short codetta (bars 290-300), again employing perfect cadential movement in the tonic key of G major. The tonic is again reinforced by the use of a pedal note. This pedal note begins in bar 292.

7.2 ROGER FISKE

Roger Fiske (1910-1987) was a musicologist, author and broadcaster. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford, he later studied composition with Herbert Howells at the Royal College of Music. His most significant writings include Beethoven's Last Quartets (1940), a popular study of Chamber Music (1969) and English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century (1973).

Fiske's Clarinet Sonata was composed in 1941. He wrote one other composition for clarinet and piano: a Sonatina dated 1951. Both these manuscripts, together with all other existing manuscripts, were left to Richard Platt (Falmouth, Cornwall) on the composer's death. These manuscripts have now been placed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Platt retains photocopies of all those manuscripts previously in his possession.

In an undated letter to the author (late 1998), Richard Platt compares the Sonata and Sonatina:

...they are quite large-scale works; the difference in title is more to do with the musical character. The Sonata is the more virtuoso of the two. He [Fiske] studied with Herbert Howells, and I think some of that influence shows, in for instance the melodic character of the slow movement and the rhythmic structure of the Finale. His widow [Elizabeth Fiske] told me [Platt] that it was played at a 'private performance' by [Frederick] Thurston. Unfortunately, Fiske kept very

---

74 Fiske was very involved in making classical music more accessible to children. He joined the British Broadcasting Corporation as their 'schools music broadcasts' organiser in 1939. He also wrote a number of significant educational books. For example, Listening to Music - A Guide to Enjoyment (London, 1952) and The Oxford School Music Books (London, 1962).
quiet about his own compositions when he was alive and I [Platt] only realised what it was like [the Sonata] after he had died. 75

Subsequent correspondence between Richard Platt and the researcher provided confirmation that this Sonata was never performed publicly by Thurston. In a letter to this author dated 10th April 1999, Platt enclosed a photocopy of a letter (to him) from Elizabeth Fiske. 76 This letter states:

I am sure that there was no formal performance of any sort, though I seem to remember Jack (Frederick) Thurston coming to our rooms in Bedford and discussing the clarinet Sonata while Roger was working on it. I rather think he once came to our rooms in Putney, after that Jack Thurston became ill and I think things went no further. As far as I know Roger never did anything more about the Sonata, he got busy with other work - whether Roger ever tried to get it published I don’t know. I saw Catherine [Fiske’s daughter Catherine Powloski] yesterday, she had clarinet lessons with Thurston’s widow Thea King. Catherine says she remembers no reference to any performance of the Sonata and like me she thinks Roger must have put it aside when other things were making him very busy. 77

Elizabeth Fiske’s letter to Platt provides evidence that the Fiske Clarinet Sonata was written specifically for Frederick Thurston. More importantly Elizabeth Fiske’s correspondence confirms that Thurston never publicly performed this Sonata. After Thurston’s death, the Sonata was sidelined and forgotten. It seems that any previous performance was private and probably took the form of a trial run, possibly to finalise technical elements.

The primary source for the new Rosewood edition of the Fiske Clarinet Sonata is the composer’s copy of the score, held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Other sources for this edition are Frederick Thurston’s piano score and two clarinet parts. 78 The two clarinet parts are especially significant,

---

75 Personal correspondence between the author and Richard Platt, 3 Stratton Place, Falmouth, Cornwall, TR11 2ST.
76 Photocopy of personal correspondence between Elizabeth Fiske and Richard Platt (5th April 1999).
77 Letter from Elizabeth Fiske, 209 Millans Court, Ambleside, Cumbria, LA22 9BW. Now deceased.
78 Thea King supplied these two additional parts to Michael Bryant.
as they include much additional information about Thurston's approach and ideas regarding the performance of this Sonata.\textsuperscript{79}

The first movement - \textit{Andante con moto, e poco rubato} - is in F major (as is indicated in the \textit{Rosewood} edition, Thurston prefers a \textit{Moderato tranquillo} approach to tempo in this movement). This first movement has a fluctuating time signature throughout but retains a 'crotchet' pulse. The movement can be analysed in terms of 'sonata-form', but here the outlines are not as clear as in the Hadow Sonata. The clarinet states the first subject in bars 1 to 6. However, the full statement of this subject is immediately interrupted in bar 7, when the composer introduces new, contrasting material (ending in bar 17). This contrasting material is less flowing in character than the first subject. Indeed, it has an almost developmental flavour, which is supported by quickened changes in tonal centre: E major (bars 7-8), A flat major (bars 9-10) and A major (cadence bars 15-16). The first subject returns in bar 18. Again in the key of F major, it differs slightly from the initial statement (bars 1-6) as here the clarinet part has been transposed up an octave and small adjustments appear in the clarinet's melodic line (i.e. alterations to the last beat of bar 20). Significantly, this second statement of the first subject incorporates new thematic material. This material can be seen in the clarinet line, bars 22 to 25. The first subject finishes with the piano sustaining a ninth chord (bar 26). This chord, which reflects the tonalities of C major and D minor, is important as throughout the Sonata the composer experiments with combinations of tonalities.

The second subject is introduced by a short solo link in the clarinet part (bar 27). Beginning with the solo piano in bar 28, the second subject is founded on a dotted quaver and semi-quaver pattern. This pattern is previewed in the Sonata's first subject (tenor part of the piano score, bars

\textsuperscript{79} Wherever possible, \textit{Rosewood} edition has included Thurston's personal thoughts on this Sonata in square brackets. Apart from a number of listed tempo changes (see \textit{Rosewood} score), Thurston marks the following slight changes and additions: 1\textsuperscript{st} movement, bar 93: F natural marked F#, \textit{2nd} movement, bar 65: marked echo, \textit{3rd} movement, bar 88: marked \textit{poco a poco accelerando}, \textit{3rd} movement, bar 181: whole bar is omitted.
The clarinet part in the second subject is characterised by the introduction of free-flowing 'arabesque' passages (i.e. bars 35-37 and 44-45). These arabesques form a fundamental characteristic of the clarinet writing within this composition. The clarinet only makes brief 'reference' to the second subject's main thematic pattern. Short references appear in bars 38, 40 and 49. Bars 55 to 57 reflect thematic material, which has been transposed from the first subject statement in bars 23 to 25. Thereafter follows a bridge passage. This linking passage is performed by the solo piano (bars 58-60) and is extended when compared to the two earlier bridges in the clarinet part (bars 27 and 51).

The development section begins in bar 61. Here special note must be made of bars 61 to 75. Headed *Tempo I (sostenuto)* this section introduces yet further 'new' thematic material, which has an almost yearning character (this is emphasised by the use of the clarinet in the chalumeau register, coupled to the slurred three-note motive - bars 63 and 64). In this more relaxed section, which seems to function as an 'interlude', the tonal centre moves through the keys of E minor (bar 61) and F minor (implied from bar 68). Significantly, this section is considerably shorter than standard classical sonata-form developments (just 14 bars in duration).

The recapitulation occurs in bar 76. Initially in the key of B flat major, a clear re-statement of the second subject's material is encountered. This is then followed by reference back to the contrasting material from the first subject (interestingly, the first and second subjects are here presented in reverse order) (bars 92-97 based on contrasting material first located in bars 7-15). The section is led towards an euphoric close with the return of free-flowing arabesques in the clarinet (bars 99, 100 and 102), reduced tempo and increased dynamic levels - to *fortissimo* (bars 101-104). The piano provides one bar's link in bar 105. This bar is necessitated, not only to recover the first subject's tranquil character, but also to re-establish the tonic key of F major. The recapitulation at this point provides an exact repetition of the first subject in the clarinet part. However, slight
adjustments to the piano accompaniment do appear (bars 106-111). Thereafter, the additional material from the original first subject (bars 23-25) is employed, but here transposed an octave lower in the clarinet score (bars 111-113). The movement closes with a short codetta, which begins on the last beat of bar 113. This codetta, which slows tempo and reduces dynamic levels as it moves towards its finish, concentrates on the relationship between the chords of B flat major and F major (therefore referring back to the initial tonal contrast first announced in bar 1 of the movement).

The second movement is headed Variation - Poco lento e espressivo - and opens in 6/8 time. As in the first movement it utilises a number of other contrasting time signatures: 7/8 (first announced in bar 6), 3/8 (only bar 48) and 4/4 (announced in bar 75, 4/4 time remains until the end of the movement). The opening main theme is stated by the solo piano. It is in the key of D minor, but with a tendency to move towards F (the note on which the movement ends). This opening statement includes a short post-theme (bars 9-11), contrasting in character with the initial thematic material.

The first variation begins in bar 12 (none of these variations are marked individually). It is almost an exact repetition of the opening theme, although slight adjustments do occur (usually in the piano part). Variation one's thematic material is now presented by the clarinet at a marginally faster tempo. This variation is slightly longer than the theme, as a short linking passage appears in bars 23 and 24.

An Andante tempo marking indicates the commencement of variation two (again extended to 13 bars' duration - bars 25-37). This variation is characterised by the first inclusion of limited imitation between instruments (bar 30) and hemiola - for example, cross-rhythms in the piano part (bars 29 and 33-34).
Variation three, again in the tonic key of D minor, reverts to the 11-bar duration of the theme. Whilst maintaining a similar tempo to variation two, the character here has become more jovial. This lively character is emphasised by the *scherzando* tempo indication, short attack from the piano accompaniment, and staccato notes within the clarinet part.

Variation four begins in bar 49 (concluding in bar 65). Imitative in character, it refers strongly back to variation 2, here regaining the predominantly lyrical flow of the movement. This variation represents the emotional high-point of the second movement, employing the fastest tempo indication - *Più allegro*. This section's intensity is emphasised by increased dynamic levels: *forte* moving to *fortissimo* (bars 56-57). A bridge passage begins in bar 57 (until bar 63). Headed *Molto largamente*, this passage initiates an immediate slowing of tempo. Indeed, only three bars after *Molto largamente* is first announced, *Andante* is marked (bar 59). This linking passage, which is characterised by a number of fermatas, serves to introduce a more rhapsodic, improvisatory element to the movement.

The final section of the movement, variation five, begins in bar 66 (varying bar 1 of the theme). An 11-bar recitative is performed by the clarinet (until bar 74). This recitative section incorporates rapid contrast in dynamic levels, continued slowing of tempo (*Adagio* is indicated from bar 66) and flamboyant arabesque passages - here occasionally spanning three octaves (bars 64-65 and 70-71). Another slowing of tempo occurs in bar 75 - *Sempre adagio e molto largamente*. Texture here reflects greater depth than earlier in the work, with much fuller chords employed in the piano score. This variation aims to draw previous statements together. This is achieved by reference to thematic material of import from earlier in the movement. These thematic references are given in the clarinet part: bars 75 and 76 - material from opening theme (bars 5 and 6); bars 81 and 82 - material from 'recitative' section (bars 70 and 71); bars 84 and 85 - material from opening post-theme (bars 9-10). This variation is firmly anchored to a bass pedal note on C up to the beginning of bar 83.
Thereafter the tonality becomes less stable, although it could be argued that the final note in the clarinet score, a sounding F in the chalumeau register, acts as a final resolution of the preceding pedal note on C (dominant to tonic).

The final movement - Allegro molto - is in the key of F major (as with the first movement). Again contrasting time signatures are employed throughout; here 3/4+3/8 are varied with 3/4 (it might be suggested that varied time signatures throughout the work demonstrate that Fiske was rhythmically influenced by Bartók). The first subject, which has a heavily rhythmic character and is initially stated by the solo piano (bars 1-4), has 10 bars duration. This subject can be sub-divided into two 4-bar groupings, with two additional bars of contrasting thematic material appended - bars 9 to 10 (this appended material refers directly to the theme from movement two). The second 4-bar grouping adds the clarinet, and is an almost exact repetition of the first four bars (a slight adjustment can be seen in the clarinet part, second beat, bar 7). Thereafter follows repetition of the first 10 bars, with contrast achieved by here transposing the clarinet into the clarino register (bars 11-20).

Bar 21 announces a 4-bar bridge passage, which is performed by the piano. This short section is especially significant as here the new thematic material announced in the right hand (bars 23-24) seems to refer back to the first movement (i.e. 1st movement, bars 61-62). However, material stated in bars 23 to 24 primarily establishes the piano accompaniment for the imminent second subject. This second subject begins in bar 25 in the key of D major. It too can be sub-divided into two groupings. However, these groups now reflect a larger, irregular separation, when compared to the more symmetrical first subject (4+4+2) (1st group 8 bars, bars 25-32, 2nd group 9 bars, bars 33-41).

The development section begins in bar 42 in the key of C major (5th relationship with tonic key of F major). Immediately, the repeated crotchet on C clearly refers back to first subject material (bars 42-43). This
repeated crotchet pattern re-appears in bars 54 to 55. The development section incorporates an 'Interlude', which begins in bar 72. This contrasting section is characterised by a repetitive quaver pedal note pattern on A flat (bars 72-88), forte and fortissimo dynamic levels, varied tempo indications (Poco largamente, bar 72, Molto allargando, bar 78, and A tempo (sempre largamente), bar 83) and three-octave 'flourishes' in the clarinet part (bars 76-77, 83-84 and 86-87). Tempo 1 returns in bar 93 with small segments of the first subject performed by the clarinet (bars 93-94, 95-96, 97-99, 101-102). The clarinet also provides a short two-bar reference to the first subject (bars 103-104), before the recapitulation begins in bar 105, the second subject duly appearing in bar 119.

Bar 141 introduces a reflective recitative section, which adopts a progressively slower tempo choice; Poco meno allegro (bar 141), Andante tranquillo (bar 152) and Adagio (bar 161). This section makes strong reference back to thematic elements announced earlier in the work. For example, bars 148 and 151 refer back to the second movement, bars 7 to 8, and bars 152 to 154 in the clarinet part refer to bar 9 (of the second movement). The movement is brought to a fiery close with a coda section - Presto (from bar 162). This final passage, which is clearly delineated by double bar-lines, achieves added intensity with the inclusion of accented notes (in the piano, bars 176-180) and triple forte dynamics (first stated on second beat, bar 178).

The Fiske Sonata is a significant addition to early 20th-century duo repertoire. Its rhapsodic character, coupled to a free approach in thematic development of material, set it apart from other compositions of the period. The knowledge that it was written for one of the pre-eminent performers of the day, Frederick Thurston, in itself invites contemporary clarinetists to re-visit this composition.
Chapter Six

Character Pieces

It is surprising that more composers do not write for clarinet when one realises the beautiful, singing qualities of the instrument and appreciates its great technical possibilities and range... What is needed to bring the whole of the beauty of the clarinet to the ear of the music-lover is for composers to devote more time to the possibilities of the instrument.¹

These words by Frederick Thurston in 1948 represent a general feeling at the time that repertoire for the clarinet was limited. His understanding was that more could be done to produce new compositions for the instrument. However, to some extent the results of this research contradict Thurston’s statement. This study has shown that a sizeable repertoire of character pieces exists within the research dates: over 100 works by approximately 55 composers.

This chapter provides a broad overview of these miniature compositions. The chapter does not highlight every work but focuses on those aspects particular to the character piece genre.² Approximately half the works in the Appendix 1 catalogue have been mentioned below. Unfortunately, many of the compositions listed in this catalogue are lost. The chapter will include discussion of historical, musical and instrumental factors, and will end with a study of two representative character pieces.

Character pieces from this period can be divided into four categories. Fantasias, one-movement works and suites/multi-movement works account for most of the genre. A smaller category - didactic works - also occurs. Educational compositions in this fourth category were produced primarily for the expanding teaching tradition, which appeared around the turn of the 20⁰ century.

² See Appendix 1 for complete catalogue of works.
1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The old English ‘Fancy’ - later termed ‘Fantasia’ - provided the basic formal model for the character piece genre. The later categories of one-movement, suite/multi-movement and didactic works evolved from this form.

Simply put, a fantasia is an instrumental piece founded on original material. Walter W. Cobbett describes the fantasia as: “A piece for concerted instruments in a continuous movement, occupying a shorter time than usual classical works, and free from the structural laws of the ‘classical’ form”. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford notes that fantasias are a “…natural rebellion against the excessive length [and disproportionate interest] in modern works...The form which the remedy has taken is to condense all movements of a work in sonata form into one”.

The overriding principle of the fantasia was that there were no formal rules governing construction. However, unlike most 16th- or 17th-century fancies or fantasias, which were founded on the composer’s original material, the fantasias for clarinet and piano were for the most part based on pre-existing operatic melodies.

Henry Lazarus (1815-1895) was pivotal in establishing the character piece in Britain. Rendall states that he reached the “height of ability when concertos were less in demand and the sonata had not yet arrived”. Rendall continues: “It was the heyday of the occasional piece with piano and of elaborate variations on operatic airs”. In her article for the New Grove (1980), Weston confirms the importance of Lazarus in relation to the character piece. She notes that “His elegant style and pure tone were ideally suited to the occasional pieces in vogue at the time”. The 19th century produced a number of foreign virtuoso performers, many of whom

---

visited the British Isles when on tour. Ernesto Cavallini (1807-1874), often
described as 'The Paganini of the Clarinet', visited London in 1842 and
1845. He performed fantasias of his own composition at the Philharmonic
concerts (see Chapter 1). Although said to be inferior in tone and
intonation in relation to contemporary British players, Cavallini's bold and
impetuous playing, coupled to prodigious execution, significantly raised
the profile of the clarinet as a solo instrument. Cavallini's choice of
fantasia repertoire whilst in Britain helped to establish this new duo form
amongst performers (both amateur and professional) and listeners.

By the end of the 19th century, the development of clarinet repertoire
became an important issue. This is shown by a series of responses to a
question posed in the 1 March 1893 issue of the *Musical Opinion and
Music Trade Review*. An unknown contributor with the initials E.J
instigated this discussion. He wrote as follows: "I should be pleased if
any clarionet friend can supply the names of solos of moderate difficulty
(showy and fit for small local concerts), with publishers' name" (p.330).
There were six letters of response. The first reply appeared under the
pseudonym 'Clarionet' in the 11 March issue. 'Clarionet' suggested the
following works: Delafosse, *Un Rêve*, Le Thièire, *Home, sweet Home* and
*Beneath thy window*, Verdi, *I Lombardi*, Weber, *Oberon* and Wekerlin,
*Stars of Night*. 'Clarionet' added that Hawkes had published an
arrangement "from *Sonnambula* of extreme difficulty, but [he/she did] not
think it contain[ed] that fine cavatina, *Sovra il sen*" (p.400). The second
respondent was J.D. Clarke. His 13 April contribution suggested Mohr's

---

8 Rendall, 'A Short Account of the Clarinet in England During the 18th and 19th Centuries',
9 Apart from his own compositions Cavallini is thought to have performed the following in his
career: Busoni, *Casta Diva* (1882), Busoni, Fantasia on Verdi’s *Il Travatore* (1882), Busoni,
1977), pp.339-40. It is also of interest to mention that Cavallini inspired Verdi’s famed solo and
cadenza from his opera *La Forza del Destino* (1862). Weston, *Players and Composers*, *The
330, 400, 463, 464, and 528.
11 It is possible that the initials E.J. refer to the composer E.J. Macdonald (n.d.).
Second Air Varié and J. Clinton's *Grand Duo Concertante* for clarinet and flute (p.464). A third reply came from W.H. Hall on 18 April. He mentioned Stanford's *Three Intermezzi* and Faning's *Duo Concertante* (p.464). On 20 April 'Ebonite', also appearing under a pseudonym wrote, "When one considers that it takes, say, six months for an amateur to get up a solo, the time should not be wasted on commonplace music". He listed eight works, highlighting Lazarus's Cavatina on themes of Verdi’s *Ernani* (p.464). On 2 May, H. Arthur Smith offered the Sonatas of Prout and Heap. Smith added that "having arranged Brahms's Grand Quintet (Op.115) for piano (four hands) and clarionet, I find it the most delightful of all my possessions for home use" (p.528). The sixth and final respondent, R.H. Whall on 15 May 1893, referred to C.H. Lloyd's *Duo Concertante* and *Bon Voyage*. Whall noted that "The first [Duo Concertante] has a very effective and fairly difficult piano part. The second [Bon Voyage] is short, easy and melodious; and it is, of course, well written, - the sort of piece which is so useful and yet so difficult to find" (p.528).

The above comments in the *Musical Opinion and Music Review* of 1893 clarify a number of points regarding the use and development of clarinet repertoire in Britain at the time. These letters clearly indicate that salon concerts were commonplace and that pieces of a 'showy' or virtuosic nature were preferred. They also show that most of the repertoire was provided by foreign composers and that these compositions were predominantly fantasias or arrangements of popular music hall melodies. However, these letters also single out a few British works by composers such as Lloyd, Faning and Stanford. These new native works were not fantasias. By this stage (the late 19th century) through-composed one-

---

12 This quote probably refers to Lazarus’s Cavatina from Bellini’s *Sonnambula*.
13 The Mohr Second Air Varié is a pleasing piece of moderate difficulty. It was very popular amongst players and listeners at this time.
14 Lazarus composed this fantasia in 1881.
15 This four-handed piano accompaniment to the Brahms Quintet opus 115 is yet further proof of how valued this work was amongst players - both professional and amateur.
16 These letters also substantiate the fact that amateur clarinet performance was flourishing at the time.
17 The J.E. Faning (1850-1927) *Duo Concertante* remains lost.
movement and suites/multi-movement works were developing out of the early wind fantasia format. These compositions, together with others not listed in the above letters, were forerunners in a new British clarinet tradition. This tradition would generate a sizeable repertoire by the end of the Second World War (1945).

In this new tradition of British character pieces, composers aimed to explore the full spectrum of technical, artistic and emotional possibility. These works were shorter than the contemporary wind sonatas and they expressed varied ‘character’ at a time when increased prosperity and greater social freedom were emerging (see Chapter 1).

2. CATEGORIES AND COMPOSERS

Clarinet fantasies were primarily based on operatic arias or national melodies and were a popular type of composition in the latter half of the 19th century. Fantasias, written by composers such as W.W. Bright (n.d.), Arthur A. Clappé (1850-1920), James H. Clarke (1840-1912), George Clinton (1850-1913), Henry Lazarus (1815-1895), Ernest J. Macdonald (n.d.), Percy Pitt (1869-1932), Lilian Raymond (?-1932) and James Waterson (1834-1893), followed the common format of introduction, theme, variations, and coda. They focused on virtuosity and aimed at displaying the clarinettist’s technical abilities. They encompassed a desire for the soloist to express lyricism and fine tone quality.

---

19 A. Clappé’s Grande Fantasia, composed in 1876, pre-dates this study by four years.
20 E.J. Macdonald is listed in Reeves’ Musical Directory of Musicians (London, 1879), ed. William Edmondstoune Duncan (1866-1920). This directory gives no first names for this composer.
21 P. Pitt wrote the Concertino in C minor for clarinet and orchestra in c.1898. This orchestral work was performed regularly with piano accompaniment. The author possesses a copy of this version. Whilst not called a fantasia, and scored originally with orchestra, this composition has been included as it embodies all of the ideals and formal structure of the fantasia design.
22 Lilian Raymond’s real name was James Ord-Hume.
The fantasia's considerable popularity soon inspired two new forms of character piece within the United Kingdom. The first was the one-movement miniature. The earliest known examples of this type of work were both composed in 1892: James H. Clarke's *Barcarole* opus 310 and Sir Edward German's *Romance*. Other works following this format were written by composers such as Algernon Ashton (1859-1937), Philip Browne (?-1961), Betty Balfour (n.d.), Sir Arthur Bliss (1891-1975), W.C. Clarke (n.d.), Frederic E. Curzon (1899-1973), William E. Duncan (1868-1920), Sir Edward Elgar (1857-1934), H.L. Entwistle (n.d.), James Friskin (1886-1967), Ruth Gipps (1921-2000), Ralph Greaves (1889-1966), Joseph C. Holbrooke (1878-1958), William Y. Hurlstone (1876-1906), Frederick Kell (1884-1952), Charles S. Macpherson (1865-1941), Alfred Pratt (1915-1959), Clarence Raybould (1886-1972), Edmund Reyloff (n.d.), Alan Richardson (1904-1978), Sir Arthur Somervell (1863-1937), Harold Stocks (n.d.). In total twenty-four composers wrote compositions of this type.24

The second new form was the suite/multi-movement work. This form referred to compositions with multiple movements and longer duration spans as compared to the one-movement category. This type had considerable variety within the grouping. For example, Frederic Brooks' (n.d.) *Adagio and Agitato* (1906) had only two movements, whilst Richard H. Walthew's (1872-1951) *A Mosaic in 10 Pieces* (1900) had ten. Other composers who wrote in this form included Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912), Thomas Dunhill (1877-1946), Joseph E. Fanig (1850-1927), Howard Ferguson (1908-1999), Gerald Finzi (1901-1956), Sir Edward German (1862-1936),25 John W. Gritton (n.d.), Joseph C. Holbrooke (1878-1958), Herbert Howells (1892-1983), William Y.

---

24 When stating that 24 composers wrote one-movement miniatures the author refers to those works catalogued. There can be little doubt that there are other works from all of the main categories as yet undiscovered.

25 For more information on the music and life of Sir Edward German see Brian Rees's *A Musical Peacemaker* (London, 1986).

The final grouping - didactic works - is the smallest of the four categories. It is possible that several of the works included in the one-movement and suite/multi-movement categories were also written for educational reasons. However, the following composers clearly belong to this fourth category as their works present limited technical difficulty: Adam von Ahn Carse (1878-1958), Mary Donnington (n.d.), C. R. Yuille-Smith (n.d.) and Ernest Read (1879-1965).

Very few of the composers encompassed in this study of character pieces are 'well-known'. However, those that are easily recognised today include Sir Arthur Bliss, Pastoral (1916), Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Four Characteristic Waltzes (n.d), Thomas Dunhill, Phantasy Suite (1941), Sir Edward Elgar, Canto Popolare (1904), Howard Ferguson, Four Short Pieces (1937), Gerald Finzi, Five Bagatelles opus 23 (1945), Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Three Intermezzi (1880) and Ralph Vaughan Williams, Six Studies in English Folk Song (1926). The above works of Bliss, Dunhill, Ferguson, Finzi and Stanford are often performed today. Dunhill, Ferguson, Finzi appear in the pre-1964 Associated Board Syllabuses (see Appendix 2). There can be no doubt that the popularity of these works amongst clarinet performers today was helped by their incorporation into the Associated Board examination syllabus at an early stage (see Chapter

---

26 C.V. Stanford is remembered for stating that W.Y. Hurlstone was his best composition pupil at the Royal College of Music. William Hurlstone, Memories and Records by His Friends, (London, 1947), ed. Katherine Hurlstone, p.15.
1). 27 Sadly, the Coleridge-Taylor (1875-1912) *Four Characteristic Waltzes* are lost (see Chapter 5). Reference to this work can be found in the 1904 edition of the Grove Dictionary (p.546). 28 Elgar’s *Canto Popolare* was a transcription by the composer from the melody *In the South*, and exists for other instruments as well as the clarinet. 29 Colin Bradbury notes that there was correspondence between Elgar and Charles Draper concerning the desirability of writing the piece for A clarinet. 30 Therefore, this work can be included within the genre as an original composition for clarinet. The Vaughan Williams *Six Studies in English Folk Song* were also originally composed for another instrument, in this case the cello. However, the composer arranged the work for violin, viola, bass clarinet and clarinet. This piece will therefore be considered original for the purposes of this study.

Many works within the character piece genre have been lost. Together with the Faning *Duo Concertante* mentioned earlier, other lost pieces were written by the following six composers. James H. Clarke (1840-1912) wrote three character pieces. The *Barcarole* opus 310 (1892) and *Two Romances* (1892) have survived but his original Fantasia on *More Than One* (1884) remains untraced. 31 Sir Edward German (1862-1936) wrote five duo character pieces: *Romance* (1890), *Andante and Tarantella* (1892), *Song Without Words* (1898), *Valse Gracieuse* (n.d.), *Pastoral and Bourée* (1895). Jane Ellsworth and Pamela Weston refer to a sixth composition by German, called *Album Leaf* (n.d.). 32 This work has been lost. Ewart Willey suggests that *Album Leaf* may be in fact the *Song Without Words*. 33 William Edmonstoune Duncan (1866-1920) wrote a

---

27 The Associated Board has graded the above listed works of Dunhill, Ferguson and Finzi. However, whilst using the Stanford Sonata opus 129 the board did not employ the Stanford *Three Intermezzi pre-1964*. See Appendix 2.

28 Although referenced, the existence of the S. Coleridge-Taylor *Four Characteristic Waltzes* is highly dubious. Prominent performers of the period, such as Jack Brymer, have never come across it. Personal correspondence between J. Brymer and the author (18 March 1999).

29 Personal correspondence between E. Willey and the author (21 September 1999).

30 Personal correspondence between Colin Bradbury and the author (30 September 1998).


33 Personal correspondence between E. Willey and the author (26 January 1999).
Polonaise for clarinet and piano. A record of this work can be found in a concert programme for John Parr in Sheffield, which is dated 28.10.1944.\textsuperscript{34} Other lost works include Edmund Reyloff's (n.d.) Introduction and Bolero and Anna Bolena Cavatina,\textsuperscript{35} and Percy Sherwood's Suite (c.1907).\textsuperscript{36}

Whilst most composers wrote only a single work within this genre, some wrote four or more. This list includes Sir Edward German (1862-1936), Joseph C. Holbrooke (1878-1958), Frederick Kell (1884-1952), Henry Lazarus (1815-1895), Ernest J. Macdonald (n.d.), Edmund Reyloff (n.d.), Richard H. Walthew (1872-1951) and James Waterson (1834-1893). Composers who wrote more than one character piece often contributed to more than one of the defined categories.

3. TITLES AND DEDICATIONS

As would be expected, titles within the character piece genre are diverse. They all reflect either the type of work or the effect portrayed in a particular composition. Fantasias, almost without exception, refer in the title to the operatic melody or national air that has been transcribed. George Arthur Clinton's (1850-1913) Fantasia on Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia (1880) is an example of this. The cover page of Clinton's Fantasia states the following emphatically: "Fantasia, for B Clarinette, with Piano Forte Accompaniment, from Donizetti's opera Lucrezia Borgia, by Geo: A.Clinton, Principal Clarinette of Her Majesty's Private Band, Philharmonic and Crystal Palace Orchestras".\textsuperscript{37}

A considerable number of works within this genre prefer 'plain' titles to descriptive headings. These plain titles are only occasionally expanded upon but when this occurs, they usually emphasise the work's brevity.

\textsuperscript{34} Copy in possession of author. See Chapter I for more information on John Parr.
\textsuperscript{35} Referenced in Lazarus's New and Modern Method (London, 1881).
\textsuperscript{36} Referenced in Ellsworth, op. cit., pp.133-34.
\textsuperscript{37} Dedicated to Edward Dean (no dates or further information), this edition was by Riviere & Hawkes. Copy in possession of author.
Many works only list the number of movements. Howard Ferguson’s (1908-1999) *Four Short Pieces*, Gerald Finzi’s (1901-1956) *Five Bagatelles* opus 23 and John W. Gritton’s (n.d.) *Three Pieces* are examples of this. Other works with straightforward titles often refer to the suite form. These compositions include Thomas Dunhill’s (1877-1946) *Phantasy Suite* opus 91 (1941), Herbert Howells’s (1892-1983) Suite opus 8 (1917), Percy Sherwood’s (1866-1937) Suite, Richard H. Walthew’s (1872-1951) *Suite in F* (1899) and Charles H. Lloyd’s (1849-1919) *Suite, in Olden Style* (1914).

In contrast to the above, the majority of character pieces have descriptive titles. Some have one-word titles. James Friskin’s (1886-1967) *Elegy* (1915), Ralph Greaves’s (1889-1966) *Idyll* (1925), Joseph C. Holbrooke’s (1878-1958) *Syracuse* opus 55 (1918) and *Nocturne* opus 55 no.1 (1914), Frederick Kell’s (1884-1952) *Moods* (1933) and Algernon Ashton’s (1859-1937) *Tarantella* opus 107 are examples of this. W.C. Clarke’s (n.d.) *Comin’ thro’ the Rye*, Harold Stocks’s (n.d.) *A Wessex Pastoral*, and Sir Edward German’s (1862-1936) *False Gracieuse* are more descriptive.

The terms ‘Romance’, ‘Reverie’, ‘Pastoral’ and ‘Song’ often appear. ‘Romance’ was a common instrumental title of the period. The first edition

38 H. Ferguson’s *Four Short Pieces* were premiered by Pauline Juler (b. 1914) at the Wigmore Hall in c.1938. Juler played principal with the New London Orchestra and a number of concerts with the London Symphony Orchestra.

39 T. Dunhill’s *Phantasy Suite* opus 91 clearly refers to the British revival of the Phantasy form. Walter W. Cobbett (1847-1937) established the Cobbett Prize in 1905 to encourage new British compositions of chamber music. These competition pieces were to be in ‘Phantasy’ form. Many leading British composers won the prize, which focused on quintets, quartets, trios and duos. These included Friskin, Walthew, Holbrooke, Hurlstone, Bowen, Dunhill (trio for pf., vn., vl.), Bridge amongst others. Cobbett, op. cit., p.288.

40 The *Suite* opus 8 by H. Howells was dedicated to a “Love-sick Mannikin”. Howells’s own note on this work says “An excursion in humorous chamber music”. Charles Draper and Lily Henkel performed it at the Steinway Hall in November 1917. This composition is now lost. Personal correspondence between Ewart Willey and the author (2 February 1999).

41 C.H. Lloyd’s *Suite, in Olden Style* has five movements based on standard Baroque dances: *Prelude, Allemande, Almain, Sarabande* and *Gigue*.

42 H. Stocks’s *A Wessex Pastoral* was premiered in Sheffield on 30 January 1943. This first performance by John Parr was given on bassoon. The clarinet version is therefore not the original. Personal correspondence between Michael Bryant and the author (undated, possibly April 1997).

43 The author possesses a copy of E. German’s *False Gracieuse* in a version for flute and piano.
of the Grove Dictionary (1879) qualifies it as: “A term of very vague signification, answering in music to the same term in poetry, where the characteristics are rather those of personal sentiment and expression than a precise form”.44

Both ‘Reverie’ and ‘Pastoral’ were used to express melancholic themes. Michael Bryant suggests that Sir Arthur Bliss’s (1891-1975) Pastoral (1916) was written after his brother Kennard was killed on the Western Front.45 The use of ‘Song’ (in the context of these character pieces) is particularly significant. It appears in various titles, but mostly as ‘Song Without Words’: for example, Sir Edward German’s (1862-1936) Song Without Words (1898) and Ernest Read’s (1879-1965) Song Without Words (1931). These works clearly mimic the human voice, perhaps referring to the strong vocal tradition in music halls of the time. Clearly the ability of the clarinet to sound like the human voice was recognised.

A few compositions have titles in French: Arthur A. Clappé’s (1850-1920) Grande Fantaisie (1876), H.L. Entwistle’s (n.d.) Souvenir d’Amour (1926), Charles H. Lloyd’s (1849-1919) Bon Voyage Impromptu (1887),46 Lilian Raymond’s (?-1932) La Militaire Fantasia (1924) and Alfred Pratt’s (?-1959) Souvenir d’Ispahan and Idylle Printanière (both 1913).

Some composers use explicit programmatic titles. No misinterpretation of the title is left to chance as the composer clearly states the desired intention. In her The Kelpie of Corrievreckian (1942), Ruth Gipps (b.1921) narrates the story of the composition, which is based on a poem by

44 Grove I, 1879, p.147.
45 It is thought that the A. Bliss Pastoral was the second part of a work in two movements. The first movement, Rhapsody, is now lost. Andrew Smith writes that the first performance of these two pieces, Pastorale and Rhapsody, was given on 15 February 1917 by C. Draper and the pianist Lily Henkel. A Study of leading British Clarinet Players of the 20th Century, and Works Written for Them by British Composers (London, 1976), no page numbers.
Charles Mackay, on the title page. A Truro Maggot (1944) is another instance of this approach. Browne writes the following on the opening page of the piano score: "The title of this piece is derived from the old use of the word "Maggot" to denote a fanciful idea and from the fact that at the time it was written the composer was living in Truro [Cornwall]."

A significant number of character pieces were composed with well-known clarinetists in mind. These performers were both amateur and professional. Charles Draper (1869-1952) had an especially large number of dedications. These included compositions such as Alfred Pratt’s Souvenir d’Ispahan and Idylle Printanière (mentioned above), Charles H. Lloyd’s Suite, in the Olden Style (mentioned above), Harold Samuel’s Three Light Pieces (1913) and Joseph C. Holbrooke’s (1878-1958) Andante and Presto opus 6 no. 2. Manuel Gomez (1859-1922) was the dedicatee of the Percy Pitt Concertino in C minor (mentioned above) and had William Y. Hurlstone’s (1876-1906) Adagio Lamentoso (c.1909) arranged for him by the composer. Most of Richard H. Walthew’s (1872-1951) compositions for clarinet were dedicated to Roderick Mackenzie Moore (n.d.). Moore was the composer’s father-in-law and a distinguished amateur clarinetist in the Clapham Symphony Orchestra. Presumably, a number of Sir Edward German’s pieces (1862-1936) were written for the amateur clarinetist Oscar W. Street (1869-1923). Street, an accomplished pupil of George Clinton, gave the first performance of German’s Romance at the Oxford University Musical Union on 29 January 1890.

47 R. Gipps was married to Richard Baker (n.d.), previous principal clarinet of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. This composition might possibly have been composed for R. Baker. Personal correspondence between J. Bryner and the author (18 March 1999).
48 Boosey & Hawkes edition, 1944.
49 W.Y. Hurlstone was an exceptionally fine composer who also wrote the Four Characteristic Pieces within the character piece genre. His duo Adagio Lamentoso is an arrangement of his D major Cello Sonata. This work was first published in c.1909, three years after the composer’s death. It is thought that the composer initiated this arrangement of the Adagio Lamentoso. However, this cannot be substantiated and so there remains a possibility that this arrangement was completed by M. Gomez. Personal correspondence between Pamela Weston and the author (10 September 1995).
50 R.H. Walthew conducted this orchestra in the early years of his career. Personal correspondence between John Walthew, the composer’s grandson, and the author (21 September 1999).
51 Oliver Davies, Lazarus edition programme notes to E. German Romance (1998).
Thurston (1901-1953)\textsuperscript{52} was the dedicatee of Philip Browne’s *A Truro Maggot* (mentioned above). He also had Elisabeth Lutyens’s (1906-1983) *Five Little Pieces* (1945) commissioned for him (even though he was unable to give the first performance of this work due to ill health).\textsuperscript{53} Reginald Kell had Frederic E. Curzon’s (1899-1973) *Clarinetto con moto* dedicated to him.\textsuperscript{54} Andrew Smith states the following about Kell and his appreciation of miniatures:

\begin{quote}
...he [Kell] also enjoyed recital miniatures... The *Clarinetto con moto* by Frederic Curzon is such a work, and was actually written for Kell (generally he was not much concerned with instigating new music). Taken from the ‘Salon Suite’ that he wrote [Curzon] for the BBC Salon Orchestra, it is a moto perpetuo with almost unceasing semi-quaver writing for the clarinet, over a gently lilting piano accompaniment.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

4. MUSICAL FEATURES

4.1 STRUCTURE AND TEMPO CHANGES

In matters of form, compositions within this genre reveal a largely conservative approach. Apart from the fantasias, which were developed out of a basic theme and variations model, works included in the one-movement, suite/multi-movement and didactic categories usually employ a standard ternary ABA structure. Ternary form is handled as follows within character pieces: the opening A section presents the composition’s thematic material (this material is often unsophisticated). The B section contrasts strongly with the A section and occasionally introduces new themes. This usually leads to an almost exact repetition (A\textsuperscript{1}) of the

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textsuperscript{52}] Other works, outside the character piece genre, which were dedicated to F. Thurston include: Arnold, Concerto no. 1 (with strings) (1944/5), Cruft, *Impromptu* opus 22 (1957), Finzi, Concerto (originally dedicated to Pauline Juler, but later re-dedicated to Thurston) (1947), Frankel, Quintet (also dedicated to Then King) (1956), Hamilton, *Three Nocturnes* (1951), Howells, Sonata (1949/51), Ireland, *Phantasy Sonata* (see Chapter 5), Jacob, *Quintet* (1940), Machowy, *Concertino* (1945), Rawsthorne, *Concerto* (1936), Tate, Sonata (1947).
\end{itemize}
material first presented in A. On the few occasions where ternary is not
the structure of choice, binary form is employed.

Most character pieces incorporate bridge passages. These transitions,
which are usually played by the clarinet, help to link contrasting sections
quickly. In essence, these bridge sections are small instrumental
cadenzas. However, most are short and not particularly technical.
Therefore their linking function is more important than the cadenza effect
(see later under Technical Difficulty). Often these transitions link one key
to another. James Waterson's (1834-1893) Morceau de Concert -
Andante and Polonaise (1888) (see example 1, bars 207-211) and Betty
Balfour's (n.d.) Three Highland Sketches (1938), Salmon Pool - no. III
(see example 2, bars 73-77) are examples of this.

Character pieces usually end with codas or postludes. These sections are
typical of the genre and often close with an ascending line in the clarinet
In this coda, beginning at bar 96, the piano exercises rhythmic and
melodic dominance over the clarinet. Three bars before the piano's
concluding chords the clarinet makes a final 'wistful ascent' (see example
3, bars 114-116). The last movement of Thomas Dunhill's (1877-1946)
Phantasy Suite opus 91 (1941) also demonstrates the use of coda. Here
the coda begins after a fermata and double-line division. The composer
emphasises the arrival of the coda by slowing the tempo to Andante
espressivo - from Allegro animato. Five bars before the end of the work,
the tempo slows further - to Adagio. These tempo changes help to
accentuate the work's feeling of 'closure' (see example 4, bars 82-90).
William Lovelock (1899-1986) uses a postlude in the Romance from his
two pieces, Romance and Waltz (n.d.). Beginning just five bars from the
end of the movement, the clarinet plays an ascending solo line for three
bars before being joined by the piano with two definitive final chords. This

---

56 J.C. Holbrooke's (1878-1958) Nocturne opus 55 no. I (1912) is a good example of this
approach. See later in this chapter for further analysis of the piece.
type of short postlude is common to the genre and appears frequently in
the repertoire (see example 5, bars 52-56).

Composers used tempo changes to emphasise contrasting sections. This
would usually mean a slower tempo in the B section as compared to the
tempos of A and A'. However, this was not always the case. Sir Edward
German's (1862-1936) *Song Without Words* (1898) begins the opening A
section with an *Andante con moto*. It develops into the B section, which is
marked *Allegro*. Tempo 1 (A') returns after a short solo transition in the
clarinet part. By incorporating well-defined tempo changes, composers of
character pieces underlined structural contrasts. This was an important
element in the formal design of these works.

4.2 MELODY

Almost without exception, character pieces exhibit free-flowing lyricism.
Melodic clarity is of central importance. The solo melodic line, which was
almost always in the clarinet part, dominates the piano accompaniment.
Melodies were often simple and tuneful. They exploited the warmer
registers of the clarinet. The chalumeau and middle registers were
therefore often preferred. Adam Carse's (1850-1920) *Happy Tune* (1931),
a piece from the didactic category, clearly demonstrates this lyrical
'singing' approach in melody (see example 6, bars 4-13).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, melodies were often transcribed from
popular Italian operas. Other melodies were adapted from regional airs
from Scotland, Wales and England. A number of composers took the
practice of arranging national airs further when they began to compose
character pieces based on folk-like melodies of their own design. Works
with such melodies include Gerald Finzi's (1901-1956) *Five Bagatelles*

---

57 This 'wistful ascent' in the clarinet part is based on the whole-tone scale - minus the note B flat
(here the clarinet part is notated in B flat). This possibly accounts for its character.
58 E. J. Macdonald (n.d.) arranged a number of national airs. Interestingly, he also arranged two
military fantasias based on Army and Navy airs (1883). These military fantasias reflect the strong
military band tradition of the period.
(1945) and Sir Ralph Vaughan Williams's (1872-1958) *Six Studies in English Folk Song* (1926).

4.3 RHYTHM

The majority of character pieces show a conservative approach to rhythm. Philip Browne's (?-1961) *A Truro Maggot* (1944) is an exception because rhythmic elements dominate melodic considerations. Browne achieves this effect by changing metre almost every bar, mixing regular and irregular groupings (see example 7, bars 12-21). A few other works exhibit interesting rhythmic characteristics. For example, the clarinet part in Herbert Murrill's (1909-1952) *Prelude, Cadenza, and Fugue* (1933) opens with double-dotted motives. Their melodic shape shifts the emphasis away from the downbeat. The effect is non-melodic (see example 8, bars 1-9). Richard H. Walthew (1872-1951) exploits a similar idea in his *A Mosaic in Ten Pieces* (1900) where - according to the notation - he shifts the whole of the A section a half beat early, displacing the downbeat (first movement) (see example 9, bars 1-7). He does this in order to accentuate the contrast between the angular A section and the cantabile B section - which introduces the melody for the first time on the downbeat (see later).  

---

59 For more information on G. Finzi's *Five Bagatelles* see Denman, 'Denmania, English Clarinet Music (continued)', *The Clarinet* Vol. 8/1 (1980), pp.12-13. Although most popular in contemporary culture, these *Bagatelles* received far from complimentary reports from the 'BBC Panel' (a group of individuals who considered whether works were of a suitable quality to be broadcast). "The members of both the BBC panel...were nothing if confident in their views...One spectacular example of when they failed to appreciate the long term success of an admittedly rather slight work concerns Gerald Finzi's *Bagatelles* for clarinet and piano". Herbert Murrill reported: "Salon pieces, of the very slightest musical interest or value, but competently enough written. For such innocent stuff no positive recommendation or condemnation is possible, and as 'make-weights' they might find a place in a programme when the other Avorks sustain interest" [2/3/42]. Leslie Woodgate thought they [Bagatelles] appeared "to be written primarily as teaching pieces. They are of no musical value, but well written. The Clarinet part is not very interesting, but with a good player could sound expressive. I do not think it a worthy contribution to the Clarinet & Piano literature" [4/3/42]. 'Good, Bad, Not Suitable for Broadcasting', *British Music Society News* Vol. 85 (March 2000), p.5.
4.4 HARMONY

Three harmonic categories can be identified within this genre (character pieces between 1880 to 1945). The first category addresses a pre-1900 harmonic language. An example is Henry Lazarus’s (1815-1895) Fantasia on Scotch Melodies (1887). The piece is in E flat major. This key signature is emphasised by simple tonic/dominant relationships in the introduction, theme, first and second variations. A short piano bridge after the second variation modulates to the dominant key of B flat major. Thereafter, new melodic material in B flat major - based on the folk-tune ‘Auld Robin Gray’ - is introduced. In variation three, the tonic key returns and remains until the conclusion of the work. Most chords are in root position and dominant chords only occasionally appear with seventh extensions. The harmonic language is relatively simple, but this gives a sense of the light, ‘salon’ atmosphere, which pervaded the wind music scene in pre-1900 Britain.

The second category represents compositions from c.1900 to c.1940. As might be expected, these works are harmonically more progressive, utilising a late Romantic idiom. Clarence Raybould’s (1886-1972) The Wistful Shepherd (1939) exemplifies this more developed approach after 1900. Beginning in the key of E flat major, the work progresses through the tonalities of C minor, B flat major and G flat major before returning to the home key. Dominant/tonic relationships are still emphasised, but they incorporate more seventh chords (when compared to works before c.1900) often built on the supertonic. The work utilises imperfect (e.g. bar 6) and plagal cadences (e.g. bar 57-58). Overall, this composition uses heightened chromaticism in the style of Wagner. This is displayed in the final five bars by a descending chromatic bass line from dominant to tonic, reflected by the clarinet’s chromatic rise from tonic to dominant (see example 10, bars 60-64).

63 R.H. Walthew’s (1872-1951) A Mosaic in Ten Pieces (1900) will be analysed later in the chapter.
The final category from c.1940 to c.1945 extends this chromatic use even more. However, this period also introduces new harmonic concepts. Elisabeth Lutyens's (1906-1983) Five Little Pieces (1945), for example, is a serialist work based on a twelve-tone row (D flat (enharmonic C#), F, E, C, B flat, G flat (enharmonic F#), G, B, D# (enharmonic E flat), A, D and A flat). The writing is usually transparent in texture but occasionally the composer utilises large cluster chords (see example 11, bars 9-11). These short pieces, which are reminiscent of Alban Berg's Vier Stücke opus 5 (1920), are anomalies in the character piece repertoire of the time. Significantly, this most advanced tonal language in the genre appears some twenty-five years after Schoenberg's initial innovations. This reflects the genre's relatively conservative approach to harmonic development. However, it can be argued that the experimental harmonic language of the Second Viennese School was not suited to the popular performance culture of early 20th-century Britain.

4.5 TEXTURE

Given the melodic dominance of the clarinet, piano parts are usually chordal and play a supportive role. Most works are characterised by a 'vertical' approach to composition. Clarence Raybould's The Wistful Shepherd (1939) is indicative of pre-1945 compositional textures (see example 12, bars 11-14). Apart from the two bar introduction and a bridge passage before the return of A¹ (bars 40-41), the piano merely provides a harmonic background to the solo line. In Alfred Pratt's (1915-1959) Idylle Printanière (1913), the piano accompaniment plays an even more subsidiary role (see example 13, bars 1-12).

Contrapuntal writing is uncommon. Those works that do exhibit this aspect often refer self-consciously to the use of counterpoint in the title. The Gigue from Charles Harford Lloyd's (1849-1919) Suite, in the Olden Style (1914) provides an example of this (see example 14, bars 1-24). Even here, the contrapuntal combination of melodic lines occurs only occasionally (e.g. in bars 13-16).
5. CLARINET FACTORS

5.1 USE OF A AND B FLAT CLARINET

At the beginning of the research period (1880), clarinetists and composers utilised a number of differently pitched clarinets. Henry Lazarus stated the following in his 1881 tutor: "...various pitched clarinets are made so as to avoid writing music in keys which would render the fingering extremely difficult were there only one clarinet, and not for the change of timbre, as many think". 

Lazarus's opinion was that instruments of different pitch were utilised to facilitate ease of performance, and not to change sound quality. Cecil Forsyth in his book Orchestration (1914) proposed that there was little difference in timbre between the A and B flat clarinet:

How then is the choice to be made between the two instruments? In the first place there is said to be a slight difference in quality in favour of the lower-pitched instrument (A). It is however a good deal less than the difference between a Brescian and a Cremonese Violin...not even an expert Clarinettist can tell (from its tone-quality) whether a passage is being played in the concert room on the A or B flat instrument. The difference...is more a matter of text-book theory than of practical fact.

Fantasias were exclusively written for the B flat clarinet. This was possibly because the B flat instrument was establishing itself as the standard mid-range instrument in the extended clarinet family. The B flat clarinet probably gained precedence over the A in fantasias because it offered brighter tonal quality. This quality, no doubt, suited the virtuosic style of the fantasia.

Brahms's preference for the A clarinet in his Trio (opus 114) and Quintet (opus 115), given these pieces' popularity, encouraged British composers to write for this instrument. Although B flat clarinets pre-dominated, A clarinets were often used within the research period and occur in all three

---


By 1940, the B flat instrument (as opposed to the A) was established as the preferred clarinet in Britain. Richard H. Walthew in a letter to Oscar W. Street written c.1919 (letter not dated) states the following: "As to the selection of the A or B flat instrument, I suppose the B flat is the more popular". It seems that the A clarinet retained a level of support amongst composers because they felt that it offered a darker, mellow sound quality (for example in Hurlstone's Adagio Lamentoso) when compared to the B flat instrument. However, this sound difference could not be substantiated beyond 'text-book theory' and eventually the B flat clarinet superseded the A as the instrument of preference.

5.2 RANGE

Generally, compositions within the genre utilise the full range of the clarinet, but almost never extend past high G in the clarino register (G\textsuperscript{#}). The great majority of character pieces avoided the shrill extreme register of the instrument because they aimed to present a comfortable and entertaining atmosphere. However, a number of pre-1900 compositions do explore the extreme high register of the instrument in the name of virtuosity. Without exception, the use of this register is characteristic of the technically challenging fantasias. George Clinton's (1850-1913) Fantasia on Donizetti's Lucrezia Borgia (1880) is a fine example of this use of

---

63 This letter from R. H. Walthew refers to O.W. Street's question concerning a new clarinet quartet or quintet from the composer. Although the date of this letter is unknown, it is probable that it was written in c.1919. This was the year that Walthew completed his clarinet quintet. Personal correspondence between J. Walthew and the author (21 September 1999).
extreme extended range. The final page of the work demands $A^3$, $B\text{ flat}^3$ and $B^3$ (see example 15, 215-216).

However, preferred registers are usually the chalumeau, middle and clarino. These three registers dominate in character pieces of the period. Composers often explore the relationship between the chalumeau and middle registers. Harold Samuel's (1879-1937) *Three Light Pieces* (1913), for example, focus on the instrument's middle register, using the chalumeau register for contrasting effect.

### 5.3 TECHNICAL DIFFICULTY

When viewed as a whole, the character piece repertoire makes relatively few technical demands on performers. This is particularly the case in the one-movement, suite/multi-movement and didactic categories. This is to be expected, as these works tend to make emotional and musical demands (use of rubato, warm tone quality and flexible dynamic gradations) of the performer. The fantasia category is exceptional in this regard. Here, considerable technical demands are placed upon the clarinettist.

Lazarus's (1815-1895) *Fantasia on Airs from I Puritani* (1883) provides a good example. The work incorporates long passages of semi-quaver movement in the solo line (e.g. the last variation entitled *Son Vergin Vezzosa*). Registers of the instrument are crossed quickly (e.g. bar 16) and broken-chord arpeggio passages often finish on extreme high notes (e.g. bars 237-239). Staccato articulation is a feature (e.g. bar 205-206) and phrase length is often extended, with little opportunity for taking breath (e.g. bar 222-239). The piece also demonstrates fast chromatic movement (e.g. bar 195-197). This chromatic facility, a result of instrumental developments at the time (see Chapter 3) became highly

---

64 For further discussion of the possible tone differences between B flat and A clarinets see Colin Lawson’s "Tone-quality in B flat and A: same, similar or different?", *Clarinet & Saxophone* Vol. 11/4 (1986). pp.23-24.
desirable in performance.\textsuperscript{65} Fast chromatic passages appear throughout the fantasia repertoire. Another example in Lazarus's work occurs in the Fantasia on \textit{Scotch Melodies} (1887) (see example 16, bars 21-23).

These fantasias (post-1880) introduced solo cadenzas from the Italian tradition to British 'salon' character pieces. Cadenzas were intended to show-off the technical virtuosity of the soloist. Although usually written out in full, cadenzas are occasionally marked \textit{ad lib} giving more performance freedom to the clarinettist (e.g. George Clinton's (1850-1913) Fantasia on \textit{Lucrezia Borgia} (1880) - bar 81). Without exception, these fantasias use at least one cadenza.

Percy Pitt's (1869-1932) Concertino in C minor (1898), which is fantasia-like in all but title, demonstrates incredible virtuosity. Solo cadenzas in this work require the most 'technicality' found in the research period (see example 17, beginning in bar 219).\textsuperscript{66} Later works from the one-movement and suite/multi-movement categories occasionally incorporate a short cadenza. Alfred Pratt's (1915-1959) \textit{Souvenir d'Ispahan} (1913) and Herbert Murrill's (1909-1952) \textit{Prelude, Cadenza and Fugue} (1933) are examples. Cadenzas within the one-movement and suite/multi-movement categories were less virtuosic than the fantasia versions out of which they developed. They were integral to the spirit of the character piece and almost function as extended bridge passages (see 4.1 above, Form and Tempo Changes).

5.4 OTHER ASPECTS

An interesting element observable throughout the research period is the rolled-chord in the piano accompaniment. Often, this effect is used to create tension at 'high points' (e.g. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford's (1852-1924) third movement from his \textit{Three Intermezzi} opus 13 (1880) - bars 60-}

\textsuperscript{65} Of course, many performers of these fantasias were often also the composers.

\textsuperscript{66} P. Pitt's Concertino in C minor was composed for Manuel Gomez. He must have been an artist of considerable virtuosity to perform this work.
Rolled-chords are also used to fill the piano texture: for example, Joseph C. Holbrooke’s (1878-1958) Cyrene opus 88 (1930) (see example 18, bars 15-16). This effect fills out the accompaniment, and creates a richer textural atmosphere characteristic of a sentimental, Romantic idiom.

One-movement and suite/multi-movement compositions are unusually specific in their intentions regarding dynamic gradation. There is dense use of dynamic indication, both in crescendi and decrescendi and in the use of Italian terminology. This is significant for these categories (in the character piece genre) because they aim to project an idealist, almost unreal sound-world, which derives from a heavily Romantic ethos. The fantastic gradations of tone explore the extremities of instrumental possibility, often requiring levels of sound which are practically impossible. Ernest Walker’s (1870-1949) Romance (1896) is representative in this regard. For example, in bar 29, the new thematic material marked a tempo and molto dolce begins piano. By bar 36, a decrescendo is marked. One bar later, molto dim. appears. This is followed, in bar 40 and 42, by two more decrescendi. The composer then indicates, in bar 45, that the player has reached pianissimo. If this is not enough, calando (getting softer) appears in bar 47 and is reinforced by morendo (dying away) one bar later. Walker ends this section with another decrescendo. This unrealistic use of dynamic graduation is particular to the one-movement and suite/multi-movement works in the character piece genre.

Importantly, all works viewed within the genre demonstrate the above controlled dynamic progressions. None of those works researched reveal sudden, dramatic shifts in dynamic level. Therefore, it remains an important aspect of these miniature compositions that extreme changes in dynamic level were not warranted.

---

67 J. Brymer performed this work to E. Walker the day before the composer’s death. Personal correspondence between J. Brymer and the author (7 March 1999).
6. FOCUS

6.1 RICHARD H. WALTHEW

Richard H. Walthew (1872-1951) was a prolific composer for the clarinet. Apart from A Mosaic in 10 Pieces (1900), which will be discussed in detail below, he also wrote the following works for clarinet and piano between 1880 and 1945: Four Meditations (first set) (1897), Suite in F (1899), Four Meditations (second set) (1903), Melody in Popular Style (1908), Regret and Conversation Galante (1918) and Four Bagatelles (?). Other published works for clarinet include: Trio (vn., cl., pf.) (1897), Song of Love and Death (cl., sop., pf.) (1898), Concerto (1902), Quintet (cl., strings) (1919), Triolet in E flat (ob., cl., bsn.) (c. 1934). Unpublished works for which no date can be found are: Prelude and Fugue (2 cl., bsn.), Quartet (fl., ob., cl., bsn.) and Trio (cl., hn., pf.).

Walthew studied composition with Hubert Parry (1848-1918) at the Royal College of Music. He was influenced by Mozart and Dvořák and composed prolifically for chamber ensemble throughout his career. The composer's grandson John Walthew explains this compositional preference: "My impression, then, is that after some ambitious orchestral projects he abandoned this line in favour of chamber music, which offered more chances of performance in a musical world where anything that wasn't 'modern' was not wanted." A newspaper/journal clipping from the composer's scrapbook confirms Walthew's intimate approach to composition: "He [Walthew] has always, and with success, tried to recapture the serenity lost to modern music, to

---

69 Further information on the Concerto (1902) can be found in Michael Bryant’s article ‘An Edwardian Clarinet Concerto Rediscovered’, Clarinet & Saxophone Vol. 12/1 (1987), pp.24-25.
70 Photocopies of this work are available from Norcat Music Press, 7402 Wells Blvd., Hyattsville, U.S.A. Personal correspondence with J. Walthew (12 October 1999).
71 This trio was composed for the hornist Handel Knott (n.d.). ‘Letters to the Editor’, Musical Opinion (March 1952), no page numbers given.
72 Personal correspondence with J. Walthew (21 September 1999).
eschew sensationalism, and to write the music of intimacy, rather than that of the concert room".  

Walthew often performed at London's South Place appearing in approximately 200 Sunday concerts, often in the dual role of pianist and composer. His clarinet works were championed by a number of well-known artists of the period. They included Charles Draper, Oscar W. Street and Clifford H. Boyd (n.d.). Walthew's son, Richard S. Walthew, was a clarinettist who often performed his father's works. It is likely that Richard S. Walthew was the inspiration for his father's numerous clarinet works.

A Mosaic in 10 Pieces (with Dedication) was composed in 1900 and dedicated to Roderick Mackenzie Moore (mentioned under 3: Titles and Dedications). Oscar W. Street remarked that the Mosaic was "a work of remarkable originality, as I think you will agree after hearing them". The solo part was scored for the A clarinet. Although originally for clarinet and piano, this work achieved considerable popularity in the combination for viola and piano. Douglas Donaldson notes that: "...a fascinating Mosaic - a string of perfect little lyrics... [Mosaics] has become quite popular in a viola arrangement, and is at least as effective thus as in its original form - which is saying much." 

All ten movements in this composition are ternary form (ABA). The composer utilises the popular romantic practice of mediant key
relationships between movements. The tonic key is E major and the key progression from the first movement until the final Dedication (movement 10) is as follows: E, C, A, E, C#m, A, F#m, B, G, Em/E. Each movement has a different character emphasised by contrasting tempo indications and continual metre changes (metre varies between 2/4, 3/8 or 6/8). Strong thematic relationships exist between the movements. The opening chord sequence/pattern, stated at the outset of movement one, appears in various guises throughout the work. This four note pattern is used as a type of leitmotiv based on the chromatic movement: A#, A, G#, A. When it first appears this motive is stated in the lower voice of the piano part.

The first movement, in 2/4 time, is marked Presto. The four note leitmotiv (A#, A, G#, A) is stated in bars 1-2, 5-6, 13-14, 45-46, 49-50, 53-54 and 57-58. The return of the A' is an exact repetition of the opening A section. As mentioned earlier (see 4.3 above, Rhythm), this movement begins with a vibrant offbeat, syncopated rhythm. The B section is 29 bars long. It incorporates a bridge passage back to A' highlighted by a tempo change to animato (this bridge occurs from bars 32 to 44). Harmonically there is little movement from the tonic key (E major), although the bridge passage in the B section does suggest G major (bars 31-32) and F# minor (bars 34-36). The B section focuses on a singing melody in the clarinet's chalumeau register. This contrasts strongly with the short, sprightly character of the A sections.

The second movement, Tempo di Valse, is in 3/8 time and is 51 bars in length. The A section is 15 bars long with the tonic key of C major firmly established by a bass C pedal in the piano part (lasting for the first seven bars of the movement). The B section (19 bars long) is in the key of A flat major. It is marked Poco più mosso and it introduces some rudimentary imitation between instruments (bars 16-28). The B section closes with a bridge passage based on an A flat major perfect cadence followed by a cadential extension (bars 31-34). Section A' again incorporates the C

78 R. H. Walther obviously liked to notate a 'quaver pulse' throughout this work - his movements with 2/4 metre often have four harmonies per bar and could well have had the time signature 4/8.
pedal (for 7 bars) but is more free flowing than the opening A section thanks to the semi-quaver motive (referring back to the B section) in the right hand of the piano part.

The third movement is in A major and 2/4 time. It begins with a two-bar piano introduction marked Allegro. The main tempo after the double bar, Allegretto, announces a march-like character. The movement is only 29 bars long, but is significant in the way it transforms the work's chromatic leitmotiv. Here the basic motive is extended using descending and ascending chromatic patterns of greater length than the initial four-note statement (bars 3-18). This movement again reflects standard ternary form - section A bars 3-10, section B bars 11-18 (theme here stated a sixth lower in piano) and Section A' bars 19-29. The composer again utilises a tonic pedal (bars 19 to 28).

The fourth movement, back in the tonic key of E major, is in 6/8 time. Marked Andante semplice, section A (bars 1-8) states the basic 4-note sequence in four 2-bar groupings. Here, the thematic A section ends with a pause and a double bar. These clearly distance it from the B section material. The B section (9 bars long) implies F# minor (bars 9-17) and reflects increased rhythmic movement (continuos semi-quavers in the piano part). The B section also presents greater textural depth with the addition of Neapolitan inflections (bars 10 and 14). Section A' is 13 bars long (in relation to 8 bars in section A) and has increased movement in the piano part when compared to section A (semi-quavers present in the piano from bars 22-27).

The fifth movement is in C# minor, 3/8 time and is marked Allegro non troppo. Like movement three, it opens with a short introduction - now four bars in length and marked fortissimo (as compared to the 2-bar introduction in movement three). This movement, again in ABA' form, is significantly longer than earlier movements - 70 bars (78 bars if you count the repeated section bars 21-28). The A section incorporates melodic material announced in the B section of the previous movement (bars 9-
17). The B section (bars 21-50) again incorporates the chromatic *leitmotiv* but is more developmental than the middle sections of previous movements. Harmonically, section B implies F# minor (bar 28, strong dominant-tonic progression), D major (bars 32-38) and closes on the relative major (strong dominant-tonic progression in E major, bars 47-48). Section A\(^\prime\) has the extended length of 20 bars when compared to 16 bars in section A. In bar 65 the movement closes with a short codetta (bars 65-70).

The sixth movement is in 2/4 time and marked *Allegretto con grazia*. Like the third movement, it presents a march-like character. Again in ABA\(^\prime\), section A\(^\prime\) is almost an exact repetition of section A - the only difference being that the right hand of the piano part in A\(^\prime\) is scored in a higher register. The B section begins in bar 12, quickly stating the dominant key of E major (bar 13). This then moves to B major (bar 17) before returning to the tonic (A major) with a strong perfect cadence (second beat of bar 23 to first beat of bar 24).

The short seventh movement is marked *Presto*. It has an energetic character and exploits rapid harmonic changes. Tonal centres are contrasted from bar to bar. The first 8 bars are best interpreted as a 'dominant preparation' for the first defined tonic chord on the second beat of bar 8. In the B section of this miniature ternary design, the *leitmotiv* chromatic pattern is again prominent - bars 9-10, 13-14 and 15-16.

The eighth movement is another waltz (like movement two), in 3/8 time, and marked *Allegretto con grazia*. The key of B major is firmly established with the help of a tonic pedal which appears in bars 1-5 and also bars 9-13. The movement has a repeated section (as in the fifth movement), bars 17-24, which emphasises its dance form. Both A sections are 16 bars long, but there are some small changes - for example, the second last bar of A\(^\prime\) has more movement in the clarinet part when compared to the same bar in the A section (bar 15). This has the effect of propelling the A\(^\prime\) section towards the final cadence. The B section (bars 17-28) utilises the
key of C# minor. A short bridge passage in the piano part leads the movement back to section A' (bars 25-28).

The ninth movement is in the key of G major. Marked Andante poco Allegretto it is again short (37 bars). The piano part imitates a string pizzicato on a descending line in ostinato. The B section (bars 17-26) differs from previous movements in that the piano part dominates with very low register accompaniment patterns in the clarinet. This reversal of roles is continued at the beginning of A' (bar 27) when the piano again takes the lead by restating the main theme.

The tenth movement is 87 bars in duration. It consists of three clearly defined sections: Molto Allegro e agitato, 3/8 time (32 bars); Lento a piacere, 2/4 time (4 bars); Andante tranquillo, 3/8 time (51 bars) - the latter two sections having the heading 'Dedication'. Bars 1-32, in the key of E minor, state melodic material first introduced in the clarinet part of the eighth movement - bars 13-16. The short introduction to the final Dedication (bars 33-36) restates the recurring chromatic pattern under a pianissimo marking. The slow tempo and soft dynamic of this introduction contrast with the previous two introductions in movements three and five. The Andante tranquillo section returns to the work's home key of E major. This final section has the most concentrated writing of the entire work. It incorporates increased movement in the piano part (almost continuous semi-quavers) with regular dynamic and tempo changes (mezzo-forte espress, forte, fortissimo, pianissimo - poco animando, sempre animando e stringendo, un pochettino meno mosso, molto animato e passionato). The clarinet line becomes increasingly virtuosic and bars 68-74 are cadenza-like with free-flowing arabesques in the solo part.

Walthew's A Mosaic in 10 Pieces deserves incorporation into the standard clarinet repertoire. It exemplifies all that is best about the suite/multi-movement character piece genre. These works contrast short miniature

---

79 The author could find no explanation why this section was titled 'Dedication'. It can only be presumed that this dedication refers to R.M. Moore (dedication appears initially on title page).
movements against one another (through metre, tempo and dynamic changes), whilst retaining strong thematic and harmonic relationships between movements. (Thematic relationships between movements are achieved in the example of A Mosaic in 10 Pieces by the chromatic *leitmotiv* pattern and harmonic unity through the mediant key relationship.) Pieces of this type married solid formal cohesion to the desirably light and melodic character of the genre.

6.2 JOSEPH C. HOLBROOKE

Like Richard H. Walthew, Joseph C. Holbrooke (1878-1958) was a prolific composer for the clarinet. He composed the following works for clarinet and piano within the research period: *Andante and Presto* opus 6 no. 2 (1908), *Four Mezzotints* opus 55 nos. 5-8 (1918), *Three Mezzotints* opus 55 nos. 1-3 (1927), *Cyrene* opus 88 (1930) and *Phryne* opus 89 (1939). Other chamber works for the instrument include: *Fate* Quintet opus 27 (cl., strings) (c.1911), *Sextet* opus 33a (pn., winds) (1902), *Miniature Suite* opus 33b (woodwind quintet) (1897), *Fairyland Nocturne* opus 57 (cl., vla., pn.) (1911), *Serenade* opus 94 (fl., ob., cl., bsn.) (1932), *Double Concerto* opus 119 (cl., bsn.) (1940), *Apollo Quintet* opus 120 (4 cls., pn.) (1907) and *Nonet* opus 129 (winds and strings) (n.d.). Holbrooke also composed a number of songs with clarinet obbligato. These compositions include: *Talliesin's Song* opus 73 no. 1 (1919), *Tea Shop Girl* opus 77 no. 4 (1919) and *Tame Cat* opus 77 no. 5 (1919).81

In his day Holbrooke was revered by many as one of the greatest living British composers. The renowned writer on music Ernest Newman (1868-82 This clarinet Quintet was performed at a Holbrooke Subscription Concert on 27 February 1914. The concert took place at The Arts Centre, Mortimer Street, and the clarinettist was Charles Draper. Interestingly, the programme for this recital lists the Quintet as opus 28. However, Blenheim Press, founded by J. C. Hobrooke and today continued by G. Brooke, lists the work as opus 27. Personal correspondence between G. Brooke and the author (15 September 1999).


82 It is probable that these three songs with clarinet obbligato were performed as a set. This is unsubstantiated.
1959), in a quote obtained by Holbrooke’s son (the bassoonist Gwydion Brooke), states the following: “Mr Holbrooke can do quite easily and unconsciously what Strauss has only done half a dozen times in his career - he can write a big, heartfelt melody that searches us to the very bone”.83

The eminent conductor Artur Nikisch (1855-1922) supported Newman’s assessment in the following terms: “...I consider him [Holbrooke] one of the greatest composers living. He has strength, fantasy, poetical and musical imagination”.85 Clearly, Holbrooke’s compositional artistry and technical expertise were highly respected.86

The Nocturne opus 55 no.1 was composed in Corfu in May 1912 and first published by Novello in 1914.87 The piece is representative of one-movement character pieces and incorporates numerous formal elements which are common to the genre (see Musical Features). The Nocturne has a dark and mysterious character. This atmosphere is emphasised through considerable use of the chalumeau register and expressive accents in the clarinet score. The wide dynamic range, which has numerous crescendi and diminuendi, adds to the desired sinister effect.

The work is scored for B flat clarinet and is in ABA¹ form with added coda. The different sections are clearly delineated by contrasting tempo indications: A Larghetto sostenuto (21 bars), B Poco più mosso - appassionato (23 bars), A¹ Tempo primo (21 bars) and coda, Lento (28

83 The New Grove Dictionary notes that E. Newman was the “...most celebrated music critic in the first half of the 20th century”. 1980, 13, p. 163.
84 A. Nikisch was a frequent guest conductor of the London Symphony Orchestra - 1904-1914. He also toured America with this orchestra in 1912. New Grove, 1980, 13, pp.244-245.
85 Personal correspondence between G. Brooke and the author (15 September 1999).
86 However, not all opinions were so unreservedly positive about Holbrooke’s compositions. George F. Linstead wrote the following about two quartets and a sextet performed at a John Parr chamber concert in 1930: “The faults in Holbrooke’s style were only too apparent...the scores were overloaded and the music often frenzied and replete with the less reputable clichés of his Romantic progenitors; but they also had a strength and facility which will have to be taken into account some day when a real assessment of Holbrooke’s contribution to British music is honestly undertaken”. Jolui Parr and his Concerts, The Musical Times (June 1945), p.172.
bars). As is common in works of this type the substantial coda closes with a short postlude (bars 90-93) incorporating an ascending solo line in the clarinet.

The A section opens in C minor with a two-bar piano introduction. This introduction states the main theme, based on rising intervals. However, already by bar 2 the repeated descending E flat-B natural interval helps to imply a feeling of yearning. The clarinet enters in bar 3 with an exact repetition of the piano introduction. The whole piece shows considerable chromatic inflection. For example, bars 11-15 and bars 16-19 are dominated by a chromatic descending line in the bass part of the piano. This is in contrast to the rising intervals which begin the clarinet's phrases in section A. At bar 16 the tonal centre has shifted towards A flat major/F minor. This harmonic transition is confirmed in bar 22, the beginning of section B, when F minor is firmly established (clear cadential sequence).

The B section reverses the rising trend in the clarinet part; the bass continues to move largely downwards, by step. The new appassionato character is now emphasised by the introduction of a louder dynamic (forte) and accented notes. At bar 29 the B section modulates to A flat major (first suggested in bar 16) before returning through chromatic inflection, to the tonic key of C minor at A' (bar 45).

The return to A' places the clarinet an octave higher. Section A' is in most other respects an exact repetition of A. There are only two slight differences in the clarinet part: in bar 58 the first beat of the clarinet line is replaced by a crotchet rest; and bars 64 and 65 are added. These two bars have the effect of balancing the formal structure of the piece by accounting for the first two solo bars of the piano part in the introduction. By adding a triplet accompaniment in the piano score, section A' enjoys greater freedom and movement.

87 The edition examined here is by Blenheim Press (n.d.). Established by J. C. Holbrooke to publish his own music, his son G. Brooke has continued the title. Blenheim Press, 38 Carter Street, Fordham, Ely, Cambs., CB7 5NG.
The coda, marked *Lento*, opens briefly in the key of F major (bar 66), returning strongly to the tonic key of C minor by bar 82. A new triplet figure is heard in the clarinet part, which descends gradually to a chalumeau register C in bar 77. This descending clarinet line is opposed by a contrary chromatic ascent in the bass part of the piano. This begins on A natural in bar 66 and reaches a tenor G in bar 74. This tenor G becomes a pedal note for 7 bars, emphasising the dominant of the tonic key. Significantly, the piano part restates an interval similar to the opening rising interval of the piece in the right hand - third to fourth beat of bar 80 (this motive continues until bar 85). The clarinet's stepwise chromatic movement highlights this rising interval. At bar 82 the piano has another pedal note - C in the bass - and this establishes the final extended statement of the tonic key. Bars 86-87 strongly indicate a return to the opening material. The clarinet's repeated fourth intervals refer back to fourths first stated in bars 1 and 2, whilst the chord in the right hand of bar 87 (third beat) contains notes initially stated in bar 1 (right hand). Finally, the last four bars of the coda introduce spread chords, relaxing the tension towards the final cadence.

The *Nocturne* opus 55 no. 1 has a dark and mysterious character. This atmosphere is emphasised through regular use of the chalumeau register and expressive accents in the clarinet score. The wide dynamic range, which employs considerable *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, adds to the desired 'nocturnal' effect.
Chapter Seven

Performance Practice

Performance styles changed considerably between 1880 and 1945. The New Grove Dictionary (1980) acknowledges the importance of investigating these changes when it states that a "good performance [on a period instrument] provides a quite different aural experience from one played on modern instruments".¹ A greater understanding of shifting performance styles informs an historical awareness, provides insight into the intentions of the music and 'breathes life into' a modern rendition.

Many of the compositions under discussion were composed for simple-system instruments. However, a sizeable number were composed with the Boehm-system in mind. Boehm instruments in use today are similar in design to some of the early 20th-century versions. Therefore, modern players may reproduce some of the clarinet sound and character of the period, without having to replace their instrument with an original or modern-day copy.² Nevertheless, an analysis of stylistic approaches from 1880 is necessary in order to understand period practice.

Comparisons between early recordings and later ones provide the most substantial evidence of changing performance styles and shifting expectations. This chapter will examine a substantial number of clarinet recordings of representative British artists. Performers referenced include A. Proctor (n.d.), Charles Draper (1869-1952), Haydn Draper (1889-1934), Frederick Thurston (1901-1953), Ralph Clarke (1901-1985), Reginald Kell (1906-1981) and Phil Cardew (?-1960).

² As would be expected, there are differences in sound quality between Boehm-system instruments. Changes have occurred especially when comparing period versions like Martel and B&H Series 10-10 to modern-day versions like the Buffet. See Chapter 3 for more information on Boehm-system instruments.
1.1 PERFORMANCE AND INSTRUMENTAL MECHANISM

As already mentioned most pre-1900 performers used hybrids of Müller's 13-key instrument. Müller highlighted his performance ideals (and those of the period) in the notes of his celebrated tutor of 1820: "...the player should practise using violin music, should treat the clarinet like other instruments, and should practise to become fluent in all tonalities". Indeed, Müller included an exercise in C flat major in his 1820 tutor such was his desire that the player be proficient in all tonalities. It is reasonable to assume that despite instrumental limitations, professional players like Müller worked conscientiously to achieve technical security.

Enough evidence exists to suggest that simple-system instrumental designs may have undermined competent performance from c.1880 to c.1945. Surveying historical reports before the introduction of the Boehm-system, British players - by all accounts - struggled to perform securely on simple-system instruments. Oscar Street substantiates this in his article, The Clarinet and its Music (1916). When referring to Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, Street states: "...the solo in the trio...twice takes the clarinet up to G in the alt, to be played pp, which sometimes causes interesting speculation as to whether it will 'come out'". Later, he notes: "There are some rapid staccato passages in the scherzo of the Midsummer Night's Dream [Mendelssohn], one of which is described in

---

4 Perhaps the earliest British confirmation that clarinettists encountered occasional technical difficulties in performance on simple-system instruments appears in J.A. Kappey’s Military Music, A History of Wind Instrumental Bands (London, 1894): “There is, however, a solid reason for this multiplicity of differently pitched instruments [clarinets], namely the increasing difficulty of manipulating rapid passages in keys of more than four sharps or flats. The clarinet in C would be probably the best for all purposes, but unfortunately its tone is not nearly so rich as that of deeper pitched ones in B flat and A; hence composers prefer to score for clarinets the pitch of which their compositions are written, thereby facilitating a clean execution of passages which otherwise would be too hard, and obtaining a richer tone as well”. Op. cit., p. 42.
5 Here it must be remembered that although the Boehm-system appeared in Britain as early as c.1890 most performers remained loyal to their simple-system instruments well into the 20th century. Indeed, as late as 1945 many performers still played on these ‘old’ designs.
Grove as ‘almost unplayable’

Of Richard Strauss it may be said that his requirements as regards clarinet-technique are still more advanced than Wagner’s. There occur extraordinarily complicated passages, to be played at such lightning speed that the very mechanism of the clarinet is inadequate to articulate them. As Mr. Stutely puts it: ‘You play the beginning and the end and trust to providence for the remainder!’ On the other hand, the desired effect seems to be made by such methods, for so the composer himself told Covent Garden orchestra.  

Richard H. Walthew's article entitled *Wind Instrument Chamber Music* (c.1922) also mentions the limitations inherent in these early 20th-century mechanisms. Although he does not say so, it seems that the author is referring to the simple-system:

I hope I am not guilty of any disloyalty to these gentlemen and genuine amateurs if I say that I thought they were at times overmuch concerned with the mechanism of their instruments and the difficulties of overcoming the deficiencies inherent in them; the clarinettists, for instance, were wont to lament loudly the absence of extra fingers to bridge the gap in the middle of their instrument... (often) taking their instruments to pieces as far as possible and then putting them together again. These artificial preoccupations were apt, I thought, to divert their attention from the musical qualities of the works they used to practise.

H.E. Adkins writes in the introduction to his *Complete Modern Tutor* (1927): “The peculiar construction of the Clarinet does not permit rapid passages, in the extreme keys of sharps and flats, being played with ease and smoothness. To remedy this fault Clarinets of various sizes are

---

7 Herbert W. Stutely (n.d.), who was a former pupil of George Clinton, was principal clarinet of the Covent Garden Orchestra at this time.
8 This article was found in John Walthew’s scrapbook on his grandfather Richard H. Walthew. No date, name of author or title for the article is known but J. Walthew believes it possible that it appeared in ‘Chamber Music; A Supplement to the Music Student’, *The Magazine of the Home Music Study Union* (London, 1922), ed. Percy A. Scholes. This remains unsubstantiated, as this article could not be located in the British Library.
made, which are named according to the key in which they are pitched, and their variety comprises almost the whole chromatic scale.  

The comments of Street, Walthew and Adkins confirm that the simple-system mechanism occasionally hindered fluent performance. This was particularly the case when composers such as Wagner and Strauss, originally writing for the German Oehler simple-system instrument, expected more technical agility. A number of references in the literature refer to the fine tone and solid intonation achieved by simple-system clarinets like the Albert (see Chapter 3). They also show a general reluctance amongst performers to switch from simple-system instruments to the Boehm design. For example, Pat Ryan (n.d.), the principal clarinettist of the Hallé Orchestra, used a simple-system design until the late 1950s. Generally speaking, though, new expectations in technical performance hastened the demise of these 'simple' designs in favour of the more agile Boehm instruments.

1.2 TONE

Thurston Dart, in his book *The Interpretation of Music* (1954), gave an overview of woodwind sound development from the turn of the 19th century: "Woodwind tone has changed a good deal in the last century and a half, more particularly since 1900, and it varies very much from country to country".

Because of ongoing instrumental improvements, clarinet tone was 'developing' constantly. Changes in sound were especially due to shifts in

---

9 Published by Boosey & Co. in 1927.
10 The Oehler instrument was closely based on an Albert simple-system design. It incorporated a patent C#, side B flat key, three top-joint rings and a forked-F vent. For more information on Oehler system see Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York, 1967), pp. 140-42.
11 See Baines, loc.cit., p.137.
mouthpiece design and ‘cut’ of reed.\textsuperscript{13} New mouthpiece adjustments refined and focused clarinet sound.\textsuperscript{14} Together with instrumental system developments, this resulted in changing tone (see Chapter 3).\textsuperscript{15} This does not mean that quality of sound became better. Technical developments since 1800 merely resulted in clarinet sound quality and character becoming more projected and forceful. The evolution of clarinet sound kept pace with shifting performance ideals.

1.3 VIBRATO

Before 1945, few reports of clarinet vibrato appear in Britain.\textsuperscript{16} Whilst most clarinettists hoped to imitate violinists, this ideal did not stretch as far as reproducing violin-like vibrato effects.\textsuperscript{17} David Charlton reports that

\textsuperscript{13} George Bernard Shaw confirms variation in tone resulting from ‘cut’ of reed: “...since the tone is so greatly affected by the way in which the reed is cut. I have heard in the street what I supposed to be an execrable cracked cornet, and on coming round the corner have found an old man playing a clarinet with an old slack reed as easy for his feeble jaws as the reed one cuts for a child in a cornfield. The tone produced by such ancient men and that produced by Lazarus in his best days (which was, I think, purer, if less rich, than Mühfeld’s) mark the two poles of my experience of clarinet-playing: and I have always found that in German orchestras the standard tone leans more to the man in the street than to Lazarus”. Bernard Shaw continues: “...but except in the case of unusually fine players, who generally take the first chance of coming to England and settling here, the German wood wind player is content with a cheaper tone than the English one”. Music in London 1890-94, Criticisms Contributed Week by Week to the World Vol. III (New York, 1973), p.292.

\textsuperscript{14} Robin B. Chatwin, in his 1938 article ‘Some Notes on the History of the Clarinet’, refers to clarinet tone development as follows: “It would seem that the tone of clarinets has continued to change. Carl Baermann, writing in 1860, comparing the French mouthpiece of that time with those then used in Germany, remarked that the former gave a soft, but rather dull and pinched tone, sounding like violin passages played on the viola. Richard Strauss wrote in 1905 that French clarinets had a flat nasal tone. Had the French tone changed? Has it changed again since then? What also would these experts say about tone today?”. The Musical Progress and Mail (December 1938), p.66.

\textsuperscript{15} Rendall comments as follows on tonal changes between simple-system and Boehm-system: “Tonally there has been less change than might have been expected. A general widening of the bore and an increase in the dimensions of the reed and mouthpiece have made the tone of the clarinets fuller and freer, but have affected the upper registers considerably less”. A Short Account of the Clarinet in England During the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} Centuries, Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association LXVIII (London, 1942), p.63.

\textsuperscript{16} The one exception to this statement is R. Mühfeld. His particular sound quality was often noted as being founded on a ‘vibrato-like’ quality. See Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{17} It is known that until c.1920 string vibrato was regarded as an ornamental effect. It was only employed at ‘high’ points of a work, often to add emotional tension. However, with the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century more and more players began to utilise it continuously, and today it is most rare to hear any note performed on a string instrument without an element of vibrato. Finson, ‘Performing Practice in the Late Nineteenth-century, with Special Reference to the Music of Brahms’, The Musical Quarterly LXX No.4 (Autumn 1984), pp.468-470.
because vibrato was not widespread, national differences between clarinettists at the time were less noticeable than with oboists and flautists. As is still the case today, French tone was characterised by a delicate, bright and reedy sound at the turn of the 20th century. These characteristics in France gave the impression of a fast ‘vibrato-like’ effect. This particular French sound was not a conscious attempt to create a sound quality based on vibrato. It was a direct development of using mouthpieces with small bores and very soft reeds. This became common throughout France by the 1920s.

This French effect did not find popularity in other European countries. Instead, the Germans and the Viennese favoured a broad style of tone and phrasing. The Germanic ideal was also the pre-eminent approach in the British Isles before 1880. However, after this date, elements of the French school began to be incorporated into the British sound quality. These French factors were characterised in Britain by fast, light playing.

By 1945 the British approach to clarinet sound incorporated a combination of French and German influences. Lazarus, the Drapers, Anderson and Thurston adapted these European influences into a British ‘singing’ style. In contrast, Kell employed a well-defined ‘artistic’ vibrato. However, his freer individual approach to sound quality was not

18 Charlton, op. cit., p.469.
19 This delicate, bright, reedy sound was not always the common French tone quality. Catrinin in his ‘Some Notes on the History of the Clarinet’ wrote as follows in 1938: “Fétis, the great French historian of music, relates that Joseph Beer left Paris in 1788, to commence tours all over Europe, and that when passing through Belgium he heard a clarinettist named Schwartz [no first names listed] who made him realise for the first time the sweetness of the tone then cultivated in Germany. Beer, who up until then had what was called the French tone, which was powerful, but rather hard, immediately decided to acquire the German tone, and in less than six months he was able to combine it with his previous ability in technique”. Op. cit., (November 1938), p.42.
20 Dart refers to the modern clarinet as “less woody and chuckling than its ancestor”. Op. cit., p.36.
22 This is confirmed by John Denman when he states that “English clarinet playing...was largely dominated by the French school”, ‘Dennmania’, The Clarinet Vol. 8/3 (Spring 1981), p.44.
23 See Chapter 4 for more information on British performers.
24 The only other recorded artist found to exhibit some vibrato in performance is P. Cardew (?-1960): Khachaturian Trio, recorded 1932, original TRC 14, Clarinet Classics CC 0010.
characteristic of the wider British trend. Indeed, it was a controversial exception to the rule (see later). 25

1.4 RHYTHM

"Musical time in performances during the last part of the 19th and first part of the 20th century was considerably more flexible than it is today, and fluctuations in the surface rhythm of individual passages as well as in basic tempo for longer passages were common. This rhythmic freedom served structural functions." 26

An overview of period performance trends shows a swing from rigid character (c.1880-c.1900) to greater variations in tempo and the use of more rhythmic freedom (c.1900-c.1945). Probably, the inflexible rhythmic approach favoured by wind performers before 1900 evolved as a result of the strong British military band tradition, which did not allow for much artistic flair (see Chapter 1). Post-1900 performance styles were characterised by a spontaneous, less exacting approach. This loose, more expressive performance practice developed out of a well-defined Romantic idiom and an exaggerated, often overly dramatic performance style. 27 Robert Philip notes that this artistic freedom was characterised by a "...volatile, energetic, flexible and vigorously projected" approach. 28

Much of this approach is often forgotten in contemporary performance. Live and recorded playing is occasionally characterised by reserved, inhibited renditions, which refuse to take performance risks. Philip

Cardew's use of vibrato is here not considered significant, as he was primarily a Music Hall performer. See later in the chapter for more information on this artist. 25 Andrew Smith confirms this when he mentions Kell's vibrato: "The vibrato, which became more pervasive as his personal playing style evolved, was always controversial, and the whole question of whether or not the clarinet needs or benefits from it remains...". "Portraits. 2: Reginald Kell", Clarinet & Saxophone Vol. 11/3 (1986), p.39.

26 Finson, op. cit., p.471.

27 These exaggerated, overly dramatic performances more often than not came from violinists, pianists, singers and not wind performers.

compares late 20th-century performances to those of the early 1900s as follows:

Most recorded performances from the earlier part of the century [20th] give a vivid sense of being projected as if to an audience, the precision and clarity of each note less important than the shape and progress of the music as a whole. In the late 20th-century the balance has shifted significantly, so that accurate and clear performance of the music has become the first priority and the characterisation of the music is assumed to be able to take care of itself. If pre-war recordings resemble live performance, many of today’s concerts show a palpable influence of the recording session, with clarity and control an overriding priority.29

Robert Hill confirms Philip’s view of middle to late 20th-century performance practice when he states that “performers and music teachers have been conditioned by musicologists and critics to aspire to ideally objective readings of musical texts”.30

Overall, the late 19th- and early 20th-century interpretations are rhythmically freer and are less constrained by the need to perform precise note values. The performer was at liberty to express what might be termed an informal or even unpredictable approach.31 An example of this practice appears prominently at the opening of Charles Draper’s 1917 recording of Brahms’s Quintet opus 115.32 Here the soloist and ensemble take some licence with the notated text, extending the boundaries of rhythmical possibility in the interest of increased expression. However, this freer approach, which first appeared in the late 19th-century and continued into the 20th century, appeared to contradict the intentions of many earlier composers: for example, Charles Swinnerton Heap (1847- 

31 This means that on occasion performers did take ‘liberties’ with the notes themselves and often did not perform precise notated values.
1900) (see Chapter 5). A considerable number of pre-1890 British composers expected "greater precision [from performers] and to faithfully reproduce the printed text". Of course, the level of precision demanded by these composers was based on the expectations of their own era, and was the initial phase in an ever-evolving practice (developing into the 20th century). It could be argued that this precise expectation in performance stemmed, in the early years, from the increasingly academic background of most composers at this time (pre-1890). The Heap Sonata reproduces a 19th-century stereotype. It does not articulate itself beyond normal practice, almost as if it were an academic exercise. Today we seem to have reverted somewhat to this pre-1890 ethos, once again placing great emphasis on literal rendition and exact performance.

Although pre-1930 recordings are rhythmically freer than earlier 20th-century examples, they usually lack energy and vitality. This is substantiated in a 1929 review of Charles Draper's Mozart Quintet K.581 with the Léner Quartet. The reviewer, writing under his initials K.K., states the following:

I could not wish for anything more truly in the spirit of the music, save in the slow movement, which I find a little lacking in vital impulse. It is almost too sweet. I do not often complain of too great insistence on \( p \) and \( pp \) shades (generally it is the other way round), but this interpretation just lacks a touch of rhythmic virility, that would have made it 100 per cent instead of, say, 95. I notice, by the way, that the veteran critic A.K. (no relation) in the Daily News makes much the same point, which he has noted in the Léner's concert performances.

An important device used to achieve rhythmic flexibility throughout the period was rubato. This technique was initially applied to the motivic

---

33 The Heap Sonata was composed in 1879.
34 New Grove, loc. cit.
35 Columbia L.2252.
37 Ignace Paderewski, a late 19th-century piano soloist, highlights the importance of rubato: “Tempo rubato is a potent factor in musical oratory, and every interpreter should be able to use it skillfully and judiciously, as it emphasizes the expression, introduces variety, infuses life into mechanical execution. It softens the sharpness of lines, blunts the structural angles without
and melodic structure of a phrase in order to help accentuate the form of a work. Later this principle was developed from the level of rhythmic fluctuation of a phrase and applied to articulate the structure of whole movements.\textsuperscript{38} This developed approach was termed ‘tempo modification’ in Wagner’s discussion on conducting.\textsuperscript{39}

An examination of period recordings shows a clear development in the use of rubato amongst performers. Most pre-1910 recordings, which are primarily virtuosic and showy in character, avoid the use of rubato completely. Later recordings, by Charles and Haydn Draper, begin to use rhythmic freedom in the standard 19\textsuperscript{th}-century repertoire. Unfortunately, the Drapers’ use of rubato lacks the proportion of most post-1930 recordings, and in terms of post-1930 performance practice at least, is contrived. This almost ‘mechanical’ use of rubato can be heard clearly in Charles Draper’s 1928 performance of the Mozart Quintet with the Léner Quartet. Draper’s ascending line at the beginning of the first movement’s development section almost comes to a complete halt in bar 82 as he reaches the high B flat (beginning of bar 83) (see example 1; when marking becomes increased, it demonstrates more use of rubato). The effect achieved, in the researcher’s opinion, is not the desired one of increased expression. It results in an ‘enforced’ musicality.

Frederick Thurston’s recordings demonstrate a progression from the early recordings of Charles and Hadyn Draper to a more integrated use of rubato. His rubato is subtle and within the phrase. He avoids dramatic use on a macroscopic structural level. Thurston’s use of rubato is straightforward and uncomplicated.

\textsuperscript{38} Finson, op. cit, p.473.
\textsuperscript{39} Wagner, Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen Vol. VIII 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition (Leipzig, n.d.), pp.287-308.
Reginald Kell took the use of rubato to new levels of artistic possibility. His recordings are dominated by an almost continuous use of rubato within motives and phrases. His organic sense of line is confident, intuitive and natural. His subtle rhythmic inflections never bore the listener with repetition or commonality. The fact that he could employ such large amounts of rubato without disrupting the musical flow speaks volumes for his artistry. Norman C. Nelson describes Reginald Kell's rubato in the following terms:

The naturalness of Kell's rubato brings to mind the best of Chopin pianists, such as Cortot, Rubinstein or Novaes. That rubato gives his playing a sense of freedom and ease and an intimate conversational quality. Kell's rubato seems not to impose itself on the music but rather to issue from it. The critical epithets of 'mannered' or 'contrived' do not apply to it or to any other aspect of his playing. 40

(See example 2 for contrasting use of rubato in recordings by Thurston and Kell of the Brahms Quintet opus 115. When marking becomes increased, it demonstrates more use of rubato.) 41

1.5 TEMPO FLEXIBILITY AND TEMPO

Brahms insisted on great tempo flexibility. One of his most famous statements on tempo relates to the metronome. He said, "I have never believed that my blood and a mechanical instrument go together". 42 In Mühlfeld, Brahms composed for a clarinettist who espoused ideals of free and flexible performance tempo as well. This 'new' wind performance tradition affected numerous artists. It is clear today that the flexible approach to tempo in wind performance employed by Brahms and Mühlfeld was radical for its time. In contrast to their approach, most pre-1900 wind performances, especially in the British Isles, chose static or

42 Philip, op.cit., p.218.
non-flexible tempi. This developed from a strongly militaristic culture where the clarinet functioned primarily as an important member of the marching band (see Chapter 1). This regimented approach to tempo is exemplified in an early wind quintet performance (Haydn Draper, clarinet) of Gabriel Pierné's (1863-1937) *Pastorale.* This recording is rigid in its mechanical choice of tempi through competing sections. Only occasionally do small amounts of structured rubato arise. The lack of dynamic contrast only exacerbates the static rhythmic impression.

By the turn of the 20th century greater fluctuations of tempo within a movement began to appear. Conductors like George Szell (1897-1970), Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) and Felix Weingartner (1863-1942) began this new trend, utilising subtle tempo modification to emphasise contrasts between passages of differing character. By the late 1930s this approach had affected ensembles and soloists. Soon the practice of using flexible tempo was institutionalised. Reginald Kell was a leading wind exponent of this freer approach. His Schumann Three Fantasy Pieces opus 73, recorded in 1940, is a fine example of tempo modification. Kell's approach to tempo flexibility was never improvised on the spur of the moment, and always formed part of a methodical artistic plan, which was intended to enhance the structural understanding of the composition. His later recordings demonstrate that he was prepared to modify his tempo subtly to suit musical sections of different character, even within movements based on perpetual motion. The first movement of Darius Milhaud's (1892-1974) *Suite,* for example, is marked *Vif et gai.* Kell, in his 1954 recording, still manages to modify the tempo between bars 20-26. This only heightens the section's rhythmic interest and vitality.

---

43 Pre-1925 acoustic recording, Edison Bell 515.
44 Charlton, op. cit., p.472.
45 Original HMV C3170 and C3228. Clarinet Classics CC 0005.
46 First published by Senart in 1937.
47 Decca DL 9740.
Until 1945, performances of moderate and fast movements were characterised by rapid tempi. This is confirmed in recordings.\textsuperscript{48} Fast tempi in quick movements not only applied to performances of 18\textsuperscript{th}- and 19\textsuperscript{th}-century works, but also affected works composed in the years before the Second World War.\textsuperscript{49} In the early part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, works were regularly hastened so as to make their inclusion on record possible. However, the sizeable number of very fast tempi on later discs, which have recording space to spare, strongly suggests that this was a genuine part of the performance practice of the period. Charles Draper's 1910 recording of the Weber Concertino is indicative of this point.\textsuperscript{50} By the final Allegro section of this work the soloist and accompanying wind-band have reached an almost unsustainable tempo, which leads the whole performance to an uncontrolled conclusion by late 20\textsuperscript{th}-century standards.

Frederick Thurston's performances of Charles Lloyd's Gigue from Suite in Olden Style (1914) and Philip Browne's A Truro Maggot (1944) both reflect this practice of faster tempo selections for moderate and quick movements.\textsuperscript{51} Browne's A Truro Maggot, recorded in 1937 and marked Allegro giocoso (no metronome marking given on score), is just one minute and forty seconds long. Lloyd's Gigue, also recorded in 1937 (same disc as Browne) is marked Allegro vivace (given metronome speed of dotted crotchet = 144) and lasts only one minute thirty-six seconds. When measured against a modern metronome Thurston's recording of the Browne stands at crotchet = 138 whilst the Lloyd indicates a speed of dotted crotchet = 148. Therefore, the recorded speed of the Lloyd is faster than the composer's preferred tempo indication (recorded metronome marking of crotchet = 148 as opposed to listed tempo marking of 144). The fact that the Browne is performed at a speed of crotchet =

\textsuperscript{48} Finson states that Allegro and Presto tempos were played with “noticeable verve”. Op. cit., p.474.
\textsuperscript{49} Charlton, op. cit., p.476.
\textsuperscript{50} Victor 35182.
\textsuperscript{51} Browne: A Truro Maggot original Decca K 858 // CRT-017. Lloyd: Gigue from Suite in Olden Style original Decca K 858 // CRT-017. Clarinet Classics CC 0010.
138 is also suggestive of a performance tempo faster than a marking of *Allegro giocoso*.

In contrast, the choice of tempi for slow movements is consistent with conventional practice. Charles Draper’s 1925 recording of the second movement of the Mozart Quintet K.581 confirms this characteristic.\(^{52}\)

### 1.6 TECHNICAL SECURITY, DYNAMICS, ARTICULATION, PHRASING

Finson states that: 
"...all devices were used by means of the most sober calculation and rational analysis. The most intense appeal to the sentiments and emotions was made through intellect. Nineteenth-century performers did not “feel” the music, they crafted its performance, and though their practice was neither arbitrary nor irrational the result was anything but sterile."\(^{53}\)

Finson contradicts the popular myth that late 19\(^{th}\)-century (and early 20\(^{th}\)-century) performance implied irrationality, excess freedom and inaccurate playing. Period clarinet recordings from Britain support Finson’s assertion. Most clarinettists (even if they might not show refined artistry) had solid techniques. Again, this may have been a legacy of the British band tradition. Charles Draper’s *Ye Banks and Braes* is a fine example of a virtuosic and yet secure performance from the period (pre-1925 acoustic recording).\(^{54}\)

In pre-1940 recordings the use of wide dynamic gradation is rare. Most artists examined before this date are inhibited and restricted in their dynamic range. The only clear exception to the rule is Reginald Kell. His mastery of dynamic contrast derived from an exceptional control of all

---

\(^{52}\) Mozart Quintet K.581 with the Spencer-Dyke Quartet: The National Gramophone Society 47/50. C. Draper made a second recording of this Quintet in 1928 with the Léner Quartet: Columbia 124 // CRT-017 and re-released Retrospect Series SH 318 (1979).

\(^{53}\) Finson, op. cit., p.474.

\(^{54}\) Possibly c.1910 (unsubstantiated). Zonophon Serial 206.
registers. His 1937 recording of Schubert's *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* (D.965) is a fine example of this.\(^{55}\)

Crisp and well-executed staccato playing is a feature of the period as a whole (1880-1945). Frederick Thurston's energetic Bliss Quintet recording with the Griller Quartet of 1935 supplies an admirable standard.\(^{56}\)

The practice of melodic phrasing shifts through the research period (1880 to 1945). Early recordings, such as Haydn Draper's Brahms Trio opus 114 (1926), lacks well-balanced phrasing. Often, the first note of a phrase is accented, the flow is divided by the bar-line and the line lacks well-articulated legato contour.\(^{57}\) The recordings of Frederick Thurston are a definite improvement on earlier recordings by Charles and Haydn Draper in this regard. However, in performances such as Thurston's Brahms Sonata opus 120 no. 2 (c.1930) this is not always the case. In a *Gramophone* review of this recording dated 1937, the reviewer, W.R.A., writes: "I find the piano colour a little low in the softer parts; and I think, in the first movement, both artists might pull a rather longer stroke. The sense of "going" is not quite so long as I like it - the sweep of things".\(^{58}\)

In W.R.A's and this researcher's opinion, the phrasing lacks structural understanding, the flow is disturbed and the tendency is to 'block-off' phrases.\(^{59}\) In contrast Reginald Kell's exquisite shaping and free-flowing design of phrases is readily apparent in all his recordings. A particularly fine example of this masterful phrasing occurs in his fluid Holbrooke Quintet recording dated 1941.\(^{60}\)

---

\(^{55}\) Original HMV DB 3317. Clarinet Classics CC 0010.

\(^{56}\) Original Decca K 780/3 [LCLI]. Clarinet Classics CC 0005 (fourth movement only).

\(^{57}\) Columbia 67101/3.

\(^{58}\) *The Gramophone* (July 1937), p.65.

\(^{59}\) Decca G-25722 // CRT-017.
2.1 HISTORY OF BRITISH CLARINET AND PIANO RECORDINGS

The earliest recordings were produced using acoustical methods and placed on primitive cylinders. The early sound quality was poor and recording space was limited. Michael Bryant indicates that the earliest pre-1900 duo recordings aimed to display the virtuosity of the solo artist, whilst performing what might be termed 'popular tunes'. One extant recording is Charles Draper's performance of Sir Henry Bishop's Variations on Home, Sweet Home (recorded c.1901-3). The details of Draper's tone colour and subtle artistry are inaudible due to heavy background noise. This recording's usefulness for this study relates to its early date of production.

The introduction of laterally cut discs and electric recording methods c.1925 made for significant advances in sound quality. Most records made after the advent of this new technique, and before the arrival of the Long Play (LP) record in c.1948, were made on 78-rpm discs. It is these recordings, made between c.1925 and 1945, which are of most interest and relevance to this study. Sadly, even though much improved in quality in relation to the earlier cylinders (dating from c.1899 to c.1925), a number of recordings from the period reveal little in the way of the clarinettists' tone (especially pre-1930). This is because some discs seem to equalise the soloist's dynamic range. These recordings present a mono-level sound quality, often giving an almost 'computer-like' character to the clarinet. A 1929 Gramophone review of Haydn Draper's second recording of the Mozart Concerto K.622 confirms this difficulty. The reviewer states: "This is music with a real Mozartean nutty flavour. The

60 Columbia LX 814/6 // CRT-017.
63 The 78-rpm record indicated that the disc rotated on the turntable at 78 rotations per minute.
64 Brunswick 20076 B.
playing of the orchestra is loud and clear. I wonder if the recording gives quite all the bloom on the soloist's tone?". 65

The scratchy quality of some recordings also means that it is impossible to determine the pitch (which was variable at this time). 66 Therefore, only generalisations concerning preferred pitch levels at particular times in the research period can be made. These assumptions cannot be based on research into period recordings. 67

2.2 RECORDINGS BEFORE 1945

Very few works researched within this study were recorded pre-1945. 68 Known works in this category are as follows. 69


66 Although 78-rpm was the most common turntable speed pre-1948, a significant number of recordings were produced with faster rotations per minute. For example, H. Draper's c.1913 recording of the Weber *Grand Duo Concertant* (two abridged movements) is marked 100-rpm. Of course, these variable turntable speeds make determination of pitch almost impossible.
67 For more information on pitch levels see Chapter 3 (especially fn. 58).
68 Sadly, the R. Kell recording of C. Raybould's *Wistful Shepherd* and Forbes's (first names and dates unknown) performance of R. H. Walthew's *Mosaic in 10 Pieces* have proved untraceable. Although listed in the British Library archives they cannot be located today.
69 Information on period recordings has been obtained from Gilbert *The Clarinettist's Solo Repertoire, A Discography* (New York, 1972) and *Clarinettist's Discography* (three volumes) (New York, 1991). Clough/Cummings *The World's Encyclopedia of Recorded Music* (London, 1952) was also consulted, together with personal correspondence with Michael Bryant.
70 F.G. Youens comments that "The slow movement of Stanford's *Clarinet Sonata* is excellently played by Frederick Thurston on Decca K853, the reverse containing Alan Frank's *Suite for Two Clarinets*". *Instruments of the Modern Orchestra*, The Gramophone (October 1939), p. 185.

Other notable pre-1945 recordings produced by British artists, which do not refer to compositions within the criteria of the research, or to compositions scored for more than five instruments, are as follows. 72 They are included as they offer other substantive performance practice information.


71 This recording falls outside the given research parameters. It is included in the main text because it is the first known recording of this work and because it shows Thurston at the height of his powers with the composer on piano.

72 These recording lists, as far as this researcher is aware, are complete. However, it is possible that a few recordings have been overlooked.

73 Sir Malcolm Sargent with the London Philharmonic Orchestra.


Brahms: Sonata opus 120 no. 2. F. Thurston with M. Foggin. Recorded c.1937. Original Decca G-25722 // CRT-017.


74 This is thought to be the first recording ever made of the Brahms Quintet opus 115 (abridged).
75 F. Thurston's 1926 rendition of the Brahms Quintet opus 115 was the first 'complete' recording of the work.
76 Recorded at 88-rpm.
77 This short recording with piano was part of a Sir Malcolm Sargent educational series introducing the instruments of the orchestra. F. Thurston's performance is here characterised by technical insecurity and limited expression.


78 R. Kell recorded Der Hirt auf dem Felsen (D.965) a second time in 1947 with M. Ritchie, soprano, and G. Moore, piano. However, his 1937 HMV recording gained more notoriety. See post-1945 list above.

79 F. Thurston and the Kutcher Quartet first performed the Bliss Quintet at the Wiganore Hall on 17 February 1933.

80 This recording by R. Kell of the Holbrooke Quintet was reviewed as follows: “The music falls a little strangely on the ear, but the writing is very clear and agreeable, though we cannot say yet what it still has to yield in depth and significance. Reginald Kell plays marvellously on the clarinet, and the Willoughby Quartet impress by the neatness and confidence of their performance. The recording is excellent”. “The Monthly Letter”, The Gramophone (June 1939) (no page number given).

81 Such was the popularity of this Music Hall melody that Henry Bishop was knighted in 1842.


### 2.3 Recordings After 1945

Important post-1945 recordings of the above artists are as follows:


---

\(^{82}\) Robert Mackenzie is thought to have been one of C. Draper’s pseudonyms - possible others include George McNiece and A. Taylor. The reasons why Draper occasionally used pseudonyms are unknown but perhaps relate to commercial and contractual conditions of some early recordings. George McNiece: *Coming through the Rye, Plantation Echoes*, original Regal G 6210. A. Taylor: *In Cellars Cool*, original John Bull 40607. Anonymous: *Charlie is my name*, including Verdi *Introduction, Original Scottish*, Sonnambula, Les Alsaciennes, Spaghetti Polka, original The Gramophone Co. 340.

\(^{83}\) This work was composed by Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785) and arranged by Harold Craxton (1855-1971). Possibly written originally for violin and piano, it seems that F. Thurston arranged this work in a version for A clarinet. Alec Robertson comments about this recording as follows: “Galuppi’s pieces do not lend themselves especially well to the genius of the clarinet, but Mr. Thurston makes them sound delightful - his ornaments are beautifully done...”. *The Gramophone* (May 1937), p.521.

\(^{84}\) Many of these recordings have two or three recording labels listed. This is because related companies in America and Britain often released the same recording under a different label and number. Personal correspondence between M. Bryant and the author.

Brahms: Sonatas opus 120. R. Kell with Horszowski. Recorded c.1948-49. Original Mercury MG 10016.85


Saint-Saens: Sonata opus 167. R. Kell. Original Decca 9741 [D].


2.4 RECORDED ARTISTS c.1901 to c.1948

The sixty-one recordings listed above are performances of thirty-eight compositions by the following seven clarinettists:86 A. Proctor, Charles

---

85 R. Kell’s first American recording.
Draper, Haydn Draper, Frederick Thurston, Ralph Clarke, Reginald Kell, and Phil Cardew. These recordings include only five surviving performances of works researched within this document (primary evidence), together with just one other post-1945 performance of a composition examined in the main text: Vaughan Williams Six Studies in English Folksong.

When looked at numerically the division of the above listed recordings amongst artists is as follows: C. Draper (11), H. Draper (6), F. Thurston (11), R. Kell (31), A. Proctor (1), P. Cardew (1). Importantly, the combined recordings of C. Draper, H. Draper, F. Thurston, A. Proctor and P. Cardew number one less than the total output of R. Kell (31 recordings).

The importance of Brahms's works amongst British artists is substantiated by the twelve listed recordings: five of the Quintet opus 115 - C. Draper (2), Thurston, Kell (2), four of the Trio opus 114 - C. Draper, H. Draper, Kell (2) and three of the Sonatas opus 120 - Thurston, Kell (2). Other prominent composers listed include Mozart - eleven recordings: four

---

86 It must be remembered that these recordings are not always complete performances. A number are just one movement of a particular work and some others include sizable 'cuts' to the written score (abridged).

87 F. Thurston is known to have also recorded the following: Beethoven, Septet in E flat major opus 20 - HMV DB 3026/30 (1937), Bax, Nonette - Columbia ROX 8045/42 (1939), Dvorák, Serenade in D Minor - Parlophone R20604/6 (1952), Stanford Concerto - BBC transcription tape (c.1951).

88 Ralph Clarke (1901-1985) was a pupil of Charles Draper. He was second clarinet in the BBC Symphony Orchestra (from 1930), playing principal on the death of F. Thurston in 1953 until 1960.


90 Phil Cardew (?-1960) began his professional career in the Piccadilly Revels Band, later joining the Spike Hughes Orchestra in 1930. He formed the Cardew Octet and often performed in West End shows. His own compositions for the clarinet include Scherzo and A Lazy Fawn (both works published by Hawkes in 1957). J. Bryner remembers Cardew as "the arranger for Arthur Askey, and a good clarinettist". Personal correspondence between J. Bryner and the author (18 March 1999).

91 R. Kell, Decca 9941 [D].

92 R. Kell recorded the Brahms Sonatas opus 120 on LP Mercury MG 10016 c.1948-49, and Decca DL 9639 c.1950. F. Thurston only recorded the Sonata opus 120 no. 2 on Decca G-25722 // CRT-017, c.1930.
Concerto - H. Draper (2), Kell (2), four Quintet - C. Draper (2), Kell (2),
two Trio - Thurston, Kell (2). Beethoven - two recordings: Trio - Kell (2).
Weber - five recordings: two Concertino - C. Draper, Kell, one Concerto\(^{93}\)
- Thurston and two Grande Duo Concertant - H. Draper, Kell.

Other works recorded more than once include Ravel's *Introduction and Allegro* (H. Draper and C. Draper), Schumann's Three Fantasy Pieces opus 73 (both Kell), Schubert's *Der Hirt auf dem Felsen* (D.965) (both Kell). A sizeable French catalogue includes Saint-Saëns's *Tarantelle* (C. Draper) and Sonata opus 167 (Kell), Debussy *Première Rhapsodie* (Kell) and *Petite Pièce* (Kell), Milhaud Suite (Kell) and Pierné *Pastorale* (H. Draper). The one German addition is the Hindemith Sonata (Kell).

Interestingly, apart from the seven British works found within the research area (Walthew, Bishop, Browne, Stanford, Lloyd, Ireland and Vaughan Williams), the only other pre-1945 recordings of British composers are Bliss Quintet (Thurston), Holbrooke Quintet (Kell) and Frank Suite for Two Clarinets (Thurston and Clarke).

Six of the seven performers listed above are known to have played on Boehm-system instruments (see Chapter 3). The instrument system used in the Walthew *Four Meditations* (1935) by A. Proctor cannot be established.\(^{94}\) Proctor's recording is characterised by poor transitions over the register-break and limited fluency and consistency within the throat register. The performance lacks character and artistic expression. Proctor has an incongruously militaristic approach.

From the point of view of conventional 20\(^{th}\)-century practice, Haydn Draper's *Adagio* from the Mozart Concerto (c.1928-29) has a thin and unfocused sound quality. His performance lacks uniformity between registers and he does not provide significant depth of meaning or

\(^{93}\) Thurston: Weber Concerto no. 2 (abridged last movement), HMV c.3621 (c.1939-45).

\(^{94}\) A. Proctor (n.d.) may have been an amateur clarinettist. No dates or further information could be found on this player.
emotion. In contrast, Charles Draper’s performances exhibit more artistic freedom.\(^95\) His 1917 Brahms Quintet recording with the London Quartet incorporates flexibility at emotional ‘high points’ coupled with balanced clarity of sound within the various registers. Indeed, Colin Lawson has called his tone “firm and direct”.\(^96\) Draper has an especially warm chalumeau register and in recordings like Mohr’s *Air Varié* (c.1908) he also impresses with fine technical execution, solid intonation and a well-rounded staccato attack.

It is clear Charles Draper was the leading exponent of clarinet performance in his day. Reviews from the period quote his musical ability and popularity. His performance of the Mozart Quintet with the Spencer-Dyke Quartet was reviewed by N.P. in 1926.\(^97\) “The fine art of Charles Draper, Kreisler of clarinettists, together with splendid support of the Spencer-Dyke Quartet, make this recording a veritable treasure”.\(^98\) A later *Gramophone* review from 1937, this time comparing Simeon Bellison’s Mozart Quintet with the Roth Quartet to Draper’s Léner recording (1928), is also complimentary:\(^99\)

> We cannot, however, give full marks to this recording [Bellison version], because the clarinet is rather too prominent, and because of some coarseness and cloudiness in the strings. Turning again to the much older version by the Léner Quartet and Charles Draper, we find that this is wonderfully good for its years, and that it cannot be easy to choose between the two versions. We certainly like Mr. Roth better than Mr. Léner as first violin, but on the other hand we prefer Charles Draper to Simeon Bellison, largely because he adapts himself better to the other players.\(^100\)

---

\(^95\) Anthony Baines states: “Especially beautiful in Draper’s playing was a wonderful unity of tone, technique and musical feeling. His chamber-music recordings, made towards the end of his life, remain a rare delight and a memorial to a very great period of English wind-playing”. *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (London, 1967), p.333.


\(^97\) The National Gramophone Society 47/50.

\(^98\) *The Gramophone* (September 1926), p.163.

\(^99\) The Russian, S. Bellison (1883-1953) recorded the Mozart Quintet with the Roth Quartet in 1937, Columbia LX 624-7.

Frederick Thurston was a fine technician. His Bliss Quintet recording (1935) with the Griller Quartet demonstrates noteworthy virtuosity. In this performance, the tempo fluctuates considerably. Thurston's later recording of the Ireland Phantasy Sonata (c.1948 with J. Ireland, piano) demonstrates depth of character and passionate performance, which is emphasised through free use of rubato. This live studio recording shows high technical merit. Thurston is not mentioned frequently in Gramophone reviews, possibly because of the small number of recordings he made. However, all are favorable. Most refer directly to his virtuosity. A fine example of this is a review of his Bliss Quintet recording. The reviewer, Alec Robertson, writes: "A word of special praise must go to the exquisite clarinet-playing of Frederick Thurston, in whom Bliss finds his Stadler or Mülhfeld".

Reginald Kell appears on another level in the tradition of pre-1945 British performance. His playing showed considerable individuality and artistic range, exploring levels of expression previously thought unachievable on the clarinet. His sound, based on warm vibrato, was unusual for the period and groundbreaking in its originality. He emphasised sensitive attack, especially in the high register, and employed the full spectrum of dynamic gradation.

Reginald Kell's extensive output of recordings received much coverage in Gramophone reviews. His Mozart Concerto performance, with Sir Malcolm Sargent and the London Philharmonic Orchestra, appeared in a 1940 edition. The reviewer writes: "I like the recording immensely: most of all, the light, pure, sweet clarinet tone, so flexibly expressive, so poised and directed to the heart of meaning. To listen to every note's intention has been one of the best of my month's pleasures".

101 Griller Quartet, Decca K 780/3.
103 Victor M 708 (13485/8).
His recording of the Brahms Quintet with the Busch Quartet (1937) arouses similarly high praise. Alec Robertson writes:

The finest phrasing and tone, scrupulous attention to the composer's markings, exact balance and, above all, truly profound insight into the meaning and message of the music. With all of these virtues the clarinettist, Reginald Kell, must unreservedly be associated. His instrument has never sounded more beautiful than in this recording, from the moment of his unhurried entry to the last chords. Not one note booms or has the slightest suggestion of stridency, and the chalumeau register is as warmly beautiful as the upper register is mellow and pure.

The reviewer continues:

Perhaps some people may consider Mr. Kell's restraint excessive, but I shall not agree with them. Where his instrument is scored for as part of the ensemble the ordinary listener might not even detect it was playing, so merged into the prevailing string tone is it. But where it has to dominate the artist is not found wanting. His approach is always thoroughly romantic, and rightly so.105

3. 1880-1945 PERFORMERS: 'A STAR IN A DARK SKY'

No British clarinet and piano recordings were made before c.1901. This complicates the process of formulating an understanding of performance practice in the years 1880 to 1900. However, based on extant recordings it is possible to chart a relative progression of British clarinet performance practice throughout the period 1880 to 1945.

Before 1900 most clarinettists performed in military bands. Those solo and chamber music performances that took place were limited in number. For the most part, recitals were given by visiting foreign players. However, by the turn of the 20th century a new British solo tradition appeared. The recordings of Charles and Haydn Draper, Frederick Thurston and Reginald Kell are proof of this occurrence. When looked at

104 'Analytical Notes and First Reviews', The Gramophone (June 1940), p.8.
chronologically these artists provide a clear picture of the development of clarinet performance practice after the turn of the 20th century. Charles and Haydn Draper had solid techniques. Their performances were well executed but, in terms of conventional practice, did not reflect much expressive artistry. Frederick Thurston continued the tradition established by the Drapers with regard to sound and technical security, but expressed greater emotional range. His style and approach exemplified the performance practice pre-eminent amongst most pre-1945 British clarinettists.

The progression shows a move away from accurate but inflexible pre-1900 performance practice, to higher levels of artistic freedom and individuality. This development in Britain culminated in the outstanding performances of Reginald Kell who lifted clarinet playing to new levels of expression and perfection previously considered the preserve of fine vocal, string and piano soloists.  

Kell's refined artistry was unsurpassed by any other British clarinettist of the period. A review by Alec Robertson of his Beethoven recording (1944) with Anthony Pini (cello) and Denis Mathews (piano) re-enforces this.

The performance, as one might expect, is superlatively good. The pianist has most of the limelight but the team-work is the outcome of perfect sympathy between all the players. Denis Mathews grows in stature with each recording. This time I noticed especially his pearly scale playing: but everything he does is a joy. And this is true of Reginald Kell and Anthony Pini. Lovely tone and phrasing from both. In these days when standards are not high, and many artists forget that artistic integrity is as important to them as virginity to a nun, a performance such as this shines like a star in a dark sky.

---

106 John Denman confirms this: "Reginald Kell played the clarinet like Kreisler played the violin, in fact, like all string players at the time: with rubato, with vibrato, expressively, freely, a step forward that many players cannot take, for tradition forbids it". Denman, loc. cit.

107 Columbia DX 1164/6.

108 The Gramophone (October 1944), p.57.
This study is a survey and discussion of British music for clarinet and piano composed between 1880 and 1945. It is the author's opinion that this period represented the 'golden age' of British duo performance and composition. The research project stemmed from an attempt to catalogue works for this instrumental combination within the set period of time. The study has established a considerable repertoire. However, this list is not exhaustive and the author is convinced that other works for this combination remain undiscovered.

Chapter One, British Social History and Performance Culture, highlighted social issues, music-making trends, educational developments and technical innovations. It painted a picture of the epoch under examination in order to provide a historical context for the composers, artists and compositions discussed later in the document. Special attention was paid to diplomas and graded examinations. A comparison of the Associated Board's pre-1964 Syllabus card-files showed inconsistencies both in the grading system and in the selection of pieces. It established that the number of clarinet examinations occurring before 1945 was extremely small. Nevertheless, they provide a useful index of shifts in the tradition of the genre. The research also identified a move towards greater use of native compositions within the period of study. Indeed, by c.1930 repertoire lists were almost dominated by British compositions.

1 The Associated Board has attracted much criticism over the years. Jonathan Dunsby writes: "In Britain, professional musicians, and students who go onto other careers, and amateurs right down to those hundreds of thousands of children who take instrumental lessons for at least a few years, all take examinations controlled by an Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. The Board publishes a theory book, the common heritage of all British musicians, however distant a childhood memory it becomes. And one proceeds through eight grades with virtually no contrapuntal information and with a misconceived, but mercifully brief account of thorough bass, where one is given such valuable hints as this, for instance: "The notes can be arranged in any order". And while children are benefiting from such advice, they are also studying repertory for performance grades from special authorized editions of music published by the Associated Board. It need not be described..."
A percentage of works included in pre-1964 Associated Board Syllabus lists survived the test of time. 'Surviving' repertoire includes compositions by Finzi, Bax, Dunhill, Ferguson, Hurlstone and Ireland. These works are published, studied and performed in contemporary culture. This observation raised the question as to whether the Associated Board lists governed the extent to which interest in a composition was retained and sustained. It is striking that almost all works (often not lacking in artistic merit) not maintaining 'continued selection' by the Associated Board slipped into obscurity soon after their de-selection. These 'forgotten' compositions included pieces by Bentley, Browne, Carse, Raybould, Read, Holbrooke, Walthew and Waterson. It is here suggested that the Associated Board re-visits the known available native duo repertoire from before 1945 and adjusts its future lists accordingly. This would not only serve to broaden the repertoire, thus maintaining an element of variety, but also help to engender a greater understanding of British performance culture (pre-1945) amongst teachers and young players alike.

Chapter Two, Brahms's Influence, showed that the Brahms/Mühlfeld 'tradition' had a profound effect on wind performance and native composition within the United Kingdom during the period of study. An overview of sources from the period establishes that not all opinions regarding Mühlfeld's ability were 'like-minded'. Indeed, many were negative (possibly due to professional jealousy, although this cannot be substantiated). Nevertheless, Mühlfeld's extravagant approach to performance and well-developed artistry set the benchmark for British clarinet performance of the period. Native clarinettists quickly adapted to Mühlfeld's style, attempting to employ a much less regimented approach to performance. Clearly, Mühlfeld inspired a highly expressive style and artistic commitment, which until this point in time had

\[\text{What these editions have been like over the years and what the Board believes they are for; suffice it to say by way of comment that they perpetuate a much wider scheme of musical nonsense". Schenker Studies (Cambridge. 1990), edited Hedi Siegel, pp.185-186.}\]
not been a feature of the tradition in the British Isles. (This lack of expressive performance was most likely due to the clarinet’s particularly ‘militaristic’ background in the United Kingdom.)

Brahms’s dynamic clarinet compositions had a huge effect on the number and type of native duo works produced within the research period. The stimulus and impact of the Brahms/Mühlfeld combination was probably the single most important element in the rejuvenation of clarinet culture in Britain at the turn of the 20th century.

Chapter Three, entitled Instruments, confirmed that within the research period numerous disparate instrumental systems were used in the British Isles. The study noted a subtle swing away from ‘simple-system’ towards the ‘Boehm-system’. However, neither system dominated the other. Indeed, by the close of the study period, the simple-system was still the preferred design amongst British clarinettists. Obvious moves amongst players towards the Boehm-system only began to appear after 1945. The chapter confirmed that most performers continued to prefer the tone quality of the Albert simple-system, as opposed to the ‘new’ Boehm design.

Chapter Four, The British Playing Tradition, looked at significant native clarinettists active during the period of study, and argued that the proficiency of these British clarinettists inspired composers to produce new repertoire of substance. It also noted that these performers often developed their ‘own’ teaching methods, which over the years helped to establish a clearly defined teaching tradition. By c.1945 these native teaching methods had allowed British clarinet education to become self-sufficient. It was no longer reliant on continental didactic literature.
The chapter closed with a discussion of the so-called 'English School' and its relevance to contemporary performance. A better terminology for the conventionally used 'English School' is, in this author’s opinion, 'British School', as players came from all over the British Isles and not just England. Heim's concept of two 'main streams' of native performance, referring to the playing 'schools' headed by Frederick Thurston and Reginald Kell, is an over-simplification. Heim's concept is more a feature of his 'own time' (1962) than of the situation before 1945. The research here clearly establishes that Thurston led the dominant performance style in Britain. His approach favoured a close lay mouthpiece, moderately stiff reed, vibrato-free tone and wide dynamics, and was heavily reliant on the Boosey & Hawkes Series 10-10 instrument. By c.1945 Thurston's approach to clarinet performance, which was founded and developed from the playing of Willman, Lazarus and C. Draper before him, was pre-eminent within the British wind tradition.

Reginald Kell's individual approach should not be termed a 'second stream' of native clarinet performance. His playing broke the rules of all established traditions. It stemmed from genius. He was an anomaly, and, in a real sense, his playing cannot be said to represent a national style. Kell's playing showed little, if any, resemblance to that of other performers of the day. He had no immediate influence on his peers, who without exception preferred Thurston's 'well-defined' approach to performance.

Chapter Five highlighted a sizeable repertoire of sonatas for clarinet and piano. The discussion focused on a number of substantial works, some of which are completely unknown to clarinettists. The compositions of Hadow, Bell, Linstead and Fiske, which this study has unearthed, are significant additions to the British sonata repertory, and merit close attention today.
Chapter Six, Character Pieces, referenced over a hundred works on a smaller scale composed within the research period. These works fell into four categories: fantasias, one-movement, suite/multi-movement and didactic compositions. These character pieces were popular within the research dates and aimed to make instrumental representations of the music hall vocal ballad. Sadly, the brevity and light-heartedness of these miniatures meant that they were quickly forgotten. Their demise also stemmed from a general preference amongst players, teachers and audiences, for lengthier and more emotionally taxing compositions after 1945. This change in preference related once again to the considerable impact of Brahms on all works for the instrument. His compositions created a model for the clarinet which over-ran 'lesser' (although equally significant) genres.

The chapter unearthed a substantial group of didactic miniatures. These works were composed to encourage young clarinettists of the period and improve their techniques. Many of these character piece compositions (not just the didactic ones) are worthwhile educational works. Institutions such as the Associated Board should explore this repertoire for 'new' compositions to include on future graded lists.

Chapter Seven, Performance Practice, discussed period practice characteristics and concepts, and their possible implication for performance today. The material in this chapter relies heavily upon surviving period recordings and, as a result, the chapter offers an objective viewpoint.

The chapter confirmed that the simple-system mechanism often hindered fluent performance. New technical expectations from composers did hasten the demise of these 'simple' designs in favour of the more agile Boehm instrument. As mentioned above, documentation confirms that until c.1945 many players in the United Kingdom continued to perform on simple-system
instruments. The reason for this preference of simple-system over Boehm-system is related to a perceived improved quality of tone achieved on the Albert instrument.

The research showed a clear shift in performance ideals. Playing before 1900 was regimented and 'exact' in execution. After the turn of the 20th century wind performance saw a notable move towards freer, less restricted playing. Twentieth-century artists were encouraged to explore greater emotional depth and to demonstrate their individuality. This swing in performance culture culminated in the quite outstanding playing of Reginald Kell. It is clear, given the parameters of the 'British School', that his refined artistry and musical ability were unsurpassed by any other native clarinettist of the period - including Thurston. His extraordinary achievements stand alone. Whilst Thurston had a profound effect on the British School, his more didactic approach always precluded an intense individuality. In contrast, Kell's playing pointed towards something far 'greater' and he was, without question, the dominant artistic force of the research period.
APPENDIX 1

Catalogue of Works

Asterisks * indicate works for which no music has been located. Some dates for composers could not be located. Works listed below appear in alphabetical order of composer. Thereafter follows composition title and year of completion. Where possible year of publication is given with relevant publishers. Other known sources and Catalogue of Printed Music numbers are listed if available.

BL refers to British Library.
CPM plus reference number indicates the work is listed in the Catalogue of Printed Music, British Library (until 1980). ‘No CPM’ indicates no listing.
MB indicates that Michael Bryant holds a copy/manuscript.
RP indicates that Richard Platt holds a copy/manuscript.
JE indicates information provided by Dr. Jane Ellsworth, U.S.A.
OD indicates information provided by Oliver Davies, RCM, London.
NH indicates information provided Dr. Norman Heim, U.S.A.
CB indicates information provided Colin Bradbury, Ealing, London.
EW indicates information provided by Ewart Willey, Shenfield, Essex.
RCM refers to Royal College of Music.
RAM refers to Royal Academy of Music.

Works for Clarinet and Piano - 1880-1945

Ashton, Algernon (1859-1937)

*Tarantella* opus 107. (n.d.) Hofbauer. RCM. No CPM.

Balfour, Betty

*3 Highland Sketches*. (1938) B&H. RAM: 007004. CPM: g.1104.a.(8.).

Bax, Sir Arnold (1883-1953)


Bell, William Henry (1873-1946)


Bliss, Sir Arthur (1891-1975)


Bowen, York (1884-1961)

Bright, W. W.
*Fantaisie sur un theme Originale pour clarinet.* (1885) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2915.d.(3.).
*Fantasia on Scotch Melodies.* (1892) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2189.f.(9.).

Brooks, Frederic
*Adagio and Agitato.* (1906) Charles Woolhouse. Copy OD. No CPM.

Browne, Philip Alston (?-1961)
*A Truro Maggot.* (1944) Hawkes&Son. RAM: 113307. CPM: g.1104.b.(3.).

Carse, Adam von Ahn (1878-1958)
*Happy Tune and Reverie.* (1931) Augener&Co. RAM: 037501 and 090595. No CPM.

Clapp6, Arthur A. (1850-1920)
*Andante and Polacca.* (1877) Hinds,Noble&Elderedge. CPM: h.2190.
*Grande Fantaisie.* (1876) Alliance Musicale. CPM: h.2915.(17.).

Clarke, James Hamilton Siree (1840-1912)
*Barcarole* opus 310. (1892) Rudall,Carte&Co. CPM: h.2191.(2.).
*Two Romances.* (1892) Rudall,Carte&Co. CPM: h.2191.(3.).

Clarke, W.C.
*Comin' thro' the Rye.* (n.d.) Hawkes&Son. No CPM.
*The Ash Grove.* (n.d.) Hawkes&Son. No CPM.
*Di Tanti Palpiti* from Rossini's Opera *Tancredi.* (n.d.) Hawkes&Son. No CPM.

Clinton, George Arthur (1850-1913)
Fantasia on Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia.* (1880) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.3213.t.(1.).
Fantasia on Bellini's *La Sonnambula.* Hawkes&Son?. No CPM.

Coleridge-Taylor, Samuel (1875-1912)
*Four Characteristic Waltzes.* Reference Grove II, 1904, p.546. No CPM.
Curzon, Frederic Ernest (1899-1973)
*Clarinetto con moto* from four solos in “Salon Suite”. (1942) B&H. RAM: 064498. No CPM.

Dunhill, Thomas F. (1877-1946)
*Phantasy Suite* opus 91. (1941) Hawkes&Son. RAM: 096668. CPM: g.1194.e.(18.).

Donnington, Mary
*Prelude* (no.1) and *Gavotte* (no. 2). (1944) J. Williams. No CPM.

Edmondstoune Duncan, William (1866-1920)
*Polonaise*. John Parr Concert Programme, Sheffield, 28.10.1944. Reference MB. No CPM.

Elgar, Sir Edward (1857-1934)
*Canto Popolare*. (1904) Novello&Co. CPM: g.1161.(6.).

Entwistle, H.L.
*Souvenir d’Amour*. (1926) Boosey&Co. (for clarinet or flute). CPM: g.70.g.(17.).

Faning, Joseph Eaton (1850-1927)
*Duo Concertante*. No CPM.

Ferguson, Howard (1908-1999)
*Four Short Pieces*. (1937) Hawkes&Son. RAM: 113705. CPM: g.1104.a.(10.).

Finzi, Gerald (1901-1956)
*Five Bagatelles* opus 23. (1945) Hawkes&Son. CPM: g.1104.b.(7.).

Fiske, Roger (1910-1987)

Friskin, James (1886-1967)
*Elegy*. (1915) Stainer and Bell. RAM: 049814. CPM: h.1785.d.(2.).

German, Sir Edward (1862-1936)
*Andante and Tarantella*. (1892).
*Song Without Words*. (1898) Augener&Co. RCM.
*Valse Gracieuse*. Reference NH.
*Pastoral and Bouree*. (1895) Rudall, Carte&Co. RCM.
*Album Leaf* (?). Reference JE.
Gipps, Ruth (1921-2000)

Godfrey, Charles jnr. (1839-1919)
- Mohr's 2nd *Air Varié*. (n.d.) Alliance Musciale. No CPM.

Greaves, Ralph (1889-1966)
- *Idyll*. (1925) OUP. RAM: 049818. CPM: g.1104.(12.).

Gritton, John William
- *Trios Morceaux de Salon*. (1890) F.W. Chanot. CPM: h.1681.e.(18.).

Hadow, William Henry (1859-1937)

Heap, Charles Swinnerton (1847-1900)
- Sonata (1879). (1880) Breitkopf&Härtel. CPM: h.2189.b.(7.).

Hely Hutchinson, Christian Victor (1901-1947)
- *Sonata*. John Parr Concert Programme, Sheffield, 8.10.1932. Reference MB. No CPM.

Holbrooke, Joseph Charles (1878-1958)
- *Andante and Presto* opus 6 no. 2. (1908) Hawkes&Son. RAM: 018249. CPM: h.633.(11.).
- Four Mezzotints, Eileen Shona, The Butterfly of the Ballet, Cavatina, Syracuse opus 55. (1918) Cary&Co. RCM. CPM: g.1104.(8.).
- Nocturne opus 55 (1912). (1914) Novello. RAM: 049819. CPM: g.1780.f.(3.).
- Cyrene opus 88. (1930) Blenheim. RAM: 064450. No CPM.
- Phryne opus 89. (1939) Blenheim. No CPM.

Howells, Herbert (1892-1983)
- Suite opus 8 (1917). Now lost. Reference EW. No CPM.

Hurlstone, William Yates (1876-1906)
- *Four Characteristic Pieces*. (1909) Novello&Co. CPM: g.985.(2.).
- *Sonata* in D major. Lost/withdrawn.
- *Adagio Lamentoso* from cello Sonata. (c.1909) Goodwin&Tabb. Transcribed for clarinet and piano with composer's approval by Manuel Gomez. CPM: h.2189.g.(4.).

Ireland, John Nicholson (1879-1962)
- *Phantasy Sonata* (1943). (1945) B&H. CPM: g.1209.c.(3.).
Kell, Frederick (1884-1952)
From 'Clarinet Solos Album':
   Moods. (1933) Hawkes&Son. CPM: g.1104.f.(1.).
   A Graceful Tune. (1933) Hawkes&Son. CPM: g.1104.f.(1.).
   A Humorous Fantasy. (1933) Hawkes&Son. CPM: g.1104.f.(1.).
   An Autumn Song and Moods. (1933) Hawkes&Son. CPM: g.1104.f.(1.).

Lazarus, Henry (1815-1895)
   Fantasy on favorite French Air, Ma Normandie. (1883) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2915.d.(33.).
   Cavatina on themes from Verdi's opera Ernani. (1881). CPM: h.2915.d.(32.).
   Cavatina from Bellini's Sonnambula. Reference JE. No CPM.
   Fantasy on Airs from I Puritani. (1883) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2915.d.(31.).
   Fantasy on favorite Scottish Melodies (1887). J.R.Lafleur & Son. RCM. CPM: h.2915.d.(7.).

Linstead, George Frederick (1908-1974)

Lloyd, Charles Harford (1849-1919)
    Suite, in Olden Style. (1914) Hawkes&Son. RAM: 081679. CPM: h.2189.g.(14.).
    Duo Concertante. (1888) Novello&Co. CPM: g.505.d.(22.).
    Bon Voyage. (1887) Eyre&Spottiswoode. No CPM.

Lovelock, William (1899-1986)
    Romance and Waltz. Rudall, Carte&Co./Allens. No CPM.

Lucas, Mary Anderson (1882-1952)
    Sonata (1938). Hinrichsen ed. Copy with MB. No CPM.
    Rhapsody and Lament. No CPM.

Lutyens, Elizabeth (1906-1983)

Macdonald, Ernest James (listed in Reeves' Musical Directory of 1879)
    Air Varié (original). (1883) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(36.).
    American Air Varié. (1882) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(39.).
    Blue Bells of Scotland Air Varié. (1882) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(38.).
    British Army Airs, Fantasia. (1883) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(27.).
    British Navy Airs, Fantasia. (1883) Riviere&Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(37.).
Coming thro' the Rye. (1883) Riviere & Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(29.).
Keel Row, Air Variété. (1882) Riviere & Hawkes. CPM: h.2189.e.(33.).

Macpherson, Charles Stewart (1865-1941)
Romance. (1892) Rudall, Carte & Co. Part of 'Clarionet Players Journal'. CPM: h.2191.(11.).

Murrill, Herbert (1909-1952)
Prelude, Cadenza and Fugue. (1933) OUP. RAM: 007065. CPM: g.1104.a.(4.).

Osborne, George Alexander (1806-1893)
Sonata in B flat (c.1892). Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. For cello or clarinet. No CPM.
Andante and Rondo (n.d.). Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. For violin or clarinet. No CPM.

Pitt, Percy (1869-1932)
Concertino in C minor opus 22. (1898) Boosey & Co. With orchestra but often performed in duo format. No CPM.

Pratt, Alfred (1915-1959)
Souvenir d'Ispahan. (1913) Hawkes & Son. RCM. CPM: h.2189.g.(8.).
Idylle Printanière opus 17. (1913) Hawkes & Son. CPM: h.2189.g.(7.).

Prout, Ebenezer (1835-1909)
Sonata opus 26 (1886). (1890) Augener & Co. CPM: g.1040.(1.).

Raybould, Clarence (1886-1972)
The Wistful Shepherd. (1939) Hawkes & Son. CPM: g.1104.a.(12.).

Raymond, Lilian (real name, James Ord-Hume) (?-1932)
La Militaire Fantasia. (1924) B&H?. RCM. No CPM.

Read, Ernest (1879-1965)
Song Without Words. (1931) J. Williams. RAM: 025813. No CPM.

Reed, William Henry (1876-1906)
*Introduction and Rondo Caprice. (c.1900) B&H. Reference JE. No CPM.

Reyloff, Edmund
Berceuse. (1881) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2915.c.(40.).
2nd Slow Movement. (1885) J.R. Lafleur. CPM: h.2915.c.(43.).

*Introduction and Bolero*. Reference JE. No CPM.

Richardson, Alan (1904-1978)

*Roundelay*. (1936) OUP. CPM: h.2665.b.(15.).

Samuel, Harold (1879-1937)

*Three Light Pieces. Novelette, Idyll, Humoreske*. (1913) Hawkes&Son. RCM. CPM: h.2189.g.(10.).

Sherwood, Percy (1866-1939)

*Suite*. (perf. 1907). Reference JE. No CPM.

Somervell, Sir Arthur (1863-1937)

*Romance in F opus 4*. No CPM.

Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers (1852-1924)

Sonata opus 129 (1911). (1918) Stainer and Bell. CPM: g.1104.(9.).

*Three Intermezzi* opus 13. (1880) Novello&Co. For Clarinet, Violin or Cello. CPM: h.1751.e.(20.).

Stocks, Harold

*A Wessex Pastoral*. (1944). Reference MB. No CPM.

Tovey, Sir Donald Francis (1875-1940)

Sonata opus 16 (1906). (1912) Schott&Co. CPM: h.2843.a.(1.).

Vaughan Williams, Ralph (1872-1958)

*Six Studies in English Folk Song* (1926). (1927) Stainer and Bell. Versions for cello, violin, viola, clarinet and bass clarinet with composer’s approval. RAM: 099505. CPM: g.1266.(5.).

Walker, Ernest (1870-1949)

*Romance & Capriccio* opus 9. (1896) J. Williams. CPM: h.1489.bb.(48.).

Walthew, Richard Henry (1872-1951)

*Suite in F*. (1899) Boosey&Co. CPM: h.3263.(3.).

*Regret and Conversation Galante*. (1918) Boosey&Co. CPM: h.2189.g.(19.).

*A Mosaic in 10 Pieces* (with Dedication). (1900) Boosey&Co. RCM. CPM: h.3263.(8.).

*Four Meditations* (first set). (1897) Boosey&Co. RCM. CPM: h.3263.(1.).

*Four Meditations* (second set). (1903) Boosey&Co. RCM. CPM: h.3263.(9.).

*Four Bagatelles* (?). unpublished. No CPM.
Melody in Popular Style (1908). Reference JE. No CPM.

Waterson, James (1834-1893)
From 'Celebrated Solos Book':
Brilliant Fantasia on Riviere's Song "Spring! gentle spring". (1877). CPM: h.2190.
Grand Fantasia on a Russian National Anthem. (1877). CPM: h.2190.
Grand Fantasia on "Non piu mesta" from "La Cenerentola". B&H. Reference CB. No CPM.

Yuille-Smith, C.R.
Gavotte opus 3 no. 2 (from Suite). (1932) OUP. RAM: 007120. No CPM.
APPENDIX 2

Associated Board Syllabus Pre-1964

The following list has been assembled from card-files kept at the Associated Board. All information given is reprinted exactly as listed in the card-files.

Betty Balfour:  
Three Highland Sketches, Hawkes  
Dunvegan LRSM/D 1943/4  
Speyside Afterglow Grade VII 1944/5; 1947/57/52-5

The Salmon Pool

Arnold Bax:  
Sonata, Chappell, LRSM/D 1963 1967-71

William G. Bentley:  
Andante and Polacca, Rudall Carte, Grade V  
1948/51/52-55

H. Berthold:  
Songs Without Words, opus 2, Augener  
No. 1, lower, 1905; 1909/12  
No. 2  
No. 3, lower, 1905; 1909/1912

J. Brahms:  
Theme from Quintet, edited as a study by Thurston, No. 10, Passage studies no. 3, B&H  
Grade VII, 1949/51/52-55

Philip Browne:  
A Truro Maggot, B&H  
Grade VIII, 1960-63

Adam Carse:  
Reverie, Augener, Grade III, 1940/45; 47/51/52-55  
Happy Tune, Augener, Grade V, 1956-7-8-9

Thomas Dunhill:  
Phantasy Suite, opus 91, Hawkes  
1st 2nd, Grade V, 1943/5; 47/51/52-55/67  
3rd, LRSM/D, 1943/4 (with movt. 5) LRSM/C, 1963 with movt. 6, LRSM/C 1967-71 with 6  
4th 5th, LRSM/D 1943/4 (with movt. 3)  
Howard Ferguson: *Four Short Pieces*, B&H
Whole work LRSM/C/D 1963, LRSM/C/D 1967-71
1st, Grade III 1956-7-8-9; Grade IV 1964-67
2nd, Grade V 1956-7-8-9
3rd, Grade III 1940/51/52-55; Grade IV 1960-63 and 1967
4th, Grade V 1940/51/52-53, Grade VI 1960-63; Grade V 1964-6 and 1967

Gerald Finzi: *Five Bagatelles*, B&H
Whole work LRSM/D 1963, LRSM/D 1967-71
1st, Grade VII 1947/51/52-55, LRSM/C with Carol 1963, Grade V 1964-6 – too hard for Grade V suitable for Grade VI, LRSM/C 1967-71 with 3
2nd, Grade V 1948/51 (or 4 or 5) 1952-55; Grade VI 1967
4th, Grade V 1948/51 (or 2 or 5) 1952-55, Grade IV 1964-66 too hard for IV suitable for V
5th, Grade V 1948/51 (or 2 or 4) 1952-55

C. Fricke: *100 Progressive Studies for Clarinet*, Boosey lower division no. 3 and no. 7 1914/20
higher division no. 3 and no. 9 1914/20 intermediate division no. 8 1914/20
no. 11 1914/1917
no. 29 1914/1920

Edward German: *Andante and Tarantella*, Rudall Carte
Higher 1901/4; 1905; 1909/12
*Romance*, Grade III 1940/45; 1947/51/52-55
*Song Without Words*, Grade VII 1935; 1940/45

Joseph Holbrooke: *Cyrene*, opus 88, Blenheim Press
Grade VI 1964-66

William Hurlstone: *Four Characteristic Pieces*, Ascherberg
Whole work LRSM/D 1963
2nd, Grade V 1947/51/52-55

John Ireland: *Phantasy Sonata*, School Comp. 1965
LRSM/D 1967-71
Charles H. Lloyd:  
*Bon Voyage, Impromptu*, Eyre & Spottiswode  
Lower 1901/4  
*Suite in the Old Style*, Hawkes  
Whole work Grade VI 1938/9  
Gigue 1946/45; 1947/51, Grade VII 1952/55

W. A. Mozart:  
Concerto, Boosey  
Grade V 1913 2nd movt.  
Grade VII 1913 3rd movt.  
Larghetto from Quintet, higher, 1914/17 1921/23

Clarence Raybould:  
The Wistful Shepherd  
Grade VI 1956-7-8-9-60-63

Ernest Read:  
*Song Without Words*, Joseph Williams  
Grade III 1956-7-8-9

C. Saint-Saens:  
Pavane from 'Etienne Marcel', Breitkopf  
Lower 1914/17; 1921/23

Charles Stanford:  
Sonata opus 129, Stainer and Bell  
1st, Grade VI 1964-66  
2nd, Grade VII 1947/51 1952/55, Grade VI 1967  
3rd, Grade VIII 1960-1963  
whole work 1953 and LRSM/D 1967/71

R. Vaughan Williams:  
*Six Studies in English Folk Song*, Stainer and Bell  
1st, 2nd, 3rd, Grade III 1964-66 unsuitable for Grade III should be for Grade IV, alternatives Grade III 1947/51/52-55  
3rd, Grade IV 1964-66; 1967  
4th, 5th, Grade III 1938/9, alternatives Grade III 1956-7-8-9  
5th, Grade III 1960-63  
Grade IV 1956-7-8-9-60-63

Verhez (?):  
*Four Pieces*, Senior no. 1 and no. 2 1896/97

Ernest Walker:  
*Romance*, Joseph Williams  
Grade VII 1956-7-8-9  
Grade VIII 1960-63

Richard Walthew:  
*Four Meditations*, 2nd set, Boosey  
n0. 3 and no. 4 advanced 1913

William Waterson:  
Studies, Metzler  
No. 1 first part, senior 1901/04  
Advanced 1905; 1909/12  
No. 5 page 16 only, senior 1901/4  
Advanced 1905; 1912
C.M. von Weber: Concerto No. 2 opus 74, B&H
1st
2nd, advanced 1914/17; 1921/23
3rd, advanced 1914/17; 1921/23
whole work 1954, LRSM/D 1963 1967-71
Concertino opus 26, Breitkopf, British & Continental MA
Whole work LRSM/C 1967-71
Whole work intermediate 1909/12, LRSM/C 1963,
Grade VI 1964/66, whole work unsuitable for VI or VIII
1st 53 bars Grade V 1947/51/52-55
Intermediate 1914/12; 1921/23
Theme and 1st Var. Grade V 1964-66 unsuitable for Grade V

Ludwig Wiedermann: Practical Theoretical Studies for Clarinet, Breitkopf,
book 10, advanced no. 18 1909/12
book 2, intermediate no. 21 1909/12

First Separate Wind Syllabus printed in 1964, Grade III – VIII, no Grade VII

Grade III: Finzi, Bagatelles, Carol
Vaughan Williams, Folk Songs, No. 2
Thurston and Frank, The Clarinet, No. 49

Grade IV: Vaughan Williams, Folk Song No. 3
Ferguson, Four Short Pieces, No. 1
Finzi, Bagatelles, No. 4

Grade V: Ferguson, Four Short Pieces, No. 4
Finzi, Bagatelles, No. 1

Grade VI: Stanford, 1st movt.
Arnold, Sonatina, 1st movt.
Holbrooke, Cyrene

Grade VIII: No British Works
**Bibliography**

**Books and Articles**


Banfield, S., 'British chamber music at the turn of the century', *The Musical Times* (March 1974)

'William Henry Bell - An Interim Sketch and Worklist', *British Music* Vol. 11 (Essex, 1989)

Binns, P.L., *A Hundred Years of Military Music* (Gillingham, 1959)


*Clarinet* (London, 1976)


Denman, J., 'Memories of Reg Kell', *Clarinet & Saxophone* Vol. 7/1 (1982)

'Denmania, English Clarinet Music (cont.)', *The Clarinet* Vol. 8/1 (Autumn 1980)

'Denmania', *The Clarinet* Vol. 8/3 (Spring 1981)


Ehrlich, C., *Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century, a Social History* (Oxford, 1985)


Finson, J.W., 'Performing Practice in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to the Music of Brahms', *The Musical Quarterly* LXX No.4 (Autumn 1984)


Gilbert, R., *The Clarinettist’s Solo Repertoire, A Discography* (New York, 1972)


*Gramophone* (September 1926)

*Gramophone* (May 1929)

*Gramophone* (May 1937)


‘Chamber Music’, *Gramophone* (May 1938)

‘The Monthly Letter’, *Gramophone* (June 1939)

‘Instruments of the Modern Orchestra’, *Gramophone* (October 1939)

‘Analytical Notes and First Reviews’, *Gramophone* (June 1940)

*Gramophone* (May 1941)

*Gramophone* (October 1944)


*Sonata Form* (London, 1896)

*English Music* (London, 1931)


Hazelwood, N., *The Effects of English Clarinet Playing Created by the Rift in Styles between Kell and Thurston* (Welsh College of Music and Drama, 1992)

Heim, N., *The Use of the Clarinet in Published Sonatas for Clarinet and Piano by English Composers 1800-1954* (Rochester, 1962)


*Brahms Clarinet Quintet* (Cambridge, 1998)


Linstead, G.F., ‘John Parr and his Concerts’, *The Musical Times* (June 1945)


Mahon, J., *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* (London, 1786)


‘Letters to the Editor’, *Musical Opinion* (March 1952)


Opperman, K., *Repertory of the Clarinet* (New York, 1960)

Philip, R., *Early Recordings and Musical Style* (Cambridge, 1992)


Playfair, J., 'In Praise of Older Clarinets', *Clarinet & Saxophone* Vol. 15/2 (June 1980)


'A Short Account of the Clarinet in England During the 18th and 19th Centuries', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* LXVIII (London, 1942)

*The Oxford Companion to Music* (London, 1938)
‘Chamber Music; A Supplement to the Music Student’,
*The Magazine of the Home Music Study Union* (London, 1922)

Scott, S., ‘The Chamber Music of John Ireland’, *Composer* (Spring 1975)


*London Music in 1888-89 as heard by Corno di Bassetto (later known as Bernard Shaw) with some further Autobiographical Particulars* (London, 1937)


‘Portraits. 4: Frederick Thurston’, *Clarinet & Saxophone* Vol. 12/1 (1987)


Taylor, L.E., *Catalogue of Music and Manuscripts by W.H. Bell* (University of Cape Town, n.d.)


*Clarinet Technique* (London, 1956)


‘Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review’, *Union List of Periodicals* (London, 1893)


*New Langwill Index* (London, 1993)


Young, P.T., *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: an Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London, 1993)

**Correspondence**


Letter of 7 March 1996

Bell, Peter. Letter to the author 4 March 2000


Brooke, Gwydion. Letter to the author 15 September 1999
Bryant, Michael. Letter to the author 10 April 1997
   Letter of 29 January 1998
   Letter of 12 July 1998
   Letter of 22 October 1998

Brymer, Jack. Letter to the author 7 March 1999
   Letter of 18 March 1999

Davies, Oliver. Letter to the author 26 May 1999

Ellsworth, Jane. Letter to the author 2 September 1999

Fennell, David. Letter to the author 29 June 1995


Hart, Lesley. Letter to the author 2 December 1999

Harvey, Paul. Letter to the author 30 June 1998

Hazelwood, Nicola. Letter to the author 23 January 1999

Heim, Norman. Letter to the author 16 December 1998

Jones, Debra. Letter to the author 8 July 1998

Parker, J.H. Letter to the author 23 February 2000

   Letter of 26 February 1998
   Letter of 18 March 1998
   Letter of 18 January 1999
   Letter of 10 September 1999
   Letter of 9 October 1999