The Role of Sir Henry J. Wood in the English Bach Awakening: Orchestral Bach at the Proms 1895-1944

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Volume I

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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My thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Dad who inspired my love of Bach.

Abstract

Sir Henry J. Wood's Promenade performances of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites and his orchestral arrangements of solo works were identified by contemporary writers as his lasting contribution to the popularization of Bach in England. However, Wood's introduction of this repertoire has not featured in recent research into the English Bach awakening; my original contribution to knowledge is therefore to posit Wood as crucial to disseminating orchestral Bach at the turn of the twentieth century.

This thesis provides an historical context to Bach in England pre-1895, to Wood's knowledge of the composer, and to the suitability of the Prom series for the promotion of Bach's works. Examination of printed Proms programmes – from the number of performances to programme design and soloists employed - indicates trends in Wood's introduction and popularization of the repertoire. Wood's marked scores and orchestral parts of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites reveal the implications of editions used and priorities in performance practices; autograph manuscripts, in conjunction with a 1944 edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, suggest a final (unfinished) editorial project as an educative legacy. Furthermore, his recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6 show the degree to which the marked scores may be relied upon as a realization of Wood's intentions, and the extent to which his lively interpretations differed from those made by contemporary conductors. Integral to Wood's success was his use of arrangements: analyses of his Toccata in F, Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6, and Toccata and Fugue in D minor present the wider orchestral colour that Wood heard in Bach's music. The thesis concludes that Wood educated the Proms public to view Bach as melodious and vital, rather than dry and academic, and that negative criticism of his performances contributed towards the inception of historicallyinformed interpretations.

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List of Musical Works on Accompanying CDs

CD/Track

1/1	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Orchestral Suite No. 2</i> , Robert Murchie, Unknown Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Sir Hamilton Harty (Columbia, L1557; L 1558, 1924)
1/2	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , Royal Albert Hall Orchestra, cond. by Eugène Goossens (HMV, D 683 684, 1922)
1/3	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Wilhelm Furtwängler (Decca: CA 8013 8014, 1930)
1/4	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , École Normale Chamber Orchestra, cond. by Alfred Cortot (HMV: DA 1259 1260, 1931)
1/5	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , British Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Columbia: LX 173, 1932)
	bose of the e-thesis, the tracks of CD 1 may also be accessed at: <u>/.dropbox.com/sh/8suol8s6xjqp7x6/AAA46we8ZOQyweUd7Jb-x9tDa</u>
2/1	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , Busch Chamber Players, cond. by Adolf Busch (Columbia: LX 443, 1935)
2/2	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , Leipzig Gewandhaus Chamber Orchestra cond. by Paul Schmitz (Deutsche Grammophon: 67901 67902, 1941)
2/3	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 3</i> , (rehearsal excerpt), BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Symposium: 1150, 1942)
2/4	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 6</i> , British Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Columbia: LX 41-42, 1930)
2/5	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 6</i> , École Normale Chamber Orchestra, cond. by Alfred Cortot (HMV: DB 1626-1627, 1931)
The tracks of CD 2 may also be accessed at: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/tdcfsl7vx3po1ry/AABbmdycNQaghRZU-YZIGAJ3a	
3/1	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 6</i> , Soloists of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Alois Melichar (Decca: LY 6099-6100, 1934)
3/2	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No.</i> 6, Busch Chamber Players, cond. by Adolf Busch (Columbia: LX 447-449, 1935)
3/3	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Brandenburg Concerto No. 6</i> , Leipzig Gewandhaus Chamber Orchestra cond. by Paul Schmitz (Deutsche Grammophon: 67898- 67900, 1941)
	of CD 3 may also be accessed at: y.dropbox.com/sh/b6vw9h3im1mbbk9/AABgWGIo6p3MmI-wrykZ5zo8a

- Johann Sebastian Bach/Sir Henry Wood, Orchestral Suite No. 6, Prelude, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Columbia: L1684-1685, 1925)
- 4/2 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Lament
- 4/3 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Scherzo
- 4/4 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Gavotte
- 4/5 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Musette
- 4/6 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Gavotte
- 4/7 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Andante Mistico
- 4/8 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Sir Henry Wood, Finale
- Johann Sebastian Bach/Sir Henry Wood, Orchestral Suite No. 6, Prelude, BBC Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Leonard Slatkin (Chandos: SACD CHSA 5030, 2004)
- 4/10 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Leonard Slatkin, Lament
- 4/11 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Leonard Slatkin, Scherzo
- 4/12 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Leonard Slatkin, Gavotte-Musette-Gavotte
- 4/13 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Leonard Slatkin, Andante Mistico
- 4/14 Orchestral Suite No. 6, cond. by Leonard Slatkin, Finale
- 4/15 Johann Sebastian Bach/Leopold Stokowski, *Toccata and Fugue in D minor*, Philadelphia Orchestra, cond. by Leopold Stokowski (CVE: 37468/9, 1927)
- 4/16 Johann Sebastian Bach/Paul Klenovsky, *Toccata and Fugue in D minor*, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Decca: K.768, 1935)

The tracks of CD 4 may also be accessed at: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/v511tu9thlip4fe/AACtXLFpY0YoJOiTz5p9Ees7a

Introduction: A Reassessment of Sir Henry J. Wood

Described as 'one of the most remarkable musicians Britain has produced',¹ Sir Henry J. Wood has been credited with creating a 'new epoch in English musical life' at the turn of the twentieth-century.² As the 'maker of the Proms', ³ he is chiefly associated with the annual concert series that changed the social and cultural parameters of concert-going in Britain.⁴ From the outset of the Proms in 1895, he established concert programmes of the works of living composers such as Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler, Verdi, Saint-Saëns, Dvořák, Grieg, Sibelius, and Tchaikovsky alongside classical repertory. He also introduced new works - from the French Impressionists to the Second Viennese School and, in particular, those written by contemporary British composers.⁵ The 717 new works by 357 composers given Prom premieres under his baton attest to his ambition and success,⁶ but Wood's (and impresario Robert Newman's) vision for these concerts resulted in the education of all classes of the British public in core repertory.⁷ He worked at the highest level with the greatest artists of his day, including performers such as Joachim, Kreisler, Ysaÿe, Casals, and composers such as Rachmaninov, Sibelius, Strauss, Debussy, and Elgar, whilst tirelessly promoting new talent. Although the finesse of his execution was questioned, owing to his challenging workload,⁸ he was an innovator, educator, disciplinarian, and administrative workaholic for the sake of his art.

¹ Arthur Jacobs, 'Wood, Sir Henry J.', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30538 [accessed on 16 December 2013].

² Rosa Newmarch, Henry J. Wood (London: London Lane, 1904), p. 72.

³ Arthur Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994). The phrase 'the Proms' is used throughout the thesis to denote the main Promenade Concert season.

⁴ See Paul Kildea, 'The Proms: An industrious Revolution', Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895-1926', and Jenny Doctor 'A New Dimension: The BBC Takes on the Proms' in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. by Jenny Doctor, Nicholas Kenyon and David Wright (London: Thames and Hudson, 2007), pp. 10-31, 32-73, and 74-129. For further overviews, descriptions and portraits of Wood see Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*; W. W. Thompson, 'The Story of the Proms' in *Sir Henry Wood: Fifty Years of the Proms*, ed. by Hill, R., and C.B. Rees (London: BBC, 1944), pp. 3-13; and David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: BBC, 1980), pp. 9-139.

⁵ An overview may be gained from Jacobs, 'Appendix 4 'First Performances Conducted by Henry J. Wood'' in *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 441-61.

⁶ Jacobs, 'Wood, Sir Henry J.', Grove Music Online [accessed on 16 Dec. 2013].

⁷ English businessman Robert Newman became the first manager of the Queen's Hall in 1893 and first approached Wood to be the conductor of annual series of Promenade Concerts from 1895. See also Kildea, p. 25.

⁸ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 407.

Such achievements have been well-documented, but Wood's contribution to the English Bach awakening has not yet been fully assessed. More specifically, his introduction and popularization of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites has received little attention in recent scholarship, with research into the English Bach awakening focusing primarily on Bach's keyboard, solo, and choral works.⁹ Wood's role in introducing the Bach orchestral repertoire to English audiences was highlighted during his lifetime; as Sir Jack Westrup suggested in 1943:

The wide-spread enthusiasm for Bach's music in present-day England is due in the first instance to nineteenth-century musicians – to Samuel Wesley (1766-1837), who was active in making known the keyboard works, to Otto Goldschmidt (1929-1907) who founded the Bach Choir [...] and to Sir Joseph Barnby (1838-96), who instituted annual performances of the 'St John Passion' at St Anne's Church, Soho. The study of Bach's choral works... [by] Sir Hugh Allen (b. 1869) at Oxford and in London, and W. Gillies Whittaker (b. 1876) at Newcastle and Glasgow; while Sir Henry Wood at the 'Proms' has familiarised hundreds of music-lovers with the concertos and suites.¹⁰

It is significant that Westrup specifically cited the Prom performances of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites as the lasting contribution made by Wood to the promotion of Bach over his work in any other concert series.¹¹ The Proms – as opposed to the regular Saturday Symphony Concerts and Sunday Orchestral Concerts, or specific festivals – are therefore the parameter for this study; they are a complete and quantifiable source of information.¹² Through them,

⁹ The English Bach Awakening. Knowledge of J.S. Bach and his Music in England, 1750–1830, ed. by Michael Kassler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). The 'Index of Bach's Compositions' (p. 449) notes that 'No reference to any of Bach's compositions in the following classes is known to have been made in England before 1831: [...] Concertos (BWV 1041-1065); Overtures and Symphonies (BWV 1066-1071).' Bach's orchestral repertoire is generally absent from literature such as Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), or *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Wood's contribution is not recognized in Nicholas Temperley and Peter Wollny, 'Bach Revival', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01708, [accessed 28 January 2014], or in publications which address the Bach revival such as *Bach Studies*, ed. by Don O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), *Bach Studies 2*, ed. by Daniel Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), or G. Stauffer, 'Changing issues of performance practice', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. by John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 203-217.

 ¹⁰ J. A. Westrup, *British Music* (Edinburgh: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943), p. 22. See also C. E.
 M. Joad, 'Queen's Hall was my Club', in *Sir Henry Wood: Fifty Years of the Proms*, pp. 51-6.
 ¹¹ He does not cite Wood's exhaustive work on choral works such as the Matthew Passion or Mass in B minor – for which Wood made new editions (specifically for festival use) and published notes on interpretation for each voice part.

¹² On the importance and meaningfulness of setting parameters see Martin Zenck, 'Bach Reception: some concepts and parameters', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, pp. 218-225 (esp. pp. 219-220).

consistency and change in programming orchestral Bach may be measured against the social and practical constraints placed upon the series. Ultimately, the Proms were designed to make the greatest public impact and Westrup's identification of their importance is therefore indicative of Wood's success in bringing the Bach orchestral repertoire to the attention of the widest possible audience – and creating a 'vast concourse of Bach lovers'.¹³ Wood was aware of the fact that his name was synonymous with the Proms when he wrote:

Owing to my long association with the Promenade Concerts, and to the fact that the British public will never credit a musician with knowing anything except what they *think* he knows, I am regarded as the 'Conductor of the Promenade Concerts' and that only. I often wonder what they think I do with myself for the other ten months of the year! Perhaps this book [*My Life of Music*] will do something towards telling them.¹⁴

Thus, whilst acknowledging that Wood's career encompassed considerably more musical events than just the Prom seasons, they remain a barometer for measuring influence.

The repertoire examined as 'orchestral Bach' in this thesis includes the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, and also Wood's orchestral arrangements. The former were identified as Bach's 'only purely orchestral pieces' by W. Gillies Whittaker in 1927,¹⁵ and are thus differentiated from the solo (and multiple-solo) concertos which Wood also promoted.¹⁶ Wood's significant contributions to 'orchestral Bach' include:

¹³ Henry J. Wood, *About Conducting* (London: Sylvan Press, 1945), p. 29.

¹⁴ Henry J. Wood, *My Life of Music* (London: Gollancz, 1938), p. 215. Additionally, it is no coincidence that these words constitute the opening passage in Wood's chapter on Bach's Matthew Passion, again emphasizing his specific focus on Bach.

¹⁵ William Gillies Whittaker, 'Johann Sebastian Bach, 1685-1750', in *The Heritage of* Music, ed. by Hubert J. Foss (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), I, 17-44 (p. 43).

¹⁶ The solo instrumental concertos are addressed in Chapter 2 in order to highlight Wood's conceptual differentiation between the types of repertoire.

- 1. The programming of all the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites at the Proms between 1895 and 1944.
- Two recordings of Brandenburg Concertos amongst a modest catalogue of recorded performances: the first complete commercial recording (1930) of No. 6, and the 1932 recording of No. 3.
- 3. An edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 for Boosey & Hawkes in 1944, part of a larger editorial project in the last years of Wood's life.
- 4. Performances of orchestral arrangements of Bach (including Wood's own Toccata in F, Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6, and Toccata and Fugue in D minor) that promoted Wood's distinctive 'Bach sound' and introduced new audiences to Bach's orchestral works.¹⁷

An understanding of Wood's approach to Bach's orchestral works cannot be reached without consideration of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites in conjunction with Wood's orchestral arrangements, as the latter reveal the influences on the orchestral sounds that Wood sought. However, Jacobs noted that 'a distinction should nevertheless be made between Wood the modernizer, adding to the baroque orchestra what was not already in it, and Wood the transcriber for orchestra of works originally written for a keyboard instrument';¹⁸ therefore it is important to distinguish between Wood the interpreter and Wood the orchestral arranger, especially with regard to contemporary opinion of his performances.

Wood's role in promoting Bach was crucial to both the English Bach awakening and the evolving concert scene. His incorporation of orchestral Bach into concert hall programmes on a more general scale (whether in original versions or as orchestral arrangements) strengthened the notion of the 'Three Bs' in Britain,¹⁹ and his symphonic treatment of the repertoire makes sense of Bach as the foundation of modern orchestral concert programming. However, with the objective of reassessing Wood's approach, this thesis seeks to analyse his process of presenting and popularizing Bach's music; as a study it can therefore be situated between the existing scholarship on the English Bach awakening and Bach performance practice

¹⁷ See Appendix 2.1 for an overview of these statistics.

¹⁸ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 231.

¹⁹ The phrase was coined in 1854 by composer and writer Peter Cornelius referring to Bach, Beethoven, and Berlioz some decades before Hans von Bülow altered Berlioz to Brahms.

post-1945.²⁰ Although Wood was credited by his contemporaries for the part he played in 'the cause of bringing the music of the eighteenth-century composers into line with modern tradition', and a 'power of expressing the innate vigour of the older music to ears which probably began their musical experiences with Wagner and Tchaikovsky',²¹ reviewers were often highly critical of his approach. Whilst some objected to his tempos, lack of harpsichord continuo, or ornamentation, the most frequent criticisms related to the perceived liberties he took with the scores.²² In 1936 when A.H. Fox-Strangways suggested that 'serious promenaders may well be worried with the problem of salvaging what is genuine Bach from these gargantuan fortnightly wrecks',²³ he summed up the feelings of numerous critics who were concerned that Wood was 'only half aware of the difference between Bach's orchestra and Wagner's'.²⁴ Many thought that Wood had gone too far, adding instruments 'ruthlessly' and 'destroying all sense of lines'.²⁵ Despite Wood's Bach interpretations being characterized as 'a temporary elephantiasis',²⁶ closer examination of primary sources such as programmes, marked scores, manuscripts, and recordings will reassess his specific performing instructions and practices employed in interpretation. The thesis will examine representatives of various source types within the Bach orchestral repertoire in order to challenge several contemporary opinions.

Chapter 1 provides a contextual background. An examination of the history of J.S. Bach's music in England reveals the extent to which he was initially unknown to the public, the notable figures who sought to promote Bach's repertoire, and the institutions established for performances of his works. The 1896 writings of Frederick George Edwards are highlighted as a comprehensive source of knowledge on Bach reception and an indicator of public perception at the outset of the Proms. Wood's own knowledge of Bach is then considered in order to explain his

²⁰ Between *The English Bach Awakening*, and both Dorottya Fabian *Bach Performance Practice*, *1945-1975: A Comprehensive Review of Sound Recordings and Literature*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) and Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²¹ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', *The Times*, 13 August, 1932, p. 6.

²² See for example, ibid. or Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach – Wood ', *The Times*, 22 August, 1940, p. 6.

²³ Sydney Grew and A. H. Fox-Strangways 'Notes and Comments', *BMMN*, 13 (October 1936), pp. 217-218.

²⁴ Frank Howes, 'London Concerts', MT, 70 (September, 1929), p. 843.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Anon, 'Promenade Concert', *The Times*, 14 August, 1930, p. 8.

enthusiasm for the composer and to speculate upon his knowledge of relevant literature. The chapter concludes with an overview of the impact that social, political, and financial considerations had upon the general approach to programming Bach at the Proms.

Chapter 2 examines Wood's specific approach to programming Bach from the detail of surviving Proms programmes.²⁷ Four chronological divisions (1895-1914; 1915-1926; 1927-1939; 1940-1944) reflect periods in which trends in programming the sub-types of orchestral Bach might be observed, owing primarily to changes of management and the challenges of war-time conditions. Furthermore, the statistics reveal themes in programming strategies – including the day on which Bach's music was heard and particular approaches to programme design. Finally, specific soloists employed in the performance of Bach are identified and contextualised, in order to observe the continuity and change in orchestral sound, and the extent to which individuals were either synonymous with the repertoire or used to introduce it.

Chapters 3 and 4 are each divided into three case studies and draw upon primary sources held in the Henry Wood Archive at the Royal Academy of Music. These sources – donated by Wood in 1938 – include scores and orchestral parts of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, and orchestral arrangements of Bach. They have not been studied to date, and were not fully catalogued when this doctoral research began, but uncover a wealth of information regarding Wood's tastes and performing practices. Chapter 3 examines the repertoire of the Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos focusing on three distinct source types: Wood's personal copies of published editions; his recordings; and his editorial work. The three case studies highlight the chronological approach to his interpretation of the repertoire. In the first, the published editions Wood used (edited by Felix Weingartner, Felix Mendelssohn, Ferdinand David, Hans von Bülow, and Felix Mottl) reveal the impact of received traditions on his own performances. Wood's copies of each set of works are contextualised prior to a focus on the specific

²⁷ London, British Library, Collection of programmes: Henry Wood (1898-1944) X.435/115 and Music Collections h.5470.a; London, The Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Promenade Concerts (1895-1973): A collection of 51 volumes and 4 magazine files; Caversham, The BBC Written Archive, BBC Promenade Concerts (1927-) PUBS 9: A complete set of programme books for the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts under the auspices of the British Broadcasting Corporation since 1927 (33rd season). Paper copies of programmes were consulted in conjunction with the online BBC Proms Archive.

editorial histories of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 and Orchestral Suite No. 2 in order to identify some of Wood's performance priorities and practices. The second case study, an examination of Wood's recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 (1932) and 6 (1930), shows the extent to which his recorded interpretations differed from his contemporaries (Eugène Goossens, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Alois Melichar, Alfred Cortot, Adolf Busch, and Paul Schmitz). Identification of his regular conducting score of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 prompts discussion of small-scale details of orchestral forces, tempo, dynamics, articulation and bowing; however, a little-known recorded rehearsal extract from 1942 challenges the sounds of the 1932 recording and suggests that later performances justified more of the criticism. The third case study, reveals Wood's continuing desire to educate musicians at the end of his life as he embarked upon a project to edit the Brandenburg Concertos. His completed, published edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 (1944) builds upon the previous case study with information on instrumental balance, orchestral disposition, and detail of interpretation, whilst an exploration of Wood's manuscript copies of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 1, 5 and 6 considers the influence of other editions, the assistance of collaborative musicians, and patterns of interpretative detail.

Chapter 4 adds to the understanding of Wood's interpretation of orchestral Bach through analysis of his orchestral arrangements – both in isolation and in comparison with other arrangers. The works selected for the three case studies reflect the largely chronological development of Wood's contribution to the genre. His 1913 Toccata in F (BWV 540) highlights his own educational process, expanding upon the arrangement made by Heinrich Esser in the scope of instrumentation, but still retaining a largely conservative approach to texture. The second case study then considers Wood's self-styled Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 (1909) and 6 (1916), presenting innovations in orchestration within the established field of orchestrally-arranged Bach Suites. Whilst promoting unfamiliar works, Wood also finds new orchestral expression in solo pieces that were well-known, demonstrating his conviction in the genre. The final case study presents a comparison of Wood's 1929 arrangement of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor (BWV 565) and Leopold Stokowski's arrangement of the same piece (1927). The assessment serves to highlight the conceptual differences between the two arrangers, both of whom sought to promote Bach to new audiences, and demonstrates Wood's own priorities in the interpretation of Bach in the orchestral medium.

In the conclusion, Wood's contribution to the English Bach awakening is evaluated in light of the detail afforded by the examination of his scores, recordings, and editions. Public and scholarly perception of Bach at the end of Wood's life are considered and finally, reasons suggested for the historical lack of recognition for Wood's propaganda on behalf of the composer.

Chapter 1: The Context of Bach at the Proms

The context of Wood's promotion of Bach at the Proms is best understood from three perspectives: performances of orchestral Bach repertoire in England prior to 1895, Wood's own knowledge of the composer, and the impact that social, political, and financial considerations had upon the general approach to programming Bach at the Proms.

Orchestral Bach in England

Prior to Wood's introduction of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites at the Proms, Bach's orchestral works were not familiar to London audiences. Appendix 1.1 charts some of the most noteworthy performances given since 1844 – generally accepted as the date of the first significant performance of orchestral Bach in England.¹ The 1844 Philharmonic Society performance of Orchestral Suite No. 3, with Mendelssohn as conductor, was not universally praised:

The overture and *suite* of Bach must be regarded rather as a curiosity than as a specimen of musical beauty. The first and longest part is an elaborate and fugal movement in the style of some of the overtures of Handel, but more obscure and less effective. The *Air* which succeeds is exquisitely lovely. The *Bourrée* (so-called), a kind of minuet and trio, is vigorous and quaint. The *Gigue*, which concludes the *suite*, is very *bag-wiggish*, but not proportionately interesting. The audience were evidently pleased with this composition, to judge from their repeated plaudits. To us, from the sameness of style, and the monotony of key – every movement being in D – it was on the whole (apart from historical interest) somewhat tedious.²

As a historical curiosity, therefore, the Suite did not inspire repeat performances.³ Despite Mendelssohn's endorsement of the work, there was a considerable gap before the next performances of Orchestral Suites Nos. 2 and 3 in the 1870s and

¹ Myles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, 1912), p. 209, and Kassler, p. 449.

² Mr J. W. Davidson, 'leading critic of the day', quoted (inc. original italics) in F. G. Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England', *MT*, 37.643 (December, 1896), 797-800 (p. 797).

³ This mirrors the lack of impact following the publication of scores by the Bach-Gesellschaft as highlighted by Temperley and Wollny: 'while all of Bach's known music became available between 1850 and 1899, there was no immediate increase in the number of performances'. Nicholas Temperley and Peter Wollny. 'Bach Revival', *Grove Music Online* [accessed 28 January 2014].

1880s, given by W. G. Cusins (principal conductor of the Philharmonic Society from 1867-83). This was partly due to the personal taste of Michael Costa (principal conductor of the Philharmonic Society from 1846-54); he had actively avoided Bach's works, prompting Reginald Nettel's conclusion that Bach was 'practically unknown in England' at this time.⁴ The orchestral Bach performed at Richter's London Concerts (shown in Appendix 1.1) is a very small representation of the impact he had in the introduction and popularization of the wider Bach repertoire in England.⁵ Following his first appearance in London in 1877 as Wagner's assistant, Richter promoted Bach with the Philharmonic Society, with his Richter Orchestra (at various London venues), at the Birmingham Triennial Music Festival (1885-1909), and through his work with the Hallé Orchestra (1899-1911) and the London Symphony Orchestra (1904-1911).⁶ In many respects Richter's programming of orchestral Bach in England mirrored Wood's approach at the Proms. Appendix 1.2 compares the number of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites performed by Richter on his tours of the British Isles (until his last visit in 1911) with Wood's Prom performances in the same period. Whilst this reveals the limited number of Richter's performances prior to the commencement of the Proms, it highlights the initial presentation of the accessible Orchestral Suite No. 3, the subsequent popularity of Orchestral Suite No. 2 (repeated several times in his annual tours), and the consistent programming of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 4.7 Although Wood is generally credited with the introduction of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 in England,⁸ Richter gave an earlier performance of the work on 2 July 1888 in London.9 Thus Richter represented a bridge between the German revival of Bach's orchestral repertoire and its English counterpart. As Rawdon Briggs, leader of the Hallé from 1905, suggested: 'My own greatest delight was to play Bach's Brandenburg Concertos under him [Richter]. No one else ever made the important

⁴ Reginald Nettel, *The Orchestra in England* (London: Readers Union/Jonathan Cape, 1948), pp. 204 and 179.

⁵ Richter already had extensive experience of conducting Bach on the continent, including Viennese premieres of the complete Mass in B minor and Christmas Oratorio, Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6, and multiple performances of the passions, motets, and other instrumental Concertos. ⁶ Orchestral Suite No. 3 was included in the inaugural concert of the LSO in 1904.

⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Christopher Fifield for allowing me access to his records of Richter's diary of performances.

⁸ See Wood, *My Life of Music*, p. 361, and Jacobs, *Henry J Wood*, p. 120.

⁹ Noted in Richter's diary, see fn. 34.

parts stand out so clearly or received so clearly the human heart beneath the learning.¹⁰

Twelve years after the inauguration of the Bach Choir, Otto Goldschmidt began including orchestral Bach in his programmes. Orchestral Suite No. 3 (1887) and Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 (1891) were the first examples to be programmed under the baton of Charles Villiers Stanford, but, as Appendix 1.3 shows, violin and keyboard concertos had been programmed from 1884. These concerts were given in venues such as St James's Hall and the Queen's Hall, and were accessible to a wider audience than those of the Philharmonic Society and therefore by the end of the nineteenth century Bach was becoming better known. The Bechstein Hall, for example, inaugurated in 1901, was an ideal venue for the performance of chamber works, and in the century's first decade of seasons programmes included numerous Bach violin concertos with pianists performing orchestral reductions of the string parts.¹¹ However, orchestral works were still rare: Orchestral Suite No. 1 was not introduced until 5 July 1905 (just one year before Wood introduced it at the Proms) and Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 was not programmed until 4 July 1907.

The year 1885, as the 200th anniversary of Bach's birth, offered the opportunity to focus on the composer. As H. Sutherland Edwards suggested:

Bach's music, apart from his Fugues and a few minor pieces written for the pianoforte (or rather the harpsichord) and for the violin, is seldom rendered now-a-days, except by societies specially organised for the performance of his music. Judged, not by the date of his birth but by the character of his work, he seems an older master than Spenser, and very much older than Shakespeare, whose plays are better known, more generally admired, and in the fullest sense more popular now than in the days of Queen Elizabeth.¹²

Positioning the character of Bach's compositions earlier than those of Shakespeare was a mark of antiquarianism, and despite the emerging recognition that 'to the

¹⁰ Christopher Fifield, *True Artist and True Friend: Biography of Hans Richter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 386. See also Wood, *My Life of Music*, p. 471, which reproduces Ernest Newman's appreciation of Richter's Bach performances.

¹¹ London, Royal College of Music, Centre for Performance History: Collection of ca. 170 programmes from the Bechstein Hall. The collection is not complete, but includes programmes from the inaugural concert on 1 June 1901 to 11 November 1914. Of the 90 programmes surviving from the first year of concerts, Bach's compositions feature 32 times; keyboard works being the most popular by a considerable margin (keyboard 32; violin 17; vocal 10; organ 2; 'cello 2). The Bach programmed is all chamber in nature: sonatas, solo organ works, and arias – no orchestral works were heard and ensembles were no larger than two players.

¹² H. Sutherland Edwards, 'Bach and Handel' *The Lute*, 3.4 (April 1885), 80-89 (p. 80).

composers of Europe Bach is probably better known than Handel',¹³ Handel was unsurprisingly presented as the more dominant figure of these 'archaic' masters:

In England, where Handel passed the best part of his life and where he was actually domiciled for half a century, the enthusiasm felt for the works of Bach cannot, the number of the faithful being taken into account, be compared to that which is felt for the works of Handel.¹⁴

In the bicentenary year of both composers' birth, the commemoration of Bach was dwarfed by the Handel Festival celebrations at Crystal Palace. Whilst some 'regretted that the directors of the Crystal Palace' did not 'see their way to a special festival in honour of Bach', it was noted that 'in default of a performance in the grand Handelian scale, Mr. Manns has already performed representative works by Bach at one of the Saturday Concerts.¹⁵ At this time, Bach was still the preserve of specialists rather than the general public; by contrast Handel's music was known not only by musicians and students of music, but also 'equally as a matter of course - to all the factory hands who, in so many of our great manufacturing towns, form societies for the practice and public performance' of his works.¹⁶ Three specific Bach concerts emerge as the 'more noteworthy' contributions to the celebrations, all of which took place on Saturday 28 March 1885.¹⁷ The first was a concert organized by Oscar Beringer in which the keyboard concertos for one (BWV 1052), two (BWV 1060), three (BWV 1064), and four (BWV 1065) instruments were performed. Accompanied by a 'triple quartet of strings', these 'excellent' performances kept the 'elaborate polyphonic construction as clear as possible in the midst of much difficulty on that ground.¹⁸ The second took place at St James's Hall where a Popular Concert, organized by Mr. Arthur Chappell, included the Sonata in E for violin and keyboard, the Chromatic Fantasia and the Prelude and Fugue in G minor for solo violin performed by Joseph Joachim and the French pianist Clotilde Kleeberg. The third concert was a performance of the Mass in B minor given by the Bach Society under conductor Otto Goldschmidt. With an orchestra of 120 and a

¹³ Sutherland Edwards, 'Bach and Handel', p. 89.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', OMR, 149 (April, 1885), pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ Ibid., which confirmed that the four pianists 'taking part in the order of mention' were Oscar Beringer, Franklin Taylor, Walter Bache, and Alfred Richter.

chorus of 600 voices, the concert was 'imposing', but Handel was still felt to be the more effective composer:

The vocal tone, good in quality, was somewhat disappointing in quantity, however, for notwithstanding the earnest exertions of all concerned, in so large a space the voice parts made little or none of the effect desired. Bach never wrote well for masses of voices, or, in fact, for voices at all either solo or in groups. The broad effects of tone so characteristic of Handel are altogether lacking in Bach.¹⁹

Thus the three most significant performances of 1885 characterize the attitudes towards Bach's music at the time. Specialist societies such as the Bach Choir gave annual performances of the large-scale works, selected compositions were included in popular concerts with the endorsement of leading players, and Bach was promoted as a virtuosic contrapuntalist through the novelty of specific harpsichord concertos.

Another significant year for Bach was 1896, when the *Musical Times* published a four-part series entitled 'Bach's Music in England', by Frederick George Edwards.²⁰ Although a number of shorter pieces had been written to commemorate the 1885 anniversary,²¹ this was the longest and most comprehensive account of the Bach awakening in England to date.²² As a historical document it has been accepted as an authority of its age, useful in outlining both the early history of Bach's English reception and the general perception of the composer in the second season of the Proms.²³ Edwards' summary began with the admission that 'English musicians, steeped in Handelian and other traditions, regarded the music of the great Cantor with a distrust born of prejudice against anything new,'²⁴ and concluded that the 'red-hot enthusiasm of such disciples as Felix Mendelssohn, in Germany, and Samuel Wesley, in England' was required in order to 'kindle the flame of Bach

¹⁹ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', OMR, 149 (April, 1885), pp. 3-4.

²⁰ F. G. Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England', *MT*, 37.643 (September, 1896), pp. 585-7; 37.644 (October, 1896), pp. 652-7; 37.645 (November 1896), pp. 722-6; 37.646 (December, 1896), pp. 797-800. Frederick George Edwards (1853-1909) was a significant contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and from 1897 to his death in 1909 was Editor of the *Musical Times*.

²¹ See Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', *OMR*, pp. 3-4; William H. Cummings 'The Birthdays of Handel and Bach', *MT*, 26.505 (March, 1885), p. 131; Anon, 'J. Seb. Bach Bicentenary', *MS*, 28.1076 (March, 1885), p. 170.

²² The article was most likely instructive in the writing of the subsequent article by Edward Dickinson, 'On popularizing Bach', *MN*, 12.330 (June, 1897), pp. 612-614.

²³ See Rachel Cowgill, 'The London Apollonicon Recitals, 1817-32: A Case-Study in Bach, Mozart and Haydn Reception', *JRMA*, 123.2 (May, 1998), 190-228, (p. 212).

²⁴ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (September, 1896), p. 585.

devotion which now burns in the breast of every true musician.²⁵ His survey cited Johann Christian Bach as the first to do a disservice to his father's English reception, by describing his father as 'the Wig' (in conversations with Samuel Wesley), and not including his 'old-fashioned' compositions in the Hanover Square Rooms subscription concert programmes he devised with C. F. Abel.²⁶ Equally, Charles Burney (a friend of J. C. Bach) was guilty of penning an overly 'critical' account of Bach's work, despite being 'probably the first to introduce the name of John Sebastian Bach into English literature'.²⁷ Burney's most damaging description of Bach appeared in his influential *History of Music*:

Sebastian Bach [...] like Michael Angelo in painting, disdained facility so much, that his genius never stooped to the easy and graceful. I never have seen a Fugue by this learned and powerful author upon a *motivo* that is natural and *chantant*; or even an easy and obvious passage that is not loaded with crude and difficult accompaniment.²⁸

However, Edwards contrasted this with Sir John Hawkins' contemporary account. Hawkins' *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* of 1776 included a 'short but sympathetic sketch of Bach' alongside the theme, and ninth and tenth variations, of the 'Air with thirty variations'. Furthermore, the 1799 treatise: *An Essay on the Practical Musical Composition, according to the nature of that science, and the principles of the greatest musical authorities* by Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann (Organist of His Majesty's German Chapel at St James's, London) was noted for its inclusion of examples of Bach that have 'not yet been printed, or are scarce and not generally known'.²⁹ Edwards acknowledged that the dissemination of Bach's works had been hindered by the lack of publications in his lifetime and that men such as Kollmann and Dr Benjamin Cooke (Westminster Abbey Organist who hand-copied numerous manuscripts) had been essential in maintaining knowledge of much of the repertory.³⁰ However he also recognized that the works that were discussed by writers such as Kollmann fuelled Burney's

²⁵ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (September, 1896), p. 585.

²⁶ As a contrast between brothers see: Peter Wollny, 'Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Halle Performances of Cantatas by his Father', *Bach Studies 2*, ed. by D. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 202-28.

²⁷ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (September, 1896), p. 585.

²⁸ Charles Burney, *History of Music* Vols. III and IV (1789) in Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See also A. F. C. Kollman, 'Of John Sebastian Bach and his Works', *QMR*, 1 (1812), pp. 28-40.

portrayal of Bach as an academic composer who wrote serious, difficult compositions.³¹

The second instalment of the series was devoted entirely to Samuel Wesley, and his 'constant, unwearied, and self-denying labours in promoting the cause of Bach's music in England.³² Edwards documented Wesley's rise from the formation of a Bach Society, or 'Junto' in 1809 to the Bach Triumvirate of Wesley, Charles Horn, and Benjamin Jacob, the addition of Vincent Novello into the burgeoning 'Sebastian Squad' (Wesley's definition), and encounters with Mendelssohn and Dr William Crotch. Whilst Edwards emphasized Wesley's quest in countering the preference for Handel over Bach, and the fervour that these figures held in the 'overthrow of Ignorance, Prejudice, and Puppyism with regard to our Master',³³ he also outlined their achievements in publications of organ repertoire (particularly the editions of the 48 Preludes and Fugues), and live performances. One of Wesley's concerts on 5 June 1812 is particularly significant, with its inclusion of a 'novelty' entitled 'Voluntary by John Sebastian Bach: arranged for a full orchestra by V. Novello'³⁴ – the 'well-known Organ Prelude in E flat, now associated with the "St. Ann's" Fugue'.³⁵ Novello apparently explained:

We [Novello and Wesley] played the obbligato organ part as a *Duett* on that occasion, each filling in the harmonies according to the feeling of the moment, and endeavouring to enrich the effect to the utmost, for the sake of Master Sebastian.³⁶

Despite the fact that Novello dedicated the score 'Done to please my Dear Friend, Sam', Edwards claimed to have found evidence of Dr William Crotch's endorsement in the manuscript copy:

³¹ For a further survey of the reception of Bach in the eighteenth century see L. Finscher, 'Bach in the Eighteenth Century', *Bach Studies 1*, ed. by D.O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 281-96.

³² Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (October, 1896), p. 652. For further discussion of Wesley's contribution to Bach see Philip Olleson, 'Samuel Wesley and the English Bach Awakening' in Kessler pp. 251-315 and *The J. S. Bach Letters by Samuel Wesley*, ed. by Eliza Wesley (London: William Reeves, 1878).

³³ Ibid., p. 655.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

Dear Sir, - I have looked at the pieces you have been scoring for an orchestra, and think them very well done. I have discovered no errors. The only remark I have to offer is that I wish you had scored the pieces which follow Bach's Prelude [the "St Anne's" Fugue], as they are I think very fine, and would sound well as orchestra music. I am, dear Sir, Yours obliged, Wm. Crotch.³⁷

This orchestral arrangement predates any other orchestral work by Bach that had been heard in England at the time and, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, established a practice of using such arrangements to introduce new audiences to the composer.

The third article in the series resumed with the characters who had interacted with Wesley: Crotch, Novello, and Mendelssohn.³⁸ Edwards discussed the organ repertoire they performed, edited, and published, but also noted the neglect of the orchestral works abroad:

Bach suffered shameful neglect in Germany. It will hardly be credited that not a note of his music was heard at the famous Leipzig Gewandhaus Concerts till Mendelssohn assumed the directorship in 1835.³⁹

Thus, as even the 'aristocratic Directors of the Ancient Concerts did not introduce any of Bach's music into their programmes until nearly ninety years after his death',⁴⁰ the English public were only slightly behind their German counterparts. Despite Mendelssohn's obvious enthusiasm, Edwards highlighted one issue related to the relatively slow introduction of Bach's works: the quality and success of the performances. Responding to the 1837 Birmingham Music Festival, where Mendelssohn performed the 'St. Ann Fugue' on the organ and conducted the duet 'My saviour Jesus now is taken' from the St. Matthew Passion, the *Birmingham Gazette* reported that the duet was 'a laboured production, unvocal and unfit for the words; and the singers evidently felt it so.'⁴¹ Edwards also reproduced reports of other unsatisfactory Bach performances of the period, including Lord Burghersh's direction of selections from Bach's Magnificat and Mass in B minor in 1838:

³⁷ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (October, 1896), p. 655. Crotch was then Professor of Music at Oxford.

³⁸ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (November, 1896), p. 722.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 724. To be discussed further in case study 3.1, pp. 87-8.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 725.

The chorus is accompanied, we believe, by three obbligati trumpets, the alto tromba extending to E [D] in alt. This part of course Mr Harper could not play, nor indeed could anybody, with the instrument now in use in our orchestras. The aria 'Qui sedes' has an obbligato accompaniment for the tenoroon or oboe d'amore, an instrument which extended below the Corno Inglese. This Mr Grattan Cooke attempted on the common oboe, and of course stopped at the very outset of his exertions. The bass solo, 'Quoniam tu solus' is accompanied by a corno and two fagotti. The passages for the horn were next to impracticable, and Mr. Denman was furnished with a fagotti part which appeared greatly incorrect. Of course the selection was slaughtered, the soli players retiring in dismay, and leaving Mr Knybett to play their parts on the organ, which he did most manfully after the fashion of the men of the last generation: 'Solo on the Cornet stop'.⁴²

Although contemporary commentary on the nature and performances of the Mass in B minor abounds, the significance of documenting such performances is proof of the difficulties encountered more generally in the performances of Bach in the first part of the nineteenth century. Edwards argued for the adaptation of Bach's works to enable them to be performed successfully. In this he cited the pianist Ignaz Moscheles who introduced the Concerto in D minor for Keyboard (BWV 1052) and 'Triple Concerto' (BWV 1060) in 1836 and 1837 respectively – both with his own re-scored accompaniments to include wind parts.⁴³ Similarly, Edwards highlighted the work of the celebrated double bassist Dragonetti who identified that the pedal part of the organ works would 'furnish him with fine opportunities for the display of his great executive skill upon his huge instrument' and so would perform '*à duetto* with the pianoforte', arranging ('or deranging') the pedal passages for the compass of his three-stringed double-bass.⁴⁴

The final instalment of Edwards' history of Bach in England focussed on the work of specialist societies in improving and promoting larger-scale works.⁴⁵ The most prominent, following the Philharmonic Society, was the Bach Society, which was formed on 27 October 1849 at the house of its elected President William Sterndale Bennett. The 'primary objects' of the Society were as follows:

⁴² Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (November, 1896), p. 725.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (December, 1896), p. 797.

- 1. The collection of the musical works of John Sebastian Bach, including as far as practicable all the various Editions extant; also copies of all available authentic Manuscripts, and all Biographical works relating to him and his family, with a view of forming a Library of reference for the use of members.
- 2. The furtherance and promotion of a general acquaintance with the numerous Vocal and Instrumental works of this great and comparatively unknown Master, chiefly by performances the frequency and extent of which must be governed by the means at the Society's disposal.⁴⁶

Although performances of purely orchestral Bach cannot easily be identified, the Bach Society could boast the first English performances of all six motets, the St. Matthew Passion (1854), the Christmas Oratorio (1861), and, prior to the Society's dissolution on 21 March 1870, successful performances of selections from the Mass in B minor. Whilst recognising the importance of the Oratorio Concerts, instituted by Messrs. Novello in 1869 (who engaged Sir Joseph Barnby to conduct performances of the Matthew Passion from 1870),⁴⁷ the next society identified for its impact on the reception of Bach was the Bach Choir. The Mass in B minor had thus far fared badly in performances but in 1875 Otto Goldschmidt formed the Bach Choir to perform it in its entirety.⁴⁸ The success of the 1885 anniversary celebrations, and the promotion of further works:

The excellent work of the Bach Choir (now under the efficient conductorship of Professor Villiers Stanford) is too well known to need comment suffice it to say that having given upwards of fifty concerts, it continues to flourish with undiminished vigour and prosperity. How it would have rejoiced the hearts of Wesley and Mendelssohn if they could have known of an annual Bach Festival in London!⁴⁹

Noting how significant performances of Bach had spread to other parts of the country, including the 1886 Leeds Festival performance of the Mass in B minor under Arthur Sullivan, Edwards gives an impression of enlightenment and pride in the quality of performances. He concludes with reference to the 'English version of Spitta's great biographical work – his "Johann Sebastian Bach" translated by Mrs.

⁴⁶ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (December, 1896), p. 798.

⁴⁷ Ibid. These took place in Westminster Abbey with John Stainer playing the organ. In another instance of continuity, Stainer had sung in William Sterndale Bennett's 1854 of the Matthew Passion as a chorister.

⁴⁸ For an extensive history see Basil Keen, 'The Mass in B Minor', *The Bach Choir: the first hundred years* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp.13-23.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 800.

Clara Bell and Mr J. A. Fuller Maitland' which was issued by Novello between 1883 and 1885.

Thus by the inauguration of the Proms, this series of articles suggests that Bach in England was thriving through a knowledge of organ repertoire and performances of large-scale choral works. Although neither of these genres were to feature heavily at the Proms during Wood's tenure, a precedent had been set in the presentation of orchestral arrangements and use of celebrated soloists to promote the solo instrumental repertoire. The Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, alongside instrumental concertos and orchestral arrangements, were therefore the ideal repertoire to take Bach from the preserve of individuals and educated societies to a wider Prom public.

Wood's knowledge of Bach

Wood's early knowledge of J.S. Bach can be gauged from details of his musical education. Bach's music is mentioned frequently in Wood's autobiography, My Life of Music, but as Jacobs suggests, this document contains 'many mistakes of fact, names, and chronology, springing from too great a reliance on unchecked memory' and 'more disquieting still [...] an element of deliberate deception'.⁵⁰ Passages that relate to Bach should therefore be read with caution. Born to a mother who possessed a 'beautiful soprano (the real Welsh) voice',⁵¹ and a father who was an amateur cellist and tenor at St Sepulchre's Holborn Viaduct, Wood was exposed to chamber music and church services from a young age. His facility on the organ was clearly a source of passion, and although his account of acquiring candles to study the works late at night in his bedroom chimes suspiciously with the records of the young Bach doing the same in the house of his older brother Johann Christoph, it is Bach's music that Wood cites in significant early performances. In an impromptu recital at the Fisheries Exhibition in June 1883, for example, he recounted how 'after a little persuasion I sat down and played the E minor prelude and fugue of Bach from memory',⁵² and at his first formal organ lesson with Dr Edwin M. Lott, he was

⁵⁰ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. xxii. Jacobs suggests, p.xxiii, that in his memoirs, Wood created a fantasy of events as he imagined they 'should have been' but concludes that the accounts are 'no less fascinating now that they have to be "decoded".'

⁵¹ Ibid., p, 13.

⁵² Wood, My life of Music, p. 26.

to play 'Bach's F major *Toccata*.⁵³ Whether or not these accounts are strictly accurate, Wood was certainly invited back to the Fisheries Exhibition, and scrapbooks, meticulously compiled by his father, reveal details of recitals in which Wood performed several works by Bach.⁵⁴

Wood emphasized that his father, Henry Joseph Wood senior, 'never missed a chance of taking me to anything of importance in London',⁵⁵ and furthermore that 'he sent me to Germany, Bavaria, France, Belgium, and America'.⁵⁶ Whereas there is considerable doubt over the details of such foreign trips,⁵⁷ programmes survive in the Wood Archive that confirm his attendance at St James's Hall (where he heard the Joachim Quartet and many eminent singers),⁵⁸ the Crystal Palace (where he saw August Manns conduct), and even at the exclusive Philharmonic Society concerts. Wood also describes performances of Bach at home. Two amateur violinists, Peter Jerome and William Gunthorpe, visited the Wood household regularly for their 'chamber-music Mondays'.⁵⁹ Wood recalled that with one of the two violinists and his father playing the 'cello they learned the trio repertoire of 'Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and (later) by Brahms and César Franck', but that it was 'a great day' when he 'essayed for the first time Bach's duet in D minor for two violinis with Jerome', despite the fact he 'took the second part and played abominably'.⁶⁰

Wood's musical education was formalized in the six terms he spent at the Royal Academy of Music (1886-8). With regard to Bach, two accounts may be significant. The first concerns Sir Joseph Barnby, whose performances of the St John Passion at St Anne's, Soho, were particularly influential:⁶¹

⁵³ Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ *Henry Wood Scrapbook*, Royal Academy of Music Museum and Collections, Wood Archive: 2012-302.

⁵⁵ See Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 3-17 for detailed 'decoding' of Wood's schooling and early musical education and also Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 38.

⁵⁷ Jacobs, p. 14.

⁵⁸ Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 26.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

⁶¹ Westrup, p. 22.

Soon after I went to the R.A.M. the Principal (Sir. G. A. Macfarren) died, and Joseph Barnby took over the choir and orchestra. I admired him intensely. No matter whether it was his own choir at St Anne's, Soho, or the Royal Choral Society, he possessed in far greater degree than any other conductor I have ever met the ability to obtain phrasing, expression, diction and tone-colour from his choirs.⁶²

That this impression was still so vivid in 1938 is testament to the influence it had on Wood's formative years. More specifically, he credited his principal study teacher with lasting instruction in Bach interpretation:

There was at the R.A.M. an exceedingly gifted organist and violinist named H.C. Tonking [...] He taught me to play Bach's organ preludes and fugues. His phrasing and registration of the 'Great G Minor' and Toccata and Fugue in D minor was masterly; and here I may add (in regard to the latter) 'Klenovsky' learned a great deal.63

Though perhaps a self-conscious reference, Wood recognized the way in which his orchestral arrangements of Bach were an organic extension of his early performances and experiences in Bach interpretation.⁶⁴ Elsewhere, Wood cited correspondence with Arthur Sullivan as a foreshadowing of his 'ceaseless endeavour to balance tone between chorus and orchestra' which led to his 're-scoring of Handel [...] and Bach in the Mass in B minor, the Matthew Passion, and over sixty of the cantatas'.65

⁶² Wood, My life of Music, p. 31.

⁶³ Ibid. Klenovsky was a pseudonym adopted by Wood for the introduction of his Toccata and Fugue in D minor, discussed in case study 4.3, pp. 175-77.

⁶⁴ The RAM not the only institution in which Wood was educated – without specific reference to Bach, David Wright documents the influence of the South Kensington Music Schools and their associated musicians on Wood in 'The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century', JRMA, 130:2 (2005), 236-82.

⁶⁵ Wood, My life of Music, p. 43.

Among the many letters Sullivan wrote to me, the following illustrates the charming simplicity of the man – although I was so much his junior, he could seek my advice – "I am again conducting the B Minor Mass. You know your Bach well. Tell me! How is it that half-way through this superb work I feel everybody becomes bored and sick of it?"

"In my opinion," I replied, "it is because twelve double-basses are sawing away for two and a half hours without cessation. I suggest you look through the bass part. Wherever possible – in the arias and duets especially – rest the basses and let the 'cellos become the eight-feet bass. I have learned this from the great organists who never pedal continuously throughout a service. I suffer as much as you do from too much sixteen-foot bass (and the first violins) in choral performances of Bach and Handel.⁶⁶

Although the letter cannot be verified, this is further evidence of Bach permeating his memoirs. Lady Jessie Wood asserted that Wood's devotion to Bach lay behind his decision to publish his autobiography,⁶⁷ and that upon its publication in 1938 he declared: 'I have never had all the time I needed on my own! It has been so difficult. What time I had for myself I gave to the study of Bach – *dear John Sebastian Bach*'.⁶⁸ However, throughout his descriptions, the distinction between a straightforward reading of Bach and the desire (and perceived requirement) to rescore the music is blurred. Wood was keen to comment on his Sullivan anecdote by noting that the 'let-us-have-it-as-written doctrine (as preached by a certain set) is, in my view, wrong', and added, 'we can never afford to do without the interpretative artist'.⁶⁹ He also confirmed his debt to a conducting tradition more generally:

My impressions have been gathered for a host of conductors whom I watched at work in my early days. They include Theodore Thomas, Seidl, Maher, Safonoff, Frank and Walter Damrosch, Bodanzky, Mengelberg, Gerecke, Manns, Fielded [Fiedler], Rabaud, Lamoureux, Colonne, Chevillard, Wolff, Monteaux, Stock, Ysaÿe, Rothwell, Veerbrugghen, Hertz, Lohse, Faccio, Mancinelli, Steinbach, Mottl, Schalk, Vogt, Dvorak, Kees, Sarafin, Neruda, Hallé, Levi, Nikisch, Richter, and others.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Wood, My life of Music, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Jessie Wood, *The Last Years of Henry J. Wood* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954), p.17: 'The chapter dealing with the St Matthew Passion was to him almost the *raison d'être* of the book.' ⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁹ Wood, My life of Music, p. 43.

⁷⁰ Ibid., cf. p. 44.

Of these it was Nikisch who has been identified as Wood's 'most profound influence'.⁷¹ He claimed that when they 'parted on the quay at Ostend in 1921', the last words that Nikisch spoke to him were "Make all your performances a grand improvisation!"⁷² Though this was general advice and Nikisch's orchestral Bach repertory was limited to Orchestral Suite No. 3 and Bachrich's *Sarabande, Andante & Bourrée*, there are two relevant allusions to Bach in Wood's writings. The first is Wood's recollection that 'Busoni varied Nikisch's dictum' when he told Wood that "everything we do is a transcription" – language that resonates with his celebrated Bach piano transcriptions and his own approach to popularizing Bach.⁷³ The second is his conclusion that 'this [transcription] modifies the doctrine which preaches the gospel of a standard reading of the classics',⁷⁴ in which, for Wood, Bach was core repertoire.

In 1900 Wood was engaged to conduct the Nottingham Sacred Harmonic Society and to give two annual lectures at the University College. Records show that his lectures focussed on vocal matters and included: 'The Cultivation of the Singing Voice' (6 February 1900); 'Singing as an Art' (7 February 1900); 'The Voice and Musical Pitch' (28 March 1904); and 'A Lecture on Choral Singing' (1904). Wood's wife Olga illustrated some of his lectures on vocal music, and he later used members of the Queen's Hall Orchestra to demonstrate the different orchestral sections.⁷⁵ However, more significantly, on 17 July 1901 he gave a lecture entitled 'John Sebastian Bach: The times he lived in and his life's work'. There is no evidence that this was ever repeated, and it remains the only surviving record of a composerspecific lecture given by Wood. That Wood chose to speak on Bach in 1901 reveals

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⁷¹ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 62 and 174. The lasting effect of Nikisch, whom Wood described as 'that most inspired of all conductors', may be seen in Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 44, *About Conducting*, p. 66, and also Lawrence Poston, 'Henry Wood: the "Proms", and National Identity in Music, 1895-1904', *Victorian Studies* 47.3. (Spring 2005), 397-426 (p. 397).

⁷² Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 44.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Olga Wood sang in *The Cultivation of the Singing Voice* (6 February 1900) and *Singing as an Art* (7 February 1900).

Other records of lectures given by Wood which used members of the Queen's Hall Orchestra include *The wood-wind of the orchestra*: a lecture delivered on 21 March, 1904, at the Albert Hall, Sheffield (for the Literary and Philosophical Society of Sheffield, illustrated by members of the Queen's Hall Orchestra) and *The brass-wind of the orchestra*: a lecture delivered on Friday 7 April at the Albert Hall, Sheffield, 1904. The former was repeated on 16 December 1904 for St Anne's-on-Sea. There is no further mention of Dolmetsch in Wood's autobiography (or Jacob's' biography), and the only connection between Dolmetsch with the Proms is the appearance of two of his arrangements (Robert II Johnson's *Have you seen but a white lillie grow?* and Henry Lawes's *Man's life is but vain, for 'tis subject to pain*) on Saturday 28 September 1929 (Prom 43).

his affinity with the composer and his considerable knowledge of the contextual history of Bach's life. A particular feature of the lecture was its illustration via musical examples performed by Arnold Dolmetsch and a small company of his family and students, as highlighted in the lecture's outline in Appendix 1.4. The inclusion of the harpsichord, clavichord, viola da gamba, and violone supports Jacobs' claim that 'when Wood later became famous or notorious for "inflated", big-orchestra Bach, it was not in ignorance of historical authenticity'.⁷⁶ There is little doubt that in 1901, the concluding 'Grand Concerto' (Concerto No. 1 for keyboard in D minor) was considered 'an extreme rarity' on account of the instruments and informed setting.⁷⁷ According to the *Musical Times*:

Not the least attractive feature of the lecture was a selection from the works of the master – admirably rendered by Mr., Mrs., and Miss Dolmetsch, on the instruments for which Bach originally wrote his chamber compositions. There was something cool and pleasant about the music, especially suitable to the hot July afternoon in a crowded room, which was, perhaps, gained at the expense of the masterly vigour of Bach's works as heard now-a-days on more modern and powerful instruments.⁷⁸

Wood's collaboration with Dolmetsch and his period instruments may have been the result of both the academic setting and the small venue;⁷⁹ Wood recalled asking Busoni the question 'What about all this fuss over the use of Bach's instruments?' receiving the reply 'No good nowadays, unless used under his conditions'.⁸⁰

A copy of the first two pages of Wood's Bach lecture (with the third page partially visible on the second) is held in the Wood Archive and transcribed in Appendix 1.5. Whereas the syllabus in Appendix 1.4 is indicative of an academic tone, the language of Wood's script has the personal touch that was so often associated with his manner in communicating ideas to choral societies. As the *Musical Times* suggested:

⁷⁶ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 72.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Anon, 'Music in Nottingham and District', MT, 42.702 (August, 1901), p. 554.

⁷⁹ Wood, *My life of Music*, p. 216. Wood considered small forces for Bach 'not comparable' with the twentieth century, and 'absurd' for a large hall.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Mr Henry J. Wood [...] treated his subject with such regard to detail that it comprised a complete survey of the rise and downfall of the Bach family. Stripping the hero of his halo, and denuding him of his glorious wig, Mr Wood presented the giant among musicians as an ordinary human being, struggling for his existence amidst the worries and petty vexations of life.⁸¹

Wood's disarming delivery and witty anecdotes instantly made Bach approachable, and highlight his continuing desire to educate general audiences in both the music and history of the composer. His knowledge of Bach was likely gleaned from his collection of the recently published books on the composer (discussed below), but Wood evidently had the ability to translate the academic knowledge and tone of such volumes into accessible language. With regard to Bach's orchestral works, there is no obvious discussion of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites – unless the former were mentioned at the beginning of Section III (Appendix 1.4) or both were suggested as repertoire for Zimmerman's Coffee House in Section IV. The solo instrumental concertos must have been discussed in this context to prompt the closing concerto. The lecture suggests that as early as 1901 Bach was a priority for Wood, and reveals both Wood's extensive knowledge and understanding of the composer, and his awareness of the performing conditions, and specific sounds, available to Bach as understood by musicologists at the time.

While the Nottingham lecture demonstrates his intimate knowledge of the composer's life, it is difficult to ascertain exactly what Wood had read with regard to Bach. The subsection 'Wood's Bach Bibliography' in the main bibliography details books that were owned by Wood,⁸² but he had access to additional publications and historical information in journals such as the *Musical Times* through the libraries at the RAM and RCM. When Wood was preparing his 1901 lecture, few of the volumes in his collection were published. He makes no reference of his research into Bach, and there is no clear evidence that he had read Forkel's or Spitta's biographies.⁸³ One might speculate that he had read Maczewski's entry on

⁸¹ Anon, 'Music in Nottingham and District', p. 554.

⁸² See 'Wood's Bach Bibliography' on p. 241.

⁸³ Wood's copy of Schweitzer, J.S. Bach: le musicien-poete (Leipzig: B&H, 1905) is in French and Jadassohn's Zur Einfuhrung in J.S.Bach's Passionmusik nach dem Evangelisten Matthaeus (Berlin: Harmonie, 1898) is in German, but Wood did not profess to be fluent in either language and Schweitzer's biography of Bach was not translated into English until 1911. For more information on Forkel's biography see *The New Bach Reader: a life of Johann Sebastian Bach in letters and documents*, ed. by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. by Christoph Wolff (New York and London: WW Norton & Company, 1998), pp. 419-79 and G. Stauffer, *The Forkel – Hoffmeister & Kühnel Correspondence: a Document of the Early 19th-Century Bach Revival* (London: C. F. Peters,

Bach in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879-89), Charles Frances Abdy William's Master Musicians biography: *Bach*, and Hubert Parry's *Studies of Great Composers* (in which there is a chapter devoted to Bach's biography) and *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, where Bach is discussed in considerable detail.⁸⁴ However, two publications owned by Wood may be particularly significant. The earlier is the aforementioned collection of *Letters of Samuel Wesley to Mr Jacobs relating to the introduction into this country of the works of John Sebastian Bach* (London: Reeves, 1878) edited by Wesley's daughter Eliza. Wood was a natural heir to the man who was held 'in grateful remembrance for his constant, unwearied, and self-denying labours in promoting the cause of Bach's music in England'.⁸⁵ In Wesley's advocacy of Bach, there are two letters in particular which suggest parallels with Wood's orchestral approach. In the first Wesley writes:

Mr Horn [...] had arranged 12 of the fugues for 4 instruments before I had the pleasure of his Acquaintance, and was longing to find some spirited enthusiast like himself to co-operate in bringing the Musical World to Reason and Common Sense, and to extort a Confession of the true State of the Case against the Prepossession, Prejudice, Envy, and Ignorance of all Anti-Bachists.⁸⁶

Amid rousing language, he reveals the accessibility of the fugues brought about through arrangement and later continues:

I am engaged to a party where we are to have some of Sebastian arranged by Horn for 2 violins, Tenor and Bass, and a glorious effect they produce as you may guess. What must they do in a full Orchestra?!⁸⁷

At the point in which Wood was 'very nearly disheartened' by 'the purists' and their immediate assumptions of his 'heavy handling' of Bach prior to scrutiny,⁸⁸ one can

^{1990).} Although Spitta's biography was published in English in 1885, there is no evidence that Wood had read it.

⁸⁴ A. Maczewski, 'Bach' in *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by C. Grove, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1879), I, pp. 108-18; C. F. Abdy Williams, *Bach* (London: Dent, 1900) in which the Brandenburg Concertos and three Orchestral Suites are listed (pp. 194-5) but not discussed; C. H. H. Parry, *Studies of Great Composers* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1890), pp. 60-90; C. H. H. Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), esp. pp. 165-192.

⁸⁵ Edwards, 'Bach's Music in England' (October, 1896), p. 652.

⁸⁶ The J. S. Bach Letters by Samuel Wesley, ed. by Eliza Wesley, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 332.

only speculate on the extent to which these words resonated with his approach combined with the convictions of those who had gone before him.

The second is Frederick J. Crowest's 1885 biographical work *The Great Tone Poets: being Short Memoirs of the Greater Musical Composers*, dated (in Wood's hand) 29 July 1886,⁸⁹ and the historical information in the first chapter devoted to Bach tallies closely with the syllabus for Wood's 1901 lecture. Crowest pays particular attention to the human side of Bach – an aspect that Wood emphasized in his lecture – but also discusses key works: keyboard and solo compositions, cantatas, passions, and masses. Notably, Crowest makes no mention of the purely orchestral Bach – the Brandenburg Concertos or Orchestral Suites – but the two opening paragraphs encapsulate the knowledge and feelings about Bach at the beginning of the twentieth century:

However carefully we search among the great tone-poets, we fail to find another whose name, as a musical genius, excited the same feelings as that of Johann Sebastian Bach. For Bach has not yet become popular, and to but very few musical people does he appear in the light of a friend. The majority regard him with strong suspicion; they do not take to him; they have a kind of fear approaching too near to him. Why is this? First and foremost because they are not sufficiently acquainted with his music, and derive the opinions they express concerning it, more from hearsay than from any practical knowledge they have of it. Now, if this mode of judging poor Bach be allowed to continue, instead of being looked upon as a poet he will be regarded as a musical fiend, which certainly is not what the great master deserves.

If those who are interested in music would but hear his works frequently and judge for themselves, they would soon see how wrong an impression has gone abroad concerning them. Bach has been left too much to musicians and too little to the people, and till this is remedied the monstrous ideas held about his will never disappear. Go to Bach's works. They are difficult but they contain forms, beauties, and an individuality of colouring not to be met with in any other composer.⁹⁰

Being certain that Wood had read these words, their resonance can be felt with immediacy in the lecture on Bach's life but also in the longer term through his promotion and popularization of the music. That Bach had become one of the most popular composers in England by the mid-1920s was a direct consequence of

⁸⁹ Frederick J. Crowest, *The Great Tone Poets: being Short Memoirs of the Greater Musical Composers* (London: Bentley, 1885). This volume and Wood's 1901 lecture both predate the major biographical books by Parry (Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: the Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (London: Putnam, 1909)) and Terry (Charles Sanford Terry, *Bach: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

⁹⁰ Crowest, pp. 1-2.

Wood's work at the Proms – rectifying the situation in which Bach had been 'left too much to musicians and too little to the people'.⁹¹

Bach at the Proms

The opening of the Queen's Hall in 1893 was a particularly significant event in London concert life. Impresario Robert Newman's vision for Promenade concerts in this new performance space brought together his entrepreneurial spirit, business acumen, and love of music.⁹² As Leanne Langley suggests, beyond managing a concert series, Newman created a 'brand'.⁹³ The establishment of a Proms symphony orchestra and permanent conductor was only the start of the product; the regular presence in the London calendar, with the ability to attract and engage world-class soloists, drew a new and diverse audience for classical music. Newman's management of the details of programmes (in close partnership with Wood), his regulation of concert practicalities, and advertising campaign completed the branding as the 'guarantee of excellence' and was established in 'logical stages'.⁹⁴ Wood developed the brand through the constant introduction of new works,⁹⁵ orchestral discipline,⁹⁶ and the continual education of the British public. To understand the position of Bach in the context of the Proms it is necessary to consider several important aspects of Proms history.

In order to launch the Proms it was necessary to secure the funding of Dr. George Cathcart, a music-loving, Harley Street surgeon whose patients included singers with vocal complaints.⁹⁷ He set specific conditions in return for his

⁹¹ Crowest, p. 2.

⁹² For an extensive, detailed history of the establishment of the Proms and its social and cultural context see Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience', in *The Proms, A New History*, pp. 32-74.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 44.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Some of these were world premieres whilst others were simply works never before heard in London: Bartók: Suite No 1 (1914); Debussy: *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1904); Delius: Piano Concerto in C minor (1907); Elgar: Symphony No 2 (1910) and *Sospiri* (1914); Schoenberg: *Five Orchestral Pieces* (1912); Sibelius: Violin Concerto (1907) *Finlandia, En Saga,* and the *Karelia* Suite (1906); Strauss: *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1910); Stravinsky: *L'Oiseau de Feu* (1913); Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto in E flat (1902) and *Casse Noisette Suite* (1896); Vaughan Williams: *Fantasy on English Folk Songs* (1910).

⁹⁶ For example, in 1904 Wood abolished the well-used, and abused, deputy system, risking the loss of 40 orchestral members – who established the LSO. However, this discipline ensured success in strengthening the interpretations of the Queen's Hall Orchestra.

⁹⁷ Jacobs, p. 34.

sponsorship, insisting that Wood should be the sole conductor, and that the English pitch must be lowered to French pitch (a' = 439 at 68F). He had previously worked with Wood on restoring the vocal health of patients and believed that the lower pitch would be medically advantageous. Such stipulations established consistency in the newly-established Queen's Hall Orchestra and associated choirs. The subsequent acquisition of new wind and brass instruments to accommodate the pitch is a rare example of standardization in an orchestra. These elements would help the interpretation of works by any composer, but in the case of Bach this was particularly important as they assisted in the challenges in orchestral balance (for example, Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 as discussed in case study 3.1,⁹⁸) and in the accessibility of cantata arias through the lower pitch. As part of the education process, the term 'novelties' was coined by Wood to denote works introduced for the first time to the public in any given Prom season. In terms of J.S. Bach's works, 'novelties' included:

Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 (1908) Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 (1905) Orchestral Suite No. 5 (Bach-Wood) (1909) Orchestral Suite No. 6 (Bach-Wood) (1916) Orchestral Suite (Bach-Mahler) (1911) Toccata in F (Bach-Wood) (1913) Concerto in E major for Pianoforte (1912) Cantata *Amore Traditore* (1907) Aria: 'Hört doch der sauften Flöten Chor' (1913)⁹⁹

In terms of whether or not the Proms should continue during the war years, Newman was bullish: 'Why not? The war can't last three months and the public will need its music and, incidentally, our orchestra its salaries'.¹⁰⁰ However, the bigger question was the suitability of repertoire. As national tensions were established, considerable pressure was placed upon Newman and Wood to reconsider the weekly Monday Wagner nights and the inclusion of German composers, including Bach, on Proms

⁹⁸ Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 as discussed in case study 3.1, pp. 77-86.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 2.1, which may initially appear misleading in light of these dates as many first performances occurred at Saturday Symphony Concerts. Sometimes the delay between their premiere and programming at the Proms is as short as one season; for example, Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 appeared at the Proms the year after its premiere in 1908, but others such as Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 had a 20 year delay between its premiere and appearance at the Proms. ¹⁰⁰ Wood, *My Life of Music*, p. 288.

programmes.¹⁰¹ Although Newman and Wood bowed to some pressure in removing works by Richard Strauss from the opening night of the 1914 season,¹⁰² and reprogramming the first Wagner Monday,¹⁰³ they subsequently released a statement that emphatically contradicted the statements that German music would be boycotted throughout the season, concluding: 'the greatest examples of Music and Art are work possessions and unassailable even by the prejudices and passions of the hour.'¹⁰⁴ The music of Bach was therefore reinstated. The British public had always shown a disproportionate preference for foreign names as a misguided barometer of quality in musicians,¹⁰⁵ but the difficulty in securing soloists from overseas led to a surge in the programming of Bach's purely orchestral repertoire as opposed to the solo concertos. Furthermore, Wood resumed his Bach 'novelties' with the premiere of his orchestral arrangement *Orchestral Suite No. 6* in 1916, indicative of a new approach to promoting the composer.¹⁰⁶

The financial and artistic implications of war-time prejudices were keenly felt through the departure of the Proms' sponsor, German-born (and Bach enthusiast) Sir Edgar Speyer, who was forced to emigrate to America.¹⁰⁷ The financial responsibility was taken up by William Boosey's Chappell and Co., and it fell to Boosey to negotiate a way through what would prove to be a series of yearly

¹⁰¹ Many concert organizers banned the performance of German music altogether, as in Josef Holbrooke's concerts of English Music; see Joseph Holbrooke, 'British music versus German music, part 4', *The New Age* 26, (26 November 1914) p. 102. In many other cases, such as the Philharmonic Society, the ban on German music was restricted to composers after Mendelssohn.

¹⁰² Notable pressure came in the form of letters from members of the public, and on advice from William Boosey, managing director of Chappell and Co., Elgar's *Sospiri* replaced the work of Strauss on the programme; see Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 148.

¹⁰³ Ibid. Announcing that it was 'necessary by a variety of circumstances', they substituted works by Russian, French, and British composers.

¹⁰⁴ Jacobs, p. 149: 'With regard to the future, the Directors hope – with the broadminded co-operation of their audience – to carry through as nearly as possible the original scheme of the Concerts as set forth in their Prospectus. They take this opportunity of emphatically contradicting the statements that German music will be boycotted during the present season. The greatest examples of Music and art are world possessions and unassailable even by the prejudices and passions of the hour.' ¹⁰⁵ Wood himself is the prime example of a character who had to prove his worth in the face of his

[&]quot;Wood himself is the prime example of a character who had to prove his worth in the face of h "Englishness". For the cultural context see Poston, pp. 397-410.

¹⁰⁶ Orchestral arrangements became a war-time feature as Wood specifically made arrangements of the various national anthems of the allied forces which were performed at the beginning of each concert. In 1915 Wood expanded the arranged repertoire to include national songs from far-flung places such as Australia and Japan; however, he complained of the arduous task of constantly orchestrating such things and the tradition was dropped.

¹⁰⁷ In May 1915 Speyer, who had contributed some £30,000 in financing the Proms, wrote to the Prime Minister, Asquith, with his resignation letter, requesting his retirement from all public positions, including his role as Privy Councillor and the revocation of his baronetcy. Although Asquith, acting for the King, refused him, the matter was soon settled. Speyer and his wife had been extraordinary sponsors of the Arts in England and had long since severed all business connections with Germany; however, they were increasingly insulted and falsely accused of disloyalty and treachery in the press.

losses.¹⁰⁸ As a direct result, programming was further affected in both the nature of concerts (held as matinees owing to the fear of bombing),¹⁰⁹ and the tone of the programmes. In the years prior to Bach-nights, Bach's music often suffered from being programmed in the second half with numerous songs (promoting Chappell's services).¹¹⁰

The most significant change after WWI was the death of Robert Newman in 1926. The added loss of the proprietorship of Messrs. Chappell and Co. prompted a crisis captured by Sir Bernard Partridge's cartoon in *Punch*, March 1927, depicting Wood leaving the Queen's Hall, with the spirit of Beethoven following him, saying: 'For the honour of London this is indeed tragic, but I cannot believe that this rich city, once so generous to me, will fail to find us a permanent home.¹¹¹ The BBC provided the practical, financial, and artistic solutions - and the greatest impact upon programming Bach was felt through the facilitation of increased rehearsal time. Although orchestral works remained the most consistently programmed throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, solo concerto opportunities flourished as soloists were attracted by the appeal of well-rehearsed performances with the newly-installed BBC Symphony Orchestra.¹¹² Furthermore, the increased rehearsal time meant that new works could be adequately prepared for Prom performances and therefore the complex Bach orchestral arrangements by Elgar, Respighi, and Schoenberg were included in programmes. The BBC also brought the much-anticipated advent of broadcasting. William Boosey had strongly opposed any prior suggestions that the Proms might be broadcast, warning that this would be the demise of concert audiences. This proved not to be the case and Chapter 2 highlights the priorities

¹⁰⁸ And also the problem of the identity of the orchestra. The official deed-bound name of 'Queen's Hall Orchestra' was entrusted to Wood by Speyer for his own personal use and was only circumnavigated by the rather clumsy addition of the prefix 'New' to the title.

¹⁰⁹ See W. W. Thompson, 'The Story of the Proms', p. 6: 'I recall now the dismal sight of a Proms audience of only a few dozen. We returned to evening concerts forthwith, and the experiment has never been repeated.'

¹¹⁰ Perceiving the success of the Proms, Sir Thomas Beecham collaborated with the principal of the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, Landon Ronald, to inaugurate a rival Prom season with the New Symphony Orchestra at the Albert Hall. The season began on 29 May 1916 and was a complete failure. Ronald later accounted the lack of support to the fact that the organisers had banned '*all* German music, even Bach and Beethoven'. Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 157.

¹¹¹ For further discussion and reproduction of the cartoon see: Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, pp. 82-5.

¹¹² The regime change resumed the debate over the rights for the name of the Proms orchestra. As formalities with the BBC were so last-minute, the programme (stripped of the traditional facade frontage in favour of the BBC branding) simply announced: Sir Henry Wood and his Symphony Orchestra of 100 players (the same orchestra as the New Queen's Hall Orchestra, led by Bach-enthusiast Charles Woodhouse). In 1930 the BBC rebranded and re-organized the orchestra and thus it became the BBC Symphony Orchestra, down-sizing to 90 performers.

Wood maintained with regard to performances of Bach where details of broadcasting are available.¹¹³

Further difficulties arose when the threat of bombing closed the Prom season in 1939. The BBC withdrew its support entirely and Wood sought assistance for the continuation of the series in the Philharmonic Society and the London Symphony Orchestra. Wood initially decided that the 1940 season should be his last,¹¹⁴ but the premature close of the concert series owing to bombing perhaps prompted him to reconsider. However, he did make the decision to appoint an assistant for the first time at the Proms – Basil Cameron became his deputy conductor in the following season. That was not the only break with tradition: on 10 May 1941 the Queen's Hall was bombed and the ensuing fire razed it to the ground; the Proms thus relocated to the Royal Albert Hall.¹¹⁵ 1942 saw the return of the BBC, and the deployment of two orchestras: the BBCSO and LPO. Wood continued to conduct the majority of Bach programmes but the Albert Hall did not compare favourably with the Queen's Hall; despite the capacity for audiences twice the size, the acoustics were considerably inferior. Furthermore the multiple orchestras of the 1940s Proms had different approaches, personnel, and interpretations, a far cry from the homogenous blend and familiarity of a single orchestra serving the entire season.¹¹⁶ The Prom seasons that were performed under the threat of war did not deter the audiences and prompted a good deal of commentary on the reception of Bach (discussed throughout this thesis). Although there was an inevitable undercurrent of scepticism amongst some who questioned the merits of musical

¹¹³ See Chapter 2, pp. 54-56.

¹¹⁴ 'Keith Douglas and Owen Mace under the auspices of the Royal Philharmonic Society announce Sir Henry Wood's forty-sixth and farewell season of Promenade Concerts', British Library, London: Collection of programmes: Henry Wood (1898-1944) X.435/115 and Music Collections h.5470.a. ¹¹⁵ See Jacobs, *Henry J.* Wood, illustrations 32 and 33, and p. 354: 'On 13 May 1941, in an air raid which caused London's highest casualty figures (1436 killed, 1792 injured) and which destroyed the Chamber of the House of Commons and damaged Westminster Abbey, Queen's Hall was set alight [...] By next morning, a Sunday, the hall was gutted, only a shell remaining.'

¹¹⁶ British Library records (X.435/115 and Music Collections h.5470.a) reveal the Programmes billed the season as follows: 'The BBC presents Sir Henry Wood's Forty Eighth Season of Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts' (despite the fact they were held in the Royal Albert Hall), the orchestras were announced as follows: Saturday, 27 June to Friday, 24 July; The London Philharmonic Orchestra; Leader: Jean Pougnet; Saturday 25 July to Saturday, 22 August; The BBC Symphony Orchestra; Leader: Paul Beard; Conductor: Sir Henry Wood; Associate Conductors: Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult. The Prom concert start times reflected the desire to keep the queues for arena tickets in full daylight so as to restrict air raid dangers as much as possible, thus the times are advertised: Saturday, 27 June to Saturday, 8 August at 6.30 p.m. and Monday, 10 August to Saturday, 22 August at 6 p.m. Additionally each concert programmed advertises the estimated finish time, ranging from 8:30 to 9pm.

activities whilst others were called up to fight, the success of the Proms proved that the public valued what was being fought for.¹¹⁷

The final significant factor in general Bach programming was Wood's diminishing health from the start of the 1943 season.¹¹⁸ Although the threat of new German flying bombs forced the BBCSO to relocate to Bedford after just three weeks of concerts, they continued to broadcast Proms, many of which included Bach. A record three orchestras took part in Wood's last Jubilee season (1944),¹¹⁹ and though performances returned to London, Wood was too ill to conduct the last night and he died a week later on 19 August. In 1944 a tribute to Wood's Proms Jubilee entitled *Sir Henry Wood: Fifty years of the Proms* was published. Its contributors include eminent musicians, artists, and commentators of the day and it gives an account of the differing facets of his accomplishments at the Proms. The chapter 'Queen's Hall was my Club' by C.E.M. Joad is particularly pertinent for its encapsulation of the environment Wood and Newman established for the introduction of Bach:

Sir Henry was the first to make concert-going fashionable, fashionable that is to say among a musically disinherited class, the class of clerks and students, so that to go to the Proms became, for many of us, 'the thing to do'. Hitherto, concerts had for the many worn a somewhat formidable air. They were expensive, formal and stiff. What Sir Henry did was to take the starch out of concert-going, substituting a physical for a social ordeal.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ One of the four copies of the 1943 programmes held at the British Library (X.435/115 and Music Collections h.5470.a) indicates, 'Promenade Subscriptions 420 (Seasons) all sold one week before season commenced'. The nine-week season was restricted to a maximum of 5000 people in the Royal Albert Hall owing to blackout restrictions but otherwise continued in similar manner to the previous year with the London Philharmonic Orchestra (LPO), led by Jean Pougnet, engaged for the first part of the season - Saturday, 19 June to Saturday, 19 August and the BBC Symphony Orchestra, led by Paul Beard, for the remainder, with associate conductors Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult assisting Sir Henry. Start times were tentatively put back to 7pm for each concert and for the first time the programmes were printed in colour as opposed to the customary black and white with a small detail in red.

¹¹⁸ Just after the Prom season began he was taken ill and, under doctor's orders, spent a month in bed. He returned for the end of the season, relieving Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult of their interim duties.

¹¹⁹ The London Philharmonic Orchestra lead by Jean Pougnet, the London Symphony Orchestra lead by George Stratton, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra lead by Paul Beard; Wood was supported by associate conductors Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult.

¹²⁰ Joad, 'Queen's Hall was my Club', pp. 52-3.

This informality meant that the new repertoire was not a forced education; people were inclined to 'overhear' pieces of music and thus become familiar with further works:

Under Sir Henry's guidance, I was led from Beethoven to Bach; yet it was, I think, not untypical [. . .] Caught by Wagner or Schubert or Schumann, thousands were led on to Beethoven or Bach or Mozart, or were led on to the moderns.¹²¹

Ultimately Wood's logic of capturing the Promenaders' attention through Bach orchestral arrangements whetted the appetites of a 'Bach cult',¹²² who would eventually reminisce over Wood's success:

Thus it was under Sir Henry's beneficent auspices that I heard my first Brandenburgs, Bach came, was heard and conquered [...] For thousands of others [...] young, not very well off, often rather lonely, men and women would flock in their hundreds to stand at Queen's Hall through Brandenburgs and suites...¹²³

However, the overall significance and success of Wood's approach to orchestral Bach at the Proms can be gauged in relation to the context of Hubert Parry's overview of the repertoire in *The Evolution of the Art of Music* in 1893:

In the line of orchestral music, such as orchestral suites and concerti grossi, Bach's achievements are often supremely delightful – vigorous, vivacious, and characteristic. But they are not of any great historical importance. The backward state of the art of instrumentation tells against them, as does Bach's natural inclination to treat all the members of his orchestra on equal terms as so many counterpoints.¹²⁴

The process by which Wood addressed the perception of the 'backward state of the art of instrumentation' in these works, and the establishment of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites as works of great historical importance is the purpose of this thesis.

¹²¹ Joad, pp. 51-2.

¹²² Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience', p.70.

¹²³ Joad, p. 51.

¹²⁴ Parry, The Evolution of the Art of Music, p.183.

Chapter 2: Programming Bach at the Proms

A number of programming strategies can be identified in Wood's promotion of J.S. Bach at the Proms.¹ Appendix 2.1 details Prom performances of Bach, showing which works appeared annually between 1895 and 1944, and should be referred to for all statistical analysis in this chapter.² The data was collected from paper copies of surviving programmes (many of which belonged to Wood) in order to eliminate anomalies in the BBC online database and to take account of annotations and contextual writing such as programme notes and advertisements.³ Appendix 2.1 offers a visual synopsis of trends from which it is possible to ascertain the chronological developments in programming Bach's works. An initial overview of the total number of works by Bach (instrumental and vocal) compared with a combination of three categories of orchestral Bach (Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites; orchestral arrangements; instrumental concertos) programmed over the whole period 1895-1944 is shown in Figure 2.1:

¹ Where reference is made to the Saturday Symphony Concerts or Sunday Orchestral Concerts they will be cited in full descriptions. Wood took on the full conducting responsibility for Saturday Symphony Concerts in 1897.

² For ease of reference, it is suggested to keep Appendix 2.1 open whilst reading this chapter.

³ British Library, X.435/115 and h.5470.a; Royal Academy of Music, Henry Wood Promenade Concerts (1895-1973); The BBC Written Archive, BBC Promenade Concerts (1927-) PUBS 9. These sources were used to generate the statistics found in Appendices 2.1 to 2.6.

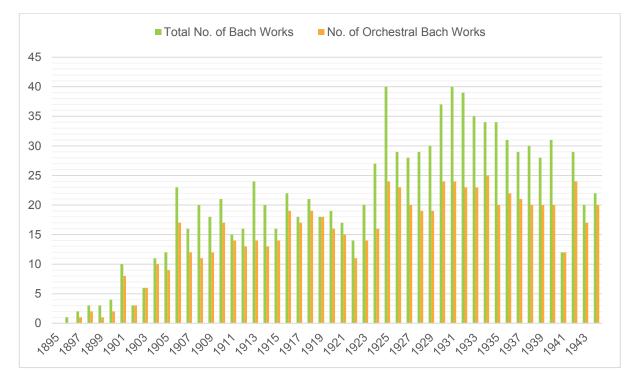


Figure 2.1: The total number of works by Bach, and the number of those which were orchestral, programmed at the Proms in Wood's lifetime.

In addition to a general increase and then plateau in the total number of Bach works programmed, the graph shows two main peaks, the first to 24 in 1913 and the second to 40 in 1931; furthermore a number of years emerge as anomalies, such as 1906 and 1925 in which there was a sudden surge in programming, or 1922 and 1941 when there was a particular drop. The number of orchestral Bach works largely reflects the shape of the total number but with more consistency and fewer extremes (especially in comparison with vocal and solo works in the 1920s and 1930s). This chapter offers a more detailed analysis of Figure 2.1 in order to investigate Wood's approach to the introduction and popularization of orchestral Bach at the Proms. An examination of Wood's approach to programming (fluctuations between the different categories of work, the nights on which Bach was played, the balance and nature of the concerts) and the engagement of soloists reveals both his methods of introducing the music, and enables a greater understanding of the distinction Wood made between Whittaker's definition of 'purely orchestral' Bach (the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, and orchestral arrangements),⁴ and the solo instrumental concertos (and other solo and vocal works).

⁴ Whittaker, p. 43.

Programming overview

To make discussion more manageable, the period 1895 to 1944 will be divided into smaller chronological units. They are highlighted by the bold vertical lines in Appendix 2.1 and based on W. W. Thompson's model: 1895-1914, 1915-1926, 1927-1939, and 1940-1944.⁵ The first outlines the early years of establishing the Proms, up until the outbreak of World War I; the second charts the changes brought about by the war and the immediate aftermath; the third represents the BBC's management of the Proms; and the fourth corresponds to the war-time period of fluctuation in management and the last years of Wood's life. Although broad observations may be made for each period, a number of watershed years may also be identified, which mark particularly significant changes in approach.

Several general points can be made for the first period 1895-1914. Whilst Bach's music was not performed at all in the opening season (1895), there was just one performance in the second season (1896) – the Toccata and Fugue in D minor for solo organ (BWV 565).⁶ It was not until the third season (1897) that orchestral Bach was programmed: Heinrich Esser's orchestral arrangement of the Toccata in F (BWV 540).⁷ The overview of the performance statistics in this period (Figure 2.1 above) reveals a steady increase in the number of performances of J.S. Bach after 1897; more specifically, Figure 2.2 shows that this was due to an increase in the different categories of orchestral works. Wood first programmed orchestral arrangements (1897), then introduced solo concertos (1900), before finally adding multiple (rather than the one-off) performances of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites (1904). In comparison, only a small number of solo instrumental concertos were regularly offered during this period.

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⁵ Thompson, pp. 3-17. Thompson was Robert Newman's ten-year assistant and later concert manager for the BBC.

⁶ Though its authenticity as a composition by Bach is now largely doubted, it was the most

recognized work by Bach of the time. BWV 565 will be discussed in case study 4.3, pp. 175-194. ⁷ BWV 540 will be discussed in case study 4.1, pp. 150-157.

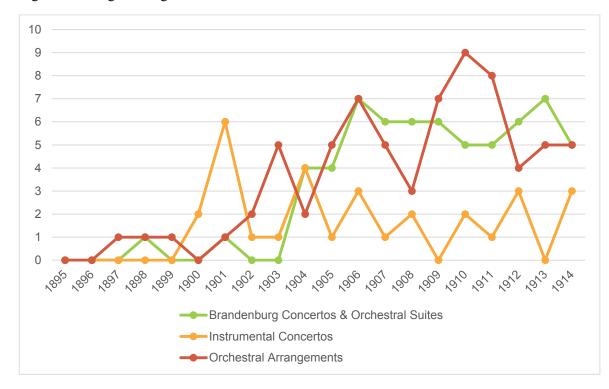


Figure 2.2: Programming Bach at the Proms 1895-1914

We can best understand trends within the 1895-1914 period by highlighting four significant years: 1901, 1906, 1909, and 1913. In 1901 there was a sudden increase in the number of Bach's instrumental concertos programmed; in addition to the inclusion of the Concerto in E major for Violin (BWV 1042) and the Concerto in D minor for Two Violins (BWV 1043), there were two performances of the Concerto in C major for Two Pianofortes (BWV 1061) and the Concerto in A minor for Four Pianofortes (BWV 1065). This was also the year in which Orchestral Suite No. 3 was first programmed in the main Prom season.⁸ The year 1906 also saw a sudden increase but with different proportions: just three concertos and six vocal works, but also four orchestral arrangements,⁹ Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and the first full cycle of Orchestral Suites, which included the London premiere of No. 4.¹⁰

⁸ This is the second work in the focal repertoire of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites to be programmed following Brandenburg 2 in 1898.

⁹ Two of which were repeated to make a total of seven performances.

¹⁰ Orchestral Suite No. 4 had previously been shunned by conductors such as Hans von Bülow, Hans Richter, Artur Nikisch, and Felix Weingartner. Although not promoted as such in Proms programmes, this is the first performance in London identified to date.

The novelty of introducing 'new' works continued in 1909 with what was claimed to be the first English performance of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1,¹¹ as suggested by Rosa Newmarch's programme note:

Considering the popularity of the remaining five concertos, it is difficult to account for the neglect of the first of the set. Its musical context is in many respects as interesting and beautiful as that of any of the others, consequently we are forced to the conclusion that the horn parts, which lie inconveniently high, have been the chief reason for its exclusion from concert programmes. As a matter of fact this is believed to be the first occasion on which it has been performed in this country.¹²

Newmarch's description of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 as the neglected concerto of the set is surprising, given that it was performed eleven times before the Proms premiere of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6. Wood's premiere of Brandenburg 1 had actually taken place at a Saturday Symphony Concert on Saturday 28 November 1908,¹³ and this programme note was simply reused from that night. This was typical of Wood's approach in this early period, with the Proms lagging behind the other Queen's Hall concert series in the introduction of new works.¹⁴ 1909 also marked the start of a three-year peak in orchestral arrangements but repeated performances of just four works account for the statistics in Figure 2.2: the previously heard works by Bachrich: Sarabande, Andante, and Bourrée, and Gavotte in E, Wilhelmj's Air on a G String, and Wood's New Suite in G (Orchestral Suite No. 5). 1913 is the final year of this period that might be considered a 'watershed', matching 1906 in the highest number of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites performed in a single season to date, but the first in which the Suites and Brandenburgs dominate. Whereas 1906 had seen a full cycle of Orchestral Suites, 1913 was the first year in which an almost-complete cycle of Brandenburgs (Nos. 1-5) was performed at the Proms. Newmarch emphasized Wood's achievement:

¹¹ Although the first performance of Brandenburg 1 in England was likely to be Richter's 1888 performance; see Chapter 1, p. 10.

¹² Rosa Newmarch, *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes*, 6 vols (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1928-48), IV (1931), p. 129.

¹³ Wood, My Life of Music, p. 361.

¹⁴ For example the first instance of an Orchestral Suite was No. 2 which appeared in the winter concert season of the Queen's Hall Saturday Symphony Concerts in 1896-7, some eight years before it was programmed at the Proms. It also accounts for the anomaly of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 in Appendix 2.1; the work was introduced at a Saturday Symphony Concert in 1906 but not heard at the Proms until 1925.

Complaining of the difficulty of hearing the complete Bach in the concert-room, Albert Schweitzer, the great authority on this master, says: 'Where are the Brandenburg orchestral Concertos and the orchestral suites securely fixed in our programmes?' We can reply, not without pride in the achievement – in the Friday evenings of the Promenade Concerts, where week by week, and year by year, these masterpieces have been made familiar to an English public.¹⁵

In the period 1915 to 1926 the number of works by Bach were maintained, and the persistent programming of the Brandenburgs, Suites and arrangements (detailed in Figure 2.3) confirmed the suitability of this repertoire for the concert hall.¹⁶

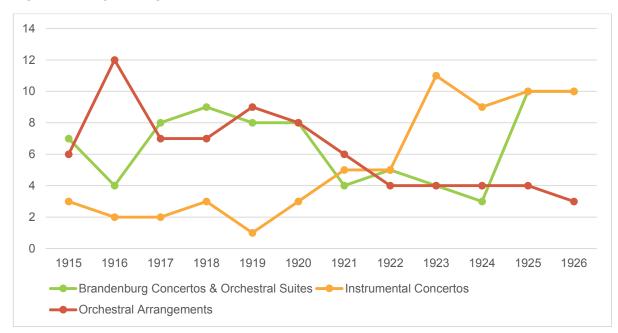


Figure 2.3: Programming Bach at the Proms 1915-1926

The sudden peak in orchestral arrangements in 1916 is the result of Wood's premiere of his Orchestral Suite No. 6 which, in addition to Orchestral Suite No. 5, was repeated during the season.¹⁷ His choice of promoting an orchestral arrangement of a German composer during the war was conspicuous, but the promotion of purely orchestral Bach in this period was also judicious as eminent foreign instrumentalists,

¹⁵ Rosa Newmarch, *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes*, 6 vols (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1928-48), I (1928), p.125.

¹⁶ Appendix 2.1 illustrates that in 1917 of the eighteen Bach works programmed, ten were Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, five were orchestral arrangements, two were solo concertos, and one was an aria. 1918 also reveals the high proportion of Bach programming occupied by this repertoire which included a complete cycle of Orchestral Suites 1-4, plus Wood's own Orchestral Suite No. 5 and Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 1-5.

¹⁷ Both of these works are discussed fully in case study 4.2, pp. 158-174.

even from allied nations, were difficult to engage owing to the dangers of travel in wartime London. Despite the emergence of British soloists, only one Bach piano concerto was given between 1914 and 1918, and this was indicative of the practicalities involved in programming and the fact that the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites were more easily promoted. The post-war years produced a change of emphasis. A 'Resume of the Season' printed on the last programme of 1920 stated that the year had been the most successful since 1914 and marked a general recovery since the start of the war. As Figure 2.3 makes clear, despite the declining number of Bach performances in 1921 and 1922, the resurgence of solo instrumental concertos in 1923 and 1924, along with the high number of vocal works in 1924, continued the general trend of an annual increase in programming Bach's works. Although the number of his solo concertos increased from 1921 (outnumbering the Concertos and Suites for the first time), by 1925 the purely orchestral repertoire reached record performance numbers and 1925 and 1926 included complete cycles of all six Brandenburg Concertos and six Orchestral Suites (including Wood's own arrangements of Nos. 5 and 6).¹⁸ Whilst Figure. 2.3 shows an initial increase of orchestral arrangements during the war and a general decrease in the aftermath, Appendix 2.1 reveals that throughout the decreasing statistics, the works programmed were new arrangements (including Elgar's Fugue in C Minor in 1922 (adding the Fantasia in 1923) rather than the repetition of established works.

Wood continued to promote orchestral Bach in the inter-war years of 1927-39, when the BBC took over the management of the Proms. As Joad observed:

Bach [...] was comparatively unknown to the multitude when Sir Henry first took up the baton; for the fact that he was the most popular composer of the late 'twenties and early 'thirties Sir Henry was largely responsible.¹⁹

This impression is corroborated by the statistics of Figures 2.1 and 2.4. Wood's use of orchestral arrangements again dominates the first part of the period before the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites are established as the most

¹⁸ In 1934, 1937, and 1942 the full set of Brandenburg Concertos and original Orchestral Suites (1-4) were programmed but the inclusion of both of Wood's arrangements to complete the set was the preserve of these two years. Despite being orchestral arrangements, for the purpose of this chapter Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6 are included in the category of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites to reflect his treatment of them within the repertoire. They are discussed in full in Chapter 3.

¹⁹ Joad, p. 52.

consistently programmed works of Bach – averaging nine per year. The influence of the BBC was significant here, as more time was afforded for rehearsals. This accounts for the number of new orchestral arrangements introduced from 1927. In addition to the annual performances of Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6 and Elgar's Fantasie and Fugue in C minor, the period saw the introduction of substantial works such as Wood's Toccata and Fugue in D minor (1929), and prompted by the widespread interest in the cantatas – orchestral arrangements of the Sinfonia from Cantata 29 (1927), the Sonata from Cantata 31 (1932), and the Sinfonia from the Easter Oratorio (1938). Furthermore, Wood gave the first performance in England of Arnold Schoenberg's orchestrated Chorale Preludes 'Schmücke dich o liebe Seele' (BWV 654) and 'Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist' (BWV 631) (1928) and also programmed Ottorino Respighi's Prelude and Fugue in D major (1934) and Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor (1938). Solo instrumental concertos peaked in 1933, but thereafter remained at an average of seven per year. 1927-1939 therefore became a period of consistency and consolidation of orchestral Bach repertoire.

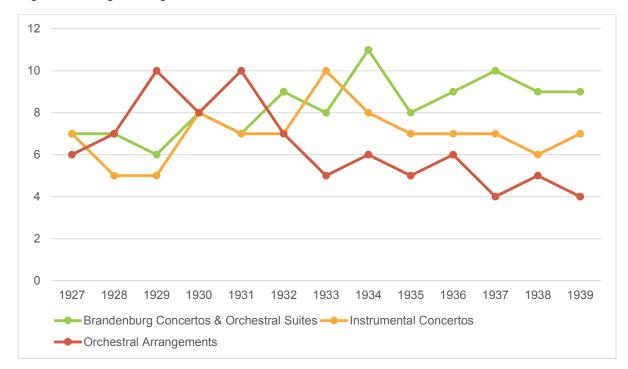


Figure 2.4: Programming Bach at the Proms 1927-1939

Cycles of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites established in the mid-1920s were initially reduced in favour of a variety of instrumental concertos but they still remained the dominant proportion of instrumental Bach works on programmes. In 1930 the practice of including a cycle of Brandenburg Concertos in the season returned, and was completed for the first time by the inclusion of No. 6. This feat was repeated in 1932, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938, and planned for 1939, and mirrored Wood's approach to programming annual cycles of Beethoven Symphonies. The Orchestral Suites were also well represented (including Wood's Nos. 5 and 6), and from 1927 to 1939 Orchestral Suites Nos. 2 and 3 and Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 were included in every season.

The major change in the final period of Wood's Proms career was the necessity (for both health and managerial reasons) to break with the established formula of a single Proms orchestra under his baton, and to use multiple orchestras with Basil Cameron and Sir Adrian Boult assisting as associate conductors. This meant that Prom performances of Bach, as with other repertoire, incorporated influences from a greater number of interpreters. The period 1940-44 saw a move away from all-Bach concerts back to composer-shared nights and no new Bach orchestral works were introduced. The pressures of war dictated shorter seasons for 1940, 1941, and 1943 and therefore did not permit the usual number of performances of Bach's works. Although the number of works was reduced proportionally in 1940, the core orchestral repertory was heard throughout the season. In contrast, 1941 proved more extreme: the season saw less than half the number of works performed than in the preceding years and the fewest number of Suites and Brandenburg Concertos since 1924.²⁰ The number of instrumental concertos (and vocal arias) were particularly affected in 1941 by the lack of available soloists, but as the engagement of British soloists increased throughout the 1940s, more performances, particularly of the keyboard works were programmed. As shown in Figure 2.5, Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos were clearly established in the repertoire, with relative proportions of 50% (purely orchestral), 33% (instrumental), and 17% (arrangements). The pronounced decline in programming orchestral arrangements reflected the establishment of the mainstream

²⁰ A record of the nightly attendances and takings for 1941 and (some for 1942) was kept by Wood and are held with the Proms programmes at the British Library X435/115. The statistics for 1941 are shown in Appendix 2.2 and reveal that of the two Bach-specific nights, the second was as popular as the Beethoven and popular Saturday nights, in contrast with the dwindling numbers for Wagner Mondays and many of the mixed programmes.

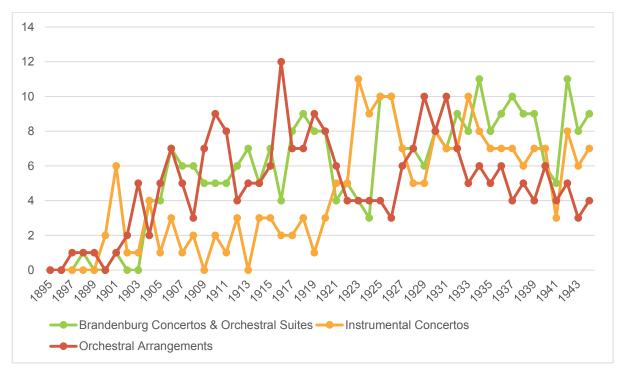
Bach repertoire and resulted in the consistent programming of an average of four of the most substantial works each year.²¹



Figure 2.5: Programming Bach at the Proms 1940-1944

A complete view of programming Bach throughout Wood's career is shown in Figure 2.6:

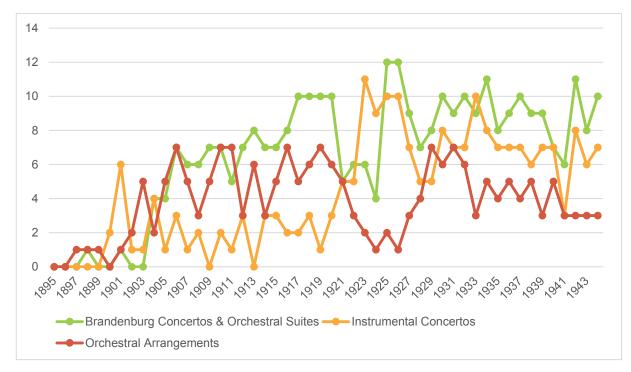
Figure 2.6: Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos, Instrumental Concertos, and Arrangements at the Proms, 1895-1944



²¹ Appendix 2.1 reveals that they were the three most significant to Wood: his own Toccata in F and Toccata and Fugue in D minor, and Elgar's Fantasia and Fugue in C minor.

The most striking elements are the prominence of the orchestral arrangements in the first half, the peak in instrumental concertos in the middle (1923), and final dominance of the Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos. Throughout this discussion Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6 have been treated as orchestral arrangements but if they were included in the statistics for Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, the graph would appear as Figure 2.7 below:

Figure 2.7: Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos (including Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6), Instrumental Concertos, and Arrangements at the Proms 1895-1944



Thus the impression created by Figure 2.7 is of the dominance of the purely orchestral repertoire, a notion that is perhaps a better representation of Wood's intentions for Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6 and his own perception of what constituted Orchestral Bach at the Proms.²²

 $^{^{22}}$ This may be reinforced by comparison with the statistics of vocal works presented in Appendix 2.1.

Bach and the Proms calendar

Initially Bach was performed on any night of the week except Wagner-Mondays,²³ but in 1909 Friday night was unofficially dubbed 'Classical Night',²⁴ and of the thirteen works by Bach programmed, eight appeared on Fridays.²⁵ Subsequently Friday (known as either the 'Classical' or 'Beethoven' Prom) was established as the night in which Bach would be heard:

Friday night was Beethoven night... at this period there was no Bach night, but it was Sir Henry's habit to insert a piece of Bach either in the first part of the programme or, more frequently as the flood of ballads let loose by Messrs. Boosey and Chappell began to recede, after the interval.²⁶

Wood and Newman continued this arrangement throughout WW1, in spite of initial questions over whether performances of Germanic repertoire should be permitted at all during the war, debates over the shortened length of concerts,²⁷ and the constant review of the length of Prom seasons.²⁸ Although audience numbers varied greatly during war years, Friday nights were reputed to draw the largest crowds.²⁹ Experiments in programming also continued in this period, notably with matinee performances (abandoned in 1915), but a new strategy of Bach programming was

²³ Programmes from 1906, for example, reveal the number of performances of Bach on each day of the week as follows:

Monday: 0; Tuesday: 5; Wednesday: 4; Thursday: 4; Friday: 3; Saturday: 4.

²⁴ 'Classical' referred in the strictest sense to the musical period (c.1759-1828), but Bach was included as he was considered to be the foundation of the repertoire of Mozart and Beethoven. Fridays were associated with slightly weightier Classical works and in the early years of the Proms were occasionally identified as 'Beethoven Night'.

²⁵ The remaining five comprised solo instrumental or vocal works which appeared on any day throughout the week; a common pairing of the *Air on the G string* and *Gavotte in E* in a Saturday Night Prom; and, 'by special request' one instance of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 on a Tuesday. ²⁶ Joad, p. 51.

²⁷ According to the programme of 21 October 1916 (Last Night), 'Once again the Promenade Concerts under the conductorship of Sir Henry J. Wood and the management of Mr Robert Newman, have succeeded in 'Carrying On' in spite of the War and weather. It has been necessary during the past season to take in sail – if we may continue to use nautical language – and shorten the duration of the series by 2 weeks, and length of the concerts by about half-an-hour. The hour for the commencement of the concerts – 7:30 instead of 8pm – has been in many respects an advantage.' ²⁸ The programme from Last Night of 1917 season reads: 'One more war-time season of Promenade Concerts has been brought to a successful termination, under the baton of Sir Henry J. Wood and the management of Mr. Robert Newman. The concerts started with such crowded houses as went to prove the existence of reserves of musical enthusiasm in our midst. Unhappily the raids that attended the waxing and waning of the harvest moon reduced the numbers for a time: but on the whole the attendance was so satisfactory that Messrs. Chappell & Co., Ltd., decided to run the full season of eight weeks. Congratulations may be offered to the audience, the musicians, and the management on the complete order and *sangfroid* which prevailed on one or two trying occasions. The earlier hours adopted last Season were again adhered to.'

²⁹ Cox, p.70.

trialled in 1916: whilst most performances continued on Fridays and some popular orchestral arrangements appeared on 'Popular' Saturdays, the Brandenburg Concertos were all moved to either Wednesday or Thursday evenings. The fact that this strategy was abandoned in 1917 suggests that it was not successful.

The statistics in Appendix 2.1 and Figure 2.1 show that in 1925 the number of Bach works programmed, and the number of Proms in which they appeared, doubled by comparison with 1923. This was the result of the creation of alternate Wednesday 'Bach Nights'. The programme from the first Wednesday of the season, 12 August 1925, lists six works by Bach (another record in Proms history to this date), identifying the concert as the first 'true' Bach night. The status of these events was captured in verse by the poet 'Diogenes the Younger':

On Wednesday night our hearts beat faster, – A concert of the Leipzig master. (The Leipzig master, if you please, Is Bach in modern journalese.) There's suites, concertos, and toccatas, With arias from Church Cantatas.³⁰

Figure 2.1 revealed that the number of Prom performances of Bach in the early '30s rose again from 28 in 1927 to 40 in 1931, but Figure 2.8 below shows that whilst the number of works increased, the number of Proms in which they featured did not, and thus more works were included on each of the Bach nights.

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
No. of	9	6	7	8	6	8	6	9	7	9	7	8	8
Proms													
Works by Bach	28	29	30	37	40	39	35	34	34	31	29	30	28

Figure 2.8: Number of Proms including a work by Bach and number of works by Bach in total between 1927 and 1939³¹

This increase in the number of works by Bach was well received; according to the *Musical Times*:

³⁰ Diogenes the Younger, 'Guide to the Proms' *The Musical Mirror* (1929) in Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893-1941* (London: Rider & Co., 1944), p. 34.

³¹ These statistics reflect the Prom programmes that were planned, not the final figures accounting for cancelled concerts during the war.

The most stimulating affairs have been the Bach audiences. They crowd not only the floor and the galleries and passages, but the pavement outside. Foreign visitors exclaim that they are the miracle of the age, and that 'Das Land ohne Musik' has the oddest way of showing it. On alternate Wednesdays the popularity of Brahms has set itself in rivalry with that of Bach. It is no longer true, in fact, that Monday Wagner and Friday Beethoven are the main pillars of the Promenade Season.³²

Though statistically the overall number of performances of Bach diminished throughout the final years of Wood's life, Bach was still programmed on Wednesdays. Increasingly none was dedicated solely to him; in 1942, for example, Wednesday nights were entitled 'Bach – Handel', 'Bach – Brahms', and 'Bach – Elgar'.

Figure 2.9: Number of Proms including a work by Bach and number of works by Bach in total between 1940 and 1944³³

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
No. of Proms including Bach	5	4	8	5	8
No. of Works by Bach	31	12	29	20	22

Figure 2.9 indicates that although there were as many Proms planned to include Bach throughout this period, the number of works in each Prom decreased. Moreover, acknowledging that some planned performances were cancelled during the war, Figures 2.1 and 2.5 confirm that the reduced repertoire included Wood's core orchestral Bach works: the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites.

Programming strategies

In the early years of the Proms, Bach was included in popular or mixed programmes, often beginning the concert. This was the case in the first example of orchestral Bach in 1897 – Heinrich Esser's arrangement of the Toccata and Fugue in F (BWV 540):³⁴

³² C. H., 'Orchestral Music in London', MT, 73 (October, 1932), p. 935.

³³ These statistics reflect the Proms programmes that were planned, not the final figures accounting for cancelled concerts during the war.

³⁴ Although announced as the Toccata and Fugue, the arrangement omits the fugue; it is discussed in detail in case study 4.1, pp. 150-152.

Prom 12: Friday, 10 Sept 1897

J. S. Bach – Toccata in F major, BWV 540 (orch. Heinrich Esser) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Overture from *Don Giovanni*, K 527 (arr. Henry Wood) Alexander Sergeyevich Dargomïzhsky – *Cossak Dance* Léon Boëllmann – *Suite Gothique*, Op 25 Edouard Lalo – *Rapsodie Norvégienne* William Henry Squire – *Chansonette* David Popper – *Tarantella*, Op 33 Tom Harrison Frewin – *The Seven Ages of Man* Felix Mendelssohn – *Der Blumenkranz*, WoO 7 Ludwig van Beethoven – Symphony No. 8 in F major, Op 93

Arthur Sullivan – *The Gondoliers, Grand Fantasia* (arr. unknown) Luigi Arditi – *Il bacio* Emilio Pizzi – *Ianthe* Arthur Sullivan – *The Distant Shore* Felix Mendelssohn – *March in D major*, Op 108³⁵

Apart from regularly opening a Prom concert with Bach and including the pairing of the Air on a G String (arr. Wilhelmj) and Gavotte in E (arr. Bachrich) on Saturday nights, few patterns emerge in the early programmes; it was, as Joad suggested, a process of 'overhearing' Bach.³⁶ The year 1904 was significant in its new strategy of including multiple performances of specific works, including the introduction and repetition ('by popular demand') of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3. This practice continued in 1905, with several performances of arrangements, including five repetitions of Air on a G String (arr. Wilhelmj). This was doubtless due to the instant appeal of the work (again noted 'by request' in the paper programmes); however, Wood used its popularity as a means of introducing the full work, Orchestral Suite No. 3, the following year. In 1909, when Bach was designated a place in Friday night 'Classical' or 'Beethoven' Proms, the Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos (and instrumental concertos) consistently appeared in the more serious first half of the programmes, representative of core repertoire. By contrast, the orchestral arrangements were placed in the second half, either side of the popular songs.

³⁵ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1890s/1897/september-10/387</u> [accessed 22 March 2014].

³⁶ Joad, pp. 51-2.

With the advent of 'Bach Wednesdays' in 1925, the programme for the first 'true' Bach night was as follows:

Prom 4: Wednesday, 12 August 1925

J. S. Bach – Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 BWV 1048
J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) – 'Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt' BWV 68
J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) – 'Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde' BWV 201
George Frideric Handel – Concerto Grosso in A minor Op 6 No. 4
J. S. Bach – Concerto for Piano No 1.in D Minor BWV 1052
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Concerto in B flat for Bassoon
J. S. Bach – 'Benedictus' (Mass in B minor)
George Frideric Handel (arr. Wood) – Overture from Samson

Bach/Wood – Orchestral Suite No 5 in G Guy d'Hardelot – *Quiet Country Places* Guy d'Hardelot – *Wings* Roger Jalowicz – *Rose and the Musk* Joaquin Turina – *Procesión du Rocio* Op. 9³⁷

Opening each half with either a Brandenburg Concerto (No. 3) or an Orchestral Suite (No. 5 arr. Wood) continued to be a common approach taken by Wood – in this case avoiding the major forces associated with the other Brandenburg Concertos or Suites. Again, the orchestral arrangement of (Orchestral) Suite No. 5 was also a fitting contribution to the lighter second half. One striking aspect of Bach programming in the Bach-heavy year of 1925 was the unusual appearance of eight organ solos. They were all included in Saturday night Proms throughout the season and featured some of the most celebrated organists of the age:

Organ Solo:	Date	Organist	
Fantasia and Fugue in G minor	Saturday 22 August	Dr Walter G. Alcock	
Unspecified	Saturday 29 August	Unspecified Organist	
Prelude and Fugue in D	Saturday 5 September	Dr Harold E. Darke	
Prelude and Fugue in E flat (St	Saturday 12 September	Mr Samuel A. Baldwin	
Anne's)			
Toccata and Fugue in D minor	Saturday 19 September	Dr Stanley Marchant	
Prelude and Fugue in A minor	Saturday 26 September	Dr Henry G. Ley	
Prelude and Fugue in G	Saturday 3 October	Mr Reginald Goss Custard	
Two Choral Preludes and Fugue	Saturday 17 October	Mr. G. Thalben Ball	
in G (a la Gigue)	(Last Night)		

Figure 2.10: Organ solos in the 1925 Prom season

³⁷ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1920s/1925/august-12/3701</u> [accessed 21 March 2014]. Missing information is supplemented from paper copies of the Proms Programmes, British Library, X.435/115.

This was a bold statement made by Wood, and meant that the 1925 season combined the scholarly repertoire of Wood's early years of organ recitals with the most abundant programming of the colourful and lyrical Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites.

After the death of Robert Newman in 1926, the tone of Bach programming in subsequent Prom seasons was set by Wood in conjunction with the BBC. Although the inclusion of other composers had previously encouraged wider audiences, the increasing popularity of Bach promoted the increase in the number of his works in each Wednesday night Prom. For example, the programme of the first Wednesday of the 1927 season presented a thus-far unprecedented number of works by Bach; of the seven Bach works on the programme, two were vocal, and three Brandenburg Concertos (Nos. 1, 3, and 5) appeared alongside Orchestral Suite No. 3, and the Concerto in D minor for Pianoforte (BWV 1052). Individual programmes show that the practice of titling specific composer nights was emphasized in 1929 and although Bach shared his billing with Handel, he continued to be represented by the greater number of works.³⁸ Figure 2.11 below reveals the proportion of concerts dedicated to each specific composer in 1929, and the alternation of Wednesday programmes of Bach with Brahms throughout the eight-week season.

Type of Prom	Date	No. of
		Proms
Wagner Concert	12/8; 19/8; 26/8; 2/9; 9/9; 16/9; 23/9; 30/9	8
British Composers Concert	15/8; 22/8; 29/8; 5/9; 12/9; 19/9; 26/9; 3/10	8
Beethoven Concert	16/8; 23/8; 30/8; 13/9; 4/10	5
Bach and Handel Concert	14/8; 28/8; 11/9; 25/9	4
Brahms Concert	21/8; 4/9; 18/9; 2/10	4
Beethoven and Mozart Concert	6/9; 20/9; 27/9	3
Haydn and Mozart Concert	27/8; 10/9; 24/9;	3
Tchaikovsky Concert	3/9; 17/9; 1/10	3
Mozart and Schubert Concert	13/8; 20/8;	2

Figure 2.11: A con	nparison o	of the number	of composer-	specific Proms in	1929

Without the influence of previous sponsors Chappells there was no need to include songs in a lighter second half, and specific 'Bach Nights' were increasingly devoid

³⁸ In comparison to the twenty-three orchestral works (five of which were orchestral arrangements) and seven vocal works of Bach programmed that season, Wood performed eleven instrumental (two of which were orchestral arrangements) and four vocal works by Handel.

of works by other composers. The three Bach Nights in 1931, for example, were entirely dedicated to Bach's music and were positively received:

Bach is now liked and responded to instinctively, and that is the miracle which will characterise the musical history of these times. Wherever the people who run concerts have the courage to venture an all-Bach programme, they win on all points, with performers as well as public; provided only that they know how to draw up the programme and how to direct the playing of the music. [...] Sir Henry J. Wood has many 'special nights.' In all of them, except the Bach, he has to run in at the close one or two works representative of their types or schools. For his Bach Night he can use Bach alone. If he did not, indeed, there might be a grave injustice done to the composers brought in as 'relief'; for Bach, rightly performed and given full opportunity to fix the proper mood in you, simply kills all other music.³⁹

Wood also experimented with several unifying strategies in his programmes. The Prom concert on Wednesday 5 September 1934, for example, offered a unified tonality in the Concerto in A minor for Violin, Flute, and Pianoforte (BWV 1044), the Concerto in A minor for Violin (BWV 1041), and the Concerto in A minor for Four Pianofortes (BWV 1065). Numerical pairings were also popular and included, for example, Orchestral Suite No. 1 with the Pianoforte Concerto No. 1 (Concerto in D minor For Pianoforte (BWV 1052)), and Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 and Orchestral Suite No. 4 on Wednesday 19 September. Wood often paired Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 1, 3, and 4 with their Orchestral Suite counterparts, probably owing to their dominant key relationships (F major to C major in the first, and G major to D major in the third and fourth).

Once Bach was firmly established in the repertoire, Wood used him as the familiar composer around whose works he could introduce new compositions. One example was the Proms programme for Wednesday, 8 September 1937, which included new British works by contemporary college professors, both of whom had a special affinity with Bach. The unaffected quality of Gordon Jacob's

³⁹ Anon, 'Experiences of the Month: The Popularity of Bach', BMMN, 7:70 (October, 1931), p. 223.

composition,⁴⁰ and Handelian quality of Herbert Murrill's writing style,⁴¹ created effective and innovative programming:

Prom 28: Wednesday 8 September, 1937 BACH CONCERT

J. S. Bach - Suite No. 2, in B minor, for Flute and Strings, BWV 1067

J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) - 'Ich weiss, das Mein Erlöser Lebet' BWV 160

J. S. Bach - Concerto No. 2, in C, for two Pianofortes and Strings, BWV 1061

J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) – 'Schlage doch, gewünschte Stunde' BWV 53

J. S. Bach - Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, in F, BWV 1046

J. S. Bach - Concerto in A minor, for four Pianofortes and Strings BWV 1065

Gordon Jacob – Variation on an Original Theme (First Concert Performance in London; Conducted by the Composer) Johannes Brahms – 5 Songs, Op 71 Herbert Murrill – *Three Hornpipes* (Conducted by the Composer)⁴²

This juxtaposition of the old and new was continued at the 1937 Last Night of the Proms which featured the Bach-Klenovsky Toccata and Fugue in D minor between the premiere concert performance of Bax's *London Pageant* and Wood's *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*. Such a position in the programme proved that Bach had become a cornerstone of the Proms, albeit in the context of a Wood arrangement.

Examples of Bach programmes in the 1940s identify two specific strategies. The first is Wood's persistence with numerical pairings, as seen in the Bach-Mahler Prom of Wednesday 26 July, 1944:

⁴⁰ Gordon Jacob was a prolific composer whose works (over 700 compositions) have been recently more comprehensively recorded (see his discography at <u>http://www.gordonjacob.org/</u>). A craftsman who taught for 40 years at the RCM and wrote a number of technical musical textbooks, Jacob shunned the overly Romantic models of his predecessors and the move towards the avant-garde preferring to base his compositions on Baroque and Classical models, often making arrangements of his historical models: Purcell, Handel, and Bach.

⁴¹ Herbert Murrill taught composition at the RAM, and at the time of conducting his *Three Hornpipes*, had recently been appointed a role at the BBC music department. He too had a similar approach to composition that deemed programming his work in this Prom appropriate. See Ronald Crichton 'Murrill, Herbert' *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19381 [accessed 22 March 2014]. According to Crichton, his compositions could be described as 'Francophile' and 'mildly middle-Stravinskian', but Crichton also notes that both of these features were tempered by an 'English kind of neo-classicism'. This work is no exception yet the Hornpipe is more Handelian than Bachian, his textures and clarity of part writing makes him remembered more for his Chamber music than the typical orchestral works of his contemporaries.

⁴² <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1930s/1937/september-08/4967</u> [accessed 21 March 2014], supplemented with information from paper copies of the Proms Programmes, British Library, X.435/115.

Prom 40: Wednesday 26 July, 1944 BACH – MAHLER CONCERT

- J. S. Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, in F, BWV 1046
- J. S. Bach Violin Concerto No. 1, in A minor, BWV 1041
- J. S. Bach Orchestral Suite No. 4, in D, BWV 1069
- J. S. Bach Concerto in A minor for four Pianofortes and Orchestra BWV 1065

Gustav Mahler – Symphony No. 4, in G major⁴³

The second was the feature of combining composers and linking them with their Bach arrangements. Whereas he did not make use of the Mahler-Bach *New Bach Orchestral Suite* (which he had premiered in 1911) in the above programme, on 18 August 1943 he presented works by both Bach and Elgar and, for the first time, linked the two with the Elgar-Bach Fantasia and Fugue in C minor. Four further specific Bach Proms from the 1940s highlight the dynamic in programming brought about in this period by multiple conductors and continued broadcasting.⁴⁴ Wednesday 1 July 1944, outlined below, was a Bach-Brahms concert with the LPO, which attracted a small audience but an hour of home broadcast at the start. Although the choice of works selected for broadcast may be questioned in terms of popularity (i.e. Suite No. 4 in D is selected over Brandenburg Concerto No. 3), such decisions were most likely a matter of the required timing:

Prom 4: Wednesday 1 July, 1944

BACH – BRAHMS CONCERT [Highlighted section broadcast at Home 6.30-7.30pm]

Part I conducted by Sir Henry Wood

J. S. Bach – Orchestral Suite No. 4, in D, BWV 1069

J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) - 'Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde' BWV 201

J. S. Bach – Pianoforte Concerto No. 1, in D minor, BWV 1052

J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) – 'Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen!' BWV 51

J. S. Bach – Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, in G BWV 1048

Part II conducted by Basil Cameron Johannes Brahms – Pianoforte Concerto No. 2 in B flat Johannes Brahms – Academic Festival Overture⁴⁵

⁴³ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1940s/1944</u> [accessed 22 March 2014].

⁴⁴ The first Prom had been broadcast in 1927 (Jacobs, p. 211), but during the 1940s, when the Proms re-located to Bedford, radio audiences became even more significant as a means of communicating the music.

⁴⁵ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1940s/1942/july-01/5275</u> [accessed 22 March 2014], supplemented with information from paper copies X.435/115.

Wood conducted the Bach that was broadcast on this occasion but the second Bach concert posed a choice over broadcasting or Bach. Wednesday 8 July 1942 was therefore the first concert in Proms history in which Bach was not conducted by Wood as he took responsibility for the works that were broadcast in the second half:

Prom 10: Wednesday 8 July, 1942BACH CONCERT[Highlighted section broadcast at Home 8-9 pm]

Part I conducted by Basil Cameron

- J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) 'Der Himmel lacht! die Erde jubilieret' BWV 31
- J. S. Bach Orchestral Suite No. 2 in B minor, BWV 1067
- J. S. Bach Concerto for Two Keyboards in C major, BWV 1061
- J. S. Bach (arr. Wood) 'Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn' BWV 152
- J. S. Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 in D major, BWV 1050

Part II conducted by Sir Henry Wood Ernest John Moeran – Violin Concerto (First Performance) Ludwig van Beethoven – Symphony No. 1, in C major, Op 21⁴⁶

In the third Prom of 1942 that featured Bach (a Beethoven Concert), Wood again conducted the half of the programme that was broadcast, but as a result was forced to relinquish the direction of his own Orchestral Suite No. 6, another first in his Proms career. The remaining Bach works in the season were all under his baton but consequently resulted in Wood not always featuring in the broadcast – as may be observed in the fourth Bach concert on Wednesday 5 August:

Prom 34: Wednesday 5 August, 1942

BACH CONCERT [Highlighted section broadcast at Home 8-9pm]

Part I conducted by Sir Henry Wood

- J. S. Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 in F major, BWV 1046
- J. S. Bach Concerto for Two Violins in D minor, BWV 1043
- J. S. Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F major, BWV 1047
- J. S. Bach Concerto for Four Keyboards in A minor, BWV 1065

Part II conducted by Sir Adrian Boult Edward Elgar – Symphony No. 2, in E flat⁴⁷

⁴⁶ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1940s/1942/july-08/5287</u> [accessed 22 March 2014], supplemented with information from paper copies X.435/115.

⁴⁷ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1940s/1942/august-05/5335</u> [accessed 22 March 2014].

1942 particularly highlights a tension between Wood's priorities of conducting Bach and the opportunity to educate a wider audience through broadcasting.⁴⁸ As a consequence, and in a demonstration of his priorities, in 1943 each of the performances of Bach (with the exception of just two works: the Toccata in F (Prom 4) and the Concerto in C major for Three Pianos, (Prom 40)) were conducted and broadcasted by Wood.

Soloists in orchestral Bach

In highlighting the soloists engaged by Wood for performances of Bach at the Proms, the concept of the specialist performer emerges. Maintaining the focus on the orchestral repertoire of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, trends appear in the identities of soloists (violinists, pianists, and wind players) who performed Orchestral Suite No. 2, and Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 2, 4, and 5 (Appendices 2.3 to 2.6). The most striking feature of these statistics is the consistency with which regular internal soloists were used. Whereas this is unsurprising owing to the engagement of a single orchestra throughout the season, Wood maintained many of the same players as the management and identity of the orchestra changed.⁴⁹ Although Wood developed his interpretations and approaches to the repertoire over time, annual collaboration with the same players offered the opportunity to create a defined Proms sound in the orchestral Bach repertoire. This consistency is not seen in the engagement of external soloists and therefore distinguishes performances of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites from the other solo concertos.

The violinists who performed the solos in Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 2, 4, and 5 were the leaders of the orchestras: Arthur W. Payne (1898), Henri Verburgghen (1904-1908), Arthur Catterall (1909-1914), Arthur Beckwith (1915-1919), Charles Woodhouse (1920-1933), Marie Wilson (1934-1936), Paul Beard (1937-1940) and, depending upon the orchestra used, George Stratton (LSO), Paul Beard (BBCSO), Marie Wilson (BBCSO), and Jean Pougnet (LPO) (1941-2). The

⁴⁸ This was extended in 1942 to as two Bach works (conducted by Wood) were aired to the Forces and Overseas: Wood's own Bach-Klenovsky Toccata and Fugue in D minor and his self-confessed favourite – Brandenburg Concerto No. 6.

⁴⁹ For further detail on the historical context, establishment and development of the Queen's Hall Orchestra see Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience', pp. 32-74 and further developments under the BBC in Doctor, 'The BBC Takes on the Proms, 1920-44', pp. 75-130.

first, Payne, played in the first Prom performance of Brandenburg 2 in 1898, and this was his only solo Bach performance.⁵⁰ Verbrugghen, Catterall, and Beckwith each performed one of the solo parts in the Concerto in D minor for Two Violins (BWV 1043), but despite performing many other concertos (e.g. Bruch, Sibelius, Beethoven, Dvorak, Mendelssohn, Vieuxtemps, Wieniawski, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Mozart, or Goldmark) did not play any of the Bach solo concertos. Charles Woodhouse also regularly performed BWV 1043, but added the Concerto in C minor for Two Violins (BWV 1060) and Concerto in A minor for Flute, Violin, and Keyboard (BWV 1044) to the multiple-solo repertoire; although 44 of his 108 appearances as soloist involved works by Bach, they were all ensemble concertos. Woodhouse's performances of Brandenburg 5 (with Robert Murchie and Myra Hess) were praised for their ensemble effect being a 'beautiful example' of 'mutual understanding',⁵¹ and his interest in the composer prompted his orchestral arrangement of a number of Bach's solo works in a 'Suite for Strings' (from 'the lesser known piano works') in 1929.52 Of the remaining leaders, Stratton and Pougnet played no other Bach concertos besides the Brandenburgs, and Wilson and Beard only added the Concerto in A minor for Flute, Violin, and Keyboard BWV 1044 to their Brandenburg 5 performances.⁵³ Thus, in Wood's use of violinists, the idea was established that leaders usually only performed in ensemble concertos which promoted them as orchestral soloists for Bach.

Appendices 2.5 (Brandenburg 4) and 2.6 (Brandenburg 5) reveal that there were some exceptions to this rule, and on occasion external soloists were used. Performances by M. Wolters (Brandenburg 4, 1908) and Sidney Freedman (Brandenburg 5, 1914) were the only Bach concertos each gave at the Proms, but the remaining violin soloists (all of whom were associated with Brandenburg 5) performed other Bach solo concertos. Whilst Maurice Sons (Brandenburg 5, 1913) just played one other concerto (BWV 1042 in Prom 42, Friday 1 October 1920), Isolde Menges and Adila Fachiri each performed numerous other Bach concertos. Menges' scheduled performance of Brandenburg 5 at the 1939 Proms was cancelled because of the war, but in her Proms career between 1920 and 1939 she appeared

⁵⁰ Payne also gave numerous performances of Wood's orchestral arrangement of the Bach/Gounod *Ave Maria*.

⁵¹ W. R. A., 'Promenade Concerts', MT, 65.980 (October, 1924), p. 937.

⁵² See Appendix 4.1 for full details.

⁵³ It was not until after Wood's death that Wilson and Pougnet each performed the Concerto in E major for Violin at the Proms.

seven times in performances of Bach. Fachiri was a greater Bach specialist, and appeared twenty five times in Bach concertos over a similar period (1922-1940).⁵⁴ Her performance in 1937 was the only time as a soloist in Brandenburg 5, but she performed the Concerto in D minor for Two Violins (BWV 1043) thirteen times with her sister Jelly d'Aranyi, making the celebrated sisters synonymous with the repertoire in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁵ The sisters (Joseph Joachim's grand-nieces) were best known for their Classical and Romantic repertoire and a number of works were dedicated to them (most notably Holst's Concerto for Two Violins); although both performed Bach, and d'Aranyi achieved greater general recognition, Fachiri had the closer association with the composer at the Proms.⁵⁶ A performance of the sisters in the Concerto in D minor for Two Violins (with Stanley Chapple and an unknown orchestra) may be heard in the British Library Sound Archive.⁵⁷ It illustrates their understanding and approach to Bach through the range of bow strokes, use of rubato and portamento (particularly in the middle movement), and judicious employment of vibrato, elements which they were renowned for matching 'to perfection'.⁵⁸

The reason for employing Fachiri in 1937 and Menges in 1939 was another practical implication of the schedule. Since its introduction to the Prom concerts, Brandenburg 5 had been programmed either with works by other composers, or, from the advent of Bach-dominated concerts, with other Brandenburg concertos and Orchestral Suites in which the leader played the solo. Whereas Bach's solo keyboard concertos (in which the keyboardist from Brandenburg 5 would play) were common in such programmes, the solo violin concertos were not. This was a clear trend that was established and maintained through the 1920s during the surge in programming Bach solo violin concertos (see Appendix 2.1) to distinguish clearly between the orchestral soloists and the externally engaged artists. Things changed in 1937,

⁵⁵ The sisters gave performances of BWV 1043 in 1922, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1930, 1931, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1940) and Adila gave a further performance with Orrea Pernell in 1928. ⁵⁶ In her Proms career between 1920 and 1944, 55% of Jelly's concertos were of works by Bach, 60% of which were in performances of BWV 1043 with Adila; Adila's Bach repertoire represented 89% of her solo Proms appearances. For further discussion and examination of Fachiri's performance style see Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 62-4.

⁵⁷<u>https://sounds.bl.uk/Classical-music/Bach/026M-1CL0011033XX-0100V0</u> [accessed 20 July 2013].

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⁵⁴ The three other works she performed were: Felix Mendelssohn's Concerto in E minor for Violin, Op 64; Johannes Brahms's Concerto in A minor for Violin and Cello (Double Concerto) with May Mukle; and Gustav Holst's Concerto for Two Violins, Op 49, with Jelly Aranyi.

⁵⁸ B. V., 'Adila Fachiri', *MT*, 63.958 (December, 1922), p. 875.

however, when Fachiri played both Brandenburg 5 and the Concerto in A minor for Violin (BWV 1041) in one evening, whilst the leader, Paul Beard, performed the solo in Brandenburg 2 and the obbligato violin in Wood's arrangement of 'Erbarm es Gott' from the Matthew Passion; the same pairing of Brandenburg 5 and the Concerto in A minor for Violin (BWV 1041) was planned for Isolde Menges's 1939 performance. However, this approach was short-lived, and the pattern of using the leader as soloist in this concerto and not programming any other solo violin works was resumed in 1940. 1944 was the first year further change can be observed: the Concerto in D minor for Two Violins (BWV 1043), was played by Winifred Small and Marjorie Hayward whilst the leader, Jean Pougnet, performed Brandenburg 5 in the same programme; this further reinforced the position held on the delineation of solo roles.

The piano soloist in Brandenburg 5 also sets the work apart as the performer could not be taken from the orchestra; reference should be made to Appendix 2.6 for the identity of pianists in each season. The 1942 performance given by Berkley Mason is the only example where the official organist/accompanist for the season was used for a performance of Brandenburg 5. Mason held his appointment between 1928 and 1946 and although he accompanied arias, performed solo fugues and chorale preludes, and appeared in the Concerto in C major for Three Keyboards (BWV 1064) (1932 and 1934) and Concerto in A Minor for Four Keyboards (BWV 1065) (1934), his involvement in Brandenburg 5 was not repeated during Wood's lifetime.

The pianists engaged for performing Brandenburg 5 (outlined in Figure 2.12) range from relatively unknown artists to one of the most celebrated pianists of the age.

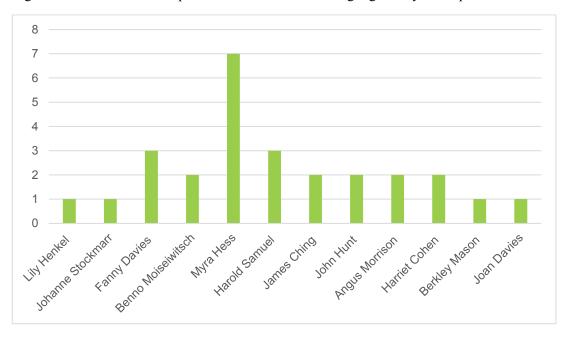


Figure 2.12: The number of performances of Brandenburg 5 given by Prom pianists

Single performances were given by relatively unfamiliar pianists Lilly Henkel (1904) and Johanna Stockmarr (1913), and the last programme in Wood's lifetime to include the work was also a single performance given by war-time pianist Joan Davies (1944). These were notably the only solo Bach performances given by these artists at the Proms. The three performances given by well-established soloist Fanny Davies (1914, 1915, and 1920) were also her only Prom appearances involving Bach repertoire. The engagement of Benno Moiseiwitsch (a pianist celebrated for his interpretations of late Romantic repertoire) marked a significant change of tone. His two performances of Brandenburg 5 in 1917 and 1918 were wartime exceptions to his usual concertos, and the only performances of Bach that he gave at the Proms. A review of a Brandenburg 5 from earlier in 1917 noted that the soloists, Moisewitsch, Fransella, and Sons, played 'exquisitely' and that the performance 'excited the large audience to a fever of enthusiasm'.⁵⁹ Moisewitsch's name endorsed the repertoire at the highest level in the early years of its integration into the canon of works.

Techniques of popularizing Brandenburg 5 such as this differed considerably from that of other piano concertos. For example, Appendix 2.1 shows that the earliest concertos programmed were those for two pianos (BWVs 1061 and 1062), two violins (BWV 1043) and four pianos (BWV 1065) (in addition to the Concerto

⁵⁹ A Queen's Hall Symphony Concert of 13 January 1917 in Anon, 'London Concerts', *MT*, 58.888 (February, 1917), p. 82.

in E major for Violin). The Bach concertos involving multiple instrumental soloists were perfect vehicles for the theatre of the Proms and for showing on-stage chemistry between performers. One striking strategy employed by Wood was the use of sibling soloists. This was seen in the engagement of violinists Fachiri and d'Aranyi, but an earlier example included the first performance of the Concerto in C major for Two Pianofortes (BWV 1061) given on Thursday 11 October 1900 by the 'Misses Cerasoli': Rosina and Beatrice.⁶⁰ The sisters were chosen on account of their 'excellent technique and perfect ensemble', 'velvety delicacy of touch', and 'delightful unanimity'.⁶¹ Later the same season they gave a performance of the Concerto in C minor for Two Pianofortes (BWV 1062), of which Jacques noted: 'the work now to be heard is very seldom played – it is even less known than the Concerto in C major played by the Misses Cerasoli at these concerts three weeks ago.⁶² As shown in Appendix 2.1, this concerto was not programmed again until 1923, whereas the previous Concerto in C major became a regular Proms work.⁶³ Reviews of their 1901 performances reveal a little more of the performers, describing 'neat and attractive renderings of the pianoforte parts' and that the Misses Cerasoli, 'answered prolonged applause by repeating the fugue', ⁶⁴ but despite reports of 'well-deserved success', the sisters were apparently 'now and then, a trifle suggestive of the amateur'.⁶⁵ Thus they were not necessarily engaged as eminent performers but for the novelty of being siblings. The sisters also introduced a performance of the Concerto in A minor for Four Pianos (Wednesday 9 October, 1901) in which they were joined by organist Percy Pitt and Wood himself on the fourth piano (the Queen's Hall Orchestra were conducted by the leader, Arthur

⁶⁰ In the accompanying programme notes to their 1900 Prom performance, Edgar Jacques wrote: 'the work played today is comparatively unknown to London concert goers, its performance in 1891 at a concert of the London Bach Choir being probably the only one given here during the past half century.'

⁶¹ Anon, 'London Concerts', *Musical News* 12.327 (June, 1897), 535-538, (p.537); Anon, 'London Concerts', *Musical News* 12.330 (June, 1897), 610-612 (p.611); Anon, 'London Concerts and Recitals', *Musical Times* 40.678 (August 1899), 536-545 (p. 545), and Anon, 'The Promenade Concerts', *Musical Standard* 14.355 (October, 1900), 249 respectively.

⁶² Programme notes for the Mozart and Beethoven Night, Friday 2 November 1900.

⁶³ It was repeated by the Cerasoli sisters twice in the following season (Wednesday 4 September and Tuesday 15 October 1901), and again in 1902 (Tuesday 16 September) before being performed by other soloists.

⁶⁴ Anon, 'Musical Gossip' *The Athenaeum* 3864 (September, 1901), p. 327: a review that largely reproduced the programme notes which themselves were duplicates of the previous year, and contained numerous (historical) factual inaccuracies.

⁶⁵ Anon, 'Musical Gossip', *The Athenaeum* 3860 (October, 1901), p. 530; J. H. G. B., 'The Promenade Concerts', *MS*, 16.407 (October, 1901), 249-251 (p. 251).

Payne).⁶⁶ The Cerasoli sisters could be seen as an endorsement of novelty; of their thirteen Prom performances, seven were Prom premieres and, in an age when performers did not specialise in the performance of a particular composer, seven of the thirteen performances were of works by J. S. Bach.⁶⁷ As Bach is one of the few composers to write concertos with multiple solo parts, such novelty no doubt accounted for the number of concertos programmed, both in the solo instrumental works, and as an extension, the Brandenburg Concertos.

As Figure 2.13 shows, several pianists explored other Bach instrumental solo concertos in addition to their readings of Brandenburg 5:

⁶⁶ Despite the fact that Wood had been known to play the organ on previous occasions, this was his piano debut and did not become a regular feature. The work was not heard again until 1933, when four official soloists were engaged.

⁶⁷ The Concerto No. 2 in C major for Two Pianofortes continued to be programmed with sisters: a Bach-Beethoven Prom on Wednesday 28 September 1904 with Miss Mathilde and Miss Adela Verne (repeated on Wednesday 3 October 1906), and the Misses Elsa and Cecilia Satz on Friday 9 September 1910. From 1912, non-siblings performed the now-familiar work: Miss Esther Kalisz and Miss Dorothy Davies (their first appearance at these concerts) on Wednesday 11 September 1912, and husband and wife duo: Mme Therese Chaigneau-Rummel and Mr Walter M. Rummel (his first appearance) on Fri 23 October 1914. This was typical development of Wood's strategy; once the work was established, subsequent performances could be given by new Proms artists.

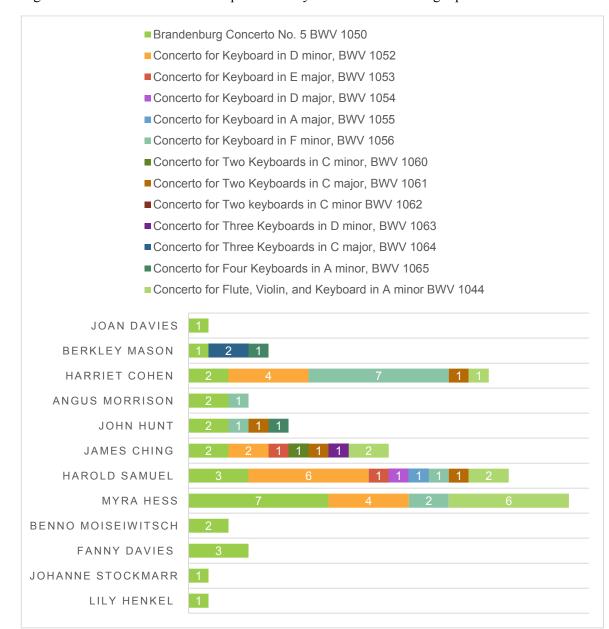


Figure 2.13: Other Bach Concertos performed by Wood's Brandenburg 5 pianists

Despite the contrast in longevity of their Prom careers, Angus Morrison and John Hunt both gave two performances of Brandenburg 5 and a limited number of additional works by Bach.⁶⁸ Morrison had a (modest) Prom repertory of other Baroque and Classical concertos (e.g. Handel's Concerto in Bb major (arr. Lambert) and Beethoven's 2nd and 4th piano concertos),⁶⁹ but it is notable that both of his performances of Brandenburg 5 were with Adila Fachiri and Isolde Menges,

⁶⁸ Morrison's Prom career as a soloist spanned 25 years (1927-52), Hunt's only included four seasons: 1934 and 1937-9.

⁶⁹ Morrison gave an additional performance of Bach's Concerto for Keyboard in D minor, (BWV 1052) in 1952, eight years after Wood's death.

external violin soloists as opposed to the leader-as-soloist, promoting a more soloistic feel to the ensemble concerto. In contrast, the performances of Bach given by Hunt that are outlined in Figure 2.13 represent five of the six solo performances (83%) he gave in total during his four-season Prom career.⁷⁰ Whilst Benno Moiseiwitsch had been an exception to the pattern of engaging relatively unfamiliar soloists to date (Fanny Davies was still at the start of her career), the remaining names – Myra Hess, Harold Samuel, James Ching, and Harriet Cohen – were established Prom pianists who accounted for almost all the Bach keyboard concertos. Whilst Hess gave the greatest number of performances, Ching and Samuel gave a greater variety of solo works – Ching with the multiple keyboard concertos, and Samuel with solo keyboard concertos.

Myra Hess's wartime musical ventures (during both World Wars) often included works by Bach, whether at the Proms or the National Portrait Gallery. Her status as a celebrated soloist assisted in popularizing Brandenburg 5 from 1919. In 1924, the *Musical Times* attributed increasing audience numbers partly to Hess's engagement as the soloist, recognizing she still "draws" more than the work'.⁷¹ Reports of her performance suggest that this may have had some basis in fact:

Admiration of Miss Hess, carried to any length this side of idolatry, is not only excusable but commendable [...] in the fifth 'Brandenburg' of Bach, her association with Mr. Charles Woodhouse and Mr. Murchie (violin and flute) provided a beautiful example of perfect felicity and mutual understanding. Than Mr. Murchie's flute playing I know nothing more satisfying to the lover of artistic shading and rhythmic subtlety.⁷²

Hess gave the greatest number of performances of Brandenburg 5 (and the Concerto in A minor for Flute, Violin, and Keyboard, BWV 1044) during Wood's lifetime. Her Bach solo concerto repertoire was limited to the concertos in D minor (BWV 1052) and F minor (BWV 1056), but the number of performances made her synonymous with the repertoire. Furthermore, there was widespread admiration for her insights into Bach's music, earning her much acclaim as a Bach soloist:

⁷⁰ The 6th solo was a performance of Beethoven's Rondo in B flat major (WoO 6).

⁷¹ W. R. A, 'Promenade Concerts', MT, 65.980 (October, 1924), 937-38.

⁷² Ibid., p. 938.

Miss Hess never fails to convey the freshness of her mind, and the fullness of her devotion, when she plays Bach. The slow movement of the D minor Concerto was a memorable experience. The recitalist gave out the quiet rapture of that song as one who had a secret to confide: and we, having shared this secret, turned and rejoiced with her in the heartiness of the last movement. During this we were given to admire the remarkable fund of colours and intensities which Miss Hess has at her command.⁷³

The educative nature of Wood's introduction of orchestral Bach was exemplified in the engagement of pianist James Ching. In 1929, Ching was based in London; he taught at the Incorporated London Academy of Music and set up the James Ching Professional Service to provide notes for examinations as a correspondence course. By this point he had decided to concentrate on the music of Bach (on account of his small hands) and in 1929 gave a lecture aimed at those who disliked Bach's music. In it he suggested five main positive attributes. He first emphasized that it was intrinsically beautiful music, then that it developed musicianship and the power of analysis, it developed more than any other music the power of tone-control, it was very interesting historically, and finally that it was nearly always wanted for examinations.⁷⁴ However, the most significant pianist to emerge as a Bach specialist was Harold Samuel.

RCM-trained pianist Samuel's performing career was transformed in 1921 by a week of daily Bach recitals given at the Wigmore Hall. It established his position that he played Bach 'as written', rather than in piano transcriptions, and subsequently, having memorized the complete repertoire, he was 'seldom asked to play anything but Bach in England or on his many American tours'.⁷⁵ A 1922 interview credits his skill of 'happily focussing the predilections of a dozen different sorts of music lovers';⁷⁶ although he embraced his specialism, he was outspoken on his influences:

⁷³ B. M., 'Pianists of the Month', MT, 68.1010 (April, 1927), 357-58.

⁷⁴ J. G., 'Points from Lectures', *Musical Times* 70.1036 (June, 1929), 533-34. Whilst there are no detailed descriptions of Ching's Bach performances, they are likely to have brought out these qualities.

⁷⁵ Frank Dawes, 'Samuel, Harold' *Grove Music Online*, (Oxford University Press) <u>http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24480</u>, [accessed 8 November 2013]; Also Anon, 'Mr Harold Samuel - A Great Interpreter of Bach' (Obituaries) *The Times*, 16 January, 1937, p. 14.

⁷⁶ C., 'British Players and Singers', *MT*, 63.947 (January, 1922), 15-18 (p.15). The article particularly highlights that 'before Mr Samuel's day in the London pianoforte recital' Bach had been presented in piano transcriptions, notably those of Liszt, but Samuel had come with 'a horror of 'octivising' Bach', 'no disdain for the least of mere two-part inventions' and that he 'rashly declined to make the music any more difficult' (p.16).

To do justice in a concert devoted to one man, to Bach or Beethoven, one quite particularly must know well other men and other idioms of the art. He knows not Bach who knows Bach only. The executant can't know about too many sorts of music. I venture that to know about music-hall music and to know what constitutes the difference between a good and bad music-hall song may be a sort of help to the grasping of some element in Beethoven or Bach. There is much more general humanity in their music than some austere folk would willingly believe. The more you cultivate one man's music in public the more you should in private, for your own enriching, cultivate others.⁷⁷

Thus his musical horizons were wide and infused his much-admired interpretations. However, he was the antithesis of Wood in his views on presenting Bach to modern audiences:

While playing Bach on the pianoforte, remember ever the different instrument for which the music was written. Think of the clavichord as you strike the concert grand. And as you strike with this reserve in your mind, shun, too, any bringing of the music up-to-date.⁷⁸

This extended to transcriptions and also to additional articulation (he aspired to creating 'clean' editions), rallentandos ('my abomination'), and the lack of repeats ('when at a double-bar you go back, the music the second time is not the same').⁷⁹ Although Wood appears not to have subscribed to such views on the evidence of his Bach orchestral transcriptions and editions, one could speculate that Samuel's well-articulated views influenced the limited rallentandos that may be observed in his 1930s recorded interpretations of the Brandenburg concertos.⁸⁰ Reviews of Samuel's recording of the English Suite in A minor praise his cerebral approach,⁸¹ and whilst noting that 'at first his performance may to some people seem unsympathetic and hard', the overwhelming impression was that he captured the textures with honesty and integrity:

Harold Samuel gives a more real Bach, in which the original creation is built upon stone by stone as in the Prelude (never halting even for that seductive second subject); and when he comes to the Jig he plays it, not for a drawing room audience, but for dancers on the village green.⁸²

⁷⁷ C., 'British Players and Singers', p.17.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ See discussion of Wood's tempos in case study 3.2, esp. p. 109.

⁸¹ J. S. Bach, *English Suite no 2 in A minor, BWV 807* Harold Samuel HMV 1405-6 (Rec. 11/10/1926).

⁸² Rutland Boughton, 'Bach on the Gramophone', *The Sackbut*, 10.11 (June, 1930), p. 308.

Whilst the reviewer was primarily concerned that the 'sentimental tendencies of modern music, with its demoralizing influence upon performers, who too often set out to interpret instead of to reveal, become most obvious in the music of Bach', he noted that the best comparison in the matter was the two most important contemporary recordings of Bach on the piano: Samuel's above mentioned English Suite and Harriet Cohen's 'rendering of the first eight Preludes and Fugues from the Forty-eight (Columbia)'.⁸³

Although Samuel was one of the first pianists of the twentieth century to focus his career on the works of Bach, Harriet Cohen's Bach specialism is more widely recognized.⁸⁴ However, by comparison to Samuel's academic approach, Cohen's was overtly romantic, embracing transcriptions and 'frightfully sentimental' aspects of the music.⁸⁵ In her Proms career Cohen performed 57 solo works in 43 Proms; of these 24 were by Bach (42%), 15 during Wood's lifetime (shown in Figure 2.13 above) and a further nine after his death. This reflects her increased specialism compared to the 15% Bach repertoire in Hess's 130 solo appearances, but a conservative proportion in the context of the 70% Bach repertoire in Samuel's (considerably fewer) 23 solo appearances. Cohen's interpretations of Bach at the Proms were described as 'full of emotion keenly controlled, of tonal beauty and rich expressiveness',⁸⁶ and in an 1929 interview she positioned herself as 'anti-virtuoso', promoting the 'wireless' for 'training up' a public that 'will be less and less concerned with the appearance and personality of the performer, and more and more with the music.'87 The interview confirmed contemporary opinion that 'Miss Cohen's excellence as a Bach player has long been recognised' but also noted Cohen's admiration for Samuel: 'He [Samuel] has enormously increased the public for Bach; he has emphasized the human side of Bach's music; and he is giving pianists of to-day a constant lesson on how Bach's clavier music should be played.⁸⁸ Established as Bach-pianists at the Proms, Cohen, Samuel, Ching, and

⁸³ Boughton, 'Bach on the Gramophone', p. 307.

⁸⁴ Notably in praise from the musicologist Alfred Einstein and invitations to play Bach on the continent from Casals (Barcelona) and Furtwängler (Switzerland) She was the first to give an 'all-Bach' recital at the Queen's Hall (1925) and was dedicated *A Bach Book for Harriet Cohen: Transcriptions for pianoforte from the works of J. S. Bach* (Oxford University Press, 1932) which contained arrangements by British composers such as Frank Bridge, William Walton, Arnold Bax, and Ralph Vaughan Williams.

⁸⁵ Broughton, 'Bach on the Gramophone', p. 308.

⁸⁶ W. R. A., 'Promenade Concerts', p. 937.

⁸⁷ Claudia Sheale, 'Harriet Cohen', MT, 70.1037 (July, 1929), 593-94 (p. 594).

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 594.

Hess each brought different, but strong influences to Wood's interpretations of Brandenburg 5.

The wind soloists in the Bach orchestral repertoire (Orchestral Suite No. 2 and Brandenburg Concertos 2, 4, and 5) were always taken from the orchestra and there is a clear sense from contemporary accounts that certain names were central to the Proms sound:

I still clearly recall some very beautiful playing, especially from the woodwind section, which then consisted of Albert Fransella (flute) later followed by Robert Murchie, Leon Goossens (oboe), Haydn Draper (clarinet), and Wilfred Jones (bassoon)[...] Alfred Brain was the first horn.⁸⁹

The continuity of Wood's wind players (seen in Appendices 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6) reinforces the concept of a consistency of sound. Albert Fransella's eleven seasons with the QHO and NQHO,⁹⁰ and Robert Murchie's eighteen seasons with the NQHO, HWSO, and BBCSO dominate the performances of Bach in Wood's lifetime, and Gordon Walker's three performances with the BBCSO and LSO under Wood and Basil Cameron illustrate the consistency of performers despite changing management. By contrast, Gerald Jackson and Arthur Ackroyd performed exclusively with the BBCSO and LPO respectively – aligning their individual approaches to a specific orchestra.⁹¹

Albert Fransella had been the founder solo flautist of the Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1888 before being asked by Wood to join the Queen's Hall Orchestra as a virtuoso Boehm soloist at the outset of the Proms in 1895.⁹² The lowering of pitch specified by Dr George Cathcart had led to the acquisition of new instruments and, although Fransella favoured the wooden Boehm system flute, he played those specifically made by Rudell Carte, including, briefly, an 18-karat gold instrument. Carte claimed the tone of the gold instrument was 'clearer, more pure and sweeter

⁸⁹ Thompson, 'The Story of the Proms', p. 7.

⁹⁰ The second performance of Orchestral Suite No. 2 in 1908 with Eli Husdon was an exception to the normal Proms format. This was the only occasion when Wood took a week out of the season to perform at the Sheffield festival, leaving Edouard Colonne as Proms conductor. Although Colonne conducted the QHO, he also used additional performers, including Hudson.

 ⁹¹ Victor Bourlée had previously appeared most often as second flute for such items as Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 but Frank Almgill took his position for many performances with Murchie.
 ⁹² Ardel Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 204-5.

than that produced on flutes made of any other material', ⁹³ but Fransella soon reverted to the wooden and silver instruments.⁹⁴ Fransella was thus responsible for the introduction of many Bach flute solos and whilst descriptions of his sound are not abundant, George Bernard Shaw reported that:

[Fransella] sacrifices boldness of style to delicacy of tone and perfection of execution. He takes his instrument as it is, and does not enlarge the holes to get a big tone, or otherwise spoil it for ordinary players and trusts to his power of lip to make it practicable for himself. What we got from him therefore was the normal modern orchestral flute, very well played.⁹⁵

Contemporary reports reinforce this, highlighting Fransella's 'emphatic agility and delicacy', 'customary skill', status as a 'most successful soloist', and noting that he played the solo part of the Second Orchestral Suite 'to perfection', allowing the work to be 'full of the most delightful fun'– all of which were ideal attributes in convincing a new audience of the accessibility of Bach's music.⁹⁶

In 1919 Fransella was succeeded by Robert Murchie and throughout the 1920s and 30s, the period in which the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites dominated the programming of orchestral Bach, Murchie was one of the most visible orchestral performers associated with the composer.⁹⁷ Of the thirteen solo Prom performances given by Murchie in 1927-8, ten were of Bach, effectively identifying him as a Bach specialist. He was particularly renowned for his virtuosic interpretations of Orchestral Suite No. 2, and Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 with Charles Woodhouse (described above). Performances of Bach on his wooden, open G# Boehm system flute, were undoubtedly informed by his chamber experience and

⁹⁴ This may be observed in the National Portrait Gallery's photograph from 1897 <u>http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw239828/Albert-Fransella-Dsir-Alfred-Lalande-Friedrich-Adolf-Borsdorff-Sir-Henry-Joseph-Wood-Manuel-Gomez-Edwin-Frederick-James [accessed: 8 November 2013].</u>

⁹³ Anon, 'Other concerts' *MS*, 5.111 (15 February, 1896), p. 107.

⁹⁵ Shaw's Music: the Complete Musical Criticism, ed. by Dan H. Laurence. Vol.3, 1893-1950 (London: Max Reinhardt, The Bodley Head, 1981), p. 152.

⁹⁶ Anon, 'Other concerts', *MS*, 5.111 (February, 1896), p. 107; P. S., 'Philharmonic Society', *MS*, 35.896 (March, 1911), p. 139; Anon, 'Aeolian Hall: Bach Memorial Concert', *The Athenaeum* 4097 (May, 1906), p. 555; and H. C. C., 'Music', *The Academy* 1775 (May, 1906), p. 457 respectively.
⁹⁷ Robert Murchie studied at the Royal College of Music. He was principal flute for the Royal Philharmonic Society 1925-1932 and an active chamber music player, founding the London Wind Quintet and being one of the London Flute Quartet with fellow Proms performers Gordon Walker, Frank Almgill and Charles Stainer. He was principal of the variously named Proms orchestras from 1919 until 1928, when he left for a period of two years. He returned in 1931 and continued as principal until retiring after his last Prom, in which he played Bach's Concerto No. 8 in A minor for Flute, Violin, and Piano, on 22 September 1937, when he took up professorships at Trinity College of Music and the Royal College of Music.

accounts describe how 'he played with a large tone' and a 'dexterity and accuracy [. . .] second to none'.⁹⁸ As with many performers of this period, more may be learned from the performances of a pupil, in this case the flautist Gareth Morris who inherited Murchie's instrument and advocated his manner of performance – a tighter embouchure and big sound on a wooden instrument – well into the twentieth century. A recording of Orchestral Suite No. 2 from 1934, in which these performing traits may be observed, will be discussed in Chapter 3.⁹⁹

The specification of a lower pitch necessitated new oboes and the players were supplied with new instruments by the makers Mahillon – one of the few details we know about the instrument played by the first principal oboe Désiré-Alfred Lalande.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently Belgian oboist Henri de Busscher (1880-1975) regularly performed Brandenburg 2 during his tenure in the QHO before his departure for the New York Symphony 1913-20 (and the Los Angeles Philharmonic, 1920-48).¹⁰¹ His playing was described as 'delicate and expressive, with a marvellous singing quality about it', his 'long, sensitive phrases were a marvel', and his 'cameo-like tone was endowed with a warm vibrato'.¹⁰² His performance of Brandenburg 2 was apparently 'rendered in a refined and finished manner', ¹⁰³ and his playing inspired his 17-year-old successor Leon Goossens whose 'delicate silver thread in the midst of the orchestral wind section¹⁰⁴ developed De Busscher's ideas into 'a new style of playing and a new tone [...] warm, singing and vibrant, far from the dead, reedy and rather ugly sound which was generally accepted before his time.¹⁰⁵ Goossens played Brandenburg 2 at the Proms in 1914 and 1915 prior to serving in the War, and again from 1919 to 1923. Like De Busscher before him, the Proms were a springboard for his career which continued in the LPO at the invitation of Sir Thomas Beecham. In terms of the sound of the oboe at that time Goossens himself reported:

 ⁹⁸ <u>http://www.dwsolo.com/flutehistory/rudallcarte/Robert%20Murchie.htm</u> [Accessed: 8.11.2013].
 ⁹⁹ See case study 3.1, pp. 95-6.

¹⁰⁰ Pictured in the National Portrait Gallery photograph in fn. 94 above.

¹⁰¹ See Margaret Beth Mitchell Antonopulos, *Oboist Henri de Busscher: From Brussels to Los Angeles* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2002).

¹⁰² <u>http://www.oboeclassics.com/Goossens.htm</u> (Melvin Harris) [accessed: 8 November 2013].

¹⁰³ Anon, 'Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts', MT, 47.763 (September, 1906), p. 627.

¹⁰⁴ Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 197, note 88.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 197.

Those first days at the Queen's Hall Orchestra represented for me a period of isolation from the prevalent style of sound reproduction. I suffered a great deal of abuse and jibing from other players at this time for persisting with my own concept of a beautiful oboe sound incorporating *vibrato* as an essential aspect of its singing quality.¹⁰⁶

This French-influenced breath vibrato was a 'Goossens trademark', inspired by violinist Fritz Kreisler, and varied in strength and speed.¹⁰⁷ It led to descriptions of his tone as 'unearthly in its beauty', and the suggestion that he was 'perhaps the most exquisite player of the oboe living today'.¹⁰⁸ The engagement of Busscher and Goossens proved that Wood was consistently able to employ the most eminent performers and identify rising talent whilst allowing such artists to influence the sounds of the orchestra. Issues such as vibrato took the orchestra from the 'old fashioned' sounds of the previous century into the 'modern' sounds of the new century.¹⁰⁹ These included the French–infused oboe playing of Alec Whittaker and Terence MacDonagh both of whom continued to promote the solo oboe repertoire and featured in the annual performances of Brandenburg 2.

The trumpeters employed by Wood represent the foremost performers and teachers of the day, whose careers spanned a period of considerable change in the innovation and standardization of orchestral trumpet playing. As John Wallace suggests, 'the popularity of the music of Handel in Britain during the nineteenth century ensured the survival of a tradition of solo trumpet playing, but did little to equip the players for the trumpet parts of Bach.'¹¹⁰ The first trumpeter to perform Brandenburg 2 for Wood in 1898 was Walter Morrow. Wallace states that Morrow 'probably used his "Bach" trumpet in B flat (equivalent in length to the modern B flat trumpet) and presumably performed a simplified version of the trumpet part.'¹¹¹ This was in spite of the fact that Morrow owned a converted eighteenth-century slide instrument, had previously promoted the Trumpet in F for performances of Bach (Mass in B minor), heard Julius Kosleck perform the work on his Bach trumpet in A in 1895, and justified the use of a cornet in A for high Bach parts on

¹⁰⁶ Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 263.

¹⁰⁷ For further discussion of this relationship see ibid.

¹⁰⁸ P.W., 'London Concerts', MT, 71.1043 (January, 1930), 66-70 (p. 66-7), and Sydney Grew,

^{&#}x27;Musicians', BMMN, 5.43 (August, 1929), 218-220 (p. 218) respectively.

¹⁰⁹ See Philip, *Early Recording and Musical Style*, pp. 109-141.

¹¹⁰ John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 230.

¹¹¹ 'Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 2' in Wallace and McGrattan, pp. 235-239 (specifically p. 236).

account of the 'equal intonation, good tone, and some certainty'.¹¹² Whether or not he played it at pitch will be discussed in Chapter 3.¹¹³

The second, and most prolific Brandenburg 2 trumpeter during Wood's lifetime was Francis L. Gyp, who performed the work annually between 1906 and 1929 – with the exception of 1922, 1924, and 1927 when it was not programmed (see Appendix 2.1). Little is known about this trumpeter but the statistics prove that his performances were key to the establishment of the repertoire in the psyche of the public and the few contemporary reports all suggest strong interpretations. He was specifically praised for 'exceptionally satisfactory' performances in which 'the very exacting passages written for the instrument were given with splendid smoothness and fluency.'¹¹⁴ Critics particularly noted the demands of the concerto and commended the 'fluid trumpet playing of Mr. F. L. Gyp in his extremely trying part.'115 The remaining Brandenburg 2 trumpeters Ernest Hall and George Eskdale were eminent professors at the Royal College of Music and Royal Academy of Music respectively. Hall was a contemporary of Herbert Barr who was famed for his performance on a 'clarino' trumpet, playing Brandenburg 2 at pitch,¹¹⁶ but when he recorded the work with the London Chamber Orchestra under Anthony Bernard in 1929 he played many of the passages an octave lower than written.¹¹⁷ He regularly performed in the broadcasts of Brandenburg 2 from the Proms having been appointed principal of the BBCSO (1930) and was therefore responsible for the wider public appreciation of the work. Similarly Eskdale was associated with the early recordings of the work, specifically with Adolf Busch. In the 1935 recordings of the work he performs almost the whole part at pitch, excepting some high Gs and a short passage given to the flute, on a specially adapted trumpet in F.¹¹⁸ As discussed further in Chapter 3, Wood employed trumpet players (rather than clarinet or saxophones) for every Proms performance of Brandenburg 2, whether or not they performed at pitch, or from an edited arrangement of the work.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Wallace and McGrattan, pp. 215-6.

¹¹³ See case study 3.1, pp. 77-9.

¹¹⁴ Douglas Donaldson, 'Music in London', MS, 36.925 (23 September, 1911), 198-9 (p. 198).

¹¹⁵ Donaldson, 'Music in London', MS, 38.978 (28 September, 1912), 197-8 (p. 197).

¹¹⁶ Wallace and McGrattan, *The Trumpet*, p. 236.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 237.

¹¹⁸ For more detail see ibid.

¹¹⁹ See case study 3.1, pp. 780-81.

Brass soloists such as Gyp and Eskdale along with their wind and string counterparts emerged as specialist Bach performers owing to the regularity with which Wood employed them in step-out roles at the Proms. From the outset, the Proms ensemble-in-residence had been central to Wood's process of canonizing the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites. Wood's orchestras thus became closely associated with this repertoire and played a crucial role in helping to shape his interpretations of Bach at the Proms.

Chapter 3: Wood's interpretation of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites

This extended chapter is divided into three case studies. Each draws upon Wood's scores of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites in order to understand his priorities in approaching live performances, recordings, and creating new editions. Case study 3.1 compares the extant scores from Wood's collection of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites and, through an examination of the second work from each set, reveals the extent to which Wood promoted new practical, performing editions over the scholarly editions of the Bach-Gesellschaft. The second case study, 3.2, investigates Wood's recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6 in the context of the most significant recordings of the works in the first half of the twentieth century (conducted by Eugène Goossens, Alfred Cortot, Adolf Busch, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Paul Schmitz, and Alois Melichar). The fact that Wood's conducting score was used for his recording of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 offers the opportunity to assess the extent to which his detailed score markings were adopted in his performances. The final case study, 3.3, examines Wood's own published edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 (Boosey, 1944) and the manuscript scores he prepared for new editions of Concertos 1, 5, and 6 in order to determine his final thoughts on interpreting the repertoire.

Case Study 3.1: Scores

Wood's conducting scores of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites are, even by his standards, heavily marked (Appendix 3.1).¹ The attention to interpretative detail he notated into these scores is indicative of the context in which Wood worked: the lack of rehearsal time prompted the comprehensive instructions needed to convey his intentions to musicians who were often reading at sight. Lady Jessie Wood outlined the significance of such scores as historical documents:

I know only too well, what silly jokes and wisecracks are exchanged among a certain set of musicians on this 'blue pencil' of Henry, but I often wonder if they know that young Henry Wood was the first to institute bow-marks in orchestral parts, and if they comprehend the untold artistic value of Henry's disciplinary markings in relation to orchestral playing to-day? Do they realize that Henry's bowings in those days way back have been the means of producing orchestra string tone, quality and phrasing as we know it – and insist upon – to-day? Do they know that at that period, in the old St. James's Hall concerts under Richter and Augustus Manns, the players bowed as they pleased, some up, some down, and it took young Henry Wood to see and note what could be done for greater artistic results and to have the courage to impose his blue-pencil discipline?²

Viewed in the context of music-making in England at the turn of the twentieth century, the markings are indicative of changing performing practices, including the uniform bowing mentioned above.³ Although a number of the scores are dated by Wood, they contain performance directions from prior and succeeding years of use. Additionally, corresponding sets of orchestral parts are heavily marked, and significant changes made include Wood's note: 'corrected' on the individual covers. Lady Jessie Wood also confirmed that while Wood's emphatic directions were evident from the outset, regular revisions were observed:

¹ Wood's Bach scores contain a similar number of markings to those of other composers in his library. Full details of the scores and parts are outlined in Appendix 3.1.

² Jessie Wood, p. 69.

³ Although Jessie notes the practices in England, Ferdinand David introduced marked up parts in the manner in Leipzig around from the mid-nineteenth century; see La Mara *Musikalische Studienköpfe*, Vol. 3 Jübgstvergangenheit und Gegenwart (Leipzig: Heinrich Schmidt und Carl Günther, 1878).

Do not run away with the idea that one of young Henry Wood's blue pencil markings remained a fixed direction every time he conducted that particular work. His preparation for each rehearsal or concert was always as if a new score were placed before him. Through the years his readings varied considerably, although his blue-pencil reminders to give so-and-so a careful direction, that here an oboe lead is too covered, there to keep the strings down, etc., still apply and are immensely useful for a young would-be conductor to study. How about those blue markings that remain in the parts? Well, the answer is that no professional player ever misunderstood Henry's stick, and no member of the orchestra ever escaped his eye, his direction and unmistakable 'request'.⁴

Despite Wood's life-long career of performing the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites, relatively few copies of each work survive in the archive. They may be viewed in two contexts: a scholarly editorial history beginning with the Bach-Gesellschaft edition of 1871, and a history of performance editions prepared by conductors and arrangers.

Wood's conducting scores of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites present two significant contrasts. First, his copies of the collected editions published by the Bach-Gesellschaft (hereafter referred to as the 'BG edition(s)') differ in that the Brandenburg Concertos [*GB-Lam* 143591-1001] are heavily annotated whereas the Orchestral Suites [*GB-Lam* 150620-1001] are almost devoid of markings and show little sign of use. Second, there is just one individual performing score for each Orchestral Suite but multiple scores for each of the Brandenburg Concertos.⁵ This case study will examine Wood's marked-up scores of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 and Orchestral Suite No. 2 in the context of the other editions of these works that he owned. These documents illustrate Wood's approach to Bach scores from a textual and performance practice perspective.

⁴ Jessie Wood, p. 69.

⁵ See Appendix 3.1 for full details including reference to the description of each in the text of this chapter.

Brandenburg Concerto No. 2

The BG edition of the Brandenburg Concertos was published in 1871 and was immediately followed by individual performing scores of each concerto, also published by Breitkopf and Härtel (hereafter referred to as 'B&H editions'). Appendix 3.1 shows that Wood owned B&H editions of concertos 1-5,⁶ and each shows signs of considerable use (damaged pages and heavily-marked performance directions). The markings on the BG edition are particularly comprehensive in Concerto No. 6 which suggests that, in the absence of the B&H edition, Wood may have used it for performances. Each of the B&H editions reproduces the exact notation of the BG edition and shows that Wood gave performances according to the most 'original' text of the work available. However, Wood's collection also includes a number of alternative performing scores. Whilst some of these show signs of regular use - for example, the edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 by Felix Mottl - others, such as Alexander Siloti's edition of Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 are signed and stamped but not marked up. The editions Wood owned of Brandenburg 2 offer particular insight into his interpretative practices both in terms of the nature of the editions themselves, and the annotations he made on them. The principal contrasts are found between his BG edition and the edition arranged by Felix Mottl (hereafter referred to as the 'Mottl edition'). Although there is considerable interpretative detail contained in both scores, one particular element of performance is highlighted by them: Wood's approach to orchestral balance.

Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 was the first of the set of Brandenburg Concertos that Wood programmed at the Proms.⁷ The programme for Friday 14 October 1898 was presented as follows:

⁶ No. 6 does not survive in the archive.

⁷ See Appendix 2.1.

Prom 42: Friday 14 October 1898

J. S. Bach – Partita for Solo Violin No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004 (orch. Joachim Raff) Richard Wagner – *Die Walküre,* WWV 86b Camille Saint-Saëns – *Introduction et rondo capriccioso,* Op. 28 J. S. Bach – Brandenburge Concerto No. 2 in F major, BWV 1047 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Overture *Le Nozze di Figaro,* K 492 Chopin – Concerto for Piano No. 1 in E minor, Op. 11 Richard Wagner – *Tannhäuser,* WWV 70 Antonio Zamara – *Sur les ailes du Rêve* Antonio Zamara – *Bénédiction des Larmes* Ludwig van Beethoven – Symphony No. 9 in D minor, 'Choral'

Frederick Godfrey – *Reminiscences of England* J. M. Coward – *Love Me* Edgardo Levi – *In the moonlight* Frederic Cowen – *When the world is fair* Arthur Sullivan – *Ivanhoe* Ernest Ford – *Faust⁸*

Thus the work was framed within the broadest classical context, juxtaposed with works of much greater orchestral scope, including Raff's large-scale orchestral arrangement of the Partita in D minor for Solo Violin (BWV 1004). It is surprising that Wood chose to introduce No. 2 to the Proms before the other Brandenburg Concertos on account of the challenges it posed in orchestral balance that had previously made it unpopular.⁹

As the 1898 performance predates the Mottl edition of the work, Wood must have used the Bach-Gesellschaft version for the first Proms performance. As noted in Chapter 2, Walter Morrow played the solo trumpet part alongside Désiré-Alfred Lalande (oboe) Albert Fransella (flute, rather than recorder) and Arthur W Payne (violin).¹⁰ Wallace suggested that Morrow 'probably used his "Bach" trumpet in B flat (equivalent in length to the modern B flat trumpet) and presumably performed a simplified version of the trumpet part',¹¹ but there is no score-based evidence to

⁸ <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1890s/1898/october-14/531</u> [accessed 11 November 2013].

⁹ The absence of the work from the repertoire of Hans Richter, for example, is indicative of the situation: a trumpeter himself, Richter had not performed the work in England or on the continent on account of the difficulties it presented; See Appendix 1.2 showing performances of orchestral Bach given by Richter in the UK.

¹⁰ See Appendix 2.4.

¹¹ Wallace and McGrattan, pp. 235-239, esp. p. 236.

support this common sense conclusion. The individual trumpet part in Wood's orchestral set (Appendices 3.1 and 3.3) shows the original notation with no contrary indication to play down an octave.¹² Furthermore, Edward Tarr posits 1898 as the year from which soloists began to perform the solo line in its original tessitura, and therefore it is not inconceivable that Morrow performed the work at pitch.¹³ The adaptation of the trumpet part is one of the most significant modifications in Mottl's 1901 edition; as he suggested in his preface:

The main reason why this Concerto has not featured in performances until now is because the trumpet line presents so many difficulties. The wish to introduce this wonderful piece back to our concert programmes gave me the courage to try to edit the trumpet part in a way that will enable it to be performed successfully today.

Certainly it is a brutal change, and it can only be justified as the original version is simply not achievable using today's means.

In order to give the solo trumpeter a break now and then, I have divided the line for two trumpets. The original is noted on a separate line. Perhaps a talented instrument maker will invent an instrument which will allow the performance in its original version, which is in keeping with the character of the original trumpet. If this is the case then my version would of course become obsolete.¹⁴

Mottl's division and octave transposition of the trumpet part offered a solution that would allow the work to be widely performed and the inclusion of an ossia stave promoted an understanding of the original version. However, whilst the changes

¹² An additional, undated, handwritten part with the line transposed down an octave is included in the set of parts, but though it is in Wood's hand it is unlikely to be the part that was used in 1898 as the handwriting and ink is contemporaneous with the cembalo part dated 1 November 1930.

¹³ Edward Tarr, *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution, with a Lexicon of Trumpeters Active in Russia from the Seventeenth Century to the Twentieth* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2003). For further details of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 and for information about the first soloists who, from 1898, began to perform the trumpet part in its original tessitura, see Reine Dahlqvist and Bengt Eklund, 'The Brandenburg Concerto No. 2', *Euro-ITG Newsletter* 1995/2 (1995), 4-9. For an extended history of this work in relation to the trumpet part, see John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, "Bach" trumpets, and the advent of the piccolo trumpet', pp. 225-242.

¹⁴ Vorbemerkung. Die Ausführung der Trompetenstimme bietet solche Schwierigkeiten, dass wohl eine Hauptursache ist, warum dieses Konzert unseren Aufführungen vollkommen fremd blieb. Der Wunsch, das herrlicheStück den Konzertprogrammen wieder zu gewinnen, gab mir den Muth, eine Bearbeitung der Trompetenpartie, so wie sie heutzutage ausführbar erscheint, zu versuchen. Gewiss bleibt dies ein etwas gewaltsamer Eingriff, der nur damit rechtzufertigen sein dürfte, dass die Originalform einfach unausführbar für unsere heutigen Mittel erscheint. Ich habe – um dem Solotrompeter ab und su eine Ruhepause zu geben die Stimme für 2 Trompeten vertheilt. Die Originalform steht auf einer besonderen Zeile verzeichnet. Vielleicht erfindet ein begabter Instrumentenbauer ein Instrument, welches, bei Festhaltung des Trompetencharakters, die Möglichkeit der Ausführung in der Originalform giebt. In diesem Falle ware natütlicherweise sofort die von mir getroffene Einrichtung nicht mehr zu beachten. J.S. Bach *Konzert in F dur* arr. Felix Mottl, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901), 'Preface' trans. by Paul French.

were the product of practical necessities, the octave transposition had a negative impact on the structural climaxes of the concerto and brilliance of the original instrumentation.¹⁵ Appendix 3.2 shows bars 65-72 of Mottl's edition (the trumpet parts are on lines 8 (Trumpet 1), 9 (ossia), and 10 (Trumpet 2)): the trumpet is not in the top register of the ensemble any more (bars 66-67) and therefore not at the same octave as the oboe which imitates it (bars 69-70). In addition to adapting and dividing the trumpet part, Mottl also made substantial changes in orchestration, expanding the ensemble to include two flutes (in addition to the solo flute which replaced the recorder), two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns. Beyond clarifying performing directions such as dynamics, articulation, and phrasing, he re-titled the work 'Concert in F major' and defined its purpose as being 'arranged for concert use' [für den Konzertgebrauch eingerichtet].¹⁶ The additional wind instruments are only used in the outer movements but extend beyond the remit of replacing the continuo texture, creating a richer orchestral palette and doubling thematic ideas.¹⁷ Wood's adoption of the edition shows his willingness to use an arrangement to address the work's balance problems; however the existence of a later trumpet part in Wood's hand, transposed down an octave where necessary throughout, suggests that he returned to using the BG edition (Appendix 3.3).¹⁸ His concern for balance extended to directing the position of soloists on stage, shown by annotations on his copy of the Mottl edition. He notes the requirement for four music stands and that the soloists were to stand in order: trumpet, oboe, flute, and violin, with the latter on the immediate left of the conductor. These practical details would be crucial in allowing Wood to hear each solo line and direct the orchestral accompaniment accordingly.

It is difficult to ascertain which version of Brandenburg 2 Wood used on any given occasion. The BBC Proms Archive cites just two performances of the Mottl version: Friday 23 October, 1908 (Prom 60) and Friday 20 September, 1912 (Prom 30),¹⁹ but the heavily-marked and worn score suggests much more regular use and is

¹⁸ The trumpet part is held with a handwritten, realized cembalo part. The handwriting and ink suggest that they date from the same period, and the cembalo part is dated 1 November 1930.
 ¹⁹ http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/work/brandenburg-concerto-no-2-in-f-major-bwy-

1047-arr-felix-mottl/22325 [accessed 26 June 2013].

¹⁵ Additionally the trumpet is demoted from first to fourth place in the list of solo instruments: instead of trumpet, flute, oboe, and violin, his version was "Violine, Flöte, Oboe, u. Trompete"

¹⁶ J.S. Bach Konzert in F dur arr. Felix Mottl, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901), p. i.

¹⁷ The only omission from the original score is the figuration on the continuo part, but Mottl's full orchestration ensures that there are no instances in which its function is missed.

annotated with a note in Wood's hand indicating a performance length at the 1938 Proms. Whilst Mottl's version, which became the most widely-used edition of the work,²⁰ allowed Wood to introduce Brandenburg 2 to his audiences, its later reception was increasingly negative. A 1938 reviewer was disappointed that Wood 'sanctioned' the use of such editions as they were 'false guides, misleading to the public and the young student, setting up a wrong standard for the budding conductor, and not fulfilling the desire of the composer'.²¹ However, reviews of Wood's Prom performances from the 1940s point to performances of the original BG edition on newly-developed instruments; George Eskdale apparently undertook 'the unusual task of playing his part on the little trumpet in F'.²² This shows that Mottl's forecast of developments in instrument-making came to fruition during Wood's lifetime, allowing for the restoration of the original orchestration.

The most compelling practice to emerge from Wood's treatment of Brandenburg 2 is the reduction of the number of strings in the accompaniment of solo passages. Although there is a widespread acceptance today that this was a longstanding nineteenth-century practice, specific discussion of it is relatively rare.²³ However, Wood makes direct reference to his approach in relation to performances of Beethoven's symphonies, stating: 'it may be taken as a sound general principle in playing the symphonies that half the strings should be silenced during a light or rapid wood-wind solo'.²⁴ Whilst this may be accepted as Wood's general practice, his approach to Brandenburg 2 is not a uniform reduction of strings. In order to establish the provenance of Wood's practice in this concerto specifically, it is necessary to investigate the layers of markings on his BG edition. Although it is not

²⁰ Edward Tarr cites a performance of Brandenburg 2 with trumpeter Willi Böhme (Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra on 5 March 1902) in which 'it is almost certain, however, that he did not perform the trumpet part in its original tessitura. In those days, the simplified version by Mottl (1856-1911), in which most of the high passages were transposed an octave lower than Bach had written, was in universal use.' Tarr, *East Meets West*, p. 223.

²¹ Acca, 'The Re-Scoring of Bach', MT, 76.1103 (January 1935), pp. 56-7.

²² Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach-Wood', *The Times*, 22 August, 1940, p. 6.

²³ Reduction of the ensemble was only necessary for the revival of these works as eighteenth-century practice was normally one player-per-part (discussed below). In a pre-recorded age, conductor's scores and reviews are required for such information and this is a thus far a little-studied field. Once the smaller ensembles of Adolf Busch and Pablo Casals (and experiments of Felix Prohaska) were established there was little need for such reductions and with the advance in recording techniques, the positioning of microphones assisted greatly with balance for conductors such as Klemperer and Mengleburg. In popularizing the Brandenburg Concertos Wood offers clarity in practicalities such as this, simply as a response to his own musical conditions. Clive Brown discusses the issue in the Preface to Beethoven, *Violin Concerto* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 2012), pp. xvi-xvii. ²⁴ Anon, 'Concerning Beethoven's Symphonies: A Talk with Sir Henry Wood', *MT*, 68.1009 (March 1927), 216-9 (p. 217).

possible to date the layers accurately, there is a distinctive use of black ink, blue ink, blue pencil and lead pencil. The comprehensive markings in black ink show all the basic instruction with regard to dynamics and articulation, and are thus indicative of markings made for the preparation of parts prior to clarification for performance in blue pencil. However, they appear over lead pencil annotations – for example in the marking on the trumpet part at the top of the score which reads: 'or 1st bugled', an alternative brass instrument for the part (Appendix 3.4). This suggests that the lead pencil markings were the first made on the score and include instructions on the inside of the cover regarding the forces required:

Figure 3.1: Wood's specification of forces in Brandenburg Concerto No. 2

Solo Trumpet
 Solo Flute
 Solo Oboe
 Solo Violin
 Tutti Strings
 Cembalo

Soli:	Desks I, II, & III	1 st Violins	(6)
	Desks I & II	2 nd Violins	(4)
	Violas I & II	Violas	(4)
	Cellos I & II		(4)
	D. Bases I & II		(4)

These instructions were therefore amongst the earliest made by Wood on his score and show that from his first performances the proportions of the string section were reduced in solo passages to allow for effective projection and balance of the ensemble.

There are two individual B&H editions of Brandenburg 2 in the Wood Archive and both copies reproduce the text of the BG edition. The cover of the first [*GB-Lam* 44507-2001] is signed by Wood, but is entirely devoid of markings; the second [*GB-Lam* 44507-3001], is heavily marked in pencil. Lead pencil markings are not typically used by Wood in scores intended for performances and a note on the cover of this copy reads: 'Not to be used'. Whilst it is therefore referenced with caution, it contains one particular annotation that relates to orchestral balance – on p. 37 he states that the accompanying ensemble should be reduced to one desk per part (and one player on the bass part) (Appendix 3.5). This is an isolated instruction and it is therefore unclear whether this is a model for the rest of the corresponding moments in the concerto, or a specific effect for a *piano* and *pianissimo* passage. It is not inconceivable that Wood conducted from the BG edition, but the evidence of the two B&H editions points either to use of the pencil-marked B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44507-3001], or, more likely, to a missing individual performing score. Further details of the reduction of orchestral proportions are listed on Wood's copy of the 1901 Mottl edition.²⁵ With regard to the orchestral balance of the body of string players, Mottl noted:

Where it is marked 'Tutti' and 'Soli' for the accompanying strings, that signifies that the full string orchestra should join in during the 'Tutti' whereas only a few desks play during the 'Soli' section.²⁶

This is a rare example of explicit instruction in the practice of reducing string players during solo passages. Tarr's recognition that Mottl's edition was the most popular of its time confirms its wide influence, and, although Brandenburg 2 presents challenges in orchestral balance more than most other concertos, this instruction is evidence of the practice being adopted as a pragmatic approach. Wood's annotations on the score offer further details of his adoption of this practice, specifying the number of desks employed in each section. He indicated that 'wherever it is marked soli' the ensemble should be reduced to:

- 3 desks of 1st Violins
- 2 desks of 2nd Violins
- 2 desks of Violas
- 3 Cello players
- 2 Bass players

²⁵ Felix Mottl's most accomplished orchestrations and piano reductions are of works by Wagner but he also arranged the works of Liszt, Cornelius, Gluck, Mozart, Rameau, and Lully amongst many others. With regard to J. S. Bach, in 1907 he gave the first complete performance of the Matthew Passion since the death of the composer in 1750, and Brandenburg 2 was on one of two arrangements, the other being a much more conservative reading of Brandenburg 6.

²⁶ Die in begleitenden Streichorchester angezeichneten"Tutti" und "Soli" sollen bedeuten, dass, während beim "Tutti" das volle Streichorchester eintritt, bei den "Soli" nur je einige Pulte zu spielen haben. Holzbläser und Hörner des begleitenden Orchesters sind von mor hinzugefügt. Felix Mottl. J.S. Bach *Konzert in F dur* arr. Felix Mottl, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901) [GB-Lam 143583-1001] 'Preface' trans. by Paul French.

Thus, both the BG edition and the Mottl edition indicate a reduction of forces for solo passages. A list of performers in the New Queen's Hall Orchestra from 1928 (Appendix 3.6) gives opportunity to speculate on the proportions in such a scenario:

	Tutti	Solo	
	(QHO, 1928)	B-G Edition	Mottl Edition
Violin I	7 (14)	3 (6)	3 (6)
Violin II	6 (12)	2 (4)	2 (4)
Viola	4 (8)	2 (4)	2 (4) [parts: 1 (2)]
'Cello	4 (8)	2 (4)	1.5 (3)
Double Bass	3 (6)	2 (4)	1 (2) [parts: 1 player]

Figure 3.2: The number of desks (and players) employed by Wood in the tuttis and solos of Brandenburg Concerto No. 2

Figure 3.2 highlights the significant proportions of these reductions, particularly in the lower strings. Additionally, the parts for the Mottl edition reveal Wood made further clarifications, decreasing the number of violas to one desk and double basses to one player. Despite Wood's inclusion of bassoons, with a reduction in forces ranging from 17% to 66% one would have expected these textural changes to have been highlighted by critics – but they were not. One can only speculate that either this was because it was standard practice and not worthy of comment, or that it produced such a seamless effect that it did not draw attention. Whatever the reason, Wood's reduction of forces was a flexible practice that was considered carefully for each of the Brandenburg Concertos, and differed depending on the edition used.

Brandenburg	Edition	No. of String desks for Solo sections				
Concerto No.		VN I	VN II	VLA	VC	СВ
1	BG	1	1	1	1	0.5
2	BG	3	2	2	2	2 (tacet in parts)
	B&H	1	1	1	1	0.5
	Mottl	3	2	2 (1 in parts)	1.5	1 (0.5 in parts)
4	BG					
	Mvts I & III	1	1	1	1	1
	Mvt II	1, 2, or 5	4	2	1	0.5
5	BG	4	4	4	2	2
	Siloti	2	-	2	1	1
	Wood	6	6	4	4	2

Figure 3.3: The number of desks employed by Wood in the solos sections of Brandenburg Concertos 1, 2, 4, & 5

As Figure 3.3 shows, Wood reduced the ensemble to single desks when accompanying the multiple soloists of Brandenburg 1 but used a considerably larger band to support a smaller number of soloists in Brandenburg 5. The instruction of tacet Basses is common in sets of parts, especially for Brandenburg 2, but Brandenburg 4 is the most extreme example of ensemble flexibility. The instruction of using just one desk of each string part in the first movement results in the tutti Violin I section only playing the last eight bars of the movement – therefore the symphony orchestra is used as a chamber orchestra for the majority of the movement. However, in the remainder of the concerto, the Violin I part is played by either one, two, or five desks depending on the nature of the accompaniment line in supporting the soloists.²⁷ The evidence of the B&H edition of Brandenburg 2 [*GB-Lam* 44507-3001] also supports the notion that Wood would use just one desk if the context demanded.

The practice of reduced forces is one which Wood adapted for practical, acoustical reasons and differed according to the work or occasion. Whilst some of the calculations in Figure 3.3 would have had a subtle effect, others would have altered the sound considerably. When contrasted with Wood's treatment of other Baroque works by Handel and Corelli, only limited evidence may be found of his flexible approach to reduction of forces in solo passages – for example, his set of orchestral parts for Handel's Concerto in G minor for Oboe and strings indicates that he reduced the orchestral accompaniment consistently to '1st player, desk 1 only'.²⁸ The Bach instrumental concertos show a little more variation, for example a reduction to 2, 2, 1, 1, 1 in the Concerto in A Minor for Flute, Violin, and Keyboard (BWV 1044) but only the removal of the double basses and use of pizz in the Concerto in D minor for Pianoforte (BWV 1052).²⁹ Although Wood notes the change in texture from solo to tutti in his scores of Handel's concerti grossi (perhaps the works most analogous to the Brandenburg Concertos), there is no specification of fewer players and no further annotations in the parts. Similarly, there is no

²⁷ The indications of solo and tutti are used specifically in these instances to refer to the number of desks and should not be confused with Wood's practice of indicating solo and tutti on the score for textural reasons. For example in Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6 Wood highlights the structural functions of solo and tutti but makes no alteration in reduction of desks in string parts.

²⁸ G. F. Handel, *Concerto for Oboe and Strings, no.3 in G minor* HWV287 (Leipzig: German Handel Society, 1865). Orchestral parts are held in the Wood Archive (uncatalogued).

²⁹ J. S. Bach, Sieben Concerte fur Clavier mit Orchesterbegleitung; Tripel-Concert fur Clavier, Flote und Violine mit Orchesterbegleitung, A moll (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, s.d.); [*GB-Lam* 143618-2001].

specification of the practice in his scores or parts for concertos by Mozart or Haydn. For Wood, the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites occupied a flexible middle-ground in ensemble size that varied according to soloist projection and the thickness of orchestration in solo passages.

Whilst Wood established Brandenburg 2 in the English musical canon, it is not clear whether his choice of editions and performance practice resolved its inherent challenges relating to orchestral balance. Of particular note is a review in 1940 in which the critic wrote that:

Sir Henry Wood uses a full body of strings and makes them play fast and loud with strongly marked time accents. This propensity spoilt the performance of the second Brandenburg Concerto last night.³⁰

Whilst it is possible that the reviewer was describing the tutti sections, the reference to full strings seems to contradict the score-based evidence, suggesting that Wood may not consistently have applied the reduction in performances. The Mottl edition proves that Wood was willing to use arrangements in order to promote successful performances but his return to the BG edition suggests his recognition of the longevity of the original version.

Orchestral Suite No. 2

In contrast to the Brandenburg Concertos, Wood's scores of the Orchestral Suites, detailed in Appendix 3.1, were edited and published by numerous musicians and publishing houses. Although Breitkopf and Härtel published a complete set of Orchestral Suites between 1897 (Nos. 1 and 3) and 1898 (Nos. 2 and 4), Wood only owned (and used) individual copies of Nos. 1 and 4, and performed from copies published by other houses (Aibl, Senff, and Simrock) for Nos. 2 and 3. The context of each shows the extent to which the well-known performer-editors, Felix Weingartner, Hans von Bülow, Felix Mendelssohn, and Ferdinand David were influential in Wood's interpretations.

Wood's marked-up copy of the B&H edition of Orchestral Suite No. 1 was edited by Felix Weingartner and is described as a 'concert arrangement' (Zum

³⁰ Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach-Wood', p. 6.

Konzertvortrag eingerichtet). The editorial process extends beyond clarifying and unifying elements such as articulation, beaming, ornaments, dynamics, and tempo, to retouching the orchestration. To balance the ensemble and provide textural variation, Weingartner uses several striking effects, such as the alternation of string and wind players, the reduction of the orchestra to a trio of soloists, and specified numbers of players. Three examples from the Overture, shown in Appendix 3.7, illustrate the principles of his approach. First, Weingartner reduces the string accompaniment to a solo first violin to provide a more delicate accompaniment to the episodic wind passages (bars 59 and 63); second, he reallocates the bass line from the bassoons to the solo cello, in order to make the line more manageable (bars 60-63); and finally, he omits wind in all the orchestral tuttis of the Vivace (including the final tutti of the section (bars 91-8) which emphasizes the ritornello form and the sound of a wind concerto). Wood makes no alteration to any of these textural changes which suggests that he subscribed to the practical solutions offered by Weingartner.

Orchestral Suite No. 4 is the only score in Wood's set that gives no editorial attribution. Although published as an individual score for practical use, it retains the exact format of the BG edition and does not alter the basic notation. The editorial process is restricted to the clarification of articulation and dynamics, but considerable detail is offered in terms of accents, slurs, dots, and hairpins. The score is as heavily marked by Wood as the other Orchestral Suites in preparation for performance, but no concession is made to the wind players in order to facilitate the work – which requires considerable stamina – for 'modern' performance.

Ferdinand David and Felix Mendelssohn's edition of Orchestral Suite No. 3 was published in Leipzig by Barthold Senff in 1866.³¹ It is the most exhaustivelyedited practical score in Wood's set of Orchestral Suites and includes some significant departures from the BG edition. Primarily, Mendelssohn's role (clarified on the title page as a posthumous publication) was to address the challenges presented to the three trumpet parts.³² One solution was the addition of a Clarinet in

³¹ The date of publication is verified in the Hofmeister catalogue:

http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/monatshefte/1866_03.html#hofm_1866_03_0034_01 [accessed 26 June 2013].

³² Mendelssohn's arrangement was completed for his first historical concert in Leipzig on 15 February 1838 and was akin to the simplification process he had undertaken for his editions of *Joshua* (1838) and *Zadok the Priest* (1835), see Ralf Wehner, 'Mendelssohn and the Performance of

C: Mendelssohn only employed the clarinet in the final movement, the Gigue, where he assigned it the material from the first trumpet part and rearranged the second and third trumpet parts for the three trumpeters. However, in the other movements he made substantial changes to the trumpet parts, including octave transpositions to avoid the high register, the simplification of rhythms and melodies, and the respelling of chords across the three parts (omitting thirds and sevenths from the harmonies) into the lower register. As a result of Mendelssohn's arrangement, the trumpet does not present melodies in the highest register of the ensemble sound (akin to Mottl's arrangement of Brandenburg 2), rather the simplified lines promote fanfare-type figures and a much more classical treatment of the instruments. The remainder of the editorial work was undertaken by Ferdinand David, Konzertmeister of the Leipzig Gewandhaus – with whom Mendelssohn had performed this work.³³ David provides extensive and detailed performance directions, typical of his editorial practice and his habit of marking up scores and parts.³⁴ His instruction with regard to string articulation (accents, note values, and phrasing) is detailed: ornaments such as appoggiaturas and trills are unified across the parts, and there are comprehensive dynamic markings throughout. However, David's performance experience and directorship is particularly evident in two examples where he specifies the use of a solo first violin – a feature not specified explicitly in Bach's parts (which may have been single strings throughout) or the BG edition (Appendix 3.8). The first is in the Overture (p. 6) which suggests a greater sense of virtuosity in the work (and is repeated in the same context later in the movement) and the second is in the performance of the second movement, the Air. In the latter, David marks fingerings for the solo line along with fine details of articulation and phrasing, omitting only bowing from his instructions for performance.³⁵ Wood does not make any changes to this edition - suggesting that he subscribed to David's and

Handel's Vocal Works', in *Mendelssohn in Performance*, ed. by Siegwart Reichwald (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 2008), p. 159.

³³ Further performances with the Leipzig Gewandhaus include occasions on which David played the Air as a solo with string accompaniment – as in an 1847 performance reviewed by Michael Peschke, *Signale für die musikalische Welt* (Leipzig: Verlag der Signale, 1847), p. 83.

³⁴ See Clive Brown, 'Ferdinand David as Editor' (University of Leeds, School of Music: Chase Articles) <u>http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/ferdinand-david-as-editor-clive-brown/</u> [accessed 26 June 2013]. The title page also makes reference to David's version of Orchestral Suite No. 3 for violin and piano which he introduced at the Leipzig Conservatory.

³⁵ This attention to detail is in sharp contrast to a manuscript of the work in David's hand held at the University of Leeds: <u>http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/view/edition/1357/</u> [accessed 26 June 2013]. In his handwritten version of the work, David is not so detailed with his performance directions (perhaps because it was his own personal copy and the prompts were not necessary), therefore the published Mendelssohn/David edition reveals his specific approach.

Mendelssohn's editorial directions regarding instrumentation and interpretation in the same way that he apparently accepted Weingartner's suggestions for Orchestral Suite No. 1. In comparison with Mottl's treatment of Brandenburg 2, the instrumental changes in Orchestral Suites 1 and 3 were minor, however the editors made considerable textural alterations in offering solutions to the challenges of stamina and projection required for an effective performance.

Wood's copy of Orchestral Suite No. 2 is the edition that was prepared by Hans von Bülow and published by Jos. Aibl of München in 1885.³⁶ Whilst it was also presented at the Proms without reference to the arranger, Wood made more frequent annotations on this score and modified some of the editorial suggestions. In order to assess Wood's markings, it is necessary to compare Bülow's published edition with the German conductor's own copy of the previously available edition: an 1853 Peter's edition edited by Sigismund Wilhelm Dehn.³⁷ In the preface to his edition Dehn states that 'after having found, in the Singakademie in Berlin, the parts for the Second Orchestral Suite by Johann Sebastian Bach, written by Bach himself, we were fortunately in the place of being able to present this publication',³⁸ and thus the edition claimed to be the first publication of the work.³⁹ Dehn's edition represents a direct transcription of the content of Bach's original parts;⁴⁰ what few editorial additions that appear are bracketed for clarity. Numerous inconsistencies in terms of placement of slurs, dynamic markings (written *forte* and *piano*), trills,

³⁶ The date of publication is verified by the Hofmeister catalogue:

http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/monatshefte/1885_09.html#hofm_1885_09_0236_09 [accessed 26 June 2013].

³⁷ Bülow's copy of the score is held in the Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. (Edition Peters No. 268 [*DB-Mus* 10362]). The publication date is confirmed by the Hofmeister catalogue (though the key of the work is recorded as G Minor, rather than B Minor):

http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk/2008/content/monatshefte/1853_05.html#hofm_1853_05_0318_02 [accessed 26 June 2013].

³⁸ Après avoir trouvé dans la bibliotèque de l'academie de chant à Berlin les parties séparées de la seconde Ouverture de Jean Sebastien Bach, écrites par Bach lui même nous avons été heureusement mis en état, de pouvoir nous en server pour cette publication. S. W. Dehn. J. S. Bach *Ouverture No.2 in B minor* trans. by S. W. Dehn (Leipzig: Peters, 1853).

³⁹ 'Publieé pour la première fois d'après le manuscript original'. As no original autograph scores survive of the Orchestral Suites, it must be assumed that the early performances such as Mendelssohn's 1844 performance of Orchestral Suite No. 3 with the Philharmonic Society, or 1834 performances with the Leipzig Gewandhaus were the result of direct access to the parts, or copies of them. Additionally, David and Mendelssohn began making editions on performing the suite in an arrangement for violin and piano in 1839, see Clive Brown 'Ferdinand David as Editor', http://chase.leeds.ac.uk/article/ferdinand-david-as-editor-clive-brown/ [accessed 26 June 2013].

⁴⁰ Refer to the Bach-Digital website for facsimiles of the parts: <u>http://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000406;jsessionid=CE7FC06DA5068A471C200C15</u> <u>4DB7D824</u> [accessed 26 June 2013].

strokes, and appoggiaturas are maintained rather than unified across the instruments. Comprehensive figures are presented for the continuo (as per the original), but no realization is offered. The score may be considered scholarly in that it preserved the idiosyncrasies of the parts in the manner of modern Urtext editions. Bülow made limited annotations on his copy of Dehn's edition; few relate directly to performance directions (appoggiaturas and occasional dynamics) which is not surprising considering Bülow's practice of performing from memory.⁴¹ The majority concern the periodic removal of the flute part which suggests he encountered problems with the balance of the ensemble (see Appendix 3.9). However, the full details of Bülow's interpretation – including the performance directions that he had committed to memory – were incorporated in his own 1885 edition. As shown in Appendix 3.10, the re-covered title page on Wood's copy states that this suite was 'Arranged and Edited by Hans von Bülow', which gives an impression that, akin to Weingartner, Mendelssohn, and David, his editorial process went beyond that of attention to phrasing, dynamics, and articulation.

The word 'arranged' refers to his solutions to issues of balance between the flute and strings; beyond the omission of the continuo part, he does not add or remove further instruments in the ensemble, but rather seeks to find various solutions to the moments in which the flute is inaudible above a modern string section.⁴² Bach's original scoring includes many passages in which the flute and first violin play in unison. This would not have been problematic in the one-to-a-part ensembles of the eighteenth century or the ensemble suggested by Dehn's use of the singular on the title page of his edition (presumably prompted by his discovery of only one copy of each part),⁴³ but the practicalities of balancing the large forces of a modern string ensemble prompted Bülow to address the issue in some detail. A variety of methods were adopted by Bülow, from the alternation of flute and violin,

⁴¹ Bülow's lifelong practice of conducting from memory is captured in photographs, orchestral accounts (famously at Meiningen), and letters. See Raymond Holden, *The Virtuoso Conductors* (Padstow: Yale, 2005) p.15 and especially cf. 23: Bülow once remarked famously to the young Richard Strauss, 'You should have the score in your head, and not your head in the score... even if you have composed the thing yourself.' Richard Strauss, *Recollections and Reflections*, ed. by W. Schuh and trans. by L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953), p.21.

⁴² Both Dehn's Edition and the Bach-Gesellschaft edition of the work indicate the figures but Bülow's omission is far more indicative of the preference for not including a keyboard instrument in performance.

⁴³ C. R. F. Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 261. The full title of Dehn's edition reads: *Ouverture ou Suite en Si mineur pour 2 Violons, Viola, Violoncelle, Flute et Basse.*

to rescoring of violin lines, and the omission of the flute line – resulting in the elimination of most of the unison passage work. The one major exception to this is that the flute and first violin unison is maintained throughout the first part of the Overture, conforming to an expectation that both would participate from the start of the concerto. However, in the Allegro Bülow uses *ad libitum* markings in conjunction with rests in order to maximise the impact of the flute in solo sections – an idea suggested in his horizontal lines on his copy of the Dehn edition, seen in bars 83-93 of Appendix 3.9a). Appendix 3.11 shows the *ad libitum* markings that begin in the fifth bar of the Allegro, and suggest that the flute was not expected to play throughout (published 'solo' instructions indicate where the flute returns to the line). The fourth bar of the same example also includes Bülow's insertion of quaver rests, allowing the flute a deliberate juncture to take a breath.

Bülow takes a different approach in the Rondeau (Rondo). With the exception of the descending scalic passage in the middle of the second section, the flute and first violin parts were originally in unison throughout. Bülow's markings on his copy of the Dehn edition (Appendix 3.9b)) suggested that there should be an alternation of the flute and violin textures, and his own edition confirms this approach but develops the idea further (Appendix 3.12). Bülow's solution was to remove the first violin entirely until bar 20 and then, as it re-joins the melody, for the flute to leap up the octave to avoid the unison. After adhering to Bach's original independent writing for the flute and first violins, Bülow suggested a final alternation for the close: first violins (without flute) at the Da Capo, and then solo flute (without violins) for the final presentation of the theme. Other alternatives to preserve the effect of the solo flute and avoid the unison doubling may be found in the Polonaise, Sarabande, Menuet, and Bourrée I. The purpose of omitting the flute for repeats in the Polonaise, is confirmed by the note 'The flute pauses during the repeated section, so that it is able to be at full strength for the Trio' (Appendix 3.13); the reassignment of the first violin part to the second violins (the latter instructed: tacet) in the Sarabande allows the flute to play the melody line as a solo (Appendix 3.14); and the Menuet and Bourrée I are presented as entirely string-only movements.

Wood's heavily-marked copy of Bülow's edition reveals the extent of his adherence to the arrangement. Although the dates on the cover only refer to 1938

and 1939, the layers of markings again suggest many years of performances.⁴⁴ There is no mention of Bülow as the editor in any of the Proms programmes, but in her programme notes Rosa Newmarch confirms Wood's use of his edition through consistent descriptions of the movements in which the flute is omitted. Wood's annotations on his score clarify interpretative details such as the nuances of dynamics and ornaments (including the unification of trills and note lengths for appoggiaturas) all of which are illustrated in Appendix 3.15.⁴⁵ A development in dynamic instruction may be observed as Wood's annotations make the instructions published by Dehn and Bülow more emphatic. Dehn's edition presents a considerable number of inconsistencies in both the number and position of dynamic instructions (reflecting Bach's original notation in the parts).⁴⁶ Bülow occasionally unifies these markings on his copy of Dehn's edition, but then confirms his approach by the publication of comprehensive unified dynamic directions in his own edition. Finally, Wood makes Bülow's suggestions even more emphatic to ensure a clarity of interpretation. For example, Appendix 3.16 contrasts Dehn's edition, in which the piano dynamic is maintained to distinguish melody from accompaniment, with Bülow's edition, in which he reduces the dynamic level to *pianissimo* and removes the double bass. Wood's annotations show his subscription to Bülow's cello-only bass-line, and he additionally lightens the texture by marking it pizzicato from bar 74.

As in his performances of the Brandenburg Concertos, Wood took care in specifying the number of players that should perform the Orchestral Suites. His considerable reduction of the ensemble (to between one and two desks per part) is predominantly found in solo passages as a further measure to ensure the audibility of the flute (Appendix 3.17, bar 55), but is also evident at (published) Figure A (Appendix 3.15, bar 11) where the low tessitura is detrimental to the projection of the melody. A further variant on the reduction of forces may be observed in the Sarabande (Appendix 3.18) in which Wood exaggerated Bülow's muted strings

⁴⁴ See Appendix 2.1 for evidence of the regularity of Orchestral Suite No. 2 in programming at the Proms. It is possible to identify markings made by Wood in at least two different lead pencils, two different blue pencils, and one red pencil, on the score, revealing layers of performance instructions. Although it is evident that he used a lead pencil in his initial read-through the score, as it is used to annotate the basic details such as the title of the work and clarification of movements (e.g. Menuet *for strings*), it is not possible to speculate upon either the proceeding order of marking layers, or the years in which they were marked.

⁴⁵ He also alters the rehearsal letters (in blue pencil).

⁴⁶ In typical notation of the eighteenth century, the dynamic nuances are left to the discretion of the performers and markings often serve to indicate a variant from the assumed dynamic level.

arrangement by reducing the accompanying ensemble to a quartet.⁴⁷ The multiple layers of Wood's dynamic instructions in the Polonaise show variation between performances (Appendix 3.19). The annotations all confirm an interpretation in which the flute plays on the first hearing of each half but the dynamic level varies between the double-underlined piano and the circled pianissimo. The use of solo/soli refers to the accompaniment of the flute - and the orchestral parts confirm the use of solo strings for the accompaniment, and the full ensemble on the violin-solo repeat. The additional 'Solo' marking on the second system (bar 8) corresponds with an instruction in the parts that the last phrase should be accompanied by solo strings both times. Wood adheres to Bülow's rescoring of the accompaniment in the Polonaise Double (Appendix 3.20) and again marks the lines 'solo' to reduce the ensemble to a trio. Although there is some slight variation in dynamic level, the effect he sought remains constant. However, Wood does not incorporate all the details of Bülow's edition in the Polonaise. He identifies three instances of incorrect transcription: the second bar of the second half and both the first and second time bars. Wood's corrections correspond with the notation in the BG edition, which suggests that he consulted his own copy of it [GB-Lam 150620-1001].

The Polonaise Double was not the only movement that Wood corrected in Bülow's edition; the Overture reveals a much more substantial problem. Akin to the other Orchestral Suites, No. 2 follows a typical Lullian Overture format: a slow, stately, dotted opening section, followed by a fast, fugal section, and finally a varied return to the opening slow section. Whereas Dehn had preserved Bach's repeats at the end of each section in his edition, Bülow included neither (Appendix 3.21). Furthermore, at the end of the Allegro Bülow omitted Bach's reprise of the Lentement, prompting Wood's annotation: 'Bach wrote 18 bars Lento finish to this movement' (Appendix 3.22). Wood's score therefore includes a handwritten insert of final 18 bar triple-time slow section reprise (Appendix 3.23), for which he appears to have consulted his BG edition.⁴⁸ As previously noted, Wood's BG edition contains very few markings, but these last 18 bars are highlighted by a tab (which states 'restore these 18 bars' and the bars in question are heavily marked – in lead rather than blue pencil for a copyist. Appendix 3.24. Such alterations suggest Wood

⁴⁷ As repairs to the score have obscured the earlier red pencil instructions, it is not clear whether this was a practice adopted throughout Wood's career.

 $^{^{48}}$ This addition may also account for the variation in timings noted on the cover of the score – 16 to 18 minutes.

was scrupulous with some details of the text, but he accepted Bülow's remaining editorial changes, including the lack of continuo and alteration to the flute and first violin parts.

An anonymous 1932 review in *The Times* offers a critical insight into Wood's interpretation of the Second Orchestral Suite at a Prom performance.⁴⁹ Whilst acknowledging that Wood had been successful in introducing the repertoire and that 'crowds' would 'flock to his Bach and Handel nights', the reviewer felt compelled to question Wood's 'judgement on particular points'.⁵⁰ The detailed discussion of the second Orchestral Suite included three main objections: first, 'the question of excessive regular accent', second, 'the question of re-scoring', and third, 'the detail of ornamentation'.⁵¹

An excessive regular accent is a familiar complaint of Bach performances of the mid twentieth-century, as will be illustrated in the recordings examined in the next case study. However, there is evidence in the score of published markings, and also Wood's annotations, that might prompt the following criticism:

Was it not Mr. Arnold Bax who once irreverently spoke of the 'sewing-machine rhythm' of J. S. Bach? Whether it were he or another, everyone was properly shocked; yet somehow the phrase sticks, and it is apt to come back to mind when one listens to Bach at a Promenade Concert. Those whirring groups of semi-quavers with an accent on the first of every four seem to be sewing their unerring seam in a garment of more utility than beauty. Whose fault is it? Bach's partly, no doubt; the performers' more; the conditions of the modern concert room perhaps most of all.⁵²

Overlooking or perhaps unaware of Bach's talent on the violin and viola, the reviewer argues that his 'career as an organist made him miscalculate the strength of the accenting tendency inherent in the strings', and therefore suggests that the music has a natural deficiency. He compares an organist's execution of the given line with that of a violinist and maintains that whilst the organ was practically incapable of regular accents, the pervading accented effect in the string sound would have created a noticeable effect on the music. Presumptuously assuming that eighteenth-century

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', *The Times*, 13 August, 1932, p. 6.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

ensembles were not capable of playing strictly in time, he suggests Bach could not have foreseen the difficulties that modern ensembles would encounter:

Multiply the number of the players and put them under such a disciplinarian as Sir Henry Wood, and the accents on the first of every group of four semi-quavers will be liable to stand out in a way which is excessive to our ears even if it would not have been to Bach's. When this happens the 'sewing-machine rhythm' impossible on the organ, invades the orchestra.⁵³

The reviewer thus places Wood in the position of receiving music that was inherently flawed, and facing conditions which exaggerate the flaw. In the opinion of the reviewer, the solution was the emphasis of irregular accents, an approach apparently not adopted by Wood in the performance he attended:

Bach needs the correction of supple phrasing, a thing possible to the modern orchestra and probably impossible in his own day. Sir Henry Wood's insistence on time in the playing of suites and concerts, so far from bringing the music into line with modern tradition, seems to lag behind it.⁵⁴

A literal interpretation of both the published indications of Bülow's edition and Wood's annotations would result in a four-square performance. Bülow's addition of slurs, dots, and accents promote a very 'beat contained' interpretation – his slurring is all within the beat and leaves no opportunity for notes at the end of one bar to function as an anacrusis to the next. Appendix 3.25 shows how paired notes are visually deliberate and dotted rhythms are each given the same accent line on the first note and staccato mark on the second, in order to exaggerate the effect.⁵⁵ Additionally, the absence of overdotting (suggested by contemporary recordings and the lack of score indications) emphasizes the accents and beat-contained phrasing in the Grave, and the regularity of the groups of notes – for example the three quavers under a slur in the Overture Allegro (Appendix 3.23) – encourages the accent of the first of each group of notes.

 ⁵³ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', *The Times*, 13 August, 1932, p. 6.
 ⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ The latter markings are particularly reminiscent of those made in the conducting scores of this work by Otto Klemperer (held in the Klemperer Archive at the Royal Academy of Music) and when interpreted in a very literal way do produce the deliberate sounds of his Philharmonia recordings from 1954. See J. S. Bach, *Four Orchestral Suites (The 1954 Recordings)* Philharmonia Orchestra cond. Otto Klemperer, CD Testament 2131 (recorded 19-23 November, 1954).

Although there is no recorded performance of Wood's interpretation of Orchestral Suite No. 2, the reproach of excessive regular accents was repeated in numerous reviews, pointing to his heavy handling of Bach.⁵⁶ Speculative comparison may also be made with a recording of the Suite made by Sir Hamilton Harty on the Columbia label in 1924 (CD 1, track 1).⁵⁷ Featuring Wood's principal flautist of the New Queen's Hall Orchestra, Robert Murchie,⁵⁸ Harty's recording adheres strictly to a number of features of Bülow's edition. The first and most obvious is the cut to the slow section at the end of the Overture (in addition to a further substantial cut in the fast section in response to the time available on the recording). Texturally Harty observes Bülow's alterations in orchestration - most noticeably in omitting both a harmonic continuo instrument throughout and the flute in the Rondo, Sarabande, and Menuet.⁵⁹ Finally, there are examples in the detail of articulation and notation that point to his use of Bülow's instruction: these include his adherence to the length of appoggiaturas in the Menuet (discussed above), the printed mistake in the Overture (bar 134), and the inaccurate flourishes in the flute line of the Polonaise Double. Although the tempos presented by Harty and suggested by Wood's metronome marks differ considerably, the effect of the accents on Harty's interpretation are pronounced and may, by extension, be envisaged in Wood's adherence to the edition. For example, Harty's Badinerie is performed legato with a heavily slurred and accented solo flute line which belies the quick tempo, but is an accurate realization of Bülow's edition as shown in Appendix 3.26.⁶⁰ Bach originally included only a few, carefully placed slurs (for example bars 12-14 of Dehn's edition in Appendix 3.26), but in creating momentum and regularity, Bülow's additional articulation diminishes the effect of them. Furthermore, Appendix 3.26 illustrates that Bach originally made much of the echo effect between phrases and it is therefore surprising that Bülow chose to alternate

⁵⁶ For example Wood's 'suffering from a temporary elephantiasis', and of only being 'half aware of the difference between Bach's Orchestra and Wagner's' in Anon, 'Promenade Concert' *The Times*, 14 August, 1930, p. 8.

⁵⁷ The recording is held in the Sound Archive at the British Library Cat No, 1557:

http://sounds.bl.uk/Classical-music/Bach/026M-1CL0050721XX-0100V0 [accessed 26 June 2013]. ⁵⁸ The String Orchestra used to accompany flautist Robert Murchie, is unknown. Harty took up the position of Principal Conductor for the Hallé Orchestra in 1920 however, he had previously worked with the LSO and, as their principal flautist Robert Murchie is the soloist, they would be the most likely ensemble.

⁵⁹ However, difficulties in balancing the recorded ensemble mean that the flute is often inaudible therefore on this recording there are moments in which the melody is completely lost as a result of Bülow's desire to avoid the doubling of flute and violins.

⁶⁰ Badinerie: CD1, track 1, from 14'28.

the light pizzicato on the original *forte* moments and the heavier arco on the original *piano* sections, which was adopted by Harty and Wood. As Wood indicated a considerably slower tempo of crotchet = 92, than Harty's crotchet=120 heard on the recording, the evidence points to a much more accented (and pedestrian) reading, in line with the criticism of the 1932 critic.

Despite recognizing that Wood was a 'great advocate of the cause of bringing the music of the eighteenth-century composers into line with modern tradition', and had the 'power of expressing the innate vigour of the older music to ears which probably began their musical experiences with Wagner and Tchaikovsky', the critic's reservations regarding re-scoring were not focused on Wood's practice of re-orchestrating arias and arranging organ works, or even his treatment of the solo flute, but on his approach to continuo:

At the back of all Bach's music there is a keyboard instrument of some sort supplying harmonies. Modern performance can sometimes dispense with it, but not always. Sir Henry Wood used a piano in the violin concerto, and purists would prefer a harpsichord. He used nothing in the B minor suite, in which there is at least one passage, the 'Double' to the minuet, where anything is preferable to nothing, since without the keyboard the harmonies are manifestly incomplete.⁶¹

Wood's lack of continuo was the result of observing Bülow's edition, despite his awareness of the original, comprehensively-figured, bass part in his copy of the BG edition. The only instruction with regard to the continuo line in Bülow's edition is that it should be played by both 'Celle e Basso' throughout, with no reference to the realization of harmonies.⁶² The Double of the Polonaise (rather than the Minuet stated by the reviewer) suffers most in the omission of the keyboard continuo (see Appendix 3.20). Though originally scored for 'cello and flute with continuo accompaniment, Bülow's no-continuo version includes a viola in place of the cello for a duo in the first half, and a trio of flute, viola, and 'cello in the second half. The viola sustains a single note and adds an anacrusis to the first-time bar – which does little to fill the harmonic void left by the lack of keyboard realization. This is the

⁶¹ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', p. 6.

⁶² He is then precise in stating instances in which he wishes the bass line to be *senza basso* – notably in solo passages for the flute in the Overture, and in specifically flute dominated moments such as the Sarabande, Trio of the Polonaise, and Badinerie. With a clear awareness of the texture of the bass line in the Bourrée II, Bülow marks the cello *pizz* and basso *arco* – requiring them both to play for depth of sound, but Wood switches the instruction to lighten the effect.

most pronounced instance in which there is a noticeable lack of continuo realization and were it not for this movement, Wood may have avoided the criticism.⁶³

In his final negative criticism, the reviewer makes two assumptions: first, that the edition was one of the performing scores published by Breitkopf and Härtel; second, that Wood was following the score verbatim:

Is he right in cutting so short the 'appogiaturas' in the minuet of the B minor suite? It does not matter what Breitkopf and Härtel's edition shows. Performing editions are very frequently wrong in this matter, and their wrongness is no academic point; it spoils the tune.⁶⁴

The fact that Bülow's edition was published by Jos. Aibl of Munich rather than Breitkopf and Härtel is of little consequence as the reviewer is more concerned with the notion that performance scores could obscure the original text. However, this does highlight the problem of the lack of attribution to an editor or arranger when significant changes are made to the original score. With regard to the ornaments in the Menuet, Appendix 3.27 shows that Bach (in Dehn's edition) consistently used quaver appoggiaturas, but Bülow incorporated the ornament into the melodic notation. Bülow placed it on the beat and under a slur each time, and though he deliberately varied the length (a semiquaver in bars 2, 10, 12, and 23, and a quaver in bars 8, 18, and 20), the additional accents in bars 19 and 12 accentuated their clipped effect. From the evidence of the review, Wood subscribed to Bülow's instruction rather than defaulting back to the original. Whether or not he was 'right' to do so is a matter of taste, but it does reinforce Wood's preference for this edition over the 1898 Breitkopf and Härtel individual performing score (which he apparently did not own). This treatment of clipped appoggiaturas in the Menuet is an isolated event, not a model for use throughout the Suite; where appoggiaturas are used in the Overture, for example, Bülow simply applied them to every part, and Wood further clarified their (long) length (Appendix 3.15).

Whilst regular accent, rescoring, and ornamentation are just three features of Wood's interpretation, their presence in this review highlights their prominence in his performance. The editorial history shows the extent to which Dehn's score, as a

⁶³ In his recording Harty substitutes a string realization of the continuo in the Polonaise Double to avoid the effect created by Wood's reading.

⁶⁴ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', p. 6.

representation of Bach's parts, was adapted by Bülow and the influence of Bülow's published performance directions had on Wood's interpretation. In the absence of a recording, Wood's annotations in conjunction with reviews of the period present a detailed representation of his performances at the Proms.

Case Study 3.2: Recordings

Wood's performances were broadcast widely, particularly after his formal association with the BBC in 1927, but his recorded legacy is relatively modest especially when compared with contemporaries such as Beecham, Mengelberg, or Weingartner.⁶⁵ Of the Bach orchestral repertoire, he only made complete recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6,66 but Jacobs notes that (despite the lack of works that include wind instruments) in these recordings 'his [Wood's] Bach was properly represented'.⁶⁷ Through them many of Wood's interpretative priorities can be identified. Both Brandenburg Concertos were recorded with the British Symphony Orchestra and released on the Columbia label;⁶⁸ No. 6 was recorded on 12 June 1930 – the first complete commercial recording of the work – and No. 3 on 16 June 1932. Unlike contemporaries such as Alfred Cortot or Adolf Busch, Wood did not initially set out to record a full set of the concertos, although he did make plans later for such a project on the Decca label. In a letter dated 2 April 1935 he announced his intentions to Gerald Beadle of the BBC, noting that he was 'about to sign a very important contract with a well-known Recording Co. for a number of years, and make a fine series of classical works starting with the six Brandenburg Concertos of Bach.^{'69} In the event, although his contract with Decca went ahead, the Brandenburg project did not. Jacobs suggests that the reason for this may have been that the company had other conductors lined up for Bach, or that Wood's concert performance of those works was 'already being judged as inappropriately heavy' (presumably in comparison with the complete set released by Adolf Busch the same year).⁷⁰ In order to place Wood's interpretation in context, this case study will compare his recordings of Brandenburg Concertos 3 and 6 with those of contemporary conductors: Eugène Goossens, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Alfred Cortot, Adolf Busch, Alois Melichar, and Paul Schmitz. Furthermore, the Wood Archive

⁶⁵ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 244 and discography pp. 425-431. Wood did not live long enough to take advantage of the post-war improvements in recording techniques.

⁶⁶ See Appendix 4.43 for Wood's Bach discography.

⁶⁷ Jacobs, *Henry Wood*, p. 244. The choice of string-only Brandenburg Concertos was possibly a judicious decision to ensure the most successful recorded performances on account of the difficulties of balance in the early years of recording.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 425. The British Symphony Orchestra was an ensemble of convenience for the recording projects –the players were likely drawn from the books of the disbanded Queen's Hall Orchestra and the newly formed BBC Symphony Orchestra – but no specifics are given, including the identity of the leader. Jacobs cites The British Symphony Orchestra as a 'made up name'.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 280.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 285.

holds a heavily-marked score of No. 3 which relates directly to the recording. This score allows us to assess the extent to which Wood's recording practice relates to his performance annotations, which has wider implications for the status and reliability of his instructions on other scores.

Recording comparison

Wood's recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6 are amongst the seminal recordings of the works in the first half of the twentieth century. The recordings selected for comparison below are the first available recordings made of each work, all of which were released commercially in Wood's lifetime.⁷¹

Date	Conductor	Orchestra	Release Details	Sigla/Call No./ Shelf Mark	CD/ track
1922	Eugène Goossens	Royal Albert Hall Orchestra	HMV; original issue numbers: D 683; D 684; matrix numbers: 3-0826 cc1935 III; 3-0827 cc1936 II; 3-0828 cc1937 II	BLSA 1CL0057534; 1CL0057536;	1/2
1930	Wilhelm Furtwängler	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	Decca; original issue numbers: CA 8013; CA 8014; matrix numbers: 1104 BI; 1105 1/2 BI; 860 BI; 1106 3/4 BI	BLSA 1CL0057534; 1CL0057536	1/3
1931	Alfred Cortot	École Normale Chamber Orchestra, Paris	HMV; original issue numbers: DA 1259; DA 1260; matrix numbers: 30- 7981 OW1024 II; 30-7982 OW1025 II; 30-7983 OW1026 II; 30-7984 OW1027 II	BLSA 1CS0048799; 1CS0048801	1/4
1932	Sir Henry J. Wood	British Symphony Orchestra	Columbia; original issue number: LX 173; matrix numbers: AX6439-2; AX6440-1	BLSA 1CL0054212	1/5
1935	Adolf Busch	Busch Chamber Players	Columbia; original issue number: LX 443; matrix numbers: AX7620-1; AX7621-1	BLSA 1CL0054711	2/1
1941	Paul Schmitz	Leipzig Gewandhaus Chamber Orchestra	Deutsche Grammophon; original issue numbers: 67901; 67902; matrix numbers: 1687 1/2 GE 9; 1688 1/2 GE 9; 1689 1/2 GE 9	BLSA 1CL0002719; 9CL0022140	2/2

Figure 3.4: Recordings of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 released prior to 1944⁷²

⁷¹ All are electronic recordings apart from the first, Eugène Goossens's acoustic recording of Brandenburg 3. Damian Rogan cites a second acoustic recording made by George Hoeberg conducting the Berlin State Opera Orchestra and another early electronic full set by Anthony Bernard (late 1920s) but of which little is known to survive:

http://damians78s.co.uk/html/eugene_goossens_iii.html [accessed 11 November 2012]. ⁷² All six recordings can be accessed through the British Sound Archive:

https://sounds.bl.uk/Classical-music/Bach [accessed 26 June 2013]. Track numbers noted in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 refer to the CDs submitted with this thesis.

Date	Conductor	Orchestra	Release Details	Sigla/Call No./ Shelf Mark	CD/ track
1930	Sir Henry J. Wood	British Symphony Orchestra	Columbia; original issue numbers: LX 41; LX 42; matrix numbers: AX 5617; AX 5618; AX 5619; AX 5620	BLSA 1CL0053967; 1CL0053969;	2/4
1931	Alfred Cortot	École Normale Chamber Orchestra, Paris	HMV; original issue numbers: DB 1626; DB 1627; matrix numbers: 32-2643 2W1033 I; 32-2644 2W1034 III; 32-2645 2W1035 II; 32-2648 2W1036 I	BLSA 1CL0033854; 1CL0033856	2/5
1934	Alois Melichar	Soloists of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	Decca; original issue numbers: LY 6099; LY 6100; matrix numbers: 749 BE 8; 750 1/2 BE 8; 752 1/2 GE 8; 751 GE 8	BLSA 1CL0061175; 1CL0061177	3/1
1935	Adolf Busch	Busch Chamber Players	Columbia; original issue numbers: LX 447; LX 448; LX 449; matrix numbers: AX7632- 1; AX7633-1; AX7630-1; AX7631-1; AX7634-1; AX7635-1	BLSA: CL0054719; 1CL0054721; 1CL0054723;	3/2
1941	Paul Schmitz	Leipzig Gewandhaus Chamber Orchestra	Deutsche Grammophon; original issue numbers: 67898; 67899; 67900; matrix numbers: 1690 1/2 GE 9; 1691 ge 9; 1692 GE 9; 1693 GE 9; 1694 GE 9	BLSA 1CL0002713; 1CL0002715; 1CL0002717	3/3

Figure 3 4	5. Recordings	of Brandenburg	Concerto No	6 released	prior to 1944 ⁷³
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The recordings represent a wide range of approaches, from the traditional German orchestras (the Berlin Philharmonic and Leipzig Gewandhaus Chamber Orchestra), to new British concert orchestras (the Royal Albert Hall Orchestra and British Symphony Orchestra), and purpose-built smaller specialist ensembles (the Busch Chamber Players and École Normale Chamber Orchestra). Although there is no catalogue of Wood's personal record collection, he was likely to be familiar with the recordings that predated his own, as well as those that followed, given his interest in the repertoire. The extent to which Wood's own reading might have been influenced by these recordings is not explicit in his writings. However, his interpretations stand out particularly from his contemporaries' through his approach to the middle movement Adagio of No. 3, as well as his choice of tempos and use of orchestral timbres in both Nos. 3 and 6.

Despite the clear presence of the Adagio in the Brandenburg 3 BG edition and B&H editions of 1871 and 1908 (Appendix 3.1),⁷⁴ Goossens and Schmitz

⁷³ All five recordings can be accessed through the British Sound Archive: <u>https://sounds.bl.uk/Classical-music/Bach</u> [accessed 26 June 2013].

⁷⁴ Additionally Bach's autograph manuscript (from which these editions were made) is unambiguous in its presentation of the movement. See the manuscript at <u>http://www.bach-</u>

digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000448 [accessed 18 January 2013].

decided not to include it. Although the Adagio creates tonal and textural contrast, its brevity (a single-bar Phrygian cadence) continues to challenge performers; as recently as 1993 Malcolm Boyd concluded that 'perhaps the best course of all is to acknowledge that we can never know for certain what Bach himself would have done and to dodge the problem altogether by going straight from the end of the first movement to the beginning of the Allegro.⁷⁵ Furtwängler's more striking alternative was to replace it with the Air from Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 3, making the work more substantial and adding a popular element.⁷⁶ The remaining recordings retain the original material but adopt a range of performing strategies. Busch and Cortot recognize the opportunity the harmonic progression offers for improvised ornamentation. Neither deviate from the proportions of the bar; the pace and momentum of each is maintained by the conductor on the instrument from which he was directing. Thus Busch's violin maintains the string-dominated sound of the concerto and Cortot's harpsichord flourish adds timbral contrast.⁷⁷ Wood's reading of the Adagio is the most literal of the three recordings which include it. He employs it for maximum contrast with the outer movements, presenting an unprecedented *pianissimo* and no discernable sense of tempo.

Wood's choice of tempos in these recordings should be viewed within the context of the time. Although recent scholarship on tempo in Bach repertoire has generally focussed on the question of ascertaining an appropriate tempo based on eighteenth-century sources, such matters did not initially concern early twentieth-century conductors.⁷⁸ As a result, the variation in tempos amongst the recordings of

⁷⁵ Malcolm Boyd, *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 82. It is unclear as to whether or not Goossens and Schmitz were familiar with the autograph score or scholarship surrounding it, but as Boyd notes, there is 'no possibility that a movement has been lost from the presentation copy, since the chords stand in the middle of a page', and in later copies they are consistent in their deliberate placement (p.80).

⁷⁶ Furtwängler's decision to replace the middle movement with another work entirely was by no means a one-off. Boyd (p. 81) cites the third movement of the F major Violin Sonata BWV 1021, and the second movement of the G major Organ Sonata BWV 530 as those 'most favoured' as alternatives for the middle movement. Furthermore, he points to Emil Platen's rationale of the precedent for such borrowings in the example of the slow movement of the Organ Sonata in D minor BWV 527 being used in the middle movement of the Triple Concerto in A minor BWV 1044. However, there is no alternative single bar movement in the Triple Concerto which requires displacement.

⁷⁷ In an extension of this, Boyd (p. 81) gives an example of improvising prior to sounding the two chords in the manner of Handel's ad libitum fourth movement of his Organ Concerto in A minor HWV 296a. However, in that case the solo instrument intended for improvisation is obvious and the indication to do so given explicitly.

⁷⁸ See discussions in: Dorottya Fabian, 'Interpretation I: Tempo and Dynamics' in *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, pp. 97-135; Robert L. Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The sources, the style, the significance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), pp. 255-70 and 'Bach's

Brandenburg Concertos 3 and 6 is wide. There has been considerable debate over whether a general trend of increasing tempo may be observed,⁷⁹ but Dorrotya Fabian concludes that whereas 'it is undeniable that the average tempo chosen did accelerate over the decades, there are many instances in post-1945 recordings that prove instances of early, fast performances'.⁸⁰ The recordings compared here suggest that quick tempos were also present in pre-1944 recordings. Post-Beethovenian repertoire dominates the literature on twentieth-century approaches to tempo, focusing on structural and thematic function, specific composer directions including metronome marks, and the influence of treatises from Berlioz and Wagner onwards.⁸¹ Although these have limitations as models for the study of Bach (in terms of structure and characterization), there are techniques, principles, and conclusions that have utmost relevance.⁸²

Establishing an accurate and comparable means of measuring tempo in recordings of any repertoire is a particular difficulty, and whilst a number of solutions have been suggested, each offers a different perspective. On the largest scale an average of all the variable tempos, or the mean tempo, can provide useful comparison, but a more accurate measure may be gained by calculation of the overall duration.⁸³ With regard to the Brandenburg Concertos, the statistics in Figures 3.7 and 3.8 below do not conform to any pattern of increasing tempos (as mentioned above) but do reveal that Wood's recordings of both concertos are considerably quicker than the others'. Whilst still observing repeat marks and offering a complete performance without cuts, his recording of Brandenburg 3 is 6'59 quicker than the slowest recording (Furtwängler) and 0'35 quicker than his

Tempo Ordinario: A Plaine and Easie Introduction to the System', *PPR*, 13.1, (2008) DOI: 10.5642/perfpr.200813.01.05 [accessed 19 January 2013]; Ido Abravaya, *On Bach's Rhythm and Tempo* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006) esp. pp. 1-3, and discussion of Brandenburg Concertos in pp. 37-51, 145, and 206; John O'Donnell, 'The French style and the overtures of Bach', *EM*, 7:2 (April, 979), 190-196; Bernard D Sherman, 'Bach's notation of tempo and early music performance: some reconsiderations', *EM*, 28.3 (August, 2000), 455-466.

⁷⁹ Discussed extensively, but in relation to this field by Fabian, ibid.; José Antonio Bowen, 'Tempo, Duration, and Flexibility: Techniques in the Analysis of Performance' *JMR*, 16 (1996), 111-156; and Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.135.

⁸⁰ Fabian, p. 98.

⁸¹ See for example: Clive Brown, 'Historical Performance, Metronome Marks and Tempo in Beethoven's Symphonies', *EM*, 19.2 (May, 1991), 247-258; Michael Allis, 'Richter's Wagner: a new source for tempi in *Das Rheingold*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 20.2 (July, 2008), 117-147; and Bernard D. Sherman, 'Tempos and Proportions in Brahms: Period Evidence', *EM*, 25.3 (August, 1997), 462-477.

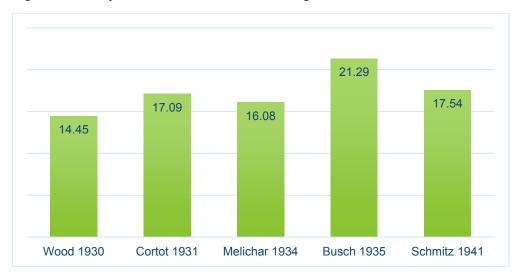
 ⁸² Particularly the conclusions of Bowen, 'Tempo, Duration, and Flexibility', pp. 144-149.
 ⁸³ As recommended by Fabian, p. 103. The measurements shown in Fig 3.6 are of the full interpretation of Brandenburg 3, regardless of the inclusion or not of a middle movement.

nearest rival (Busch); in No. 6 Wood is again 6'44 quicker than the relatively pedestrian Busch and 1'23 than Melichar. Beyond this there is no correlation between the tempos and the types of orchestra; relatively quick in Brandenburg 3, the Busch Chamber Players are by far the slowest in No. 6, whilst the opposite is the case for the Berlin Philharmonic (under Furtwängler and Melichar respectively).



Figure 3.6: Comparative durations of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3

Figure 3.7: Comparative durations of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6

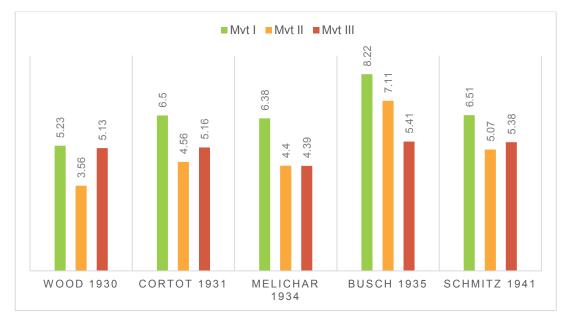


A calculation of times for the individual movements illustrates Wood's consistency in recording the quickest performance, except in the final movement of No. 6 in which he is 0'34 slower than the fastest reading of the movement by Melichar.



Figure 3.8: Comparative Movement Durations in Brandenburg Concerto No. 3

Figure 3.9: Comparative Movement durations in Brandenburg Concerto No. 6



An observation of the base tempo (i.e. an average tempo which excludes any tempo fluctuation) in Figures 3.10 and 3.11 is useful, primarily in identifying that the shorter times are the result of a faster performance rather than cuts.

Conductor/Director	Mvt I	Mvt II	Mvt III	Total time
	crotchets/min	seconds	dotted	
			crotchets/min	
Goossens 1922	<88	-	68	10.06
Furtwängler 1930	76	5.07	76	15.31
				(10.24)
Cortot 1931	72	16	80	11.37
Wood 1932	>96	10	84	08.32
Busch 1935	90	18	78	09.07
Schmitz 1941	88	-	72	09.59

Figure 3.10: Base metronome marks in Brandenburg 3

Figure 3.11: Base metronome marks in Brandenburg 6

Conductor/Director	Mvt I	Mvt II	Mvt III	Total time
	crotchets/min	minims/	dotted	
		min	crotches/min	
Wood 1930	96-104	c53	84-94	14.45
Cortot 1931	78-84	c42	<86	17.09
Melichar 1934	c80	42	<102	16.08
Busch 1935	56-67	c30	78-83	21.29
Schmit 1941	78	40-42	80-86	17.54

Fabian points to the later recordings of Klemperer, Faerver, Boult, and Goberman to 'illustrate how easy it is to interpret these works in a symphonic manner', citing the 'broad, on-the-string bowing, tenuto instead of springy articulation and a harmonic rather than melodic bass' as the features that 'combine to create a fairly heavy and over-accented overall effect'.⁸⁴ However, the earlier recordings of Goossens, Furtwängler, and Schmitz in their recordings of Brandenburg 3 already establish this sound. Despite the variance in speed shown in Figure 3.10, their beat-driven tempos involve a very literal reading of equally weighted notes, and pronounced allargandos into cadences. Dispelling any assumption that this simply reflected contemporary taste, an anonymous Gramophone critic notes Furtwängler's consistently slow pulse as 'rather pedestrian in style, with a lot of equal stresses in the bar', and concludes that the 'general spirit is that of slogging away', which is 'not one's ideal of Bach'.⁸⁵ However, Wood's much faster tempos were not favoured either, the same reviewer noting that the third movement of Furtwängler's recording 'gains something [...] by not being rushed, as Sir Henry Wood rushes it'.⁸⁶ Besides emerging as the longest performance, Furtwängler adopts proportional (equal) tempos between the outer

⁸⁴ Fabian, p. 93.

⁸⁵ Anon, 'Furtwängler. The Early Recordings', *Gramophone* April, 1932, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

movements. Although there is some fluctuation in the tempo, notably for solo sections, the general impression is of a deliberate attempt to make the outer movements proportional in their consistency of 72 crotchet or dotted-crotchet beats per minute.⁸⁷ Despite the calculated unity, the consistency of the slow pulse equally highlights the general lack of variety on both large and small scales; in contrast to the compatibility of related tempos discussed by Marshall and Abravaya, this fixed approach also eliminates the sense of spontaneity.⁸⁸ Furtwängler's Brandenburg 3 tempos are not the slowest - without the insertion of the Air as the middle movement, Cortot's is the longest overall reading on account of the extremely slow tempo of the first movement. However, whereas the pedestrian last movements of Goossens and Schmitz both lack momentum, Cortot's chosen tempo of the first movement maintains interest through his variety of local-level phrasing and approach to dynamics. His flexibility of tempo, both mid-phrase and at cadences, is created by rubato and preservation of the natural hierarchy of phrasing groups of notes, rather than adopting a consistency of dynamic level across beats. On balance, the gravitas of Cortot's first movement offers an effective contrast to the spirited interpretation of the last movement.

In terms of basic speed, Figure 3.10 shows that the Busch Chamber Players adopt a similar tempo to Wood's British Symphony Orchestra (90-96), but the two project very different effects. In the context of later conductors such as Klemperer and Boult, Fabian observes that the symphonic qualities appear to 'diminish when the performing ensemble is reduced to consort size [...] nevertheless they do not disappear completely.'⁸⁹ This aptly characterizes Busch's interpretation in that his tempos were not limited by a large ensemble, however, a number of features belie his chamber approach. The violin sound is excessively dominant, and the lack of variety in the local level phrasing promotes a consistency of heavily-sprung articulation. This is particularly pronounced in the last movement, creating an impression that the work is a chamber concerto for three violins rather than for the full ensemble.

 ⁸⁷ For broader discussion of proportional tempos and Furtwängler see Sherman, 'Tempos and Proportions in Brahms', p. 469-72; Michael Musgrave, *Brahms, A German Requiem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 70; and Bowen, 'Tempo, Duration, and Flexibility', p. 125.
 ⁸⁸ For discussion on small and large scale tempo influence see David Epstein, *Beyond Orpheus: Studies in Musical Structure* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979), p. 75.

⁸⁹ Fabian, p. 93.

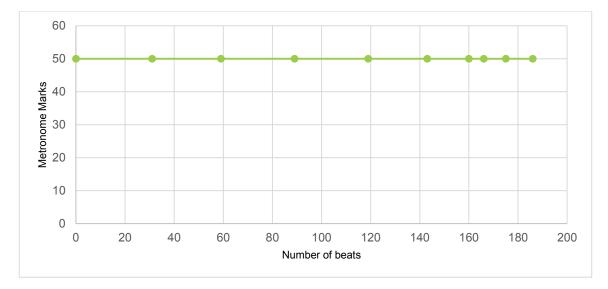
In comparison to his contemporaries, Wood's tempos are surprisingly brisk, especially considering the forces used. Epstein's notion of rhythmic definition by harmonic progression is particularly applicable to Wood's recordings as his sense of momentum is garnered through the continual sense of a stable downbeat and the unexpected lack of tempo fluctuation at many cadences.⁹⁰ The first movement of his Brandenburg 3 illustrates the sense in which 'harmonic progression defines large scale rhythm' and the overall impression of a quick pulse as opposed to a fast beat.⁹¹ The 'ornamental features of emphasis', such as 'dynamics, texture, timbre, and nuance',⁹² promote momentum in sequential passages and structural moments. Furthermore, the spirit of the tempo – an optimistic allegro rather than the seriousness of the slower interpretations – creates an impression of space and ease. The regular accents that created a weighted effect in contemporary recordings are still in evidence, but the varied phrasing on global and local levels serves to highlight the movement's broader harmonic rhythm as opposed to the over-emphatic stresses of bar lines. The extremely fast tempo of the last movement (see Figures 3.8 and 3.10) does, momentarily, undermine the clarity and definition of the lines, but captures the virtuosic spirit of the ensemble as a whole and reinforces Wood's sense of pulse rather than beat.

On the broadest scale, Brandenburg 6 raises similar issues to Brandenburg 3, but the statistics show the results to be more extreme, especially with regard to Wood's approach. Although there was no evidence of it in his score and parts, there is a suggestion that his full orchestral reading (the only recording to use such large forces) was reduced in 'solo' passages (though the number of players is not specified in the BG edition) to maintain the brisk tempos. Whilst the outer movements have the greatest tempo stability, the middle movement is the most variable. For the purpose of comparison, ten points of thematic entry were identified in this movement, shown in Appendix 3.28. At each of these points a metronome reading was taken. To act as a control, Figure 3.12 visualises the entries as points in time, calculated by the number of beats between each - for a performance given at a consistent metronome mark of minim = 50 throughout.

⁹⁰ Epstein, pp. 64-5. ⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 64 and 75.

⁹² Ibid., p. 64.

Figure 3.12: Visualization of the 10 entry points identified in Appendix 3.28 to show the proportions of a performance of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6, Movement 2, at a constant minim = 50



Making the calculation in minutes and seconds rather than the number of beats, a comparison of the five recordings of Brandenburg 6 is shown in Figure 3.13.

Figure 3.13: Tempo readings taken at the 10 entries defined in Figure 3.12 and Appendix 3.28, with entry-point 5 labelled for ease of comparison

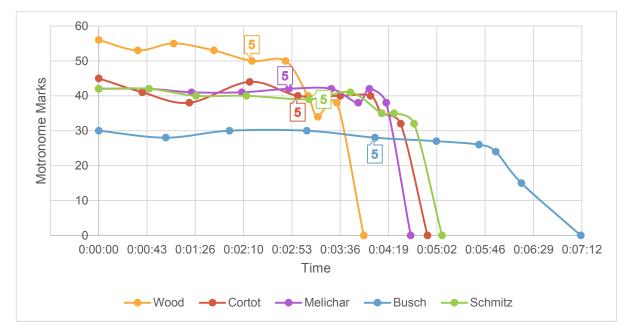


Figure 3.13 confirms the extent to which Wood and Busch are the extreme readings, whilst Melichar, Cortot, and Schmitz all adopt a similar mean tempo, until point 7. It also shows the extent to which each conductor maintains their chosen base tempo

throughout for the start of each phrase: Wood loses pace gradually over time, whilst Cortot appears the most variable (on account of a fast restart after the side-change of the record), and Melicar is the only conductor to gain speed. Finally it reveals the proportions and tempo treatment of the closing passage (bars 54-62). Though these points are at much closer intervals (2-3 bars shown in Figure 3.12 and Appendix 3.28) Busch's slower tempos (including rallentandos) elongate them to the same proportions of earlier entries, in contrast to Wood, who keeps much more overall proportion despite the considerable final ritardando. On a smaller scale, comparison of the approach to the pacing of the final bars shows that Wood – in contrast to his contemporaries – increases the tempo in the penultimate phrase to add tension and suspense in the closing passage. However, Figure 3.13 does not capture the tempo flexibility; for example, Wood makes pronounced ritardandos in the middle movement (which contrast his treatment of the outer movements), whereas Busch maintains a consistent largo tempo. The only way in which Figure 3.13 demonstrates tempo fluctuation is in the comparison of interpretations that adopt very similar tempos; for example, Melichar employs fewer ritardandos than Cortot or Schmitz, shown by his entry points increasingly falling ahead of theirs prior to finishing first of the three performances. Any discussion of tempo is inevitably constrained by a number of practical and contextual considerations; whether this approach, or the more accurate tempo mapping employed by Bowen is used, further description is needed.⁹³ Fabian's conclusion that tempo is not an existential element that can be examined outside considerations of articulation, dynamics, and texture is vital to an understanding of the role of tempo as a key interpretative element in this repertoire.94

Despite the lower quality of recording production in this era, comparisons can be made of the tone and timbre of each recording. Generally, the production quality of recordings was recognized as problematic by the contemporary press.

⁹³ Bowen, p.130, clarifies that the tempo maps allow us to 'see at least two things we assume we can hear: that different performances by the same conductor do share stylistic similarities and that different conductors do things differently', but he also (p.132) contextualizes the data with commentary and adds that 'in some cases the visual picture matches the one generated by the critics'. ⁹⁴ Fabian, p. 96, illustrates the notion that durations of works fluctuated throughout the 20th century and her extensive research into movement duration in Bach does not support the common notion that 'performances of baroque music simply become faster and faster over time'. This mirrors Bowen's historical and cultural conclusions, pp. 148-9. The software, sonic visualizer developed by CHARM (<u>http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/analysing/p9_0_1.html</u> [accessed 1 March 2014]) was consulted in relation to this discussion and whilst detailed charts were created, the conclusions did not differ substantially from those which could be drawn from Figure 3.13.

With specific regard to Furtwängler's recording of Brandenburg 3, they credited 'good variations of tone-level', but criticised the wider issue:

The string tone above *mf* gets hard. This is the chief weakness of the present batch of recordings. We want really true string timbre at all degrees of loudness (and all pitches).⁹⁵

The chief characteristic of Furtwängler's interpretation is the manner in which sharply contrasted block dynamics and dramatic crescendos and diminuendos pervade. An emasculated tone and lack of dynamic colour emphasize the aforementioned slow tempo with laboured local phrasing and the monotony of an emphatically beat-driven pulse. The last movement fares better, partly owing to the quicker tempo; the critic noted that the recording was 'worth getting for its clarity' despite the fact that it did not 'exactly excite'.⁹⁶ By comparison, Cortot's recordings of both Brandenburgs 3 and 6 are more uneven in tone quality but greater textural interest is created through the extreme contrasts in dynamic levels - particularly in an awareness of ripieno and concertino sections in Brandenburg 6. Despite weakness in intonation in both concertos (probably owing to the use of student performers), Brandenburg 3 highlights in particular the contrasts between moments of rich, wellbalanced, orchestral sound (especially when the melodies are not sustained by the violins) and the timbral effect of using solos for the recapitulation of canonic entries. Additionally, Cortot directs from the harpsichord and uses the textural contrast of the continuo to highlight and mimic motivic features, in addition to providing harmonic structure. The small forces used by Busch and Schmitz are symptomatic of the opportunity for the recording industry to release multiple alternative readings of the same work. The Busch Chamber Players are closely miked and recorded in a dry acoustic, and therefore present a very intimate sound. However, the balance is not successfully maintained: at times the lower instruments are completely lost, the piano continuo is sporadic, and whilst the heavily-dominant solo violin sound explores the intricacies of the work, the overall effect is unrelenting despite the variation in articulation. Local phrasing is either very emphatically clipped or sustained, but on a larger scale the soloists sustain the phrases to such a degree that

⁹⁵ Anon, 'Furtwängler. The early recordings', p. 10.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

there is no room for the music to breathe. The result is an angular interpretation, despite the appealing sense of occasion as a 'live' performance.

Throughout his career Wood performed with both Goossens and Cortot, and he openly declared the major influences on his music-making to be Nikisch and Weingartner;⁹⁷ therefore it is unlikely that his own interpretation was not influenced by, or conceived as a reaction to, the recordings that predated his own. Varied textures, rather than dynamics or number of players, are the aural priorities in his recording (and will be discussed in detail with regard to the score below). The balance of each instrumental line is maintained despite the symphonic depth of tone, and motivic phrases emerge through the texture as they are passed through the orchestra. On the largest scale the contrasts in blocks of texture enliven the brisk pace, which is maintained by rhythmic drive and variation of tone through moments of tension and suspense. This applies equally to local phrasing and the attention to individual lines, whether emerging through the ensemble or blending in specific combinations and is exemplified by Wood's interpretation of the last bar of Brandenburg 3. In many interpretations the final downward phrase in the first violins is often emphasized but in Wood's reading it is tucked away, allowing prominence to the upward arpeggios in the second and third violin parts. Moments such as this point to a deep understanding of the textural functions within the work as a whole, and create the impact of a chamber interpretation within symphonic proportions. Wood's recording of Brandenburg 3 stands out amongst its contemporaries in all three categories of tempo, timbre, and the approach to the Adagio. Most strikingly, his tempos are quick – both for the age and by modern standards. Although Robert Philip notes that 'writers and critics are sometimes too ready to assume that any exceptionally fast tempo on a 78 rpm record must have been influenced by the side-limit',⁹⁸ a further examination of the score will give clearer indications that this tempo was carefully considered. The extent to which the practicalities of recording influenced interpretation in general should not be dismissed, as Wood's associate conductor in later Proms, Adrian Boult, suggested:

⁹⁷ Wood, About Conducting, p. 105.

⁹⁸ Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 38.

'You see when you have it in mind that you have got to get to a certain point in 4 ¹/₄ minutes, or whatever it is, you are inclined to hurry even though you know it is really all right, and I think there is no doubt that the recording managers were very nervous about it and we all had it a bit on our minds'.⁹⁹

However, Wood was familiar with performing to a set time for live broadcasts, and he therefore knew how to judge an interpretation under such conditions and not allow the performance to suffer for the sake of practicalities. His performances are calculated in terms of the balance and pacing, the contrasts between movements, and the attention to detail in local scale phrasing.

Score and recording comparison

As detailed in Appendix 3.1, there are three scores of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in the Wood Archive. The BG edition shows limited signs of being used in performance (on account of the good condition of the pages) but contains heavy markings and information that could have been used for the transfer of markings to parts. It is most likely that Wood used his copy of the 1871 B&H edition regularly as it is heavily worn and incorporates both his annotations from the BG edition and many further layers of instructions. Appendix 3.29 shows that there are some specific markings in bar 97 that relate to the 1932 recording, regarding the point at which the music had to stop for the side change of the record. This indication suggests that Wood used this score for the recorded performance, prior to his use at 'Promenades 1938 and 1939' noted on the cover. Although many markings may post-date the recording, they prompt speculation over the extent to which Wood's written instructions are manifested on record. A comparison of the score and recording reveals the application of instructions for orchestral forces, tempo and tempo manipulation, dynamics, and articulation. Not only do these help to identify Wood's performing practices, they offer a clearer sense of the significance of his annotations on other scores in the collection. The final copy in the archive is the 1908 Seiffert edition, which, beyond Wood's customary name-stamp, is unmarked. However, its presence in the archive is noteworthy as it shows Wood's awareness of Max Seiffert's continuo realization and confirms his deliberate decision not to include continuo instruments in his live performances or the recording.

⁹⁹ Boult quoted in Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, p. 38.

The inside cover of the BG edition shows pencil notes made by Wood after hearing a performance of the work by the Meiningen Orchestra in Freiberg under Fritz Steinbach on 13 January 1903 (Appendix 3.30). The players at Meiningen were famed for their precision, memory, and the old German practice of standing during their performance; Wood noted that the violins and violas stood on that occasion.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, on his programme for Saturday 24 September 1904, (only the second performance of the work at the Proms), Wood also notes: 'Full force of strings played standing. Rich Full rendering'.¹⁰¹ This is a remarkable comment as it is not a feature that is noted elsewhere in contemporary sources as a practice for Wood's performances, and it was not a recognized practice at the Proms. The only other reference to it appears in the fictional work by A. H. Sidgewick, The Promenade *Ticket*, which describes a fictional performance of Brandenburg 3 as 'an awfully jolly thing by Bach' in which 'the orchestra stood up, like the Hallelujah Chorus'.¹⁰² The feature of standing does not appear to apply to other works performed in the same evening, or future performances of Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, and suggests a one-off feature of a popular Saturday evening Prom. The instruction: 'standing' is written on the B&H edition in a blue pencil that differs in tone from the remaining blue pencil markings on the score, indicating this was an early annotation and therefore that this was the score that Wood used throughout his career. The inside cover of the BG edition also contains information on the proportions of the orchestra, in the same weight and tone of pencil as the initial comments on Meiningen, suggesting that these reflected the 13 January performance (Appendix 3.30):

¹⁰¹ Promenade Programme for Saturday 24 September 1904

http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1900s/1904/september-24/1277

¹⁰⁰ Holden, p. 26.

¹⁰² A. H. Sidgewick, *The Promenade Ticket* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), p. 64. Although published in 1914, the dates of diary entries and descriptions of many of the works correspond with the 1906 programmes, suggesting that Sidgewick described what he saw in the specific 1906 performance.

Violins I	Players 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 (Desks 1 to 5)
II	11 12 13 14 (Desks 6 & 7) 2nd Violins Players 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
III	9 10 11 12 (Desks 5 & 6 of 2nd Violins)
Violas I	123
II	456
III	7 & 8
Cellos I	123
II	456
III	7 & 8

Figure 3.14: Wood's note of the forces used by the Meiningen Orchestra in January 1903

The same proportions also appear inside the cover of the B&H edition, which suggests that these were the forces initially adopted by Wood. Although the list does not include 'Violone and Cembalo', the line is marked up in the score and parts are prepared for double basses in the orchestral sets – to reinforce the fewer numbers of third cellists. The uneven distribution of violins (10 Violin I, 12 Violin II, and 4 Violin III) appears to be a very specific allocation which undoubtedly would have an impact on the strength of tone of imitative solo entries within the violin parts (depending to some degree on the disposition of the orchestra). However, the B&H edition has an additional list attached by paper-clip to the inside cover on which Wood has written his new instructions for the distribution of players (Appendix 3.31):

Figure 3.15: Wood's revised proportions for Brandenburg Concerto No. 3

5 desks (10 players) Vio I
5 desks (10 players) Vio II
5 desks (10 players) Vio III
1 ½ desks (3 players) Viola I
1 ½ desks (3 players) Viola III
2 desks (4 players) Viola III
1 ½ desks (3 players) Cello I
1 ½ desks (3 players) Cello II
2 desks (4 players) Cello III

Wood notes that he used this updated allocation of desks at the Proms in 1932 (the same year as the recording) and 1933. Such an arrangement promotes the more balanced ensemble that is evident on the recording. Despite the continued absence of

reference to the double basses, their presence is vital, not only for projection (to counter the difficulties of projecting the bass line in recordings of the period), but because the 'Violone and Cembalo' line has independent moments which are not doubled by the Cello III part.

With regard to tempo and tempo manipulation, the lead pencil used in the BG edition to list the forces of the Meiningen Court Orchestra is evident throughout, marking details such as the tempos of movements and specific allargandos. Wood clarifies the tempo descriptions of movements one and three: 'Allegro Moderato', for movement one, and 'Gigue – Brisk Allegro' in addition to the previous 'Allegro' of the third movement. This is a clear indication of the hierarchy of tempos, the final movement being considerably quicker than the first, reinforcing the momentum of the Gigue dance form. Wood includes these markings in his B&H edition and also adds approximate metronome markings: crotchet = circa 104 for the first movement and dotted-crotchet = 84 for the third. Whilst the latter is exactly the speed adopted in the recording, the former is a little optimistic – the tempo on the recording fluctuates and although it captures the additional marking 'with spirit', it averages at a crotchet speed of 98. Although this variation is relatively minor, there is a larger question over the accuracy of Wood's performance timings, which feature on the majority of his scores. Wood originally noted on the BG edition that the work lasted for 10 minutes; however, the B&H edition reveals multiple revisions of this calculation (both on and inside the cover), revising the timing to eight minutes – the same as his calculation of the Meiningen Court Orchestra performance in the BG edition, and half a minute shorter than the 8'32 taken on Wood's recording. Pencil markings in the BG edition (later revised by Wood for his own performances) suggest that Steinbach omitted the Adagio, which would shorten the total timing but still point to a brisk interpretation. This shows that his recorded interpretation was not quicker (for the sake of the available time on the record) than his concert performances. The variation in duration may also be Wood's time allowed for applause when programming the broadcasting schedule, but is a caution against taking his noted durations too literally.

The comparison of Wood's recorded Brandenburg 3 with those of his contemporaries proves his tempos to be considerably quicker (Figure 3.10), but on a smaller scale, his use of tempo manipulation is also judicious and not overindulgent. In particular, the third movement includes no fluctuation in tempo until

the final bar, and Wood pre-empted any temptation to slow by marking *a tempo* in the preceding bars. This was the movement that the anonymous *Gramophone* reviewer criticised for its tendency to rush. The tempo does not actually increase throughout and there is a sense of lightness gained through the shortened notes, but in the determination to maintain the brisk tempo, moments in which there is much activity in the lower voices do occasionally give a sense of rushing. Overall the speed is maintained and good use is made of the steadying effect of articulation; the daggers in bar 168 (see Appendix 3.32), for example, create space within the beats at a moment that could otherwise be rushed. The result is that the movement *sounds* fast, which was clearly the intention.

By contrast the first movement displays comparatively more deliberate tempo flexibility. The opening two-note anacrusis does not begin strictly in time but accelerates, giving an immediate impression that Wood's tempos may be flexible. However, this is almost immediately confounded by the maintained momentum and lack of any ritardando through the first cadence in bar 8 (CD 1, track 5, 0'18"). Similarly in the succeeding cadences at bars 15 (0'36), 31 (1'16), and 46 (1'54) there is no evidence of what might be considered an inevitable rallentando of the period (as may be heard on the comparative recordings from Figure 3.4). However, Wood did employ an allargando, as may be heard and seen into the cadence in bar 57 (2'21) and Appendix 3.33 a) – a deliberate contrast which suggests architectonic and textural significance. The allargando emphasizes the now familiar texture of the unison ensemble but allows for both contrast and a moment of release from the momentum sustained thus far. Furthermore it punctuates the cadence into E minor, and on immediately regaining the original tempo half-way through bar 58 (2'25), draws attention to the piano entries of the fragmented thematic material as it is passed through the orchestra. The same effect is applied more emphatically for the cadence into B minor in bar 74 (3'05) (Appendix 3.33 b)), but the ensemble is less successful in regaining the original tempo immediately afterwards, and only properly regains the pace and momentum with the articulated entry of crotchets in the violin in bar 78 (3'16). The greatest tempo fluctuation might have been anticipated at the cut between the record sides in bar 97 (4'03) (Appendix 3.29), but the recording proves that Wood chose not to rallentando into the cadence, and thus did not allow any 'wiggle room' in regaining the tempo on the next record.¹⁰³ The

¹⁰³ For further discussions of 'wiggle room' see Bowen, pp. 130, 137, and 142.

heavily accented cross-bar homophonic chords hinder the re-establishment of the tempo in the pick-up and the accented effect may well have been intentional to give punctuation and textural interest. Where it repeats in bar 119 (5'02) (Appendix 3.34 a)), the effect of the accents on the tempo merely suspends time rather than challenging momentum, therefore the disruption in the recording is a regrettable aspect within Wood's interpretation. The largest allargandos are reserved for the closing sections: the first is in bar 125 (5'17), where the downward unison passage heralds the final return of the opening theme and marks the final section (Appendix 3.34 b)), and the second is in the final bar (5'44) where Wood accents every note, using a breath mark to separate the last two chords (Appendix 3.34 c)). The latter effect does not sound laboured as it is unprecedented, and the music continues almost seamlessly into the slow movement. As there are only two chords in the Adagio, and Wood does not employ any decoration, on a first hearing it is hard to gain a sense of time and proportion and thus the progression appears to be suspended in time, linking the two metronomically-driven outer movements. Wood's tempo markings and their manifestation on the recording thus prove to be carefully considered for architectonic or textural reasons, and are inextricably linked to dynamics and articulation.

Each of Wood's marked-up scores displays a comprehensive and meticulous approach to indicating dynamics. Not only does he address every phrase indicating local, small-scale fluctuations in dynamic levels with hair-pins, his broader contrasts are heightened from Bach's published indications, extending piano to pianissimo and *forte* to *fortissimo*. Visually, the scores reflect the sense gained from the recording that through dynamic attention to local phrasing in each part, Wood achieves both momentum and a lack of monotony. He uses varied dynamics to promote specific textures or instruments in addition to balancing the ensemble. This is evident from the outset (Appendix 3.35 a)): in bar 1 the basses are marked *mf* against the f of the upper strings, beginning boldly but with plenty of dynamic volume in reserve for the contrast for the later *ff* presentation of the opening ritornello. The ff ritornello is a rare full-ensemble dynamic effect (in which all parts are ascribed the same dynamic instruction across families) but other ritornellos feature dramatic crescendos and decrescendos as an alternative to a rallentandos for cadences. On a smaller scale, Wood's scrupulous attention to local dynamic detail assists in pacing and momentum. The decrescendos in bars 2 and 3 set a precedent

for phrasing-off small units of notes and promote the unequal weight of each group of notes. Equally crescendos such as those in bars 2, 6, and 7 give the music momentum through the cadences, a principle that extends to the upward arpeggio in bar 8 as the notes lead onto the succeeding phrase and heighten the effect of the sudden dynamic change to *piano*.

The recording proves that Wood's 'soli' markings in the first movement were not an indication to reduce the number of players, but rather to highlight a soloistic line in the texture. However, Wood emphasizes these 'solos' further by dynamic contrasts. For example, where the first movement reaches its climax (Appendix 3.35 b)), he instructs the violins to move onto the bridge to change the nature of the sound and cut through the weight and thick textures of the lower voices. The only moment in which the parts are reduced is the Adagio, unequivocally the quietest moment, and equally a climatic point in the work in which each set of parts (but neither the BG edition nor the B&H edition) instruct only one player per desk to play. The dynamic interpretation of the last movement involves contrasting static *piano* motives with the *forte* and dynamically fluctuations of active writing (e.g. Fig. H shown in Appendix 3.36 a)). As previously noted there are no rallentandos until the last bar; instead a sense of continuous motion is perpetuated through dynamic tension. This is particularly noticeable in extreme dynamic contrasts where a solo line is exposed through the texture or a sudden change in full ensemble dynamic (e.g. the viola solo line at Fig. K and tutti pp two bars earlier in Appendix 3.36 b)). Wood's awareness of both concertino and ripieno textures, and the thematic material within the textures of the full ensemble, is central to his interpretation. This is illustrated in Appendix 3.37 through (a) the duet in bars 78-82 in which the rich *ff* second violin entry contrasts with the *pp* accompaniment prior to the variation in dynamics for the upper violins; (b) and (c) the emphasis of single solo line (the second violins in bar 51, or third violins in bar 67); and (d) and (e) the groups of instruments (violas in bar 86, or each part in turn in bars 57-60). Reading the B&H edition whilst listening to Wood's recording gives a stronger impression that the recording reflects the markings as Wood highlights the parts he wished to cut through the textures. For example, the many circled phrases which descend through the ensemble (Appendix 3.37 e)) are given a prominence and expressiveness which may have not have been so pronounced prior to viewing. Just as the conductor directs the ears of the audience in live performance, this score does

the same for the listener. Whether or not the effect is substantial enough without the prompt of the score is debatable, however, as there are many details that are not audible.

Wood made use of specific articulations and both the distinction between marking types and their placement is significant. The methodical approach to their application and placement suggests attention to textural effects and the emphasis of thematic material, whilst also aiding ensemble and avoid emphatic accents on every beat. In the first movement articulation and accent markings fall into ten categories:

Figure 3.16: Wood's articulation markings in his B&H edition of Brandenburg 3

No.	Marking	Description in text
1	_	Horizontal Line
2	>	The Accent Hairpin
3	۸	Le Petit Chapeau
4		Staccato
5	,	Dagger, Stroke, Spiccato, or Accented Staccato
6	÷	Horizontal Line with Staccato
7		Staccato under a slur
8	\frown	Slurs and Phrase Marks
9	tr	Trills
10	,	Breath Mark

Despite the ability to categorize accents and articulation marks, the interpretation of articulation has been problematic since its greater categorization in the lateeighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is difficult to give a precise definition of the exact meaning of each symbol.¹⁰⁴ Any possible alignment of Wood's B&H edition with the recording does not always entirely clarify the matter, but gives an impression of his intentions for the sound in his placement of such signs.

¹⁰⁴ See Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 95-135. Whilst articulation marks abound prior to this, discussion here refers to their much increased and consistent use and development in this period, as defined by Brown's parameters.

Wood used the horizontal line (1) solely in the first movement, and primarily to introduce themes. In this context it is valuable briefly to consider the context of the sign as it is the most ambiguous in execution. Definitions by theorists and its adoption by nineteenth-century composers suggests the implications of the accent to vary considerably from a 'stress or marked accent' to 'gentle vibrato'.¹⁰⁵ However, the majority of sources imply tenuto, a broad style of playing, not necessarily shortening the notes but maintaining separation. In his comprehensive discussion of the notation of accents Clive Brown draws a literary analogy, pointing to 'deeprooted implications of stress because of its association with the sign for a strong syllable in poetry'.¹⁰⁶ Whilst Brown states that in late nineteenth-century music, composers tended to mark the sign for notes that required the lightest degree of separation and/or the slightest degree of expressive weight', he concludes that its function is 'relative rather than absolute'.¹⁰⁷ Wood's application of the notation supports the notion that, akin to Liszt's employment of it in his Faust Symphonie, it may be viewed as 'a tenuto instruction as opposed to an accent (cautioning against the detached execution in the strings)', intended to 'counteract ...metrical accentuation'.¹⁰⁸ When Wood employs it on the first page to introduce ideas and provide contrast with other accents, there is a sense of stress to the notes that set them apart (see Appendix 3.35 a)). It is initially used on the first three beats of bar 1 (as an alternative to accenting the first three Gs on beats 1 and 3 of bar 1 and beat 1 of bar 2), which helps to establish momentum and discourage an automatic accent on each bar line. The recording reveals that the horizontal line promoted clarity of emphasis without producing a sharp attack and it did not shorten the sound. It is more clearly delineated in bar 4 and the contrast with the accent hairpin at the beginning of bar 5 makes more sense of what the notation seeks to achieve – the accent hairpin promotes a sharper attack to the sound. The overall result avoids a continual equal weight of articulation and a useful delineation in highlighting the new theme. Other instances in which this delineation is clear include the duet between first and second violins in bar 78 and the final recapitulation of the opening thematic material (in which they were first heard). Appendix 3.37 a) shows that in bar 78, a rising arpeggiated theme contrasts with the original thematic moment for

¹⁰⁵ Brown, pp. 127-135 and specifically pp. 128 and 133.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 128.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 130.

the most exposed solo moment to date, and the horizontal line is employed to articulate the rising crotchets. Again, the sound is stressed rather than sharply articulated (contrasting the accented hairpins in bars 79-80) but separated, and slightly shortened, with the necessary emphasis to give a clean edge to the sound. Within the full textures of the last page of the movement, shown in Appendix 3.38 a), the final use of the horizontal line provides another example of the manner in which Wood used it to differentiate a different stress from surrounding accent marks. The placement on the first three beats of bar 129 again avoids any tendency to emphasize the first and third beat and gives definition to the final descending thematic material, in effect signalling the close without a rallentando.

By contrast the accent hairpin (2) is used liberally throughout to give weight and prominence to particular notes. Despite its prevalence, Wood was specific with its placement, most often employing it for delineation of roles and variation of accented beats.¹⁰⁹ In the first movement his accentuation of beat 3 of bar 2, and beats 1 and 3 of bar 3 in the bass (Appendix 3.35 a)) ensures that there are just three main accents in bars in which the repeated Ds would promote a heavily beat-driven opening. There is a contrast between the accented beats in the viola and 'cello/bass parts and the unaccented violins; thus the harmonic function of the dominant is emphasized. The accent hairpin is also employed to emphasize a particular rhythm or feature within a texture, clarifying the thematic contrast in the violin duet at bars 78-82 for example (Appendix 3.37 a)). However, as the accent hairpin is so liberally used, it gives the score the appearance of an interpretation that is more heavily accented than the recording presents, especially where the accent is applied to every note of a phrase (such as the bass in bars 4-5 Appendix 3.35 a)). Furthermore, the layers of markings in bar 35 (Appendix 3.38 b)) suggest that it was increasingly accented through time, but the audible effect on the recording is not laboured, thus proving the necessity of more extreme markings to cut through the texture when using large forces. Where the effect of accenting every note is coupled with tempo manipulation, (as heard in the last bar of the movement (Appendix 3.38 a)), Wood

¹⁰⁹ Though not audible on the recording, it is notable that Wood continues to make specific demarcation between the horizontal line and accented hairpin within a single context. The climax of the line on the bar-line of bar 7 (Appendix 3.35 a)) highlights one such instance in which Wood marks the first violin with an accented hairpin, whilst the second and third violins are marked with a horizontal line, and the bass instruments unaccented. The score displays Wood's perception of balance and concern with varied attack.

also makes his only use of a breath mark (10) to gain further clarity in the distinction of the final cadence.

As textural intensity and volume increases, Wood requires a third demarcation of emphasis: le petit chapeau, or the vertical open wedge (3).¹¹⁰ The implication from the score is that this mark is used in the manner of a *sfz* as in Wagner's scores, reinforcing an earlier accented idea where a return to the horizontal line marking would not be strong enough.¹¹¹ It could also help to articulate inner parts where a lesser indication would not cut through the rich textures, such as the viola line in bars 18 and 129 (Appendix 3.39 a) and b)), or to emphasize harmonically significant beats to contrast with the lesser hair pin accents, seen in a comparison of the violin and violas in bars 29-30 (Appendix 3.39 c)). The final example of this most emphatic articulation is in the final presentation of the ritornello in bar 125 (Appendix 3.39 d)), in which the weight of the strongest accent is required to re-establish the tempo at the loudest dynamic level, leaving the listener in no doubt of the structural significance of the moment.

Wood's use of staccato, or more commonly staccatissimo or daggers, is notable for the effect it has upon the lightening of the ends of phrases and contribution to momentum. The examples on page 1 (Appendix 3.35 a)) highlight the courtly effect this has upon the music, imbuing it with a dance-like quality and lightness of touch in spite of the large ensemble. Although Wood differentiates between the daggers (5) and staccato (4) in bars 8 and 9, the contrasting texture demands the shortest and lightest of bow strokes, and his use of staccato is very conservative. Most commonly it is placed to phrase off the phrased endings, such as bars 7-9, but the effect appears to demand reinforcement by the addition of horizontal lines (6) as was seen in bar 33 (Appendix 3.38 b)). The effect of phrasingoff in Wood's recording, a contrast to the contemporary heavily-accented approach, was also achieved though his moderate use of slurs. Bars 32 and 33 (Appendix 3.38 b)) reveal additional slurring, pairing notes in a manner associated with a much later approach to the interpretation of Baroque repertoire. There are limited instances in which longer slurs are employed and they may be predominantly found in soloistic moments such as the violin parts in bars 79 and 81 (Appendix 3.37 a)). Furthermore, solo violin moments are also ascribed slurred staccato notes (7), an effect that aids

¹¹⁰ For history and context and discussion of the varied use of the marking see Brown, pp. 117-126. ¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 125-6.

projection in the lower register (and which is therefore not required when the solo is imitated in the second violin) (Appendix 3.40). Finally, the recording and score show that Wood was conservative in his use of additional ornamentation. Where trills were published they were observed, and can be heard to begin on the note (rather than above it) and executed both quickly and in a rhythmical fashion. In the one example where Wood added a trill it is not indicated on the score; otherwise Wood adhered closely to the score in his broad approach to ornamentation.

A rehearsal excerpt: Brandenburg Concerto No. 3

Although the score and recording do not align exactly, they do not present a performance that could be 'judged as inappropriately heavy'.¹¹² The reputation Wood gained for such interpretations is not substantiated by either of his recordings of Brandenburgs 3 or 6. However, these recordings were made with an older ensemble – the mainstay of the BSO was most likely taken from the old Queen's Hall Orchestra rather than the BBCSO and therefore reflects an earlier period in Wood's performances. There is one more recording of Brandenburg 3 made by Wood: a two-minute excerpt of the work taken from the Prom rehearsal on 21 June 1942.¹¹³ Despite the brevity of the extract, it reveals that Wood's performances with the BBC Symphony Orchestra contrast greatly with the British Symphony Orchestra Columbia recording of 1932.

The extract (CD 2 track 3) commences towards the end of the first movement in which there is a considerable rallentando before the orchestra resume and settle on the pedestrian average tempo of crotchet = 80. Not only is the tempo considerably slower than Wood's 1932 recording, which averaged crotchet = 96, but the music is heavy and laboured. The lively articulation and varied bow strokes of the earlier recording are not evident and, over the weighty sound of the BBCSO, Wood can be heard exclaiming 'short' (twice) in the final ritornello, and 'lift' to separate the chords of the closing cadence. The instruction to the violas to 'mind that G string' in the final sustained chord is also typical of his habit of instructing over

¹¹² Jacobs, p. 285.

¹¹³ A Salute to Sir Henry Wood (1869-1944), Symposium Records CD 1150.

the music in rehearsal: a product of making what changes were possible in limited rehearsal time.

Wood's audible frustration with the weighty approach to the music corresponds with an anecdote Jessie Wood recounted from the early 1940s when the BBC Symphony Orchestra were preparing for Proms broadcasts in the Bedford studio:

The occasion was a Bach rehearsal – and Henry's Bach was apparently a stranger to many of the players. Unlike some conductors he never treated Bach with that carefree 'let-the-music-speak-for-itself' attitude. No morning of lax attention for him; no sewing-machine rhythm. But it became plain in the first five minutes of rehearsal that few minds were really concentrating on the all-important beat from the rostrum. Watching, I became alarmed. The players, had they watched, would have seen his eye, which was just as much a part of his compelling direction as the stick and his left hand request.

The response was ragged; the players seemed to have no conception of what Henry was asking of them. Suddenly he stopped and, leaning over his stand, said loudly and crossly:

'Gentlemen, I know it is only Bach, Johann Sebastian Bach. But you don't know Bach. Can you see my beat?'

'Yes', came the reply. 'Can you understand my beat?' 'Yes.'

'Well, you are not looking. You are not looking. Now we shall have to go through that movement again.'

How angry he was perhaps I alone only knew, for he never ranted at the players. But I saw the anguish and frustration in his eye.¹¹⁴

Such frustration is understandable in the context of the earlier recording and the priorities of Wood's previous interpretations of the work. Furthermore, the rehearsal extract gives a clearer picture of the type of performances that warranted the negative criticism in the press.¹¹⁵ Even in live performances of the 1930s Wood was not credited with the lively interpretation which can be heard in his recordings: 'Sir Henry Wood treats Bach in the massive Handelian way, as opposed to the lighter

¹¹⁴ Jessie Wood, pp. 150-151. Jessie continued: 'When we were back in our room at the hotel, he said: 'Darling Jessie, to think I receive this answer to my years of work for dear John Sebastian Bach, and an established orchestra of musicians cannot ride above their tedium to meet a living request.' I implored him not to direct the broadcast that night. 'What,' he said. 'You of all people, ask me to stand aside and let John Sebastian Bach down? Never!' And so he directed the broadcast, and the orchestra, I must say, responded with some show of interest if not with a particularly deep understanding of the master.'

¹¹⁵ Anon, 'Promenade Concert', *The Times*, 14 August, 1930, p. 8.

madrigalian style favoured by another school of conductors'.¹¹⁶ Although the number of performers in the British Symphony Orchestra remains unknown to date, under Wood's instruction they were able to employ the wide range of bow strokes, and varied articulation previously discussed, which promoted many of the effects more easily achieved by those recording with fewer players. Consistent with the instruction in his B&H edition, Wood can be also be heard confirming his practice of only employing 'outside players at each desk' for the middle movement, followed by a more extensive series of instructions on balance prior to the start of the third movement:

Yes, one thing gentlemen I want to ask you:

The second violins and still more the third violins must always play with a little more weight and a little more tone than the top part. That tells naturally, it's nearest the audience; but you can't have too much second and third. Do you see what I mean? Everything, play up.

And the same with the violas, the first violas are always on top you see out there, I've heard so many performances, so that the second violas have always got to play a little something on the first, and the thirds a little something on the seconds you see, so as to make the three parts tell.

It doesn't matter so much the cellos 'cause the cellos are not often playing in harmony you see. If you just think of that it just does the trick, if you just think of it, second and third parts they must get through on top of the other parts.

Now, very lively gigue dig-a-dig-a-dig-a-dig. Accent, top B. Lightly ... violas.¹¹⁷

The issue of balance in this work had evidently concerned Wood since he heard Steinbach conduct it in 1903 and had since 'heard so many performances' through which to form his opinions.¹¹⁸ The shift towards equal distribution of players per part as shown through the notes in the scores is indicative of the desire to 'make the three parts tell' equally. However, this is further evidence of his awareness of the impact of acoustics, orchestral disposition, and relative strength of tone on the balance of the music. In the 1942 rehearsal excerpt the last movement does retain the tempo of the 1932 British Symphony Orchestra recording, which is perhaps why he describes it as a '*very* lively gigue' and implores the violas to play lightly.

¹¹⁶ Anon, 'Promenade Concert', The Times, 14 August, 1930, p. 8.

 ¹¹⁷ Transcribed from *A Salute to Sir HENRY WOOD (1869-1944)*, Symposium Records CD 1150.
 ¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Case Study 3.3: Editions

In the last years of his life, Wood embarked upon a project of preparing new editions of the Brandenburg Concertos. Curtailed by his death in 1944, it was limited to the publication of one concerto, No. 3. However, of the remaining concertos, there are preparation manuscripts (in Wood's hand) of Nos. 5, 6, and 1 and the scores offer an insight into Wood's last thoughts on performing the Brandenburg Concertos. The preface to the published score of Brandenburg 3 includes a general introduction to the series.¹¹⁹ It is the longest piece of writing that survives in Wood's hand regarding the works and reveals his motivation for the venture, some degree of his editorial process, and the influences on his interpretation:

These evergreen masterworks have long been known and loved by musicians and concert-goers; yet because of the various problems they present in performance there are numerous orchestras, particularly those consisting of amateurs and students, for whom their production is difficult or impossible.

This, then, is intended to be a practical performing edition, based on more than thirty years' experience of conducting the Concertos at public concerts. I hope it will not only go far towards smoothing out difficulties of performance for the standard professional orchestras, but will also enable the works to be played by many other ensembles to whom, hitherto, they have been inaccessible.

The string parts have been bowed and fingered, and the "war on dots" will be noted: in one edition of these Concertos I had to erase no less than 768 dots from the first violin part of the first movement only of the third Concerto. To a string player a dot means "staccato"; how can any nobility or dignity be imparted to the phrases if they are played almost incessantly "spiccato" or "staccato".

As far as dynamics are concerned, Bach left no indications in his score. I have added expression marks, though more as a general guide than as detailed instruction. In this connection I would add that having had the unique opportunity of playing Bach's Violin Concertos with Joachim, Norman Neruda, Ysaye, Kreisler, Menuhin, and others, I always noted that these great string players did not play long series of notes with a level "forte" tone (in "terraces of sound" is, I believe, the official term) without the slightest inflexion or artistic "messa di voce"; they all employed a subtle inflection and emphasis, giving a human feeling to these immortal phrases of the master.

Tempo indications, metronome marks and phrasing slurs have also been inserted in this edition, and the continuo parts, left by Bach only in the figured bass, have been written out in full.

The parts for the wind instruments present an unusually complex problem. Bach's horns and trumpets parts are exceedingly difficult to perform on modern

¹¹⁹ The same preface would presumably have appeared in each of the editions.

instruments, owing to their changed construction, and again, he sometimes calls for combinations (such as three oboes) which are not readily available except among the big professional Orchestras. To overcome these problems I have suggested various alternatives, details of which will be found in the prefaces to the individual concertos. Where parts for alternative instruments are suggested, they are included in the complete set of parts, and can be used or discarded according to the orchestral resources available. H.J.W.¹²⁰

Wood's editorial process is justified by his identification of the challenges the concertos pose from his own performing experience and he sets up an expectation that the editions would address all relevant practical concerns. Wood's editorial role was therefore educative and gave him the opportunity to advise on instrumentation, demystify the continuo part, transmit technique through bowing and fingering,¹²¹ and offer an approach to interpretation through articulation, dynamic, and tempo markings. This case study will draw on specific detail from the preface through an examination of the four concertos that survive from the Brandenburg Concerto project: the published score and parts for No. 3; the near-completed handwritten preparation manuscript for No. 5; and the unfinished handwritten preparation manuscripts for Nos. 6 and 1.

Brandenburg Concerto No. 3

Wood's published edition of Brandenburg 3 confirms his final thoughts on two specific aspects of performance: first, instruction on instrumental balance and disposition, and second, interpretative details for the target audience of new performers.¹²² Wood's specific preface to Brandenburg 3 represents his last thoughts on the balance of players in Brandenburg 3. It builds upon the ideas expressed in the BG and B&H editions, and also from both the 1932 recording and the 1942 rehearsal excerpt:

¹²⁰ Preface to Johann Sebastian Bach, *Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major*, ed. by Henry J. Wood (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1944). A copy of the score is held in the RAM library (23.9 BACH, J.S.), but not in the Wood Archive.

¹²¹ It is very likely that Wood was assisted in the string technique by either Francis Sanders or Paul Beard, but he did have a working knowledge of the violin from his youth.

¹²² A copy of this score is not held in the Wood Archive, rather in the main library of the RAM.

The 3rd Brandenburg Concerto in G for Strings

When performed in a large hall, with a full complement of strings, say 16 first violins, 16 second violins, 12 violas, 12 violoncellos and 8 double basses (Bach's orchestra never numbered more than 28 musicians), the best decision of the players for this Concerto will be to group the whole of the violins, first and second, into one body. This is a workable plan:

Violins I	Desks	1-5	10 players
Violins II		6-10	10 players
Violins III		11-16	12 players
Viola I		1 & 2	4 players
Viola II		3 & 4	4 players
Viola III		5&6	4 players
Violoncello I		1 & 2	4 players
Violoncello II		3 & 4	4 players
Violoncello III		5&6	4 players
Double Basses		1-4	8 players

Sometimes the back desks are not sufficiently effective in this work. They are, of course, farther away from the public, and the players are frequently not of the same standard as those occupying the front desks. Hence the conductor must consider the advisability of having more players on parts II & III in the violin, viola, and violoncello sections. Whatever plan may be adopted, the three parts in each group must sound equal in tone and quality. The Cembalo (or piano) part, representing the Continuo, is ad libitum in this Concerto.¹²³

Orchestral balance is therefore posited as a matter of disposition rather than a textural effect, suggesting that the proportions of Steinbach's violins (Violin I: 10 players, Violin II: 12 players, Violin III: 4 players)¹²⁴ did not necessarily work in Wood's performance spaces, and that equal tone and quality was his priority. Wood additionally included a suggested plan of the ideal ensemble layout in order to make the best use of the orchestral proportions (Appendix 3.41), which contrasts his usual dispositions as set out in *About Conducting*.¹²⁵ The disposition of violins reflects the desired clarity of three parts, including an increased number of performers on the third part to counteract the balance – as Wood described and reinforced verbally in the 1942 rehearsal sequence. There is a semblance of this approach in the 'cello section: the third part is reinforced by the basses so suffers less from not being on

¹²³ 'Preface' in Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major, ed. by Henry J. Wood, p. i.

¹²⁴ See Steinbach's division of players, noted by Wood in his BG edition in Appendix 3.30 ¹²⁵ Wood is particularly noted for his attention to orchestral disposition. The principles and practicalities are discussed in Newmarch, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 38-40, and by Wood in *About Conducting*, pp. 53-56 and previously noted plans inside the front and back covers.

the outside of the ensemble. However, the violas are not assisted by this layout and the third part (desks 5 and 6) would be considerably less audible. The absence of the piano on the published plan is not surprising considering the lack of evidence for Wood's use of it in his scores or recordings, and it is marked '*ad libitum* in this concerto'.¹²⁶ Although Wood realized the part for the edition, it plays a minimal role in the texture – much less so than the realization in Max Seiffert's 1908 B&H edition. Harmonies are outlined conservatively with few melodic features beyond simplified shadowing of the violin lines, whilst the rhythmic alteration is limited to dotted notes at cadence points and syncopated quaver movement in sequences.

Wood's general preface made specific reference to Brandenburg 3 regarding the 'war on dots'.¹²⁷ Despite his claim of erasing 'no less than 768 dots from the first violin part of the first movement only of the third Concerto', the scores in his collection do not display any such dots, therefore it is unclear as to which edition he was referring.¹²⁸ Following clarification that 'to a string player a dot means "staccato", and questioning how 'any nobility or dignity be imparted to the phrases if they are played almost incessantly "spiccato" or "staccato", it appears counterintuitive that his new edition should contain considerably more dots and articulation markings than the surviving scores.¹²⁹ However, this edition was prepared as an explicit performance edition, as opposed to the BG and B&H editions favoured by Wood for his own use, and corresponds more closely with the style of performance heard on the rehearsal extract from 1942 than his earlier complete recording from 1932. The performance directions give the impression of a heavily beat-orientated and accented interpretation. Whilst there is a much greater sense of dynamic uniformity in the new edition (for example, the dynamic for the opening phrase in Wood's edition is standardized to f for all parts rather than the variation in the B&H edition that indicated *mf* in the lower parts). Wood explores a greater range, directing fff in the final movement – a dynamic marking not included in his annotations on his copy of the B&H edition (Appendix 3.42). Although greater differential is maintained between the hierarchies of thematic material, the overall

¹²⁶ Specific preface to Johann Sebastian Bach, *Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major*, ed. by Henry J. Wood, p. i. There is no reference to a keyboard continuo in Wood's note of the forces of the Meiningen Orchestra performance, there are no figures in Bach's autograph score, and there are no figures in the BG and B&H editions.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid. There are no other editions in the archive which instruct this number of staccato notes.¹²⁹ Ibid.

effect is much less subtle and leaves little room for spontaneity. Appendix 3.43 illustrates the varied dynamics but also the insistent nature of instruction; whereas tenuto horizontal lines sufficed in Wood's B&H edition markings, in his new edition the rising crotchets in bar 78 are additionally placed under a slur with the direction to play 'with great tone' in order to create the desired effect. Furthermore, many of the subtleties in the scores that Wood used for his own performances are lost in the standardization and alignment of accents and articulation. Although the broad ideas are largely the same, there is much more evidence of equally-lengthened phrases and emphasis of all beats as opposed to specific notes.

Wood may have waged his 'war on dots' but he is still liberal with their application – for example the first bar of the third movement (Appendix 3.44) in which every viola note is staccato, and the remaining notes are mostly emphasized with horizontal lines. Appendix 3.42 also illustrates how the horizontal line is used liberally but as specifically as in the B&H edition; where it previously accentuated just the first three beats of bar 1 it is now applied to all four beats. The consistent direction and liberal use of accent marks has a risk of lessening the impact of accents as every note has emphasis. There are many instances in which every note is marked with a horizontal line, accented hairpin, or staccato, but such effects may also be interpreted as an indication of bowing. Appendix 3.45 illustrates a typical example of the manner in which Wood gives attention to every note and its relative strength, through dynamics, articulation, and bow type. There are a number of instances in which effects heard on the 1932 recording are incorporated into the new edition, suggesting the cementing of Wood's interpretation; for example Appendix 3.43 shows that the audible tenuto marks are added in bar 79. Equally, performance directions such as *pizz* and *arco*, the removal of repeat marks in the third movement, and use of just one player per desk in the middle movement which were all heard on the recorded performances are established in print. However, despite aiming to produce 'a practical performing edition, based on more than thirty years' experience of conducting the Concertos at public concerts', ¹³⁰ the instructions do not do justice to the variation and subtleties of tone that were heard in the 1932 recording and as a lasting legacy do not reflect the detail shown in his earlier interpretation.

¹³⁰ Preface to Johann Sebastian Bach, *Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major*, ed. by Henry J. Wood, p. i.

Brandenburg Concerto No. 5

There is little doubt that Wood's handwritten manuscript of Brandenburg 5 [GB-Lam 152384-1001] was prepared for the Boosey & Hawkes publication. It could be described as a fair copy as it contains neither mistakes nor corrections, and Wood dated it 'January 7th 1943'. The manuscript is not marked up as a conducting score (with the customary bold differential of the blue pencil), instead the same black ink pen is used both for the interpretative detail and the musical notation. As a late interpretation of the work, the score is an amalgamation of influences throughout the 'thirty years' experience of conducting the concertos, and editions with which he was acquainted - notably the BG [GB-Lam 143591-1001], B&H [GB-Lam 44510-2001] and Siloti [GB-Lam 150117-1001] editions. Both Wood's BG and B&H editions are heavily and very similarly marked-up for performance and the pages are both discoloured and well-worn with use. The Silolti edition was made by the Ukranian conductor and pianist Alexander Siloti.¹³¹ Described as a 'concert arrangement after the Ausgabe der Bach-Gesellschaft', it represents a tradition of performing scores as opposed to the scholarly BG edition, and was used for Siloti's performances at the Carnegie and Aeolian Halls with the New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter Damrosch in 1922.¹³² Siloti was much admired for his extensive keyboard transcriptions of the works of Bach, but his instruction in this concerto is specific in both execution of the parts and specification of orchestral forces.¹³³ Although the Siloti edition is unmarked by Wood (beyond his stamp and signature on the front cover), its presence in his collection was significant. The influence of these scores can be observed in the layout of Wood's new manuscript, the instruction regarding disposition and balance of players, and the considerable detail in interpretative directions.

¹³¹ J. S. Bach, Konzert in D dur fur Klavier, Flote und Violine mit begleitung des Streichorchesters, concertarrangement nach der Ausgabe der Bach-Gesellschaft von A. Siloti (Leipzig: Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, 1912). See also Charles Barber, Lost in the stars: the forgotten musical life of Alexander Siloti (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002).

¹³² Search of the NY Philharmonic archives for Siloti at <u>http://nyphil.org/history/performance-history</u> [accessed 04 April 2014].

¹³³ Siloti made over 200 transcriptions, including Bach's Orchestral Suite No.3 and Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 and made orchestral arrangements of Bach, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Liszt, and Vivaldi. In his preface to Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 he specifies that the scoring is for a modest band comprising: 8 desks of violins; 6 desks of violas; 4 desks of violoncellos; and 2 desks of double basses.

Wood adopts elements from the BG edition (which is duplicated in the B&H edition) and Siloti editions in the format and instrumentation of his new manuscript (Appendix 3.46). Comparison of the opening bars highlights much of his perception of the concerto texture. Wood's annotation of the BG edition shows his practice of combining the first and second violin parts on the Violin di Ripieno line (in the absence of a separate second violin part) but his manuscript cements this idea. He allocates the original first violin line to the second violins and doubles the first violins either in unison or, more frequently, at the octave above – adding a higher tessitura to the texture. There is only one example in the first movement where the parts do not double: the *pianissimo* phrase in bar 13 which is given to the second violins alone (Appendix 3.47 a)). In the third movement Wood's scoring of the ripieno violins is more conservative, with the first violins assuming the original line at the original octave and the second violins doubling at the unison throughout, and there is just one exception in which the second violins are removed to lighten the texture (Appendix 3.47 b)). Siloti and Wood both used the BG edition as the basis of their editions. The rehearsal numbers marked in ink by Wood on his copy BG edition correspond with those in his manuscript, and are written in the same pen and ink notation.¹³⁴ However, Wood adopts more of the visual format of his manuscript from the Siloti edition, using Silolti's separation of solo instruments from the ripieno ensemble. In removing the solo violin and keyboard (including the figures of the bass line) from the opening tutti, the soloists are all introduced at the same time as the flute with imitative entries. Whereas Siloti is consistent in this approach to ritornellos throughout, particularly reinforcing the piano in its solo rather than ensemble role, Wood is not.¹³⁵ Although Wood removes the continuo realization and the solo violin from tutti ritornellos, in the final ritornello he engages the whole ensemble for a tutti ending and ignores Bach's original scoring (Appendix 3.48). Despite the fact that the thematic material was the sole preserve of the violins

¹³⁴ The rehearsal markings throughout take the form of letters and numbers – marked on different occasions. The blue pencil letters are undoubtedly Wood's but I would also suggest that the inked numbers are his. Though more carefully annotated, Wood does use that shade of ink on other scores and a critical mass of numbers, particularly the 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 match his usual penmanship. The ink numbers do match up with the final handwritten score which shows that he used the Gesellschaft edition in the preparation process. Though the note of 18 minutes for the duration of this concerto is certainly in Wood's hand, the metronome markings (and circled pencil numbers throughout) are not and date from the period following his death in which the scores were available for loan.

¹³⁵ The BG edition and corresponding parts do reveal that Wood's approach when using them was to observe the given notation i.e. including the solo violin and a realized keyboard line in each tutti ritornello section.

throughout, the flute doubles the violins at the octave above. Additionally, this is the only instance in which Wood provides a chordal realization of the bass line for the piano (although the idea was notated on his copy of both the BG and B&H editions). The closing ritornello is another example of Wood's new edition being the culmination of ideas previously trialled – the product of experience rather than scholarly investigation.

Beyond the general preface of Wood's edition of Brandenburg 3, one can only speculate on the potential content of any specific preface for Brandenburg 5. If the instruction regarding orchestral disposition and proportion in Brandenburg 3 is considered as a model for what Wood intended for each concerto, his handwritten instruction on the inside cover of his BG edition could be highly relevant (Appendix 3.49). This reveals that Wood wished the piano to be placed in the centre of the ensemble with the lid down, and the flute and violin in front. Positioning the keyboard in the centre of the ensemble was a design of the eighteenth century which facilitated directorship, and, although in standardized plans Wood preferred the piano in the centre of the orchestra (and conducted over it), in this context it promotes the spirit of the ensemble concerto (in the sense of the performer being an orchestral soloist as opposed to an externally engaged artist).¹³⁶ The specification of a closed lid also has practical and artistic implications: it facilitated sightlines for both the pianist and the string players to enable direct communication with the conductor in movements I and III, and balanced the trio of equally important instruments in the middle movement. There is no evidence to suggest that a 'cello was employed to complete the eighteenth-century trio sonata texture of the middle movement, but in all three scores the piano part is fully realized and there are a number of markings for the benefit of the conductor. Even with just three players, the disposition suggested by Wood would require a conductor to maintain the ensemble, as the pianist would be acoustically disadvantaged by the distance between himself and the other soloists. All these instructions reflect Wood's years of experience in experimenting with acoustics and the challenges of balancing modern instruments in these concertos, concerns that he had repeatedly expressed in relation to Brandenburg 3 both in scores and the evidence of the 1942 rehearsal excerpt.

¹³⁶ Wood, *About Conducting*, plans of orchestral disposition inside the front and back covers.

The concept of reducing the ripieno band size for the duration of the solo sections, discussed in relation to Brandenburg 2 (case study 3.1),¹³⁷ is again pertinent in Wood's manuscript of Brandenburg 5. Evidence from the scores suggests that the proportions differed according to the edition Wood used. Inside the covers of both the BG and B&H editions Wood specified a reduced ensemble for solo passages of the following proportion: 2.2.2.1 or 2.1; the application of this reduction is consistent and reinforced by *piano* and *pianissimo* dynamic markings. In the Siloti edition, the effect is much more extreme, indicating 1 'Pult' (desk) for the Violin and Viola parts and 1 'Spieler' (player) for each of the 'Cello and Double Bass parts for all solo passages. However, Wood's manuscript notes 'In the soli, the strings can be reduced to 3 desks of 1st Violins, 3 desks of 2nd Violins, 2 desks of Violas, 2 desks of Violoncellos, and 1 desk of double basses.' Although there is no clear record of the number of tutti musicians Wood required, the following proportions may be surmised:

Edition	Tutti	No. of Desks (Solo)	No of Players (Solo)	Percentage of ensemble employed to accompany solo passages
BG and B&H	7.6.4.4.3.	2.2.2.1.1.	16	33%
editions	Total: 48*			
Siloti edition	Specified in	1.155.	6	15%
	edition: 40			
Wood's	7.6.4.4.3.	3.3.2.2.1	22	46%
manuscript	Total: 48*			

Figure 3.17: Proportions of forces in the three editions of Brandenburg 5

*Based on personnel records of 1928¹³⁸

Thus the proportions employed in the Wood manuscript are the least extreme of the scores he performed from (BG edition) or owned (Siloti edition), employing just less than half the ensemble for the realization of accompaniments in the solo passages. In this case, the evidence suggests that over time Wood tempered the practice of reducing forces.

¹³⁷ See case study 3.1, pp. 81-86.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 3.6 showing personnel in the Queen's Hall Orchestra at the point it was disbanded in 1928.

In terms of large-scale tempo indications, movement descriptions in the three editions vary as follows:

Mvt	BG edition	Wood's annotation on the BG and B&H editions	Silolti edition	Wood's manuscript
Ι	Allegro*	Moderato	Moderato	Allegro Moderato
			Crotchet = 72	Crotchet circa =
Π	Affettuoso	(Trio)	Affettuoso	Andante
			Quaver = 60	Affettuoso
				Quaver =
III	Allegro	Moderato	Allegro	Allegro
			Dotted Crotchet =	
			104	

Figure 3.18: Tempo indications in the three editions of Brandenburg 5

*The metronome marks on the BG edition are not in Wood's hand

Figure 3.18 shows the extent to which the earlier editions were instructive in Wood's latest thoughts. His annotations on the BG and B&H editions clarify, rather than revise, the tempos (unlike Siloti's new instruction for Movement I) and the Moderato instruction gives the impression that the brisk movements with their rising themes had the potential to begin faster than intended.¹³⁹ The incomplete metronome marks in Wood's manuscript are clearly inspired by Siloti, but suggest an unfinished process.¹⁴⁰ On a smaller scale there are very few indications of Wood's tempo manipulation. He adds a rallentando to the penultimate bar of each movement in the BG edition and transfers this instruction to his manuscript. Whether or not the effect was manifested in performance, the BG and B&H editions indicate that many cadences were approached by a crescendo – the implied propelling movement of which is supported by the general lack of rallentandos in the recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6. The only other additional markings relating to tempo are found in the middle movement. Appendix 3.50 compares the same juncture between rehearsal marks R and S, bars 25-34, in the B&H edition, and the equivalent place, figures 28 and 29, in Wood's manuscript in which Wood marks animato, rit, grandioso, and rall. As there are so few indications of tempo

¹³⁹ The lead-pencil note of metronome marks in the BG edition is not in Wood's hand, nor is the 6/8 to be found at the start of the last movement.

¹⁴⁰ Whilst Siloti was clearly an influence on the practicalities of Wood's manuscript, his decision to re-write the third movement in 6/8 time (the rhythmic ambiguity presented by Bach's triplets against dotted quavers) did not deter Wood from Bach's original notation.

manipulation throughout, these instructions give prominence, climax, and symmetry to the overall pacing, especially as they occur in the centre of the work. In giving the trio greater direction, these indications sustain interest at a moment when the repetitive nature of the lines have the potential of tiring the listeners.

Wood's manuscript presents numerous influences from the BG, B&H, and Siloti editions with regard to dynamics and articulation. The overall trend is of a decrease in dynamic instruction and an increase in the number of articulation markings. Only the basic dynamic outline of the BG and B&H editions is preserved in Wood's manuscript. Whereas the dynamics had previously varied widely, he tempers the new instructions so that they are not so extreme or numerous. There are multiple passages in which he removes previous instructions entirely (especially the cadenza), and others in which he maintains a constant dynamic rather than any fluctuation. When placed alongside the numerous blue markings of Wood's B&H edition there is a sense that the score was left incomplete, but there is still a good deal of dynamic instruction, even by comparison with other performance editions of the period. Whilst extreme soft markings (such as a *ppp* or sudden *fp* instructions) are also not retained, the impression of dynamic levels is often heightened by textural alteration such as the increased effect of a pp by adding staccato (Appendix 3.51 a)), or the creation of a lighter ensemble by delaying the double bass entry (Appendix 3.51 b)).

The increase in articulation is particularly evident in the use of staccato dots and accents, but also in implied bowing – for example dots under slurs in *pianissimo* passages. Wood's use of pizzicato bass throughout is consistent with his annotations in the BG and B&H editions; this was not only an effect used to balance the bass section of the ensemble, but extends to other accompanying string parts (Appendix 3.52). Generally there is increased regularization of articulation, characterized in Movement III by both the alignment of triplets against the dotted quaver motif, and slurring of the first two notes in each group. Whilst there is some relaxation in the number of accented notes, the increased use of the most accented marking – the *Petit Chapeau* – is necessary to achieve further definition (Appendix 3.53). There are very few passages in which Wood adjusts the flute part for audibility but three techniques are notable for the dynamic and articulation markings they employ: raising the line by an octave to rise above the ensemble (Appendix 3.48 and Appendix 3.54 a)), extending a trill to cut through the ensemble (Appendix 3.54 b)),

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and reverting to the previous dotted rhythm to accentuate the textural contrast (Appendix 3.54 c)).

Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 6 and 1

Wood's manuscript of Brandenburg 6 [GB-Lam 152386-1001] is a preliminary draft of a preparation score. Written on Boosey & Hawkes branded manuscript paper, both the script and notation in Wood's hand is large and untidy in comparison with earlier scores, suggesting that the edition was begun in Wood's later years. However, there are written (pencil) instructions, both in notation and performance directions in the hand of another musician: the violinist, and leader of the BBCSO, Paul Beard. Beard's identity is first revealed on Wood's manuscript in the crossedout note at the top of page 1 which concludes with the initials PB (Appendix 3.55 a)), and confirmed by a further score [GB-Lam 152387-1001], another handwritten fair copy of Wood's working manuscript, attributed to 'Bach-Wood', but 'arranged by Paul Beard' (Appendix 3.55 b)). It is likely that Beard made his interpretative markings and additional rescoring with Wood's guidance, in the role of an assistant or amanuensis; however, his date of 28.11.1944 on the last page postdates Wood's death, and also his funeral – at which the work was played following Wood's request: 'If you are here, dear Jessie, when I pass on, please let me hear Brandenburg No. 6'.¹⁴¹ There is no evidence of any orchestral parts, performances, or a publication of the work in this arrangement but the score was returned to Wood's library, which suggests that it was a collaboration that Beard completed out of respect for Wood, rather than a project he adopted for his own purposes. An examination of both scores clarifies the roles the two men performed in the creation of this new edition.

The annotation of Wood's manuscript indicates many details of his editorial process. Despite describing the orchestration of 2 Violas da Braccio, 2 Violas da Gamba, Violoncello, Violone, and Cembalo, in the title, the layout of the score specifies the following instruments at the start of each movement:

¹⁴¹ Jessie Wood, p. 24. She confirms Wood's preference for the work: 'But favourites there were. I can definitely say that Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 6, especially the slow movement, was singled out as such.' There is a possibility that Beard was preparing his manuscript for Wood's funeral but ran out of time.

Movement I	Movement II	Movement III
Two Clarinets in B (ad lib)	Violins I & II	Two Clarinets in B (ad lib)
Two Bassoons (ad lib)	Tutti Violas	Two Bassoons
Two Horns in F (ad lib)	Violoncello	Two Horns in F
	Double Bass	
First Violins	Cembalo	First Violins
Second Violins		Second Violins
Violas I		Violas I
Violas II		Violas II
Violoncello		Violoncello
Double Bass		Double Bass
Cembalo (Pianoforte)		Cembalo (Pianoforte)

Figure 3.19: Wood's scoring at the start of each movement of Brandenburg Concerto No. 6

The wind parts were only notated for the first bar of Movement I, after which they were deleted; beyond the allocation of a stave, there is no notation for them in Movement III. The only other reference to them is an isolated note for the clarinet not to double the first violin on page 20 and there is no further evidence of them in Beard's manuscript, which suggests they were an initial idea that was soon discarded. The status of the cembalo part is more complex. This instrument was included in the title description and a stave allocated to it in each movement, but the only notation (Movement I, bar 1) was subsequently deleted. There is no cembalo part in Beard's manuscript and it appears that this was the final decision on the matter. This is surprising for two reasons, first because Wood included a realized cembalo part in his edition of Brandenburg 3, and second because in the back of the BG edition, there survives Wood's handwritten ('edited and arranged') cembalo part for Movement II (Appendix 3.56).¹⁴²

As Wood owned the Mottl edition of Brandenburg 6 [*GB-Lam* 143590-1001], we know that he was aware of a score layout in which the distinction between concertino and ripieno roles was made explicit (Appendix 3.57). This was the layout Wood had previously favoured for his edition of Brandenburg 5, so his conscious decision to revert to the format of the BG edition in his Brandenburg 6 manuscript (maintaining six equal lines) is surprising. Wood's annotations on the BG edition show that he used 'cellos for the gamba parts, but in the manuscript he reorchestrated the upper strings, allocating violins to the original viola lines and violas

¹⁴² Wood's realization is for organ and contains specific information with regard to the stops to be used, therefore it would have required adaptation for the pianoforte he suggests at the start of Movement I.

to the gamba parts (Appendix 3.55). A list attached to the last page of Brandenburg 6 in Wood's copy of the BG edition outlines his employment of 24 viola players in the 1937 Proms, a sight and sound that would have rendered the work unapproachable for most (amateur and professional) orchestras (Appendix 3.58). However, the arrangement in his manuscript provides a solution which is in line with the aim set out in the general preface – that it could be performed by any standard string orchestra. In the substitution of violins for violas Wood's arrangement required decisions on the octave disposition of the upper lines. His primary solution was to transpose one or both of the violin parts up an octave, and to occasionally employ the first violas to play the lowest notes for the second violins (Appendix 3.59). Whilst this was partially successful, there were three negative outcomes: the transposition of just one violin part up the octave created very wide intervals between the first and second violins, octave transposition negated the effect of part crossing, and, if both parts were transposed up an octave, a wide gap was produced between the violins and the lower body of strings.

Paul Beard's role in the adaptation of Wood's manuscript and the creation of his own involved not only the clarification of numbers of players and the addition of articulation (slurs, dynamics, accents, and fingering), but also the rescoring and arrangement of some string writing to make best use of the expanded ensemble. The majority of rescored passages are found in Movement I and comprise examples in which the (mainly upper string) parts are re-allocated within the ensemble, or transposed back to the original tessitura (Appendix 3.60). The notational alterations in Wood's manuscript are nearly all made in Beard's small, neat handwriting, and with one notable exception all are included in Beard's manuscript. The exception is the rescored passage in bars 5-10 (Appendix 3.61) – but the weight and thickness of the pencil lines suggests it was Wood who deleted the music and reinforces the impression that this was a collaboration between the two men. Beard's rescored passages are prompted by either practical textural matters or instrumental preferences – increasing clarity by employing rests where Wood had maintained the sound, and returning the first violins to their original octave. Further instrumental reallocations are shown in Appendix 3.62 and include: (a) creating duets between the violins and violas (instead of maintaining the writing between the violins) in bars 35-36; (b) returning the solos to the violas in bars 37-40; (c) switching parts between first and second violins in bars 44-46; and (d) combining these three textures in bars

56-58. Much less alteration is required in Movement III in order to balance the registers across the ensemble and provide contrast, and none at all in Movement II. The only passages which differ in principle from those highlighted in Movement I are those in which the difficult figuration is spread throughout the upper strings to make the parts more playable for amateur performers (Appendix 3.63).

Wood's heavy pencil script may be seen throughout clarifying changes in Beard's alterations (e.g. number of players or articulation), which suggests that Beard's role was as amanuensis – and justifies his later attribution of the work as Bach-Wood. Beard remained faithful to the precise interpretative instruction left by Wood, especially in Movement II, but his title 'arranger' is warranted by the work done in collaboration, and the further clarification in dynamic and articulation markings. Continuing Wood's work (the score is as detailed as Wood's published edition of Brandenburg 3), he is specific with regard to both the number and proportion of players (Appendix 3.55 a)) and practical instrumental details including the use of mutes and specific bowing.¹⁴³

One final manuscript of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 [*GB-Lam* 154945-1001], is held in the Wood Archive. It is not in Wood's hand and the copyist's script bears no immediate relation to the other Brandenburg manuscript copies in the archive, however purple ink annotations in Wood's hand pervade the first few pages.¹⁴⁴ Performance directions are comprehensive, and the level of detail suggests that this is a preparation score for the publication of an edition of the concerto. Furthermore, the movements presented in the manuscript are suggestive of Wood's desire to bring Brandenburg 1 in line with the three-movement form of the other concertos in the collection. Thus he concluded the work at the end of the third movement, creating another Allegro, Adagio, Allegro concerto, and omitted the remaining seven dance movements. This is not a dissimilar approach to the Sinfonia in F (BWV 1071) which appeared at the end of Wood's BG edition of the Orchestral Suites and presented movements I, II, and IV, V, VI (repeat of IV) of Brandenburg 1. The Sinfonia in F may well have provided Wood with the inspiration and

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¹⁴³ Beard instructs: 'throughout this movement the semiquavers should be played, where marked f or mf in the middle of the bow, on the strings. The repeated quaver accompaniment figure should be played in the lower half of the bow, mezzo staccato.'

¹⁴⁴ It is possible that this is the handwriting of Francis Sanders, musical assistant to Wood (who orchestrated the Passacaglia in C Minor according to Wood's instructions).

confidence to reduce the work in length in accordance with his goal of 'smoothing out difficulties of performance' presented by the less accessible dances.¹⁴⁵

Wood's editorial legacy in this repertoire is revealed in the published Brandenburg 3 and the increasingly incomplete manuscripts of Nos. 5, 6, and 1. As he died before finishing the project, his solutions for No. 4 and what was considered the most controversial at the time, No. 2, remain unknown.

¹⁴⁵ 'Preface' in J. S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major, ed. by Henry J. Wood, p. i.

Chapter 4: Bach-Wood Orchestral Arrangements

Wood's orchestral arrangements divided contemporary opinion.¹ Writing in *The Times* in 1929, for example, the critic Frank Howes suggested:

Sir Henry's orchestral arrangements and transcriptions (mostly of the earlier composers like Bach and Purcell) are out of character, and [...] we wish he would not do it. He appears to think that all composers' scoring ought to sound alike, viz., like Wagner played turgidly at that. He ruthlessly adds clarinets, doubles string parts with wind, adds trombones to Bach, and destroys all sense of lines in the contrapuntal type of scoring by sheer weight of redundant notes. Not only is it bad, it is wrong; not only is it wrong, it is unnecessary. Why, then, do it?²

In contrast, Havergal Brian argued that a Bach *Sinfonia* 'modernized by Sir Henry Wood' was 'one of the most completely satisfying things yet experienced.'³ Although these conflicting opinions are addressed to different audiences and refer to different works in different contexts, they epitomize the debate in which Wood himself admitted: 'transcriptions are not to everybody's taste'.⁴ The increasing number of Bach arrangements in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, shown in Appendix 4.2, was indicative of a growing interest in 'old music' presented in a modern style. However, value judgements on their authenticity necessitated their categorization as a genre, distinct from interpretations of Bach's original instrumentation. An anonymous letter to the Philharmonic Society describes a 'Bach-Wood Suite' as 'frankly an arrangement' which 'must be accepted as such',⁵ additionally defending Wood from criticism that would otherwise be levelled at his treatment of 'original' Bach.

The works examined in case studies within this chapter highlight the characteristics and development of Wood's arranging style. Although chronologically not his first arrangement, the 1913 Toccata in F (case study 4.1) represents Wood's early approach, and the development of a previous arrangement by Heinrich Esser. In case study 4.2, the Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 (1909) and 6

¹ Whilst this chapter will focus specifically on Wood's arrangement of solo works, much of the published reception also concerned Wood's accompaniments to cantata arias. All the works discussed in this chapter are outlined in Appendix 4.1

² Frank Howes, 'London Concerts', MT, 70.1039 (September, 1929), p. 843.

³ Havergal Brian, 'The Promenades', MOMTR, 50 (September, 1927), pp. 1172-3.

⁴ Wood, *My Life of Music*, p. 152.

⁵ Acca, 'The Re-Scoring of Bach', *MT*, 76.1103 (January, 1935), p. 56.

(1916) both fulfil Wood's aim of introducing the public to Bach's lesser-known solo organ and violin works; however, they also reveal a sharp contrast in orchestral scope and arranging style. Whilst both exhibit innovation from previous models within the genre, No. 6 marks a change in the symphonic treatment of Bach, foreshadowing the arrangements of Edward Elgar and Leopold Stokowski. Wood's arrangement of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor (1929) is the zenith of his work in this field; it invites comparison with Stokowski's 1927 version, and the differences between the two, examined in case study 4.3, illustrate Wood's interpretation of the inner resonances of the music.

The terminology associated with a discussion of Wood's orchestral Bach is problematic. The words 'transcription', 'arrangement', 'orchestration', 'adaptation', 'version', and 'scoring', are all used interchangeably by Wood, and contemporary commentators and critics. Whilst there is overlap in their meaning, the choice of term usually implies some specific sense of the artistic process. 'Orchestration', 'adaptation', and 'version' are useful descriptors, but 'transcription' and 'arrangement' present more loaded meanings with regard to a third-party involvement – and also the potential artistic judgement on the final work. Where the use of the words is generic, such as Frank Howes's comment above that makes reference to 'Sir Henry's orchestral arrangements and transcriptions',⁶ the distinction is less important. However, there is a sense that the artist's intentions in using these terms go beyond variance in writing style. Contemporary discussion does not necessarily afford clarity. In his 1935 article, 'Arrangements and Transcriptions', Evlyn Howard-Jones states: 'Arrangements I would call a playing of the notes in another medium, transcriptions a recreation or making-over with regard to their imaginative and creative content.⁷ With regard to Wood, he cites 'the transcriptions of the Organ Preludes and Fugues by Elgar, "Klenovsky," etc., for the Orchestra' in the same category as the piano transcriptions, stating that they are 'no more justifiable [...] to those who would always rather hear an original.⁸ His justification is that 'any performance of a Bach Clavier work on the modern piano is practically a transcription, for although the notes remain the execution demands a definite interpretation of each and every sound in terms of an instrument of which

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⁶ Howes, 'London Concerts', p. 843.

⁷ Evlyn Howard-Jones 'Arrangements and Transcriptions', *ML*, 16. 4 (October, 1935), 305-311 (p. 305).

⁸ Ibid., p. 310.

Bach was innocent.⁹ For Howard-Jones, the transcription was a greater change to the original composition than a mere arrangement for another instrument, which contrasts the modern sense of the word captured in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*:

Transcription is a subcategory of notation. In Euro-American classical studies, transcription refers to the copying of a musical work, usually with some change in notation (e.g. from tablature to staff notation to Tonic Sol-fa) or in layout (e.g. from separate parts to full score) without listening to actual sounds during the writing process. Transcriptions are usually made from manuscript sources of early (pre-1800) music and therefore involve some degree of editorial work. It may also mean an arrangement, especially one involving a change of medium (e.g. from orchestra to piano).¹⁰

In modern discussion, there is a sense that a transcription is a translation of the original idea from a notational perspective, but an arrangement goes beyond the original concept to alter the organization of the score. In her discussion of Ferruccio Busoni's views on the distinction between arrangements and transcription Erinn Knyt admits that 'in popular usage the English term "arrangement" has been viewed fairly synonymously with the term "transcription" in reference to pieces arranged for other instruments'; ¹¹ however, she relates the terminology to different stages in the composer's technique stating that "arrangement" refers to the organizing of pitches, the developing of the transcribed *Einfall* [compositional idea], and to the working out of the term arrangement in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* to support the sense of authenticity in transcriptions:

The adaptation of a composition for a medium different from that for which it was originally composed [...] The terms transcribe and transcription are sometimes used interchangeably with arrange and arrangement. Often, however, the former implies greater fidelity to the original.¹³

⁹ Howard-Jones 'Arrangements and Transcriptions', p. 308.

¹⁰ Ter Ellingson, 'Transcription (i)', *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press)

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28268 [accessed 20 November 2013].

¹¹ Erinn E. Knyt "How I Compose": Ferruccio Busoni's Views about Invention, Quotation, and the Compositional Process', *JM*, 27. 2 (Spring, 2010), 224-64 (p. 237).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

However, she clarifies Busoni's position stating that an arrangement also includes 'the choosing of the specific configuration and combination of notes and structures, the instrumentation and register, the phrasing and form, and the large-scale development and structure.'¹⁴

Few examples are required to highlight the conflicting opinions on the use of this terminology in the early-twentieth century, and there is continuing inconsistency in modern-day labels – for both current practices and descriptions of past compositions. The terms Bach-arrangement, Bach-transcription, and Bach-orchestration are used inconsistently across titles and catalogues of works, concert programmes, reviews, and literary discussions. In his biography of Wood, for example, Jacobs refers to such compositions under the general heading 'Arrangements and Editions' but with the sub category 'Transcriptions for Orchestra of works by other composers' and 'Hymns and National songs arranged for orchestra with or without chorus' – but this again suggests that there is a difference between organizing the notes set out by the composer and arranging and harmonizing a melody.¹⁵ In the titles of his own works Wood used the following descriptors:

- Toccata in F major for Organ by Bach, Transcribed for Full Orchestra by Henry J. Wood
- 2. New Suite in G for Orchestra by J. S. Bach **Scored and Arranged** for Orchestra by Henry J Wood
- 3. Suite No. 6 For Full Orchestra, Johann Sebastian Bach, Arranged and Orchestrated by Henry J. Wood
- 4. Bach-Klenovsky Organ Toccata and Fugue in D minor, for Orchestra, **Orchestrated** by Henry J. Wood
- 5. Fantasia and Fugue in G minor Transcribed for Full Orchestra, Bach-Klenovsky

Although Wood may appear inconsistent, the works which directly represent the original composition i.e. Nos. 1, 4, and 5 above, are described as transcriptions or orchestrations and give the impression of a direct process; whereas the others, such as Nos. 2 and 3 were compilations of works that previously belonged to different collections and are thus distinguished by the term 'arrangement'. Although this discussion provides some clarity, the application of terms to Wood's practices is still not straight-forward. One might ask at what point a transcription for orchestra

¹⁴ Knyt, p. 237.

¹⁵ Jacobs, 'Appendix 3: Musical Works by Henry J. Wood', pp. 434-5.

becomes an arrangement. The difference in terminology suggests that authors mean different things for each, but the inconsistency with which each term relates to their work makes categorization difficult. To assist clarity and consistency, discussion in this thesis will assume that a transcription is the process of transferring the notes the composer wrote directly and that an arrangement involves significant changes in register, balance, note lengths, fragmentation of melodies and voice leading, additional notes to complete harmonies, and the generation of new passages including alternative endings. Therefore, all of Wood's works discussed in this chapter will be referred to as orchestral arrangements.

Appendix 4.2 places Wood's arrangements in the context of other prominent Bach orchestral arrangements of the period. The specific influences of predecessors Heinrich Esser, Sigismund Bachrich, August Wilhelmj, and Joachim Raff (whose arrangements were all programmed at the Proms) will be discussed throughout the chapter, particularly with regard to Wood's Toccata in F and Orchestral Suite No. 5. However, Appendix 4.2 also highlights the number of Wood's arrangements that predate the comparable works of Edward Elgar, Ottorino Respighi and Arnold Schoenberg and parallels those of Leopold Stokowski.¹⁶ Wood held Elgar's methods of arranging Bach in the highest esteem – even though the Fantasia and Fugue in C minor was Elgar's only full-scale example of the genre:

Personally I feel when (for instance) an organ work is transcribed for orchestra, the transcriber should forget the organ and think only of the orchestra. Otherwise why transcribe? That was what Elgar did when he published his orchestral version of Bach's C minor Fantasia and Fugue. He used percussion instruments, three-part shakes for the trumpets, and *glissandi* for the harps. He did the job thoroughly while he was about it.¹⁷

The Fantasia and Fugue in C minor had also received a mixed reception from contemporary musicians, a reaction anticipated by Elgar, who explained to Ivor Atkins that he had 'orchestrated a Bach fugue in modern way – largish orchestra – you may not approve'.¹⁸ Given that 'many arrgts [*sic*] have been made of Bach on

¹⁶ Whilst all of the arrangements by Elgar, Respighi, and Schoenberg were performed at the Proms, Wood notably did not perform any by Stokowski.

¹⁷ Wood, My Life of Music, p. 152.

¹⁸ Letter from Elgar to Ivor Atkins, 5 June 1921, reproduced in E. Wulstan Atkins, *The Elgar-Atkins Friendship* (Devon: David & Charles, 1984) p. 330. Atkins heard the fugue at the final rehearsal under Eugène Goossens at the Queen's Hall, London, on 26 October 1921, the day before the premiere, and noted that 'it sounded magnificent' (p. 334).

the 'pretty' scale', he wanted to show 'how gorgeous & great & brilliant he [Bach] would have made himself sound if he had had our means', an attitude Wood had previously advocated.¹⁹ Wood's Bach arrangements may be viewed as a practical working-out of his vision for the modern Bach orchestral sound, a vision that he articulated in *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (1924).²⁰ Whilst there is no entry for either orchestration or conducting, Wood penned the section entitled 'Orchestral Colour and Values'. Identifying Richard Strauss, Elgar, Ravel, Malipiero, Stravinsky, and Delius as 'modern masters of orchestral colour', he continued:

The composer of the future must not only use the orchestra in its present state of development but must expect that it will be further changed; for there is much room for improvement. The most perfectly disposed concert orchestra still has some very nasty holes in it. There is no strong tenor voice in the strings; the brass-bass needs reinforcement, the quality of the bass tuba is clumsy and hooty and does not blend well with the trombone timbre. It is to be hoped that someone shortly will invent a bright, clear-toned brass-bass instrument of good intonation which will carry down the bass-trombone scale chromatically, and which will blend perfectly with the trombone quality in chordal work. There is at present a great difficulty in carrying one streak or seam of colour up and down a long range.²¹

This consistency of colour is an element that is particularly evident in Wood's Bach orchestral arrangements, from the extended solo passages of the Toccata in F and Toccata and Fugue in D Minor to the wind-only movements of Orchestral Suite No. 6. Wood's desire for continuity of orchestral colour combined with his admiration for Tchaikovsky who 'doubled and redoubled his instruments on important themes',²² results in the rich, thick scoring that sets his arrangements apart from those of his contemporaries.

¹⁹ Atkins, p. 334. This work could have held even more significance if Richard Strauss had completed the Fantasia as had been agreed by himself and Elgar in 1920. Keen to demonstrate good Anglo-Germanic relations after the Great War, the two composers had decided to collaborate on the project but when the Fantasia was not forthcoming, Elgar was prompted (by popular demand) to complete the work and it was premiered in full in Gloucester at The Three Choirs Festival on 7 September 1922.

²⁰ A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians, ed. by A. Eaglefield-Hull and others (London: J.M. Dent, 1924), p. 364. As Wood was not known as an intellectual, it is surprising that his name appears on the editorial committee of the publication with Sir Hugh Allen, Edward Dent, Granville Bantock, and Arthur Eaglefield-Hull.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Case Study 4.1: Toccata in F

The Toccata in F (BWV 540) was the first Bach orchestral arrangement that Wood introduced to the Proms.²³ Wood had a particular affinity with the work: he apparently performed it in his first formal organ lesson,²⁴ and in several early recitals including the 1885 International Inventions Exhibition (see Appendix 4.3).²⁵ His decision to programme it at the 1897 Proms, in an orchestral arrangement by Heinrich Esser, was therefore indicative of its suitability for introducing new audiences to Bach. He gave three further Prom performances of Esser's arrangement in 1899, 1903, and 1906 before reworking his own enlarged version which was completed and premiered in 1913.²⁶ Wood's arrangement of the Toccata in F was the most consistently-programmed orchestral arrangement of Bach at the Proms in his lifetime.²⁷ Archival records reveal the last performance was programmed for 7 July 1944,²⁸ alongside Beethoven's Overture Leonore No. 1, Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, and Symphony No. 4 in Bb major, and Bach's Concerto in C major for Two Keyboards BWV 1061. Therefore, even at the end of his life, Wood still positioned it amongst mainstream repertoire, as opposed to including it as a popular favourite in Saturday programmes. Despite its popularity, the arrangement was not published and there is no evidence to suggest that it was performed again after Wood's death.²⁹ The handwritten parts and score are listed as 'unpublished' in Jacobs's biography and, with Wood's marked-up score of Esser's arrangement, have been preserved in the Wood Archive.³⁰

A comparison of Esser's and Wood's orchestral arrangements of the Toccata in F highlights their contrasting approaches and, in particular, Wood's developments in orchestration. However, to place these in context, it is necessary to examine Bach's treatment of the Toccata, which, in Wood's organ recitals and in both of the

²³ First Programmed in 1897, see Appendix 2.1.

²⁴ Wood, My Life of Music, p. 27

²⁵ London, Royal Academy of Music. *Scrapbook album of cuttings and concert programmes relating to Sir Henry J. Wood, 1881-94.* Apollo Catalogue 2012.302

²⁶ See Appendices 2.1 and 4.1.

²⁷ See Appendix 2.1.

²⁸ A Friday 'Beethoven and Bach Night', conducted by Basil Cameron (on account of Wood's failing health). See <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/1940s/1944/july-07/13831</u> [accessed 3 February 2012]. The concert on 7 July 1944 was cancelled by the London Authorities owing to the danger of flying bombs.

²⁹ See Appendix 2.1 and archival records at:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/work/toccata-and-fugue-in-f-major-bwv-540-orch-henry-wood/21737 [accessed 20 March 2014].

³⁰ Jacobs, p. 434; and detail in Appendix 4.1

orchestral arrangements, appears without the ensuing fugue.³¹ Bach-scholars Christoph Wolff and Peter Williams both analyse the work convincingly from a formal and contextual perspective;³² drawing on contemporary works (the north and south Germanic influences and composers such as Torelli and Vivaldi) they conclude that the Toccata is best viewed in a modified ritornello form, as outlined in Figure 4.1:

Section	Bars	Key Plan
A1	1-83	F major – Bb major – F major – C major
A2	83-	C major – F major – C major
	176	
B1	176-	Episode. (Sequences through: F major, Bb major, A major, G
	219	minor; pedal A, interrupted cadence to sequences: Bb major, C
		major, D major, Eb major; diminished chords; cadence into D
		minor.)
A3	219-	D minor – A major
	238	
B2	238-	Episode. (Sequences through: A major, D major, G major, (C
	270	major), F major, E major, (A minor), D minor, diminished; pedal
		E.)
A4	270-	A minor – E major
	290	
B3	290-	Episode. (Sequences through: A minor, A major, D minor, D major,
	333	G major, C minor; pedal D, interrupted cadence to sequences: Eb
		major, F major, G major, Ab major, diminished, and then G minor.)
A5	333-	G minor – D major
	352	
B4	352-	Episode. (Sequences G minor, C minor, F major; Pedal Bb, pedal F;
	448	Bb major, F major, C major; Pedal C, rising sequence to Bb pedal
		and final perfect cadence to F major.)

Figure 4.1: A summary of the tonal structure of Bach's Toccata in F (BWV 540)

 ³¹ Bach's Toccata and Fugue in F, BWV540, is significant amongst his output in the genre owing to the sheer length of the Toccata. Scholars are divided over the date of its origins, citing features of the organs in Weimar (1708-17), and Cöthen (1717-23) as evidence for provenance in either period. Robert Marshall, in *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1989) p. 287, argues for an earlier Weimar date, whilst Andre Pirro in *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Organist and His Works for the Organ*, trans. by Wallace Goodrich, (New York: Schirmer, 1902), p. 51 argues for Cöthen. There is also persuasive argument for the Fugue being added at a later date, which whilst not discounting the pairing, prompts justification for the numerous performances of the Toccata alone; see Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach*, 3 vols (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), I, pp.103-4.
 ³² See Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2000), p. 177, and Williams, pp. 103-4.

Despite Williams's apt summary that 'no scheme [...] can convey the feeling of "endless song" in the movement, as if it were spinning out continuous melody to defy analytical labels', ³³ these clearly-defined sections prove useful in analysing the approaches taken by Esser and Wood.

German conductor and composer Heinrich Esser made his orchestral arrangement of Bach's Toccata in F in 1854. The instrumentation included 3 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons and 1 contra-bassoon, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, 1 tuba, timpani, bass drum, and strings, and the edition was published by Schott & Co. in the year before his only other Bach arrangement, the Passacaglia in C minor (BWV 582).³⁴ Esser's approach to orchestration is formulaic: strings form the basis of the arrangement, realizing most of Bach's original notation at pitch, and, with one exception, they play throughout. Such clearly defined textures are epitomised by the Ritornello A sections. As shown in Appendix 4.4, the two-part melodic writing of sections A1 and A2 is divided between unison first and second violins, and unison violas and 'cellos (and the violins divide further for brief passages where there is a third voice). The pedal note is sustained by double basses, horns, and bassoons throughout, and unison lower strings are employed for the single solo line with tutti woodwind and strings joining for cadential material (see Appendix 4.5, bar 70). The shorter A3, A4, and A5 sections are equally stringdominated, but include more textual development in the inner parts and individual, three to five-bar introductions scored for bass trombone and bassoon (A3), upper woodwind (A4), and clarinet and bassoon (A5).

Although the episodic B sections are more inventive, with shorter phrases allowing for greater variation in orchestration, Esser remains relatively consistent: strings continue to present all new material, with wind and brass adding colour and texture, usually towards the ends of phrases. Appendix 4.6 illustrates this with the opening phrase of B1 (bar 176). Throughout the B sections the wind and brass perform three main structural and textural functions. First, illustrated in Appendix 4.7, they add colour and depth to string lines at the unison (e.g. the bassoon and clarinet, bars 389-90) or octave (e.g. flute, bar 390); second, Appendix 4.8, they offer punctuation to cadences and sequences (bars 310-17); and third Appendix 4.9,

³³ Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 76.

³⁴ The work received a high profile premiere at the Imperial Opera in Vienna, where, in 1847, Esser had been appointed Kapellmeister.

they sustain harmonies and outline harmonic progressions (bars 204-212). There is only one example where Esser uses the winds independently from the strings (Appendix 4.10, bars 417-423); the effect of this is a heightening of the tension and preparation for the impact of the closing passage. Esser is conservative with his orchestration, following Bach's note values, proportions and part-writing exactly, with the exception of extending the final cadence. His expansion of the score incorporates some additional octaves and re-spelled chords, but he adds no new melodic material or significant harmonic elaboration.

Wood's copy of Esser's Toccata is marked-up for performance and his note of '10 mins' on the cover of the score is a trademark indication of programme planning. As the work is relatively straight forward, the majority of Wood's markings are confined to cues (confirming specific instruments) and highlighting moments where instrumental parts divide. However, there are some modifications including an additional contra-bassoon part (noted at the top of the first page (Appendix 4.4) and confirmed by the part in the orchestral set), and a striking reworking of the ending. Whilst Esser added his own eight-bar conclusion to the work, Wood reverts to Bach's original final two bars. Appendix 4.11 shows Wood's alteration of Esser's arrangement alongside Bach's original and reveals that although he retains Bach's proportions, his orchestration results in the most thickly-scored moment of the whole arrangement (on account of divisi strings and the *ff* dynamic). This is another example (akin to Wood's alteration of Bülow's edition of Orchestral Suite No. 2, seen in Chapter 3), in which Wood demonstrates that he was not willing to perform an arrangement without carefully checking its fidelity to the original.³⁵

Wood's approach to bowing, and articulation in general, was predominantly a process of emphasis or reinforcement. The annotation 'firm bowing' in bars 1-2 (Appendix 4.4) is indicative of the strong, rich, string sound he sought, reinforced by the vertical lines over the viola staccato marks. Wood's additional accents on the second beat trills in bars 4 and 6 (Appendix 4.4) characterize the main theme throughout the Toccata, highlighting the syncopation of the rhythmic hemiola within the constant semiquavers. His tendency to be emphatic is tempered by repeat

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³⁵ In 1908 Elgar wrote an elaborated coda for Esser's Toccata in F for a performance at the Three Choirs Festival, thus offering another alternative concert ending. See J. S. Bach, *Toccata in F*, London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Albert Coates, CD *Biddulph* BID 83069/70 (1932). However, far from being elaborated, the altered ending differs only slightly from Esser's alternate ending.

performances as illustrated by the corrected bowing (replacing constant down beats with alternating up and down bows) at Figure B (Appendix 4.5, bar 70). However, Appendix 4.12 shows instances in which the repeated down-bows are retained for rearticulating the pedal through thick string textures (bars 311-20); punctuating chords (bars 326-330); and emphasizing the *sf* ending (bars 431-5).

Wood's dynamic markings demonstrate a similar approach in either clarification or emphasis of Esser's published markings. Appendix 4.13 shows examples in which Wood specifies the length of crescendos and decrescendos (bars 115-8), reinforces the echo effects (bar 302), and uses dynamics to highlight particular instruments in the orchestral texture -e.g. the harmonic direction of the trombones (bars 204-212). The more extreme indications are reserved for the closing sections, where Wood replaces piano with pianissimo markings and makes greater use of hairpins for added nuance in the final descending sequences – drawing the listener in before the impact of the fff ending (Appendix 4.14, bar 402). By contrast, Wood's additional tempo markings are minimal. He indicates a rit at Figure B (Appendix 4.5, bar 70) for the two bars of the three-chord cadence (which joins A1 and A2), with a tempo immediately into A2, and a 'Largo' for his own final two-bar conclusion. Despite several opportunities to include ritenutos and rallentandos, their absence is indicative of a straight forward reading of the work, and is reinforced by the lack of tempo fluctuation in his recordings of the quick movements of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6. Wood's markings on Esser's score are not extensive in number but the adjustments and clarifications suggest that Esser's conservative arrangement was not sufficient to realize Wood's vision for the Toccata.

I have prepared a new edition for modern concert use, reproduced in Appendix 4.15, which will be referenced throughout this discussion. The first pages of the new edition and Wood's original manuscript (Appendix 4.16), instantly show the greater scope of his own orchestral arrangement of the Toccata in F.³⁶ Wood marks '12 minutes' at the top of the score, two minutes longer than the Esser version by his calculation, which is perhaps indicative of the impact the new instrumentation had on pacing the Toccata. It is evident not only in the instrumentation (3 flutes, 3 oboes, 3 clarinets in Bb, 2 bassoons, one contra bassoon, 8 horns,³⁷ 3 trumpets in C,

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³⁶ The new edition will be used for bar number reference throughout this discussion.

³⁷ Four horns are shown on the score, but eight in the parts.

3 trombones, 2 tubas, timpani, the organ and a large body of strings), but also in the manner in which they are used from the outset.

The first ritornello section confirms that Wood augmented the orchestration to symphonic proportions, employing the full ensemble with the exception of trumpets. Wind double the string parts (flutes and oboes in unison with violins I and II, clarinet and bassoon doubling viola and cello) and the pedal bass note is sustained by the double basses plus contra bassoons, horns, trombones, tubas, and organ ('Pedal 32, 18 and 8 ft coupled to great and swell diapasons 10, 8 and 4ft'). This instrumentation is maintained throughout A1 (Appendix 4.15, bars 1-82) (with the addition of the upper wind taking the third voice at bar 35). Although contrast is maintained through the reduction of forces for the bass-line solo (from bar 55), bassoons, contra bassoon, and tuba are added to the bass strings. Finally, the tutti cadence at Figure D (bar 81) presents the first full *fortissimo* – and includes the organ and trumpets. Wood's orchestration preserves Bach's proportions with clearly delineated textures, but he takes each aspect to a greater extreme than Esser through his use of dynamics, inclusion of wind in the main textures, and octave displacement. Whilst A2 (Appendix 4.15, bars 83-176) largely repeats the orchestration of A1, Wood emphasizes details such as the extended cadential sequence of off-beat tutti chords at Figure J (bar 169) through his 'Largamente' marking, heavy accents, and continuous down-bows. This prioritizes overall effect over nuanced phrasing. The remaining A sections retain the approach of a linear transcription with clear textures but Wood makes much greater use of the wind instruments. He doubles violins with winds in the upper part, violas with horns and trumpets in the middle part, and lower strings with winds and brass. The priority in the A sections is amplification, and increasing interest in the orchestration of the wind parts.

Comparison of the different approaches taken by the arrangers in the B sections highlights Wood's development of Esser's orchestration. Wood often distinguishes his arrangement by fragmenting melodies or reversing Esser's orchestration e.g. using wind instruments where Esser used strings. In general, his use of wind and brass to both colour the string writing and sustain independent textures promotes a full orchestral sound in contrast to Esser's string arrangement with occasional added wind. Wood makes immediate impact in B1 by using the wind section alone (Appendix 4.15, (Figure K), bar 176). He begins with bassoons

and trombones, before adding flutes, oboes, and clarinets on the upper line, and trumpets and horns in the middle, whilst the strings are only used for the three-note cadence – this is the opposite effect to that created by Esser's string-led section with wind cadence (Appendix 4.5). The same example shows Wood extending the wind orchestration to include the full descending phrase rather than restricting them to the cadential motif. Whereas Esser's notation was an accurate transcription of Bach's original, Wood's alteration marks a departure from a literal reading of Bach's notation and shows his ear for the implied part writing. A further example of this innovation includes Wood's orchestration of the subsequent chord sequence (Appendix 4.15 bars 197-203); whereas Esser orchestrated the passage for the full ensemble (Appendix 4.9), Wood allocates wind and brass to the chords whilst pizzicato strings expand the octave pedal notes, introducing more variety of texture and colour. Throughout B1, Wood retains Esser's (rather than Bach's) sustained chords, revealing the influence of the earlier arrangement. However, in the closing bars of the section he departs from Esser's treatment by emphasizing the descending quavers to the wind (and brass) cadence (Appendix 4.15, bars 210-217). This cements Wood's ongoing independence of wind writing and facilitates the contrast into the string-led A3 section.

Rather than adopting Esser's string-led B sections, Wood finds variation and maximum orchestral effect in building the instrumentation from the wind instruments. For example he begins B2 with solo winds (Appendix 4.15, from bar 239) and then adds: multiple wind instruments (bar 243), strings as accompaniment (bar 249), strings as melody (with tubas) (bar 254), trumpets and organ (bar 256), and finally the full tutti ensemble (from bar 258). Episodes B1 and B3 follow a similar orchestration but Wood adds further variation in B3 (Appendix 4.15, bars 290-331). Although used sparingly, the organ adds drama through the increase in volume and block chords at the close of the section and much greater use is made of octave doubling across the orchestra (from bar 292), especially heightening the climax of the section (bar 324). Wood continues to vary the orchestration in B4 (Appendix 4.15, bars 353-438), particularly through the alternation of wind and string sections, increased use of brass, and string countermelodies. In the extension of B4, Wood develops the rising theme that defined the B sections, again departing from Bach's original notation by highlighting acoustic features of orchestration such as augmenting the last note of chordal progressions (in the upper strings and winds)

in order to sustain suspensions in the upper strings and wind (bars 384-94). At Wood's chosen climax (Appendix 4.15, (Figure GG), bar 417) an unprecedented number of instruments play the sequences of chords across the maximum possible range of octaves, and, contrary to Esser (who introduced the independent wind writing in the closing passage), Wood maintains the dynamic and full sound to the final cadence.

Whilst the orchestral arrangements by Esser and Wood share features (such as consistency of orchestration in Ritornello A sections and invention in Episodic B sections). Wood's version was a significant departure from the string-dominated sound of nineteenth-century Bach arrangements. His expansion of the score not only involved a greater number of instruments, but also created more independent wind and brass writing. Esser and Wood differ in their fidelity to Bach's original, but neither alter the proportions or pacing of the main body of the work. Although Wood discarded Esser's variant ending, he was not averse to altering some note lengths for acoustic effect. Whereas Esser's more conservative treatment was an orchestral representation of Bach's score, Wood used the full symphonic forces at his disposal to promote the wider orchestral colour that he heard in Bach's music. Although there is no surviving recording of Wood's Toccata in F, nor any discussion of it in the literature, there are two annotations on Wood's copy of the score that suggest that it was at least prepared for recording purposes. First, Wood indicated possible pauses in the music for the side to be changed in the recording process, which suggests that they had two takes, stopping earlier the first time (Appendix 4.17 a) and b)). Second, Wood suggests a cut from pages 46 to 55 (bars 246-302) to fit the required recording length (Appendix 4.17, c) and d)) and the interim pages are folded to ensure an accurate performance. Whether or not a recording was made, Wood's consistent programming of the Toccata in F shows the longevity of its appeal throughout his lifetime.

Case Study 4.2: Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 & 6

In 1916, Wood published his Orchestral Suite No. 6, apparently the final work of a project to complete a set of Orchestral Suites to match the Brandenburg Concertos.³⁸ However, whereas Orchestral Suite No. 6 has been performed and recorded in modern times, the status of Orchestral Suite No. 5 is more complex.³⁹ Wood's handwritten parts and score are held in the Wood Archive, but although it was completed and premiered by Wood in 1909, it was never published. This case study will first explore the nature of the Fifth Orchestral Suite through extant materials, and subsequently examine the status of this work in comparison with the development of orchestration in the Sixth Orchestral Suite.

Orchestral Suite No. 5

The first issue requiring clarification is the changing title of Orchestral Suite No. 5. Individual Proms programmes indicate that it was billed as a 'New Suite in G for strings' in 1909, a 'Suite in G' from 1911-1914, a 'New Suite in G for oboe, strings and organ' in 1915, 'New Orchestral Suite (No. 5 in G) for strings, oboe and organ on 1 September 1916, and finally 'Orchestral Suite No. 5 in G for strings oboe and organ' on 29 September 1916 (and in each subsequent performance).⁴⁰ The title page of Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152244-1001], shown in Appendix 4.18 supports this change, in both title and attribution – the latter showing the shift from a work 'scored and arranged by Henry J. Wood' to an established work by Bach-Wood. Until recently the handwritten manuscript score of No. 5 has been stored in an uncatalogued box in the Wood Archive, but for reference here I have prepared a

³⁸ See Appendix 4.1 for details of the manuscripts and editions held in the Wood Archive. Despite the fact that Wood never explicitly stated these intentions in writing, the tally of performances (culminating in 1925 and 1926) detailed in Appendix 2.1 suggests this was his purpose. Had the Suites been published, the set would undoubtedly have conformed to the 18th-century convention of publication in sets of 6 or 12.

³⁹ J. S. Bach/Henry Wood, *Orchestral Suite No. 6* on *The Conductors' Transcriptions*, BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leonard Slatkin, CD Chandos LC 7038 (2004). Andrew Litton conducted the work on Roger Wright's programme of Bach Orchestral Transcriptions at the BBC Proms on 14 August 2010, which I discussed live on BBC2.

⁴⁰ These titles are given exactly in the individual Prom programmes but the online BBC archive lists them all as 'Orchestral Suite "No. 5" in G major (Bach/Wood)'. Although Jacobs identifies another 'Bach Suite in G' with a solo oboe part 'specially written for Leon Goossens', this is likely to refer to the Suite in G for orchestra arranged by Eugene Goosens, premiered at the Proms in 1921. However, it is not inconceivable that the solo oboe part of the Fifth Orchestral Suite was played by Goossens, especially as he joined the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1915: the year before the title of the work changed.

new edition which is presented in Appendix 4.19.⁴¹ The specific content of Wood's Orchestral Suite No.5 as seen in the edition is as follows:

Movement	BWV	Instrumentation
1: Allegro	592 Organ Concerto in G (arr. of Violin	Strings
Vivace	Concerto in G by Johann Ernst, Prince	
	of Sachsen-Weimar)	
2: Andante	528: Organ sonata no.4 in E minor	Oboe; Cor Anglais; Solo Violin;
		Violoncello; Double Bass; Organ
		(or 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons)
3: Allegro	530: organ sonata No. 6 in G	Strings
Deciso		

Figure 4.2: The structure and instrumentation of Orchestral Suite No. 5

As he had with the Toccata in F, Wood drew on the organ repertoire of his youth for inspiration in transcribing Bach for a wider audience. As his first Bach arrangement, the suite stemmed from a desire to make the lesser-known instrumental works 'so rarely heard' more popular and accessible.⁴² Rosa Newmarch's programme notes from the 1909 premiere give an overall flavour of the music, but also highlight contemporary understanding of the provenance of individual movements. On Movement I, she begins: 'The first number of the suite [...] should perhaps be described as Vivaldi-Bach, since it is the first movement of one of the violin sonatas by the Venetian master.'⁴³ Although she admits that it was 'transformed and matured in the process', a more accurate representation of the lineage of the work would be: Vivaldi-Ernst-Bach-Wood.⁴⁴ BWV 592 was Bach's adaptation of one of the Duke Ernst's compositional assignments for strings, but it is unclear whether Wood was aware of returning the work to its original instrumentation. The appeal of this movement in Wood's arrangement for the concert hall, however, was its clarity and accessibility; as Newmarch suggested:

⁴¹ The critical commentary is not included owing to restrictions in word length of this thesis, however the edition is a direct representation of the notational information contained in the score and parts. This includes all performance directions, including varied (and unexpected) dynamics and fingering that promotes non-notated features such as portamento.

⁴² Rosa Newmarch, 'Suite No. 5 in G, for Strings Bach-Wood', *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descript*ive *Notes*, 6 vols (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1928-48), III (1930), p. 8.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ The work dates from Bach's period in Weimar and the collection of works by Venetian composers that Duke Johann Ernst, son of the Prince of Sachsen-Weimar, brought back from his travels to study with his tutor Johann Gottfried Walther and Bach.

The Allegro vivace (2/4) is an immensely spirited movement based on two themes – a vigorous subject for the orchestra and one, in triplets, for the solo instruments. These are heard alternately and the structure of the movement is so simple that it requires no further elucidation.⁴⁵

Although keen to guide the listener through the tonal structure of the middle movement, Newmarch also went to some lengths to justify Wood's choice of repertoire:

In all Bach's works there are few more expressive and tenderly dignified movements than this. As arranged in the Suite, the first manual of the organ is represented by the oboe and the *oboe da caccia*, the latter taking the notes which are too low for the ordinary oboe; the solo violin does duty for the second manual; while the 'cellos and basses fill the pedal part, the organ accompanying in chords.⁴⁶

Discussion was even more technical in the third movement:

This is one of Bach's liveliest movements for the organ. The first theme is delivered with irresistible gladness by the first and second violins (in the organ Sonata by both manuals) in unison. In the second strain the instruments echo each other. After a cadence in F a new subject and counter-subject are introduced and answered contrapuntally. These are followed by an arpeggio passage accompanying a sequence ending in E minor, in which key the first principal theme reappears with a counter-subject. Further on, yet another counter theme is added and developed contrapuntally in close imitation. From these materials the entire movement is constructed, and ends with a restatement of the first subject as given at the beginning of the movement.⁴⁷

Considering the characteristic analytical notes of the day, it is unsurprising that the perception of Bach was of an academic composer; there is little sense of the 'irresistible gladness' captured in description of the music. It is also easy to understand how Orchestral Suite No. 5 has been overlooked in modern times. A dated work even in its own time, after the 1941 Prom performance it was not programmed again (at the Proms or elsewhere), and unlike No. 6 it was neither published nor recorded in Wood's lifetime. Its conservative scoring, as discussed below, retained a strong element of Bach's timbres but as a series of arrangements of organ concertos or sonatas, rather than dance movements, it did not follow the format of Bach's Orchestral Suites BWV 1066-9.

⁴⁵ Newmarch, 'Suite No. 5 in G, for Strings Bach-Wood', p. 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The 'New Suite in G' was transformed – in title only – into an Orchestral Suite to complete the set of suites in time for the premiere of Wood's Orchestral Suite No. 6 on Friday 20 October 1916 (under the title *New* Orchestral Suite (No. 6)). The structure of the Sixth Orchestral Suite is interesting in comparison (Figure 4.3); although it initially resembles Bach's format of the Orchestral Suites, the opening Prelude is not in the Lullian form, and with the exception of the Gavotte and Musette, the remaining titles (Lament, Scherzo, Andante Mistico, and Finale), bear no relation to eighteenth-century dances. The main difference with No. 5, however, is the modern instrumentation (discussed below) – particularly striking given that the Bach orchestrations of Elgar, Holst, Stokowski, Respighi or Schoenberg had not yet appeared. The Fifth Orchestral Suite was only performed regularly at the Proms until 1931, and it is likely that the orchestration of the Sixth Orchestral Suite made the Fifth Suite appear outmoded, and might therefore explain why the latter remained unpublished.⁴⁸

Movement	BWV	Instrumentation		
1. Prelude	848	3 Flutes; 3 Clarinets in Bb; 3 Bassoons; 4 horns in F; Harp;		
		Strings		
2. Lament	992	3 Flutes; 2 Oboes; Cor Anglais; 2 Clarinets in Bb; Bass Clarinet		
		in Bb; 2 Bassoons; Contra Bassoon; 3 Horns in F; Organ; Strings		
3. Scherzo	827	Piccolo; 2 Flutes; 2 Oboes; Cor Anglais; 2 Clarinets in Bb; Bass		
		Clarinet in Bb; 2 Bassoons; Contra Bassoon; 4 horns in F; 3		
		Trumpets in C; Timpani; Strings		
4. Gavotte	811	3 Flutes; 2 Oboes; Cor Anglais; 2 Clarinets in Bb; Bass Clarinet		
and Musette		in Bb; 2 Bassoons; Contra Bassoon; 4 horns in F; 3 Trumpets in		
		C; 3 Trombones; Timpani; Strings		
5. Andante	867	3 Flutes; 2 Oboes; Cor Anglais; 3 Clarinets in A; 2 Bassoons;		
Mistico		Contra Bassoon; 4 Horns in F; Timpani		
6. Finale	1006	3 Flutes; 2 Oboes; Cor Anglais; 3 Clarinets in A; 2 Bassoons;		
		Contra Bassoon; 4 Horns in F; 3 Trumpets in C; 3 Trombones;		
		Tuba; Timpani; Strings		

Figure 4.3: The structure and instrumentation of Orchestral Suite No. 6

⁴⁸ An additional reason for its lack of publication may relate to the so-called Suite in G minor, BWV 1070. It is sometimes referred to as Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 5 and a set of string parts survive in the Wood Archive. However, a note (not in Wood's hand) on the front copy of the parts reads 'Overture in G minor, Bach. (Strings only 7.6.4.4.3.) Not yet corrected. Awaiting completion of full score'. Thus, Wood was aware of the work but rather than adapting it for his own use, he re-titled his own orchestral arrangement.

As Appendix 4.2 shows, Wood had numerous precedents for orchestrating Bach. Whilst it is difficult to confirm how many of these Wood was familiar with, Figure 4.4 below lists those that were performed at the Promenade concerts prior to the publication of Wood's Orchestral Suite No. 6.

Date	Arranger	Title	Year of Performance at Proms
1854	Heinrich	Toccata in F major, BWV	1897, 1899, 1903, 1906
	Esser	540, (large orchestra) [coda	
		elaborated by Sir Edward	
		Elgar 1932]	
c.1870s	Sigismund	Sarabande, Andante &	1902, 1906, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912,
	Bachrich	Bourreé, from violin sonatas	1914, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1922,
		(string orchestra)	1924, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1942
1871	August	Air (Mvt. 2) from Orchestral	1905 (x5), 1906 (x3), 1907 (x3), 1908
	Wilhelmj	Suite No. 3 in D major, BWV	(x2), 1909 (x2), 1910 (x3), 1911 (x3),
		1068, (violin with string	1912, 1913 (x2), 1914, 1915 (x2), 1916
		orchestra and 2 clarinets or	(x2), 1917, 1918, 1919 (x2), 1920, 1921,
		piano or organ	1929, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936,
		accompaniment)	1940 (cancelled).
1873	Joachim	Chaconne (Mvt. 5) from	1898
	Raff	Partita No. 2 in D minor,	
		BWV 1004 (large orchestra)	
1895	Sigismund	Praeludium, Adagio, Gavotte	Full Suite: 1902, 1917
	Bachrich	en Rondeau, from Sonatas &	Gavotte alone: 1903 (x4), 1904 (x2),
		Partitas for solo violin (string	1906 (x2), 1907 (x2), 1908, 1909 (x2),
		orchestra) Also known as:	1910 (x3), 1911 (x2), 1912, 1913 (x2),
		Suite in E major for Strings	1915 (x2), 1916 (x2), 1917, 1918 (x2),
			1919 (x2), 1920, 1921, 1925, 1928,
			1931, 1935, 1936, 1941 (cancelled)
1909	Henry J.	New Suite in G (later	1909 (x2), 1910 (x2), 1911, 1912, 1913,
	Wood	Orchestral Suite No. 5)	1914 (x2), 1915, 1916 (x2), 1917, 1918,
			1919, 1920, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1926,
			1927, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1941
1910	Gustav	New Bach Orchestral Suite	1911
	Mahler	(orchestra)	
1913	Henry J.	Toccata in F (full orchestra)	1913 (x2), 1914, 1916, 1917, 1919,
	Wood		1920, 1921, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1928,
			1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934,
			1936, 1938, 1940 (cancelled), 1941,
			1943, 1944
1916	Henry J.	Orchestral Suite No. 6 (full	1916 (x2), 1917, 1919, 1920, 1922,
	Wood	orchestra)	1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928,
			1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1040,
			1942, 1944

Figure 4.4: Bach arrangements programmed at the Proms prior to and including Wood's Orchestral Suite No. 6.

Of these works, August Wilhelmj's Air on a G String and Sigismund Bachrich's Gavotte in E were very popular single-movement transcriptions, but Bachrich's Sarabande, Andante, and Bourrée was the earliest suite.⁴⁹ More familiar, and influential, was Bachrich's Praeludium, Adagio, Gavotte en Rondeau, first performed in its entirety at a Saturday Night mixed programme on 27 September 1902 and repeated at a Classical Friday Night Prom on 21 September 1917.⁵⁰ Again, inconsistent titling has been the source of some confusion in identifying the work. The BBC Proms archive catalogues the work as J. S. Bach – Partita for Solo Violin No. 3 in E major (BWV 1006) (orch. Bachrich), but the work is more accurately titled: *Praeludium, Adagio, Gavotte en Rondeau* or Suite in E major for Strings. Additionally, when the score was published by Universal Editions of Vienna in 1895, Bachrich's name was omitted from the front cover which led to further ambiguity. Wood's copy of Bachrich's arrangement is heavily marked in both lead and blue pencil, and he notes the provenance of the movements: the Praeludium, Gavotte and Rondeau from the third Partita (E Major, BWV 1006), and the Adagio from the Second Sonata (A Minor, BWV 1003 (Andante)). The score does not show the signs of many years of use, although Wood clearly spent some considerable time preparing it for performance for the 1902 and 1917 concerts. One might speculate that the conservative orchestration, as with Esser's Toccata in F, prompted Wood to develop this material further, as 14 years later he re-used the opening Praeludium as the closing movement of his own Orchestral Suite No. 6. However, the Suite in E clearly had an influence on Orchestral Suite No. 5, in inspiring a three-movement work to promote relatively-unknown organ works that had been core recital repertoire in Wood's youth.

Prior to the premiere of Wood's Orchestral Suite No. 5 a pattern emerges in the arrangements outlined in Appendix 4.2. Suites constructed from little-known organ or instrumental dances by Bach were arranged for string orchestra, whilst the large-scale organ works were scored for full orchestra. Thus the outer movements of Wood's Suite conform to the traditional approach, but he innovates by including

⁴⁹ Hans Richter's diaries, held in the private collection of Dr Christopher Fifield, confirm that it was performed by Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in Philharmonie Subscription concerts on 3 January, 17 May, and 29 May 1886, and 18 December 1887.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 2.1. Richter had also given performances of this work at the Philharmonie on 3 and 27 November 1878, but Nikisch performed often during his tenure as conductor of the Boston

Symphony Orchestra (17, 18 April, 3 November, 7, 10 December 1891, 13 and 15 January 1892, 31 March, 1 April, 4 May 1893), from copies of the concert programmes in a private collection held by Dr Raymond Holden.

wind instruments in the middle movement. From the period between Suites 5 and 6 (1909-1916), there are two works which may have been influential in Wood's change of approach in his Sixth Orchestral Suite: his own 1913 re-orchestration of Esser's Toccata in F, BWV 540, in which he began exploring further orchestral colours, and Gustav Mahler's *New Bach Orchestral Suite*. The latter was premiered by Mahler in New York in 1910 and was given its English premiere by Wood in the Main Proms on Friday 20 October 1911.⁵¹ Its explicit use of 'orchestral' in the title suggested the forces employed, but like Wood, Mahler gave no immediate indication as to the identity of the movements it contained. The reason for this is that it was a conflation of two Suites:

- 1. Overture from Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 2 [BWV 1067]
- 2. Rondeau and Badinerie from Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 2 [BWV 1067]⁵²
- 3. Air from Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 3 [BWV 1068]
- 4. Gavotte from Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 3 [BWV 1068]

Thus Mahler created a symphonic four-movement structure with a shift from B minor (Orchestral Suite No. 2) to D major (No. 3), paralleling the minor-redemptive relative major tonal scheme of his own Symphony No. 2. Throughout the work Mahler largely retained Bach's original instrumentation, restricting his editorial role to clarification of phrasing, the addition of slurs and the shortening of notes to ensure clarity of ensemble. However, he did use the full string forces of the symphony orchestra, specified a fully realized organ and piano continuo, and reinforced solo lines – doubling the flute part and suggesting an additional clarinet on the flute line in tutti sections.⁵³ Despite some misgivings about the ensemble in the first 1910 New York performance, and Mahler's surprise decision to direct the performance from a Steinway piano prepared to sound like a harpsichord, the work was not only deemed a success but was declared the sensation of a musical season. Throughout the 1910 and 1911 seasons only the overture from *Die Meistersinger* was repeated as often as Mahler's *New Bach Orchestral Suite*.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See Appendices 2.1, 4.1, and 4.2.

⁵² The latter embedded between the first and second hearing of the Rondeau.

⁵³ Although clearly offered as a suggested option only, it is hard to envisage the 'arrangement' without Mahler's continuo realization. The piano and organ parts go beyond any conventional chordal harmonic realization but add colour, considerable weight of sound, and resulting gravitas to significant cadential moments throughout.

⁵⁴ Zoltan Roman, *Gustav Mahler's American Years 1907-1911* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), pp. 295 and 478.

Given Wood's interest in orchestral Bach, his promotion of Mahler's *New Bach Orchestral Suite* is not surprising, but neither is the fact that he only gave one performance of it. Wood wanted to promote little-known Bach works in his Suite transcriptions, whereas Mahler's Suite incorporated movements from two Suites that were already being performed in their complete versions. However, the title and symphonic proportions of Mahler's arrangement may have influenced Wood's approach to his own 1916 *New* Orchestral Suite No. 6. By 1909 there was already a strong sense that the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites were symphonic in nature; in her programme notes for Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, Rosa Newmarch had cited the 1901 publication of the eminent Bach-scholar Albert Schweitzer:

They [the Brandenburg Concertos] are undoubtedly a national asset in the same sense as Beethoven Symphonies. Spirio has truly remarked, in a fervent article on the rights of the modern public to the orchestral works of Bach, that these Concertos are in reality not Concertos, but Symphonies. It is to be hoped that the time is not far off when the Overtures will also come into their own. Our instrumentalists have everything to gain by being admitted to the school of Bach.⁵⁵

Although the identity of Spirio and his 'fervent article' remain unknown, this characterisation of the Concertos and Suites as 'symphonic' was symptomatic of both contemporary performing style and the Mahlerian approach to orchestration.

Orchestral Suite No. 6

Orchestral Suite No. 6 marks a departure from Wood's previous Bach arrangements in the innovations in orchestration. As shown in Figure 4.3 above, Wood adopted a wide palette of orchestral instruments in order to fulfil his desire for a 'streak or seam of colour up and down a long range'.⁵⁶ The symphonic nature and inventive features of orchestration in the work may be observed through three sources: Wood's copies of the 1916 published score which he marked-up with further

⁵⁵ Newmarch, 'Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, In G for Strings' *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes*, I (1928), p.124. Albert Schweitzer *J. S. Bach* trans. by Ernest Newman, 2 vols (London: The Macmillan Co., 1905; repr: Memphis, Tennessee: General Books, 2010), I, p. 245 ⁵⁶ Eaglefield-Hull, *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians*, p. 364.

annotations for performances, his contribution to the 1916 programme notes, and his 1925 recording with the New Queen's Hall Orchestra. ⁵⁷

No working manuscript survives of Wood's Orchestral Suite No. 6, but of the five copies of the published score held in the Wood Archive, one is heavily marked and emerges as the likely conducting score.⁵⁸ Although he did not publish details of the provenance of each movement, Wood wrote full details in each copy (Figure 4.5 below), and the construction of the work prompted the most striking element of the Suite – the rate at which contrasts of orchestral colour are introduced. The scope of the orchestration not only departs from the conservative string-focused scoring of Orchestral Suite No. 5, but also demonstrates a different approach to the sonic expansion of the score. Although the Toccata in F was scored for a similarly large orchestra, the innovations in orchestration in Orchestral Suite No. 6 build more upon the sounds explored by Raff in his orchestration of the Chaconne (BWV 1004). Wood extends his technique through additional notation in sustaining implied harmonies, fragmentation of the melody, blending specific combinations of instruments, and greater textural variation.

Figure 4.5: Wood's description of the provenance of each movement of his Orchestral Suite No. 6

Movement	BWV and Wood's description	Original	New Key
		Key	
I Prelude	848 'Prelude No. 3 from the '48'	C# major	D major
II Lament	992 'from the capriccioso on the	F minor	F minor
	departure of a beloved brother'		
III Scherzo	827 'Scherzo from the 3 rd partita for	A minor	A minor
	clavier'		
IV Gavotte and	811 'Gavotte I & II from the 6 th English	D minor/D	D minor/D
Musette	Suite for Clavier'	major	major
V Andante	867 'Prelude No. 22 from Book I of the	Bb minor	B minor
Mistico	'48'		
VI Finale	1006 'Preludio from the 6 th solo violin	E major	E major
	sonata in E'		

Wood's use of wind instruments in Movement V, his 'Andante Mistico', is the first instance of a wind-only Bach arrangement presented in an orchestral

⁵⁷ J. S. Bach/Henry J. Wood, *Orchestral Suite No. 6*, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, conducted by Henry J. Wood (1925). I am grateful to private collector Teri Noel Towe for allowing me to use the recording for comparison.

⁵⁸ See details in Appendix 4.1.

context.⁵⁹ His contribution to the original programme notes also provides a rare example of Wood articulating his inspiration for the arrangement:

Ever since I could play at all, this – my favourite Prelude of all the "Forty-Eight" – has been my despair,' says Sir Henry J. Wood. 'It always suggests to me a little Gothic side-chapel in which someone is praying fervently, using that step-like, mounting figure which I have given to the horn. I never could get the atmosphere of half-darkness, of mystical fervour and resignation from the pianoforte; and recently it occurred to me that only the colour and fragrance of the wood-wind instruments could affect what I wanted.⁶⁰

Not only does Wood again highlight the significance of his youthful performances, but the insight into his 'despair' reveals that for him, an orchestral tone was essential as the piano was ill-equipped to create the sound he wanted. The motivation for making an arrangement thus goes beyond the desire to make 'certain beautiful, but comparatively rarely heard, movements from Bach's works' known in the context of the 'concert-room'.⁶¹ The programme notes capture both aspects in Wood's response to criticism of the 'arranging' or 'modernizing' of Bach:

If a law were passed forbidding the performance of Bach's music in ways that did not conform to the archaic conditions of his day, it is certain that the mass of music lovers would remain in ignorance of many of his noblest and loveliest ideas. And if the modern grand piano and the modern 'orchestral' pianist be admitted as interpretative mediums, why not the orchestra with its greater possibilities of rendering Bach's broad and profoundly touching slow movements as well as those which demand immense agility from the soloist?⁶²

The notes continue to cite the 'opening of Part II of the Matthew Passion, where the Daughter of Zion is distractedly seeking the lost Saviour in the deserted garden' as further inspiration for the wind colours of this movement; thus Wood combines Bach's sonorities with those of his own imagination. The fifth movement, shown in its entirety in Appendix 4.20, displays a simplicity of orchestration. Bach scored the prelude thickly and therefore there was no need for Wood to expand implied harmonies to accommodate more instruments; instead, his task involved allocating the lines texturally. Although the main theme is introduced by the flutes, the

⁵⁹ See Appendix 4.2.

⁶⁰ Rosa Newmarch 'Orchestral Suite (No. 6) (Orchestrated by Sir Henry J. Wood)' *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes*, III, p. 11.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 9-10.

clarinets are a dominant sound throughout – emphasized particularly on Wood's 1925 recording (CD 4, track 7) – through interaction with both bassoons and then oboes (Appendix 4.20 bars 8-15). With the exception of these duets, the horn is the other constant presence, from the single note of the 'one lonely supplicant' at the start, to the counterpoint between the three lines. Textural interest is created by varying the number of parts, and the 'atmosphere of half-darkness' suggested through alternating tuttis and solo instrument combinations. Wood increases the use of tutti throughout the movement, exploring the 'colour and fragrance of the wood-wind instruments' in a range of dynamics, from the first tutti *piano* cadence at Figure C, increasingly homophonic writing towards Figure D, and the climax in the antepenultimate bar. His specific instruction for each line is exemplified in the *pppp* ending where dynamic levels and articulation are specified for each instrument.

In contrast, the opening prelude (Appendix 4.21, bar 1) initially appears to suggest the most conventional approach to orchestration – presenting thematic material in the strings. However, Wood immediately introduces new textures through the sustained wind parts, offering not only realization of the implied harmonies but also prominent accentuation of the harmonic rhythm through syncopated chord changes in the approach to cadences (Appendix 4.21, bars 53-4). The use of the harp to punctuate the texture, horns to underpin pedals, and wind to shadow lines is a development in his techniques of orchestration, and a move away from simply doubling original material. Again Wood's contribution to the programme notes uncovers the motivation for the selection of this particular prelude and the effects that may be achieved through the addition of instruments:

This is the prelude No. 3 from the Well-Tempered Clavier. It is scored in the fleetest and most gossamer style. Sir Henry tells us he wrote down the orchestration in a wood, on a hot day when the light and nimble rhythmic movement of the Prelude seemed interwoven with the restless dancing of the tiny winged gnats overhead. Over the quivering, oscillating figure for muted strings, the chords for three flutes, one bassoon, and a muted horn give a languid and melting effect. This idea is maintained to the end, where the last three chords, instead of being hammered out emphatically, in the style of certain 'orchestral' pianists, are treated in the mood of what has gone before.⁶³

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⁶³ Newmarch, 'Orchestral Suite (No. 6) (Orchestrated by Sir Henry J. Wood)', p. 10.

The 1925 recording (CD 4, track 1) confirms this approach; the final cadence is a relaxation of the energetic semiquavers that preceded it, capturing Wood's 'melting effect'. It also points to more general performance trends, including the indication of vibrato (Appendix 4.21, Viola, bar 1) in an age when continuous vibrato was not yet a normal aspect of string sound.⁶⁴

In considering movements II, III, and IV, Wood's 1925 recording of the Suite is valuable as it affords a more accurate realization of Wood's score-based intentions in the context of contemporary criticism. In 1926, a critic from The Times suggested that the effect of these movements varies 'with the number of the instruments and the mixing of the colours', but that 'the trombones in the Gavotte are absurd'.⁶⁵ The Gavotte (and Musette), movement IV, is from the Sixth English Suite for Clavier, and is one of the most thickly and homophonically orchestrated. The three 'absurd' trombone parts have very active lines throughout but join the trumpets to play the final presentation of the theme (Appendix 4.22, bar 25). Although Newmarch's notes admit to the movement having a 'large and stately manner', they also include Wood's description of the first two steps of the dance: 'with the point of the toe, so to speak'.⁶⁶ If he was mindful of the dance, Wood's inclusion of trombones is even more surprising, but his recording reveals that although these instruments are prominent, they are not overpowering, and the accented beats do not dominate (CD 4, track 4). Although recording quality is partly to blame for the lack of bass, Wood's recorded interpretation presents a brisk reading of the thickly-scored passages, resulting in a performance that is not as heavy or laboured as the marked scores might suggest. This is particularly revelatory when compared to the pronounced strong beats and slow tempos of Leonard Slatkin's 2004 recording of the movement (CD4, track 12).⁶⁷ Slatkin argues that there is coherence in knowing that the works were written for a specific orchestra, and interprets the work in a grand manner. In his sleeve notes, he suggests that in the Gavotte Wood 'conjures up the spirit of Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance Marches', and his interpretation is therefore a much more decisive, slower, and heavier reading

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⁶⁴ For further discussion of vibrato and its changing use see Philip, *Recording Music in the Age of Recording*, pp. 191-7.

⁶⁵ Anon, 'Week-End Concerts: Queen's Hall Orchestra', *The Times*, 29 November, 1926, p. 17.
⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁷ Bach [-] The Conductors' Transcriptions, BBC Symphony Orchestra/ Leonard Slatkin, Chandos SACD CHSA 5030 (Tracks [5] – [10]) (Rec: Colchester, 2004).

than Wood's 1925 recording.⁶⁸ When contrasted with Wood's lighter, faster, lessfussy reading of the work, the decisions taken by Slatkin are more surprising from both a modern and historical perspective. His full-bodied sound, slow tempos, exaggerated tempo modifications, and ornaments sound like a caricature of the presumed sounds of the era rather than the effects seen in Wood's score and heard in his recording.⁶⁹ Wood's orchestration of the Musette (Appendix 4.22, bars 1-8) is a bucolic combination of solo oboe, clarinet, and viola over a tonic pedal sustained by a horn, and derives its impact in the sudden textural variation and reduced ensemble from the preceding Gavotte – elements praised by the 1926 reviewer. Wood's recording (CD 4, track 5) offers a particularly free interpretation of the solo oboe line; far from presenting problems with ensemble, the (non-notated) rubato is an expressive technique akin to the eighteenth-century technique of 'stealing the time'.⁷⁰

Whereas the impact of orchestration in the Gavotte and Musette was observed between sections, the Lament (Movement II) has the most extreme internal contrasts. Wood establishes this from the outset through his varied realization of the bass line. His recording (CD 4, track 2) highlights the initial expansiveness he sought in the unison bassoons, contra-bassoons, 'cellos, and basses, prior to the orchestrated realization of figures and swiftly changing instrumentation of each of Bach's four-bar phrases. For example, the prominent horn accompaniment to the

⁶⁹ Teri Noel Towe observed the comparison between movement durations in these two recordings (the only known recorded interpretations) of the Suite in his WPRB radio broadcast on Thursday 18 September 2008 and his forthcoming publication *Bach in Britain in the 1920s*:

Movement	Wood	Slatkin	Difference
1 Prelude	01:17	01:35	+00:18
2 Lament	02:51	04:10	+01:19
3 Scherzo	01:01	01:12	+00:11
4 Gavotte and Musette	03:01	03:18	+00:17
5 Andante Mistico	03:32	03:59	+00:27
6 Finale	03:19	03:57	+00:38
Total	15:02	18;25	+03:23

Both conductors observe the same repeats.

⁶⁸ Sleeve notes in Bach The Conductors' Transcriptions.

⁷⁰ It is likely Wood had Léon Goossens in mind when writing the work in 1915; although Goossens gave performances of it after the war, he was away on service at the time of the premiere, suggesting that his deputy James McDonagh gave the first performance. The oboist in the recording is most likely Jessie Pantling, principal oboe of the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1925. The tempo rubato is akin to Tosi's description of 'stealing the time' in Pietro Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the florid song: Translated by Mr Galliard Edited with additional notes by Michael Pilkington* (London: Stainer & Bell, 2003), p. 67. Additionally, for contextual discussion of tempo rubato in the early twentieth century see Robert Philip, 'Rubato in ensemble', *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (Bury St Edmunds: Yale, 2004), pp. 110-112 (esp. p. 111); and Walter Gieseking and Karl Leimer, *The Shortest Way to Pianistic Perfection* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Theodore Presser, 1933), pp. 56-7.

falling quavers in the upper wind, followed by the solo oboe accompanied by expressive piano, harmonized strings (marked 'half' by Wood in GB-Lam 39526-2002) and bass clarinet (Appendix 4.23, a)). Wood extends his creativity to the inner parts and the tutti includes horns imitating the melody at half bar intervals (Appendix 4.23, b)). Textural contrast is more extreme in the next succession of four bar phrases (Appendix 4.23, c)): unison solo horn and bassoon, accompanied by first violins, and a full tutti emphasized by the organ. Wood's beaming in the tutti promotes a feeling of compound duple time, which is continued in the 'cello solo but set against the simple-triple feel of the accompanying, figure-realizing flutes and clarinets (Appendix 4.23, d)). The string playing in Wood's performance is particularly laden with portamento, whether under a slur, or between separate notes, and this is emphasized in the 'molto espress' cello solo as a technique used in place of vibrato (CD 4, track 2: from 1'22). For the remainder of the movement, Wood lengthens the phrases through his orchestration. The clarinet is used for the first time as a soloist to begin the descending chromatic sequences (marked 'sobbingly'), supported by half the string players, before the bassoon completes the phrase accompanied by the flutes (Appendix 4.23, e)). The final tutti is the most homophonic moment in the arrangement and presents the dynamic climax with emphatically accented articulation. However, Wood concludes with an intricate realization of Bach's bass solo ending combining the solo textures of bassoon, clarinet, and oboe before a syncopated string and flute cadence (Appendix 4.23, f)). The movement is a demonstration of Wood's freedom of expression afforded by the colours of the orchestra and reveals his lack of hesitation in fragmenting lines and adding textures to reflect his interpretation of the music. Although the movement is entitled 'Lament', Wood's recorded tempo is not slow, and expression is created by the variation of instruments presenting the themes. This contrasts sharply with Slatkin's interpretation which lasts an extra 01'19 (CD 4 track 10).

The Scherzo (Movement III) (CD 4, track 3) returns to a more linear approach which is encapsulated in the programme notes:

This Scherzo is imbued with life and freshness. Its vitality manifests itself in the insistent sforzando figure which is in evidence throughout the number. There is some delightful semi-staccato work for flute and clarinet, with leaping octaves in the bassoon.⁷¹

⁷¹ Newmarch, 'Orchestral Suite (No. 6) (Orchestrated by Sir Henry J. Wood)', p. 11.

Clarity of textures is Wood's priority in this movement, but the 'insistent sforzando figure' is a repeated motif which the full wind section reinforce at each occurrence (Appendix 4.24, a)). A comparison of Wood and Slatkin in their recordings of this movement is again instructive (CD 4, tracks 3 and 11). Although the 11-second difference in duration is not as extreme as the Lament, the effect of articulation on the tempo is pronounced. As previously noted, Wood's tempos are quick throughout the suite, but annotations on the multiple scores show the careful calculation of speed based not only on Wood's artistic judgement but also practicalities; for example, at the beginning of the Scherzo he writes: 'not too fast for the tonguing of the clarinets' (Appendix 4.24, b.i)). The thick scoring of the movement visually promotes the interpretation given by Slatkin: a quick but beat-driven, accented, and full-sounding reading; however, Newmarch's programme notes stated that the movement 'passes by in a concentrated flash of exhilarating light and motion', an effect achieved in Wood's recorded performance. Wood's accentuation is not so pronounced, and the score indicates his reduction of the string body in order to lighten the texture (Appendix 4.24, b.ii)). This is another example where although the visual impression from the score appears to support the criticisms of 'elephantitis' in Wood's orchestral Bach, the evidence of his own reading contradicts that impression with a perceptible flash of 'light and motion'.

The last movement of Orchestral Suite No. 6 is a virtuoso arrangement of a more familiar movement: the Prelude from the Violin Partita BWV 1006. According to the 1926 critic from *The Times*, there was 'certainly something to be said for the brilliance of the effect when all the violins are giving out its exhilarating melody',⁷² and Wood's treatment built upon expectations of the dramatic implications of the original work. In generating the arrangement, Wood had access to the cantata 'Wie danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir', BWV 29, in which Bach arranged the violin prelude as the opening Sinfonia for solo organ, oboes, trumpets, timpani, and strings. Wood made his own orchestral arrangement of the Sinfonia in 1926, but, beyond the melody, his treatment in Suite No. 6 bears no resemblance to Bach's setting of BWV 29. Although some of the moving quavers which simplify and highlight the melody are inevitably incorporated, Wood does not include the material given to the trumpets or the repeated texture of a quaver rest and five

⁷² Anon, 'Week-End Concerts: Queen's Hall Orchestra', *The Times*, 29 November, 1926, p. 17.

repeated quavers under a slur that infuses the Sinfonia (shown in Appendix 4.25 a)). Another potential influence on Wood's orchestral arrangement of BWV 1006 was the opening movement of Sigismund Bachrich's Suite in E, a string-orchestra arrangement of the same work. Beyond the scope of the orchestration, the fundamental difference between the arrangements lies in the allocation of string parts. Wood designates the original violin line to the first and second violins throughout, whereas Bachrich divides it between the string parts and uses it in counterpoint (Appendix 4.25 b) and c)). There are, however, some small influences taken from Bachrich's earlier version; these are limited to the textures such as the quaver movement to highlight the main notes of the melodic line (Appendix 4.26) a)), the insertion of the main theme as counter-melodic material (Appendix 4.26 b)), and the increased number of instruments playing the melody in the closing bars (Appendix 4.26 c)). Although they are introduced at the same points in the score, Wood expands upon these ideas considerably, either through fragmentation and repetition, extension of the duration for which they are used, or in the enlarged scope of instrumentation (shown to the greatest extreme in the closing bars).

Generally, Wood's attention to detail and rhythmic precision is much more refined as he promotes both depth of tone through the varying orchestral realization of harmonies, and rhythmic drive through contrasts in duration and pacing of accompanying material. The tempo of his recorded performance is fast (CD 4, track 8), but whilst he noted on the score that there were four minutes allowed for its duration he only took 03'19, suggesting that the tempo was not dictated by the time allotted on the fourth side of the recording (Slatkin takes 03'57 in CD 4, track 14). To ensure consistency of approach, Wood included fingerings on the violin part and noted on his score that they should be observed. Furthermore, his markings exaggerate the shortness of notes required and highlight the instruments that punctuate the melody to ensure precision. On the top of the first page he notes: 'WW, Brass etc – a background except 4 horns' which offers insight into the priority of the scoring and the importance of the horn parts in projecting accompanying ideas. This is particularly relevant in the final five pages (bars 108-138) in which the horns play in contrary motion with the other melodic accompaniment (Appendix 4.27 a)), present counter-melodic falling scales and underpin the harmony (Appendix 4.27 b)), and lead the dotted bass fanfares into the concluding climax (Appendix 4.27 c)).

Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6 occupy a very specific place in the history of Bach orchestral arrangements. They both posit Wood as an innovator in orchestration through the introduction of wind instruments into the suite format in 1909, and in the orchestral expansion of the genre in 1916. Taking inspiration primarily from Bachrich, Mahler and – in using a large orchestra – Raff, Wood's Suites furthered the development of Bach orchestral arrangements prior to the innovations and ideas of Elgar, Stokowski, Respighi, or Schoenberg. Suite No. 6 marks a particular freedom of expression in orchestral colour, as Wood did not restrict himself to the original voice leading, rather he fragmented lines, added implied harmonies, emphasized harmonic rhythm and included countermelodies in order to project the essence of the music in a new medium. In his contribution to A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians he stated that 'we want orchestral thoughts, not pianistic thoughts transcribed for orchestral instruments' which is exactly the departure this suite makes from its predecessor.⁷³ The programme note descriptions of his motivation and inspiration provide a rare insight into Wood's sentimental and artistic character, and provide colour to an examination of his approach. Although the published score is heavily annotated with performance directions, the 1925 recording also additionally reveals many non-notated performance practices such as tempo rubato, portamento, and vibrato. However, the recording's greatest revelation is that, despite the heavy annotation in front of him, Wood's interpretation was not in the weighty manner that many, including Slatkin, attribute to performances of the period.

⁷³ Eaglefield-Hull, p. 363.

Case Study 4.3: Toccata & Fugue in D Minor

Wood premiered his orchestral arrangement of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor at the Proms on 5 October 1929. As shown in Appendix 2.1, it was repeated in 1930-2, 1934-5, 1937-8, 1941, and 1943-4;⁷⁴ in terms of programming orchestral arrangements of Bach, it was rivaled in frequency only by his Toccata in F, and Elgar's Fantasia and Fugue in C minor. Wood's arrangement was made relatively late in his career, but he explained that it was a work that had been 'living in his mind' for some time.⁷⁵ By 1929 he was aware of the criticism of his Bach arrangements, and admitted that he had become 'very nearly disheartened' by 'the purists' and their immediate assumptions of his 'heavy handling' of Bach prior to scrutiny.⁷⁶ To evade the 'usual storm of abuse', Wood decided to adopt a fashionable, foreign-sounding pseudonym: Paul Klenovsky.⁷⁷ At the premiere the programme note stated that the work originated in 'Moscow, 1923', ⁷⁸ and that, according to 'his teacher, Alexander Glazunov', not only was Klenovsky 'one of the great masters of orchestration among the younger Russian school', but that his early death was 'a distinct loss to the musical world'.⁷⁹ The reception of the work was favourable; The Times noted that 'Klenovsky's orchestration [...] is audacious and overrides any objections a purist might bring, because it is superlatively well done',⁸⁰ justifying Wood's strategy and underlining his conclusion that 'Klenovsky's success was unquestioned'.81

The truth regarding the provenance of the work was revealed in 1934. Hubert Foss of Oxford University Press approached Wood in his search for the address of a relation of Klenovsky – to ask permission to publish the work – and this prompted the publication of a full confession:

⁷⁴ The work was programmed for performance in 1940, but not heard as the season was abandoned owing to bombing.

⁷⁵ Wood, My Life of Music, p. 332.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 333.

⁷⁸ Jacobs, p. 231.

⁷⁹ Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, p. 102.

⁸⁰ Anon, 'Promenade Concerts', *The Times*, 6 October, 1930, p. 12.

⁸¹ Wood, p. 333.

This is my *original copy* of the scoring of Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor. I only announced it scored by Paul Klenovsky, *as a blind to the Press*, as I got *very fed up with them*, always finding fault with my arrangement or orchestrations that I made – 'heavy Wagner handling', 'spoiling the original' etc: etc: *but directly this piece appearing, with my untrue concocted story* which of course I had put in all the programmes, the Press, the musicians of the Orchestra, and the officials of the BBC fell into the trap, and said the scoring was wonderful, Klenovsky had the real flare [*sic*] for true colour etc. – and performance after performance was given and *asked* for. Had I put it out under my own name the result would have been one performance (after spending £33 on score and parts) – slated and shelved. So for the future all my scoring will be announced as by Paul Klenovsky – although such a person never existed.

Once the secret was out, the popularity of the work did not decrease.⁸³ Wood's mockery of the London audiences' – and critics' – bias towards exotic-sounding foreign names, inevitably sparked some considerable brouhaha in the press, but equally drew attention to the musical and social implications of the prejudice:

Sir Henry Wood's little hoax on the public – he revealed that he did some important orchestrations under the name of "Paul Klenovsky", a mythical young Russian whom he subsequently "killed" – will have good effect if it goes some way to smash the peculiarly British form of musical snobbery to which we referred a few weeks ago.

Sir Henry has signed much work with his own name, and it excited a moderate amount of interest. With the "Klenovsky" label attached, there was much excitement and certain critics fell over each other in the search of eulogistic adjectives.

Our British musicians can rival, and often outstrip, foreign competitors. Yet many of them in self-defence adopt foreign names. Our British dancers are superb; yet they have to mask themselves with names ending in –ova or –inska. Mr Anton Dolin, we believe, is really Mr Pat Dooley. Herr Piccaver, chief tenor of the Vienna Opera, is really Mr Peckover, of Lincolnshire.⁸⁴

The ruse had proved a point; not only was the Toccata and Fugue in D minor repeated at numerous concerts conducted by Wood, but it proved a favourite with

⁸² Wood, My Life of Music, p. 232.

⁸³ Wood's confession was made one year before Fritz Kreisler's revelation that he had been the composer of the 'lost classics' (a series of publication of his own pieces under the names of Baroque composers). Kreisler's deception was similar in that it caused an outcry of condemnation but also new awareness in equal measure.

⁸⁴ Anon, 'Notes of the Week', SRPLSA, 158.4115 (September, 1934), p. 66.

conductors, audiences, and critics.⁸⁵ Wood noted that it had even appeared in a list of 'Masterly Transcriptions' in Gordon Jacob's treatise on orchestration; he was gratified 'to have the opinion of a real judge'.⁸⁶ There are two oddities in the sequence of events surrounding Wood's experiment. First, none of the critics, musicians, or audience members thought to make even preliminary enquiries about Klenovsky;⁸⁷ second, Wood did not capitalize on the success of the pseudonym during the five years between its appearance and the revelation.⁸⁸ However the longterm impact secured a greater respect for his work.

Two catalysts emerge for Wood's decision to arrange the Toccata and Fugue in D minor. In the early twentieth century BWV 565 was perhaps Bach's most familiar work. Not only was it core repertoire for organists, but, as shown in Appendix 4.28, it was the most featured work by Bach on film soundtracks of the period. Whilst it is therefore ironic that there is much debate over the question of its provenance,⁸⁹ there is no doubt Wood was keen to build on its considerable popularity and his success may be partially measured by a review of the recording made by the Bach organist and scholar Dr Albert Schweitzer:

⁸⁵ Notably on 21 February 1936 Toscanini sent a telegram from New York to congratulate Wood: HAD GREAT PLEASURE CONDUCTING LAST NIGHT PHILHARMONIC BACH KLENOVSKY TOCCATA ORCHESTRATED BY YOU. AM VERY HAPPY IT MET WITH ENORMOUS SUCCESS. REGARDS. TOSCANINI (Wood, p. 335). Toscanini was then the only contemporary to record the arrangement as a live performance from that occasion: (J. S. Bach Toccata in D minor (BWV 565), New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra Cond. Arturo Toscanini NYP 9712[1050] (Rec 23 February 1936).

⁸⁶ Wood, *My Life of Music*, p. 335; and Gordon Jacob, *Orchestral Technique: A Manual for Students* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 102-3.

⁸⁷ The name Paul Klenovsky was inspired by Russian composer Alexander Glazunov, who on an earlier visit had mentioned the death in 1915 of a memorably promising student, Nicolai Klenovsky (Jacobs, p. 332).

⁸⁸ Wood, p. 334. Wood points to two instances in which the name Klenovsky appears. The first is in a speech given by the Duke of Kent at a dinner of the Worshipful Company of Musicians at Stationers' Hall on 9 October 1935 in which he concluded 'To a great many people music is still not considered good unless it has been written by a foreigner, but the impression is gradually dying and British composers are receiving the recognition that is their due [...] If Mr Klenovsky is dead let us hope that Sir Henry Wood will think it time now to give us some gems under his own name'. The second was when the press mistakenly concluded that an arrangement of the Dead March from Handel's *Saul* presented at a memorial concert for King George in 1936 must have been the work of Klenovsky on the basis that 'dynamic contrasts were fantastic'; Wood, who had been in the audience, privately gained a confession of authorship from Malcolm Sargent.

⁸⁹ In the absence of an autograph manuscript, the provenance of the work was first debated by Peter F Williams: 'BWV 565: a toccata in D minor for organ by J. S. Bach?', *EM*, 9 (July 1981), 330-37, but has since been contested by numerous scholars including Christoph Wolff (who insists that it is just an early work) and John Scott-Ridley who has a forthcoming book on the subject.

The D minor is probably the most popular of all his [Bach's] pieces for the instruments. It is certainly the most generally known, first because all organists play it, and secondly because it has several times been arranged for orchestra. (There are two such arrangements recorded for the gramophone – one by Stokowski, the other by Sir Henry J. Wood.)⁹⁰

The first of the two arrangers mentioned, Leopold Stokowski, was the other catalyst. Wood and Stokowski were, in many ways, kindred spirits: they were both Londonborn, both briefly attended one of the major London music conservatoires, both had initial careers as organists, and both had been given high-profile, influential conducting positions.⁹¹ Furthermore, both were promoters of Bach and were each going to considerable lengths to make his music accessible to new audiences. Stokowski had recorded his own version of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor with his Philadelphia Orchestra in April 1927 and Wood was familiar with it:⁹²

I had heard Leopold Stokowski's transcription of the Bach Toccata and Fugue in D minor and determined to make a transcription of this superb organ piece that had been living in my mind. With my knowledge of the organ I knew just what was wanted for the right colour when given over to the wider scope of a full orchestra.⁹³

Whilst Wood recognized that Stokowski had made 'several beautiful transcriptions of Bach's Organ works', he called into question these works, stating: 'if I criticize them, it is to say that I always seem to find the organist peeping out – which is against all I have ever believed about transcriptions.'⁹⁴ In this light, Wood's orchestral arrangement can be interpreted as a 'critique' of Stokowski's. A comparison of the two, first in the content of the scores, and then through their recordings, serves to illustrate their differing approaches.⁹⁵

http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/stokowski/bach.html

⁹⁰ Sydney Grew, 'Notes and Comments', *BMMN*, 13.129 (September, 1936), 208-210 (p. 208). The Toccata and Fugue in D minor was the first of a series of recordings that Albert Schweizer made on the Columbia label.

⁹¹ Abram Chasins, *Leopold Stokowski* (London: Robert Hale, 1981), pp. 1-40.

⁹² This was a period when much of Stokowski's significant musical activities and memorable successes were linked to the Curtis Institute. The University of Pennsylvania now holds the performance sets of Stokowski's remarkable collection of transcriptions. Of the 203 on record 39 are large orchestral and string arrangements of keyboard, orchestral and vocal works of J. S. Bach which were prepared throughout the '20s and '30s.

J.S. Bach (arr. L. Stokowski for orchestra) *Toccata and Fugue in D minor, BWV 565* Philadelphia Orchestra Cond. Leopold Stokowski CVE 37468/9, reissued on Naxos 8.111297 (1927).
 ⁹³ Wood, p. 333.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 153.

⁹⁵ For the sources used throughout this chapter see Appendix 4.1; The score of Stokowski's Toccata and Fugue used throughout Appendix 4 belonged to Yehudi Menuhin and is held at the Royal

Stokowski and Wood both established themselves as 'translators' of Bach's music, a status which allowed them to dictate the performance details that were absent in Bach's scores.⁹⁶ Whilst each typically stipulate precise instructions with regard to tempo, dynamics, and articulation, Wood's attention to the smallest details of description is often the most extreme. Beyond specifying the exact number of players he believed were required, his written instruction includes practicalities of performance and instrumental technique; he notes bars in which wind players should change instruments, the moment to damp the harp or play either *equalamente* or *bisbigliando*, the exact time at which the brass should lift their bells, or the type of sticks to be used for percussion instruments. Both Stokowski and Wood prescribe details of bowing, accents, and articulation, but Wood goes further, denoting the string to be used, the length of the bow stroke, the distance at which the bow should be placed from the bridge, or the specific fingering.

Score comparison

The presentation of the opening pages of each score demonstrates initial differences in the descriptive language and terminology used by Wood and Stokowski, and the size of their desired or required ensemble. Stokowski labels his score a 'Symphonic Transcription' and attributes himself as joint composer: Bach-Stokowski. His *Foreword* provides a context for his arrangement:

Academy of Music: J.S. Bach, *Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor: symphonic transcription published from the library of Leopold Stokowski* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1952). ⁹⁶ For further detail of Stokowski's arranging process see: Leopold Stokowski, 'The Orchestra. Orchestration', *Music for All of Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), pp. 194-213; and with specific reference to the Toccata and Fugue in D minor (BWV 565), Rollin Smith, *Stokowski and the Organ* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2004), pp. 158-70 (p. 165) and 'From Organ to Orchestra: Stokowski's Annotated Organ Score of Bach's *Toccata and Fugue in D minor' Toccata* (January, 2003), pp. 4-11. Stokowski's marked scores are held in the University of Pennsylvania and excerpts may be viewed at: <u>http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/stokowski/bach.html</u> [accessed 4 March 2014]. These contrast Wood's preparation as the organ scores in the Wood Archive are barely marked and do not show any annotations that pertain to the process of making an orchestral arrangement.

Of all the music of Bach this Toccata and Fugue is among the freest in form and expression. Bach was in the habit of improvising on the organ and harpsichord, and this Toccata probably began as an improvisation in the church of St. Thomas in Leipzig. In this lengthy, narrow, high church the thundering harmonies must have echoed long and tempestuously, for this music has a power and majesty that is cosmic. One of its main characteristics is immense freedom of rhythm, and plasticity of melodic outline. In the sequence of harmonies it is bold and pathbreaking. Its tonal architecture is irregular and asymmetric. Of all the creations of Bach this is one of the most original. Its inspiration flows unendingly. In spirit it is universal, so that it will always be contemporary and have a direct message for all men.⁹⁷

In addition to the prescribed instrumentation of 4 flutes, 2-3 oboes, English horn, 2-3 clarinets, bass clarinet, 2-3 bassoons, contrabassoon, 4-6 horns, 3 trumpets, 3-4 trombones, tuba, tympani, celesta, 2 harps, and strings, he give additional practical instructions, notes on compromises, and general instruction on free bowing:⁹⁸

NOTES

- I. Where the instrumentation required in the score is not available, the following instruments may be omitted at the discretion of the conductor : Oboe III, Clarinet III, Bassoon III, Horns V VI, and Trombone IV
- II. Where the horn parts are written in bass clef, the sound is a fourth higher, and not a fifth lower.
- III. In the score, the clarinets, bass clarinet, and trumpets are written in C (actual sounds), in the parts, in Bb.
- IV. Where there is a long slur indicating legato (see after [14] and similar places), the string players at each desk may wish to change their bows at different times in order to achieve an unbroken legato.⁹⁹

In contrast, Wood uses explicit terminology in stating that his *Organ Toccata and Fugue in D minor, for Orchestra*, is 'Orchestrated by Henry J. Wood', and rather than offering contextual information, his introductory note serves to confess his hoax:

⁹⁷ J.S. Bach, 'Preface', *Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor: symphonic transcription published from the library of Leopold Stokowski* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1952), p. i.

⁹⁸ Stokowski's insistence on free bowing echoed the orchestral practices of Lamoureux and also the Joachim-Moser Violinschule, see Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, pp. 77 and 191-197.

⁹⁹ J.S. Bach, 'Notes', Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor, p. ii.

This transcription for full orchestra of J. S. Bach's organ Toccata and Fugue in D minor was originally performed in London at the Promenade Concerts in the Queen's Hall on October 5, 1929. At this performance and the many subsequent performances in England and America, all of which, up to the date of this publication, have been given by Sir Henry Wood, the orchestration was ascribed to Paul Klenovsky, an imaginary young Russian musician whose name was in reality a pseudonym for the real transcriber, Sir Henry Wood himself.¹⁰⁰

Whereas Stokowski was flexible with regard to instrumentation, Wood identified precisely the particular instruments and the number of players that would be required: seventy string players, twenty-two woodwind players, nine brass players, two harpists, an organist, and enough players to perform nine percussion instruments, which amounts to approximately 110 musicians.¹⁰¹ A visual comparison of the first pages of each score (Appendix 4.29) reveals immediate contrasts in the interpretation of the work. The language used in the titles is again a significant aspect in the psychology of the score. Whilst the titles are consistent with the front covers, Stokowski still attributes the work to Bach-Stokowski (and published his autograph inside the cover), whilst Wood does not mention his name or pseudonym and altered the title implicitly to present a more descriptive representation of the work. Besides the greater number of parts in Wood's version (32 staves to Stokowski's 21), the contrast in the layout of the scores is also striking. Wood's version immediately gives the impression of a conventional arrangement when compared with the white spaces in place of empty bars in Stokowski's score.

Within discussion of orchestration, it is necessary to consider the organ. Wood's criticism of Stokowski's orchestral arrangements focused on the effect of the 'organ peeping out' therefore it is ironic that it is actually included in Wood's arrangement but not in Stokowski's. However, his use of the organ – as an orchestral instrument rather than as a soloist – is very precise, and restricted to four short interpolations: Figures 1, 3, 31, and 35. The first is, at three bars, the longest passage scored for the instrument, and occurs in the fourth phrase of the opening section (Appendix 4.30, bars 7-9). Wood was specific in his instruction of which stops

¹⁰⁰ J.S. Bach, 'Preface', Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor, p. i.

¹⁰¹ 4 Flutes (4th player to double Piccolo), 3 Oboes, 1 Cor Anglais, 3 Clarinets, 1 Bass Clarinet, 3 Bassoons, 1 Double Bassoon; 6 Horns, 4 Trumpets, 4 Trombones (2 Tenor, 1 Bass, 1 Contra Bass), 1 Tuba; Timpani (Pedal mechanical), Celesta, Glockenspiel (Military steel bars), Side Drum, Tenor Drum, Gong, Cymbals and Triangle, Largest Tube Bell in D [space below bottom of bass clef] [HJW annotates: Deepest Tube Bell], Organ, 2 Harps; 20 Violin I, 16 Violin II, 12 Violas, 12 Violoncellos, 10 Double Basses.

should be used: 'Great (no reeds) coupled to Full Swell for the left hand manual; and for the pedal: 32 ft. Reed & Full Ped, coupled to Great & Solo'. The dynamic is consistently *fff* throughout the passage as it doubles other instrumental lines and sustains the sound; consequently the organ creates a block and depth of sound, rather than defining articulation or reinforcing a melody. The second time the instrument is used, in bars 16-18 (Appendix 4.31), the effect is again for reinforcement as Wood uses the organ to double the bass instruments and sustain a pedal D at the required dynamic: *ffff* ('Full Pedal 32, 16, &8 ft, Coup. to Gt. and Solo Tubas'). Wood's use of the organ is not formulaic; he does not use it in all structurally corresponding moments (for example at the end of the Toccata) and it is not heard again until the end of the Fugue, where it adds to the expectation of a final chord before the interrupted cadence into the Recitative coda. The last use of the organ – in the closing cadence (Appendix 4.40) – gives a sense of finality in the full tutti ensemble.

An obvious difference of approach to orchestration can be seen through a comparison of the twelve presentations of the fugal subject:

	Bach		Stokowski		Klenovsky/Wood	
Entry	Voice	Starting Note	Fig.	Instrumentation	Fig.	Instrumentation
1	Tenor	G	16	VLA (div)	9	VLA
2	Alto	D	16	VN II (div)	9	VN II
3	Sop	А	18	VN I (div)	10	VN I
4	Bass	D	20	VC (div); DB	12	BCL; 3BN; CBN; TU; VC; DB
5	Tenor	С	21	BCL; BN	14	BN solos I&II
6	Sop	А	25	VN I+II (both div)	17	Solos FL; OB; CL; BN
7	Bass	G	28	VC; DB	21	BCL; 3BN; CBN; BTBN; 3TBN; TU; VC; DB
8	Alto	G	(28)	VN II; VLA	22	3FL; PICC; 3OB; 3CL
9	Tenor	D	30	BCL; BN I + II	23	BCL; VN I; VN II; VLA (+ simplified BRASS)
10	Alto	A	31	ENG HN; CL	26	BCL; BN; VN I; VN II; VLA; VC
11	Bass	A	32	VLA; VC; DB	27	3CL; BCL; 3BN; CBN; 6HN; 3TBN; BTBN; TU; TIMP; VLA; VC; DB
12	Alto	A		ENG HN; CL1-3; VN II; VLA	30	3TBN

Figure 4.6: Comparison of the instrumentation of fugal entries in the Toccata and Fugue in D

Stokowski and Wood both use strings for the initial entries according to their natural range. Whereas Stokowski uses a maximum of four instrument types on any single orchestration of the main theme (as a climax in the final presentation), Wood exceeds that number by the fourth presentation of the theme, supplementing the lower strings with bass clarinet, bassoons, contrabassoon, and tuba. In terms of orchestration, Wood's climactic fugal entry is the penultimate presentation, employing twelve instrumental types on the part. Although there is clarity in the overall shape of Stokowski's instrumentation, Wood's is more varied in instrumental textures and tessitura. Stokowski adheres more closely to Bach's original pitches, but Wood displaces octaves to include a wide range of instrument groups including wind ensemble (fugal presentation, No. 6), upper wind (No. 8), bass wind with upper strings (No. 10), and finally, divisi trombones (No. 12). Throughout the fugue this treatment epitomises the two approaches to orchestration: Stokowski's more literal observation of Bach's pitches in a string-focused orchestra and Wood's vertically-expanded score that gives greater independence to the wind instruments.

Textural contrast is central to both arrangements. Wood's is characterized by extreme variations in forces, which emphasizes the symphonic proportions of his orchestra. At his Figure 4, for example (Appendix 4.31, bar 18), the full symphonic forces of the chord are succeeded by solo instruments (accompanied by muted brass and *ponticello* strings), rather than Stokowski's string-focused approach. However, there are more surprising features. Appendix 4.32 compares Bach's original with Wood's arrangement; despite the attention to voice-leading in Bach's score in bar 85, in Wood's new treatment at bar 91 the parts cross so that the orchestral timbres may be maintained and a climatic full-ensemble is deployed for the presentation of the two original musical figures (the rising scale and three falling notes). It is rare that Wood deviates from the note values of Bach's notation but there are two notable exceptions where he either adds new material or changes the proportions of the notes. The first is in the development of the opening material at Figure 5 (Appendix 4.33, bar 22): to accompany the alternation of upper winds, celeste, harps and glockenspiel, with brass and strings, Wood includes a syncopated figure for celeste and harps. Although this is an uncharacteristic departure from Bach's notation, Wood's textural effect propels the music through the short section. The second example is also the most extreme: the harp glissando scales at Figure 7 (bars 28-32)

are technically supplementary notes, but create the effect of sheen over the triplet sequences, both softening, and propelling the block textures (Appendix 4.34).

Although Stokowski also plays with expectations with regard to textural effects, his more conservative retention of the strings for the main thematic material (generally at the original pitches) leaves the listener with the impression that the work could still feasibly be performed on an organ. A comparison of Wood and Stokowski in the fugal writing serves to illustrate such differing approaches. Bach's alternating arpeggiated material is first heard in the fifth presentation of the fugue and comparison of the original notation with the orchestration of the two arrangers is shown in Appendix 4.35. Wood's use of a large body of instruments at many octave doublings and emphasis of the echo effect through use of the upper wind instruments contrasts sharply with Stokowski's alternation of first and second violins with flutes and oboes (presented at the original pitches). Furthermore, in the second statement of the material (Appendix 4.36, bars 80-89), Wood takes the orchestration to a greater extreme; rather than strictly alternating between two groups of instruments, as suggested by Bach's part writing, he builds the orchestration to a tutti (minus brass) in which both groups play the complete line.

A comparison of the first nine bars of the Toccata and Fugue (Appendix 4.37) illustrates many of the conceptual differences with regard to rhetoric and harmonic pacing between Bach's original and the two arrangements.¹⁰² The improvisatory air is inherent in Bach's notation through ornaments, pause marks, and rests, and both arrangers had first-hand experience in this style as organists. In their arrangements, the differing alignment of bar lines has a direct consequence on the architecture of the phrases, and their choice of note values and articulation alters the stresses in rhythm and therefore the sense of improvisation. The placement of the pauses is the first practical issue both arrangers address. The BG edition places Bach's pauses over the rests but both Stokowski and Wood apply the pause to the preceding notes, in effect imitating the effect of a sustained organ sound in a wet acoustic. Similarly both composers choose to interpret the cut mordant as a single alteration of notes – Wood in demi-semiquavers and Stokowski as semiquavers. Wood consistently places his on the beat but Stokowski is inconsistent, leaving the second presentation of the ornament (in the wind) open to interpretation. This is

¹⁰² Though in real-time the proportions of the iconic opening phrase are similar, Wood requires nine bars rather than Stokowski's eight, and indeed Bach's two-and-a-half, to resolve the discord.

illustrative of the degree of prescription and contrasting flexibility in each arrangement.

Stokowski's is the lyrical approach; his generalized elongation of notes in this section (and throughout his arrangement) extends to the ornamentation and results in promoting the small-scale notes to melodic status. The melody therefore takes priority over harmonic rhythm; emphasis is placed on the descending scale through its position on the first beat of the new bar, replacing the resolution on the bar-line and unbalancing the two phrases. The elongation of decorative notes becomes more pronounced throughout the passage prompting a change of time signature (to 12/8) which allows time and space for the specification of the spread diminished chord, only momentarily disturbing the ear before returning to a full bar of 4/4 for the resolution. The resonant effect is that of a full organ sound emulated through tremolo multi-divided strings. In tessitura he matches Bach until the fourth phrase but his crescendo dynamics in the first and third phrases mean that the music is propelled forwards and every element of the music is brought to the fore. Inspired by Bach's intended 'freedom of rhythm and plasticity of melodic outline', ¹⁰³ Stokowski's approach to layering and elongation of lines throughout gives a sense of the orchestral colours being used like organ stops.

By comparison Wood's version is rhythmically tight and contained. The opening bars are the only section in which Wood elongates notes, and, unlike Stokowski, he does so in equal proportions. As Wood was familiar with Stokowski's version, his approach suggests a conscious change: whilst he keeps the proportions balanced, he expands the gestures vertically to include a full orchestral sound. The first difference in Wood's version is the choice of instrumentation and tessitura. His unison wind ensemble includes an extra upper octave (owing to the pitch of the piccolo), and, in maintaining the pitch, sustains the sound two octaves above Bach's original in the second phrase. This consistency of sound, at a continuous *fff* dynamic (as opposed to the echo effect implicit in Bach's score and explicit in Stokowski's arrangement) is a bold statement in colour. It is perhaps an Elgar-inspired confidence that prompts the purely orchestral, percussive colour of the timpani roll to create tension in the rest. Wood continues to build the ensemble by combining wind and strings in the third phrase which again contrasts Stokowski's narrower

¹⁰³ J.S. Bach, 'Preface', Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor, p. i.

range in his employment of lower strings at the same juncture. Additionally, Wood's proportions of the phrasing promote the opposite effect of Stokowski's in that the emphasis is not on the small notes but on the reiteration of the D minor chords.

To facilitate his harmonic pacing, Stokowski altered notes values and removed short passages. An example of the former is shown in the comparison of the approaches taken by Bach, Wood, and Stokowski to the second major cadential point in the Toccata in Appendix 4.38. Stokowski's treatment of the first chord (bar 20) mirrors his opening 12/8 diminished chord but in this instance it is a significant departure from the single chord shown on the half-bar in Bach's notation. Although the tessitura remains true to Bach's original, the two-beat chord spread over an entire bar is another deliberate shift in harmonic pacing. Although Bach implicitly avoided the four-square feel by beginning his phrase on the half bar, Stokowski establishes a definite sense of sections beginning squarely on new bars. The corresponding moment in Wood's score (bar 15) is much more akin to Bach's notation in the pacing of the notes – and subsequently the impact of the harmonic rhythm. He emphasizes the angular and abrupt interruption of the unison bass note (marked *ffff*: two dynamic levels louder than Stokowski), before the impact of the diminished chord, filled out in Wood's version with all possible minor thirds and octave doubling. In addition to elongation of note values Stokowski also removes bars from the score. This may be observed in Appendix 4.35 in which Wood remains to the original proportions whilst Stokowski cuts four bars from Bach's original in order for the sequence to begin its rising pattern from the third bar and accelerate at twice the speed to the next idea.

The close of the Toccata, a section marked 'Maestoso' by both Stokowski and Wood, is an example in which their individual artistic choices both impact upon the harmonic pacing (Appendix 4.39). Despite expanding the orchestration, Wood maintained Bach's proportions in terms of the note lengths, therefore the section retains the original harmonic pacing leading to the close. Although he changed the time signature to a deliberate 8/8 (rather than 4/4), the accelerando and ritenuto highlight flexibility within the tempo which, even with the large ensemble, would increase the sense of improvisation. By contrast, Stokowski elongated the same passage, and used eight bars as opposed to three. All note lengths are doubled, although three bars of 4/8 are inserted in the middle, and the final two bars are marked 'Largo'. As in other passages, the notation is rearranged to ensure that,

contrary to Bach's original instruction, the section begins on the first beat of the bar, rather than the half bar, and the 4/8 time signature spells-out the bass line figuration - again promoting small-scale decorative notes to a (weighty) melodic status. In all parts, except the viola section, Stokowski tied the final chord over to the full duration of the next bar, creating the resonant effect set up in the opening bars. There are instances in which Wood's notation creates the opposite effect and he goes to some length to avoid the effect of the organ 'peeping out'. For example, at his Figure 4 (Appendix 4.30, bar 18), Wood reduced the length of the diminished chord by a quaver and instructed the harps to damp their strings to clear the sound, not allowing it to ring through the proceeding flourish. However, at the equivalent point, Stokowski initially cleared the sound for the clear articulation of the flourish but then tied the notes into the Allegro, additionally elongating the first note of the Allegro to a crotchet (rather than the original semiquaver) to give emphasis to the start of the new section (Appendix 4.30, bar 20). Such moments exemplify the different approaches to orchestral arrangement: Wood's attempts to transcribe the literal notation, and Stokowski, the implied sounds of it.

The spelling of the final chord sequence is a small but indicative feature of the rhetorical effects created by the different techniques employed. In Stokowski's arrangement the spelling and voice leading of the final chord sequence is imbued with romanticism. This is largely achieved by the octave displacement of the alto 'voice', and its allocation to the upper melody instruments. As shown in Appendix 4.40, flutes, oboes, and upper strings play the final suspension and resolution of the alto line at a higher octave than the soprano line of the score. Considering Stokowski was largely faithful to Bach's voice leading throughout the fugue, the effect of this re-voicing is pronounced. Wood's treatment of the final chord sequence is again a true representation of Bach's original rhythmical proportions and voice leading, but his decision to add a bar to the end of the work with a final quaver, articulated in the percussion instruments (timpani, cymbal, side drum, tenor drum, and tubular bell) and harps is an unexpected end to the final chord.

Comparison of the total number of bars employed by Bach, Stokowski, and Wood shows the differing proportions of the work as a consequence of the alterations made in arrangement.

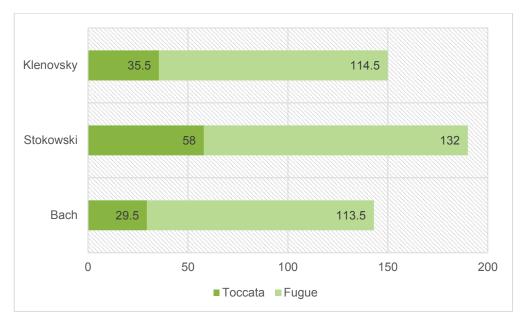


Figure 4.7: Comparison of the number of bars employed in the Toccata and Fugue in D minor by Wood (Klenovsky), Stokowski, and Bach.

Wood's proportions are most similar to Bach's, because, with the exception of an additional bar at the end, there are no alterations in the Fugue and his most extreme changes to note values are found in the Toccata. Stokowski's extension of note values and changing time signatures result in an additional forty-seven bars to the original format. Appendix 4.41 documents the comparative tempo indications and time signatures marked in Bach's original and the two orchestral arrangements. It shows the minimal tempo indications given by Bach, and the extent to which they were observed by the two arrangers. Where one arranger agrees directly with Bach's marking, the other is most often either one level up or down from the original and clarified by either a metronome mark (Stokowski) or further description (Wood). However, such variations may have a profound difference on the interpretation of the arrangement. In the opening section, for example, Stokowski instructs 'Adagio (Improvisato)' [crotchet] = c.63 whilst Wood marks 'Lento e molto maestoso'. These are two entirely different impressions, the first suggesting an improvisatory air and the essence of a prelude, and the second a slow and majestic atmosphere. Whilst many of the markings are similar, there is one example where neither arranger adopts Bach's original instruction. Bach marks 'Prestissimo' at bar 22, and whilst Stokowski marks 'Allegro' (specifying crotchet =126 rather than the previous Allegro where crotchet = 100), Wood marks the section 'sempre accel'. Although

either quick or quickening tempos, neither evoke the specific nature of Bach's tempo indication.

Wood generally adopts a literal reading of the original notation and only differentiates between 4/4 and 8/8 for specifically intricate sections of Bach's original common time, but Stokowski's more flexible reading shifts between 4/4, 4/8, 1/4, and 12/8, which has implications for emphasis, bar hierarchies and the pacing of tempos. Furthermore Stokowski gives greater specificity in tempo descriptions – offering metronome marks (qualified with 'about') for each section – demanding precise execution. Appendix 4.41 shows the extent of the tempo alterations in Stokowski's version, particularly from (his) Figure 10 in which he not only alternates tempo indications between contrasting phrases but also varies note lengths. Appendix 4.42 illustrates this passage in the score and shows the 'Allegro' flute and oboe quintuplets set against celeste and harp demi-semiquavers, and the 'Lento' in which the tempo is exaggerated by doubled note values (at least twice as long as Bach's original notes).

If considered as a response to Stokowski's arrangement, Wood's may be seen as a statement in orchestral possibilities born of his combined experience as an organist and established interpreter of Bach's orchestral music. For both, the experience of selecting stops and registration at the organ was informative in the colours of arranging, but Wood went further in exploring the organ as an orchestral instrument. From a purely instrumental perspective, Stokowski's interpretation is a depiction of an organ with the strings at the core of the orchestration, whereas Wood centres on the expanded textures of melodic fragments made possible by the large forces, particularly in the wind and brass. However, Stokowski's expansive, elongated score, with extended note values, time-signature changes, and liberties with tempos contrasts with Wood's more literal observation of Bach's proportional notation and harmonic pacing.

Recording comparison

Both Stokowski and Wood made recordings of their orchestral arrangements and each may be perceived as a practical realization of the written text (CD 4, tracks 15 and 16).¹⁰⁴ The most significant difference between the two as recording artists of BWV 565 is the number of recordings they made of the work. That Wood recorded this work at all is noteworthy as it constitutes one of just eight works by Bach in his discography (Appendix 4.43). In addition to the previously discussed Brandenburg Concertos (Nos. 3 and 6) and Concerto for Keyboard in D minor (BWV 1052), Wood's recordings of the five orchestral arrangements represent either his own published arrangements or those that were the most popular at the Proms (with the notable exception of his Toccata in F). The Toccata and Fugue in D minor, recorded a year after the revelation of his pseudonym, had been so successful in live performances that recording the work could be seen as an opportunity to introduce a wider audience to Bach, in addition to capturing his own interpretation. By contrast, Stokowski recorded his version of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor no fewer than thirteen times (Appendix 4.44).¹⁰⁵ These recordings must be viewed in the context of Stokowski's approach to the recording process. A lifelong fascination with the technicalities and development of recorded sound prompted many repeat performances for both musical and technological reasons. However, he too had the ultimate goal of popularizing Bach to a wider audience, which reached a climax in his collaboration with Walt Disney. Having persuaded Disney that the Toccata and Fugue would be the ideal opening work for the 1940 film Fantasia, Stokowski's name became synonymous with the repertoire. The ground-breaking production in music and film illustrated the work in a manner that reflected Stokowski's approach to arrangement.¹⁰⁶

Wood did not perform Stokowski's Bach orchestral arrangements at the Proms, and the two men are not known to have met. Although it is not clear whether

¹⁰⁴ J.S. Bach (arr. by Paul Klenovsky), *Toccata and Fugue in D minor*, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, conducted by Henry J. Wood, Decca K.768 [mx. TA 1781/2], reissued on Beulah 2PD3 (*Wood's Eroica (& works by Bach))* (1935) and J.S. Bach (arr. L. Stokowski for orchestra), *Toccata and Fugue in D minor*, *BWV 565* Philadelphia Orchestra, conducted by Leopold Stokowski CVE 37468/9, reissued on Naxos 8.111297 (1927).

¹⁰⁵ For further information on Stokowski's approach to recording see Stokowski, *Music for All of Us,* pp. 221-9, 236-40, and 252-61.

¹⁰⁶ See Walt Disney, et al. *Fantasia* (film) (Hollywood, CA: Walt Disney Studios 1941), and for more detail, Mark Clague, 'Playing in 'Toon: Walt Disney's "Fantasia" (1940) and the Imagineering of Classical Music', *American Music*, 20:1 (Spring, 2004), 91-109 (esp. p. 96).

or not Wood saw *Fantasia*, Jacobs highlights a puzzling, undated and unpublished letter (c1941-2) in which Wood references the film:

I was surprised to find that my Bach "Toccata and Fugue" is done as a purely orchestral piece and wonderfully directed by Leopold Stokowsky [*sic*]. It is a very great gesture on his part, as of course you know that he has orchestrated this same work himself – and to give my version seems to me an extraordinary decision.¹⁰⁷

Jacobs presents the episode to his readers as 'an enigma' and indeed it is odd for a number of reasons.¹⁰⁸ First, Stokowski used his own arrangement, not Wood's. At the time of writing Wood was living with Jessie Linton,¹⁰⁹ and as her attention to his letters and activities in life were meticulous, it very unusual that such a mistake should have passed her notice. Jacobs concludes: 'Plainly, Wood never saw the film and must have been relying on the (mistaken) word of someone else',¹¹⁰ but is interesting that Pound and Cox also add to the potential confusion, the latter stating: 'Stokowski, in the film *Fantasia*, used it [*Wood's arrangement*] in preference to his *own* transcription.'¹¹¹

Although a useful measure of realizing intentions, the recordings are limited by the near-impossible task of identifying a definitive score that was used in their genesis. The number of Stokowski's recordings may more usefully show a development in his reading of the work, but only those commercially available during Wood's lifetime are relevant to the formation of Wood's interpretation. There is no evidence to suggest that Wood owned a score of Stokowski's arrangement; the 1927 recording with the Philadelphia Orchestra will be referenced below as it was the only interpretation he could have heard that may have influenced his own arrangement. For the purpose of understanding Wood's approach it is valuable to consider the extent to which his major criticism of the organ 'peeping out' is audible in this recording. Stokowski's arrangement is dominated by the organ sound; Wood's use of the word 'peeping' in his description appears accurate in light of the extent to which it infuses the textures, but finding an alternative sound was not

¹⁰⁷ Letter to the publisher Hubert Foss, in Jacobs, p. 356.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Jessie Linton nee Goldsack, the woman he would have married but for Muriel Wood's refusal to grant him a divorce. Jessie changed her name by deed pole to Lady Jessie Wood and they lived as man and wife for the last nine years of his life. She had been his secretary and continued to administer all the practical aspects of Wood's diary. See Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 270 and 279. ¹¹⁰ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 356.

¹¹¹ Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms*, p. 102 and Pound, *Sir Henry Wood: a biography*, p. 185.

Stokowski's priority. Conversely he sought to capture the characteristics of the organ through an orchestral evocation of the 'habit of improvising', an imitation of the 'thundering harmonies' and long and tempestuous echoes, and the 'immense freedom of rhythm, and plasticity of melodic outline' afforded to the organist who has all the lines of the composition under his direction.¹¹² The recording exposes a number of ways in which he achieved this, elements which Wood subsequently avoided or reduced. First, the music retains a sense of being playable on the organ, primarily owing to the string basis of the orchestration, with minimal octave doubling. Where significant contrasts in orchestration occur, they do so sequentially rather than simultaneously, in the manner of changing stops, registers, or keyboard manuals. Polarized tessituras evoke the difference between the highest keyboard and the pedals and where instruments are combined in climax, they are employed homophonically by family, rather than in complex combinations of ideas, thus the organ-like sound is entirely plausible. The chosen instrumentation for introduction of thematic material also proves aurally significant; the articulation of the strings, and combinations such as the oboe and clarinet entry following the opening sequence, actively imitate the organ touch. Finally, the orchestration also preserves the clarity of part writing and the linear sense of the fugal lines, as opposed to fragmentation across varied instruments. This is an effect that is particularly evident in the recording and belies moments in the score where the opposite is visually apparent. However, score-based instructions such as tying notes from one section to another are audible and effective in the depiction of resonance and echoes.

Hearing Wood's recording in this context affords a greater understanding of the decisions he made in orchestration. There are seven scores of Wood's Toccata and Fugue in the Wood Archive, but only one is marked-up for performance (Appendix 4.1). Examination of the marked score in conjunction with the recording allows assessment of the extent to which Wood adheres to his own published, and hand-written instructions. This idea of 'fidelity' to his own score gives greater credence to the notion that the carefully-considered written instructions across his collection are indicative of his sound-world. Although the published articulation markings are carefully observed throughout, the detail is sometimes lost in effect owing to the number of instruments employed. Elements that were identified in the score-reading, such as the distinction between Stokowski's gradual crescendo to a

¹¹² J.S. Bach, 'Preface', Bach-Stokowski Toccata and fugue in D minor, p. i.

climax throughout the fugue and Wood's early climax in the fourth presentation of the fugue which then is held until the close, are also realized. The score markings, verified through Wood's handwriting in blue and lead pencil, confirm various priorities in the delivery of his interpretation. First, the most prominent marking is that of numerical prompts in beating time. They are evident not only in changing tempo descriptions and time-signature changes, but also in the subdivision of beats and passages prone to losing time. They typify the manner in which any flexibility in Wood's recording is closely managed, and with such enlarged forces, he was required to direct with utmost clarity in order to maintain the ensemble. In the same manner, Wood highlighted specific instruments which he wished to penetrate the texture, an audible effect that is crucial to the success of his thickly-scored arrangement. There are no additional dynamic markings made on the score in addition to those Wood published. However, many are emphasized in his markings and whether the interpretation or the technology is accountable, the recording still does not reflect the extremes Wood sought in the score. Finally, adjustments made to the score, including deletion of rests, corrected notes, and qualification of performance directions e.g. 'lightly' are audible on the recording, highlighting the reliability of score-based markings.

This could have been the end of the study, but in 2010 another score of the Bach-Klenovsky Toccata and Fugue in D minor came into my possession.¹¹³ The copy is marked up in a number of different coloured inks, blue pencil, and lead pencil and is dated 1940 by Wood – making it his last prepared score of this work. Furthermore the cover is marked with the instruction 'Direct from This'. The markings initially do not differ greatly from the earlier version: blue pencil is used to mark and emphasize performance directions, including the number and alignment of beats, dynamics and textural features. There is an increase in the number of markings pre-empting what happens on the following page – but these are prompts for an older conductor. However, the ink markings are of greater significance and relate to the recording. Throughout the Wood Archive, ink markings denote observations he made on reading a work, rather than preparation for performance. Many contained in this score simply highlight specific instruments, articulations, and dynamic levels, e.g. *Tutti p*, but others circle specific notes or comment on the need for more accents or a tighter ensemble. Such annotations are not found in the

¹¹³ I am grateful to the generosity of Dr Timothy Bowers for this extraordinary gift.

earlier copy and suggest a process in which Wood made alterations on the basis of hearing the recording. In *About Conducting* he admitted that 'he found gramophone recordings 'extremely helpful in checking points I may have criticized from the nearness of the rostrum if I have been unable to hear a work from the auditorium.'¹¹⁴ This score proves the task worthwhile as he also notes missing or ineffective entries, for example commenting 'lost, stupid + hopeless' on the celeste part at a moment in which it is not audible on the recording. The ink markings suggest a development in Wood's scores in which he reviewed and re-assessed his performance on the basis of the recording, and subsequently created a refreshed score from which to direct future performances.

¹¹⁴ Wood, About Conducting, pp. 77-78.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Epilogue

The previous chapters have highlighted how Wood's activity as programmer, lecturer, conductor, arranger, and publisher accelerated the dissemination and appreciation of Bach's orchestral works in the first half of the twentieth century. Prior to the Proms Bach was 'best known to the general public through his organ works',¹ and his orchestral repertoire was not recognized as mainstream concertfare:

It was hardly known that the pianoforte (or rather harpsichord) concertos and violin concertos of Bach's existed; while the Overtures (Suites) were very rarely played, and only curiosities; the Brandenburg Concertos not at all.²

Wood's initial fascination with Bach was nurtured through performing organ repertoire, participating in chamber evenings at home, and his student experiences at the Royal Academy of Music. His desire to study the life of the composer was evident through books he owned, and particularly in the outline of his 1901 lecture for Nottingham University. At the end of his life, Wood provided an explanation for his focus on Bach:

In my young days I heard really musical people say "Bach is just a sewing machine," and so I set about reading all I could lay hands on regarding his life and his voluminous output. I found that when I played Bach to a metronome, it was undoubtedly mechanical; but having studied Bach's life, I knew that he was of an emotional character in which no mechanical routine could have existed, and I came to the only logical conclusion that he played and jotted down his thoughts as they came, and as with other manuscripts of that period, added no expression or other marks. All expression was obviously self-imposed expression when seated at his organ, his clavichord or harpsichord. I am sure he varied his expression in any given piece according to his mood, for no man was ever a greater experimenter than Bach himself.³

The Proms provided the ideal platform for integrating the orchestral repertoire into mainstream concert programmes and through them Wood was able to educate a broad public audience – as shown by the summary in Appendix 5.1. The conclusion made by a commentator in 1931, that 'Bach is now liked and responded to

¹ Anon, 'On popularizing Bach', MS, 7.180 (12 June, 1897), p. 381.

² Henry Davey, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', MH, 873 (1 December, 1920), p. 535.

³ Wood, About Conducting, p. 29.

instinctively and that is the miracle which will characterise the musical history of these times',⁴ was testament to Wood's achievement.

Analysis of Proms programmes confirms that Wood's advocacy of Bach began with introducing orchestral arrangements, prior to solo concertos, and finally to the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites. These latter two ultimately dominated the programming and prompted commentators such as Westrup to conclude that 'Sir Henry Wood at the "Proms" has familiarised hundreds of musiclovers [to the music of Bach] with the concertos and suites.'⁵ Although Wood's choice of Brandenburg 2 as the first of the set to be performed to Prom audiences was surprising given the challenges of ensemble balance, the appeal of the concertos spread quickly. The initial performance of Brandenburg 3 in 1904 was particularly well-received; as Davey recounted:

[When] the third Brandenburg Concerto was introduced at the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts I happened to be present and shall never forget the scene. The crowded audience was widely enthusiastic and simply refused to let the concert proceed till the piece was repeated; after several efforts, the conductor yielded, and when the players were seen to be replacing the copies on their desks, a shout went up such as used to be heard at a Ballad Concert when Sims Reeves at last conceded an encore. Afterwards all the other Brandenburg Concertos and Overture-Suites were introduced and are regularly heard; and Sir H. J. Wood has manufactured new suites out of Bach's other works.⁶

Overall, audiences were challenged in their perception of Bach because Wood introduced the composer as a writer of popular, melodic works. That Wood took a varied and inventive approach to programming was clear from his use of numerical or key associations, and promotion of the less-familiar concertos or suites in the sets. This was particularly the case with Orchestral Suite No. 4. Prior to Wood's introduction of the work at the Proms in 1906 it was not included in the repertoire of conductors such as Richter, Bülow, Nikisch, Weingartner, or Furtwängler; it was not performed by the Philharmonic Society nor the Bach choir; and it does not appear in the archives of the New York Philharmonic or Symphony Orchestras (who performed the remaining Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos

⁴ Anon, 'Experiences of the Month: The Popularity of Bach', BMMN, 7:70 (October, 1931), p. 223.

⁵ Westrup, British Music, p. 22. See the Introduction, p. 2, for Westrup's full comment.

⁶ Davey, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', p. 535.

extensively).⁷ Wood performed it 12 times at the Proms, which (whilst being eclipsed by the 30 Prom performances of the Third Suite) meant that the Fourth Suite was well-known to the London public. It was subsequently included in Adolf Busch's first complete recording of the four Orchestral Suites in 1935, but in 1949 Otto Klemperer stated on Budapest Radio that, on the Continent, whilst the 'Third Suite is very popular, the Fourth is as good as unknown'.⁸ Wood's programming of the Fourth Suite was additionally highlighted by his creation of Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6, and serves to demonstrate that his Bach orchestral repertoire extended beyond that of other conductors in both number of performances and breadth of works.⁹

Although the Proms were subject to significant social, political, and financial changes throughout Wood's lifetime, his endorsement of Bach remained consistent. The statistics of performances given between 1914-18 and 1939-45 confirm that the popularity of Bach's orchestral repertoire was not affected by war-time conditions. When international travel restricted the availability of soloists, the Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos flourished, and their regular programming cemented the lasting impression of the Bach Proms sound. Appendix 5.1 highlights the years in which there was a shift in the night on which Bach was programmed. From the initial inclusion of Bach's music on any night of the week, it was then placed on a Friday alongside Classical repertoire in 1909, and subsequently on alternate Wednesdays in all-Bach Proms from 1925. When the BBC assumed management of the Proms in 1927, Bach was fully recognized as a first-rate composer. The new regime afforded increased rehearsal time in addition to promoting new, more intricate, Bach orchestral arrangements. Throughout these years, the core repertoire of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites was maintained in annual cycles, establishing Bach as a cornerstone of the Proms. Although Wood's monopoly over Bach interpretation at the Proms was challenged in the 1940s, owing to the war-time use of multiple orchestras and the need for assistant conductors,

⁷ Search of the NY Philharmonic archives for Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites <u>http://nyphil.org/history/performance-history</u> [accessed 20 March 2013].

⁸ Klemperer addressed the characteristics of Suites Nos. 3 and 4 on Budapest Radio, 17 April 1949 in *Klemperer on Music: Shavings from a Musician's Workbench*, ed. by Martin Anderson, (London: Toccata Press, 1986), p. 95.

⁹ Despite being included in the first BG edition, this Suite was also overlooked by editors and Wood's copy confirms the lack of editorial preparation for individual publication in 1898 (Appendix 3.1).

increased broadcasting helped to create a wider audience for his continuing promotion of the composer in his last years.

Analysis of the soloists used by Wood clarifies a distinction he made between solo concertos and the ensemble Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites. Wood established a practice of employing external violinists for solo concertos and the leader of the orchestra for Brandenburg Concertos – to emphasize the orchestral nature of the works. All wind soloists were taken from the ranks of the orchestra and thus the orchestral Bach repertoire became known for showcasing familiar performers in solo roles. The consistency of soloists at the Proms created Bach specialists across all instruments, but particularly through the engagement of specific pianists in Brandenburg 5. Three categories can be identified in the popularization of the repertoire: pianists such as Lily Henkel and Joan Davies who introduced Brandenburg 5, but for whom it was their only concerto experience; celebrated names such as Benno Moisewitsch and Myra Hess who attracted a new audience to the repertoire; and emerging Bach specialists such as Harold Samuel, James Ching, and Harriet Cohen who promoted Bach across the Proms.

In relation to Wood as a Bach conductor and arranger, three clear activities of preparation, performance, and publication emerge. Lady Jessie Wood's advocacy of the study of Wood's marked-up scores and parts is justified by the wealth of performance directions contained therein. Layers of annotations, the result of annual performances, were prompted by Wood's desire for precision despite the limited rehearsal time, and give a vivid impression of his interpretations. Wood's carefullymanaged approach is manifest in the scores through varied dynamic markings and specifically highlighted textures:

No string player with any real sense of feeling and nuance can play, say for instance, a Bach phrase of eight bars with a level p of level f tone without inflexion (except for a special purpose) and never an entire movement, quick or slow! It is this dry, dull kind of performance that has estranged the great John Sebastian from a vast body of musical amateurs. It is ridiculous to suppose that Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Schumann, Schubert, Wagner, and the moderns should all be subjected to this four-square outlook.¹⁰

¹⁰ Wood, About Conducting, p. 104.

The scores also indicate Wood's performing practices such as unified bowing and the reduction of string players for solo passages. His interest and flexible approach to the latter is indicative of his priorities in balancing the ensemble for Bach orchestral repertoire, and was particularly pronounced in the Brandenburg Concertos. Many recognized Wood's sensitivity in the accompaniment of soloists, a skill Rosa Newmarch attributed to his background accompanying singers,¹¹ and his tailoring of the reduced ensemble was a direct response to performing conditions in a large concert hall.

Wood's use of specific editions was central to his preparation for performances. Whereas the BG edition formed the basis of Wood's interpretations of the Brandenburg Concertos and supplementary performing editions were consulted for challenges such as the instrumentation of No. 2, the opposite was true for the Orchestral Suites. Editions prepared by Weingartner, Mendelssohn, David, and Bülow offered solutions to the inherent problems in performing the original versions on modern instruments. The discussion of Brandenburg 2 confirmed that Wood's choice of edition, whether the BG edition or Mottl's edition, had a considerable effect on the instrumentation, balance, and detail of the work. Furthermore, examination of his copy of Bülow's Suite No. 2 revealed the extent to which he adopted suggestions in the reallocation of parts but then referred to the BG edition for cuts or inaccuracies in transcription. The introduction to this thesis cited Jacobs' assertion that 'a distinction should nevertheless be made between Wood the modernizer, adding to the baroque orchestra what was not already in it, and Wood the transcriber for orchestra of works originally written for a keyboard instrument.¹² Whilst this was useful in separating discussion of his approach to the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites from the orchestral arrangements, the distinction between the editing and arranging process is not always clear. The editorial changes made by Mottl or Bülow were extreme enough (at times) to warrant the description of arrangement.

Wood's orchestral arrangements, when viewed as an extension of the performing editions, prove instructive in understanding the context of his

¹¹ Newmarch, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 38.

¹² Jacobs, p. 231.

presentation of the original works. Criticism of his Sixth Orchestral Suite suggested Wood's intentions:

He seems to have started, probably in early youth, with the conviction that however great a composer Bach may have been, he did not know how to make his music sound right, and that it must be his, Henry J. Wood's, mission to make it sound different in the hope of making it sound better.¹³

Whilst Wood never confessed to such motivation, his reaction against allegations of 'sewing machine' performances did suggest that some degree of amplification was necessary:

Can you tell me that a man such as he, the father of twenty-one children, with many hundreds of compositions to his credit, always picking quarrels with the managements for having too few strings in his orchestra, a modern of the moderns of his time, was a man who merely jotted down notes on paper to be played as a "sewing machine"? Never!¹⁴

Although Wood's preparation of the Toccata in F may be seen as a response to Esser's more conservative arrangement, the wider orchestral palette accentuated the inner workings of music – emphasizing the extremes of register and dynamics, and directing the ears of the listener to the textural aspects of the composition through more obvious orchestral sounds. Wood's amplified score played upon the appeal of symphonic proportions. It proved an ideal vehicle for introducing Prom audiences to Bach – equally dispelling the sense of the organ-centric composer. This development of Bach arrangements as a genre is carried much further in Wood's Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6. Rather than modernizing and expanding an existing score, they illustrate Wood's innovations. Though re-titled to fit the purpose, No. 5 conformed to the nineteenth-century historical model for a Bach suite rather than Bach's original Orchestral Suites. Like the Toccata in F it remained unpublished in Wood's lifetime (whether becuase it was deemed unfashionable or superseded by No. 6), despite the innovation of including wind instruments in the middle movement. However, the instrumentation and approach to orchestration in the sixth Orchestral Suite was unprecedented. Wood's arrangements, a combination of his personal response to Bach's music and a desire to popularize what he perceived to

¹³ Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach-Wood', *The Times*, 22 August, 1940, p. 6.

¹⁴ Wood, About Conducting, p. 29.

be the little-known organ and violin repertoire, resulted in orchestral colours and effects that developed the ideas of Raff and foreshadowed those of Elgar and Respighi. Finally, Wood's preparation of the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor proved to be the height of his work in Bach orchestral arrangements and, rather than pioneering new sounds, can be seen as an alternative reading to Stokowski's version. Presented under the artistic security of a pseudonym, Wood's orchestral interpretation represented his ideals and priorities in an amplified reading of Bach's implied textures and colours.

Although Wood's painstaking approach to detail was a consistent feature, critics such as Sydney Grew highlighted the disadvantages of this approach:

His meticulous care for detail enters into his performances, and there it cannot be denied that the result is sometimes unsatisfactory. For at times the 'whole' is obscured by the 'parts' [...] In this respect the art of Henry Wood is not the greatest art [...] Wood knows nothing of the reckless energy which permits Bach to jostle note against note in the superb impetuosity of his general movement. His careful calculation of detail also at times makes his programmes unsatisfactory, these occasionally having a detached and scrappy effect.¹⁵

However, Grew admits that such details were 'the defects of virtue', and conceded that rather than robbing 'his art of vitality', were 'nothing when considered in the light of his life's work'.¹⁶

Robert Philip suggests that historical figures such as Wood and his contemporaries were 'not just clever people looking around for good ideas', nor did they 'spend their time wondering what style they should play in'; rather 'they were people of musical breadth, insight and patience, to whom the music and their way of playing it "belonged".¹⁷ His assertion that 'nothing much is achieved without mature reflection and development' could not be a better maxim for Wood's development of a Bach style in his performances.¹⁸ At the outset of the Proms Wood had a limited tradition of Bach performance upon which to draw. In a pre-recording age he attended relatively few performances (Steinbach in Meiningen, Mottl in Germany, and possibly Richter in London); instead he studied the music, understood the context, interpreted time signatures, and paid attention to the spirit of the dance

¹⁵ Sydney Grew, 'Sir Henry Wood's Jubilee', MH, 863 (1 February, 1920), p. 55.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, p. 252.

¹⁸ Ibid.

forms. That Wood's interpretations of Bach are livelier than those of his contemporaries is testament to his enthusiasm for the music; but whether live or recorded, Wood was generally bound by the forces available to him. Wood's 1901 lecture, with Dolmetsch's one-to-a part performance of the Concerto in D Minor for Keyboard (BWV 1052), confirmed his awareness of performances with smaller forces, but the Prom scenario called for a different approach:

The difference between a modern concert performance before a large audience in a large hall and an *historical* performance in a small hall with instruments all constructed as in Bach's time, is a problem I have solved to my satisfaction, and to that of a vast concourse of Bach lovers.¹⁹

In 1930, *The Times* announced that 'Promenade Concert Bach is irresistible', categorizing Wood's performances in the context of the Queen's Hall. Although favourable general reviews abound, citing the contribution of individual performers, accounts of specific performances are often critical of the large number of players engaged, Wood's adaptation or arrangement of the music, the balance of soloists, weight of accents, and choice of tempos.

Whilst descriptions of Wood's performances may have been coloured by individual critics' propensities, and annotations on Wood's scores only show intended effects, Wood's recordings of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 3 and 6 reveal his approach explicitly. His focus on the string-only Brandenburg concertos obviated the challenges of balancing the recorded sound of wind and brass in this repertoire – and resulted in the first commercially recorded complete version of No. 6. Both recordings stand out amongst contemporary recorded interpretations (Goossens, Furtwängler, Melichar, Cortot, Busch, and Schmitt) in terms of the range of orchestral colour and choice of tempo. Critical opinion of Wood's tempos is divided between those who considered the recorded performances so brisk that they were rushed, to accounts of gargantuan, pedestrian live performances that suffered from 'elephantitis'.²⁰ However, the recorded sources confirm that Wood's recorded tempos were considerably faster than all his contemporaries despite using a large orchestra. Whilst promoting some tempo flexibility, momentum was not sacrificed for gratuitous rallentandos, and both recordings establish internal rhythm and

¹⁹ Wood, About Conducting, p. 29.

²⁰ Anon, 'Furtwängler. The Early Recordings', Gramophone, April, 1932, p. 10 and Anon,

^{&#}x27;Promenade Concert: Sir H. Wood's Treatment of Bach', The Times, 14 August, 1930, p. 8.

promote dynamic effects to vary the approach to cadences. These exuberant and detailed readings suggest that the British Symphony Orchestra performed in the style Wood had previously established and refined with the Queen's Hall Orchestra. They do not chime with accounts of workman-like standards, poor balance or under-rehearsed performances:

For getting an orchestra through a concert with little or no rehearsal he [Wood] was undoubtedly second to none. But by the 1930s, Boult with his BBC Orchestra and Beecham with his London Philharmonic Orchestra were establishing new standards, and visits from Furtwängler with the Berlin Philharmonic in 1927 and Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic in 1930 had encouraged an appetite for greater sophistication.²¹

However, the 1942 BBC Symphony Orchestra rehearsal excerpt makes sense of Philip's observation and the pedestrian, heavy approach of the first movement is the antithesis of the lively playing on the earlier recordings.

The recordings confirm Wood's general adherence to score markings – and therefore the potential reliability of other written instructions as an indicator of performance decisions. Although Wood's B&H edition of Brandenburg 3 contains information that is pertinent to the recording, it does not correspond exactly to the recorded interpretation – due in part to the fact that it was used for succeeding performances. However, viewed together, the recording and score highlight Wood's priorities in the emphasis of thematic features, harmonic rhythm, and textural effects. For example, his attention to the proportions of the ensemble is manifest in the audible balance of the 1932 recording and his spoken discussion of the work in the middle of the 1942 rehearsal extract. With regard to the 'middle movement' Adagio, both recordings (1932 and 1942) show fidelity to the original by their inclusion of the two chord 'movement' but also reflect his written instructions creating an unprecedented atmosphere owing to the reduced ensemble, lack of relative tempo, and use of the most extreme pianissimo dynamic level in the work.

Performances of orchestral arrangements such as Bachrich's Gavotte in E, Wilhelmj's *Air on a G String*, and both Esser's and Wood's Toccata in F had initially drawn in new audiences for Bach and prompted responses such as: 'that's how I like to have Bach – played so that I can understand something going on in the

²¹ Philip, p. 68, and pp. 68-71 for further context.

music', and 'no wonder he makes Bach popular at the Proms'.²² However, the negative value judgements that followed are common to any discussion of the concept of arrangements, as Ellingson concludes: 'the arrangement will often earn the musician's disapproval, and even his or her resentment.'²³ Reviews of the 1925 recording of Orchestral Suite No. 6 marked a turning point in the hitherto positive audience reception. Sydney Grew led the discussion, initially praising the 'clear and sharp' scoring of the Suite and 'exceptionally fine' playing, but noting that the Suite would prove 'too virile, buoyant, and strong for many people'.²⁴ He questioned not only the merit of re-contextualising relatively familiar works, but whether Wood's arrangements were still necessary as an introduction to Bach now that the Brandenburg Concertos had been accepted as mainstream repertoire:

Here again is a work which is not likely to convert amateurs who do not love a classical master into even a liking for him, and it is almost certain that records of say, the Brandenburg Concertos, will give a greater steadier musical pleasure.²⁵

History proved Grew to be correct; Wood's recordings of the Brandenburg Concertos are still commercially available whilst the recording of Orchestral Suite No. 6 is only held in a private collection.

Wood's conviction that criticism of his orchestral arrangements – 'they sound curiously unlike Bach' and turn 'Bach into a bacchanal'²⁶ – constituted prejudice against the work of an Englishman, led to his subsequent presentation of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor under a foreign-sounding pseudonym, Paul Klenovsky. His suspicions were proved correct in that the success of live performances – and the post-'confession' 1935 recording – showed an ongoing enthusiasm for Wood's reading of Bach. The process of recording became of greater importance to Wood in the later performances of this work and revisions to performance directions in his final score were made as a result of listening to his interpretation – reinforced by his admission that 'what looks well on paper does not always *sound* so well'.²⁷ However, no second recording was made for comparison.

²² Sydney Grew, 'Columbia; Wood in Bach', *BMMN*, 9.93 (September, 1933), p. 212.

²³ Ter Ellingson, 'Transcription (i)', *Grove Music Online*, (Oxford University Press)

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28268 [accessed 20 November, 2013].

²⁴ Sydney Grew, 'Columbia', *BMMN*, 6.51 (April, 1930), p. 112.

²⁵ Sydney Grew, 'The Gramophone', *The Midland Musician*, 1.5 (May, 1926), 213-8 (p. 213).

²⁶ Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach-Wood', *The Times*, 22 August, 1940, p. 6.

²⁷ Wood, My Life of Music, p. 152.

As Jacobs highlighted, whilst Wood shared 'a zeal for exploiting the orchestral palette' with Stokowski, 'he did not share Stokowski's interest in the techniques of recording'; consequently *My Life of Music* is 'barren of any evocation of the recording studio'.²⁸ Stokowski's response to criticism of the 'sensationalism, stylistic distortion, and melodramatic bombast' in his Bach orchestral arrangements was: 'they are *my* orchestrations. Bach's original versions remain intact.'²⁹ However, critics questioned whether or not the same could be said for Wood:

But the bacchanalian spirit is not confined to works labelled Bach-Wood. It enters into Sir Henry Wood's treatment of Concertos in which the composer's instrumentation is preserved.³⁰

Although the orchestral arrangements such as Orchestral Suite No. 6 and the Toccata and Fugue in D minor were products of a desire to introduce Bach to new audiences, they were outmoded by the original versions of the works. Wood's use of performing editions for the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites promoted a Bach sound that was infused by such arrangements but his ultimate reversion to the B&H editions proved his fidelity to the original instrumentation. The result of Wood's popularization of Bach was that what he did at the Proms carried 'a wider authority than any amount of verbal explanation' in his mission to educate new audiences.³¹ However, this 1932 *Times* critic astutely observed that Wood's task was not to be 'in line with any existing tradition of Bach interpretation, but to create a sound one for the future'.³² Whilst it is arguable whether or not Wood achieved this in his lifetime, his performances prompted change – in both knowledge of the repertoire and how succeeding performers would respond to his interpretations.

Although Wood's publication of orchestral Bach was limited to Orchestral Suite No. 6, the Toccata and Fugue in D minor, and Brandenburg Concerto No. 3, it is indicative of the priorities held later in his career. The preface to Wood's own Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 (supported by manuscript drafts in the Wood Archive) suggested that he intended to complete a full set of new editions for Boosey and Hawkes, but it was a project that was not completed in his lifetime (or subsequently

²⁸ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 412.

²⁹ Chasins, pp. 268-9.

³⁰ Anon, 'Promenade Concerts: Bach-Wood', *The Times*, 22 August, 1940, p. 6.

³¹ Anon, 'Bach at the Promenades: Some points at issue', *The Times*, 13 August, 1932, p. 6. ³² Ibid.

by this publisher). In his final educative aim – making the concertos accessible for both professional and amateur orchestras - he addressed the problems with balance when using modern instruments and gave precise instructions with regard to phrasing, dynamics, and articulation. However, the published score shows Wood's standardization of articulation and removal of the more capricious aspects that singled out his earlier interpretations amongst contemporary recordings. The manuscripts related to this project reveal different stages of completion. The leastcomplete of the sources, Brandenburg 1, shows basic notation in the hand of a copyist and only a few pages of detailed annotations by Wood. More significantly, the reduction of the work to three movements, to align with the structure of the others in the set, illustrates Wood's ethos of 'smoothing out difficulties of performance' in the removal of the less accessible dances.³³ By contrast, the 1943 manuscript of No. 5 was entirely in Wood's hand, and whilst also containing incomplete interpretative directions, demonstrates the influence of other scores in his collection on his approach to orchestral balance. Both Wood's and Paul Beard's manuscripts of Brandenburg 6 confirm that collaboration was necessary in Wood's final years when ill health and time constraints were most pertinent. The level of string-specific detail included by Beard prompts the question of his involvement in the creation of Brandenburg 3, but the lack of a surviving manuscript neither confirms nor disproves this.

The order in which Wood prepared the concertos for his complete set of Brandenburg Concerto editions emerges through the dates of the manuscripts: his published No. 3, the easiest and most accessible from the perspective of instrumentation and balance, was to be followed by the popular No. 5, and Wood's personal favourite: No. 6. No. 1 was given some considerable thought and initial preparation, but unfortunately no manuscripts survive for the most problematic concerto, No. 2, or for No. 4. The number of incomplete manuscripts most likely prompted Wood's complaint that he never had sufficient time on his own and that Bach was the focus of any possible study.³⁴ Appendix 5.2 highlights this theory: although Handel features regularly in manuscripts prepared during this period, Bach is the dominant composer when Brandenburg 1 is included. Furthermore, as shown

³³ Preface to Johann Sebastian Bach, *Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major*, ed. by Henry J. Wood (New York: Boosey & Hawkes, 1944).

³⁴ Jessie Wood, p. 70.

in Appendix 5.3, Wood only published two works in the 1940s, one of which was Brandenburg 3. Although Appendix 5.3 shows the publication of Wood's orchestral arrangements (Orchestral Suite No. 6 and the Toccata and Fugue in D minor) in his published output, more surprisingly, Appendix 5.2 discloses the presence of a Fantasia and Fugue in G minor transcribed for full orchestra – which has been previously absent from literature and catalogues of Wood's arrangements.³⁵ To understand its place in the last years of Wood's life, Wood's words on the 1934 revelation of his pseudonym Paul Klenovsky and publication of the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor may be significant. In the preface to the published score, Wood had declared that 'for the future all my scoring will be announced as by Paul Klenovsky'.³⁶ That Wood did not capitalise on Klenovsky's success between the 1929 premiere of the Toccata and Fugue and the 1934 revelation remains a moot point, and until the recent cataloguing of the Wood Archive there was no evidence that he even entertained evoking the name of Klenovsky again. However, the title on the manuscript score of the Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor [GB-Lam 152388-1001] reads: Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, Transcribed for Full Orchestra; Bach-Klenovsky (Henry J. Wood) 1941 (Appendix 5.4). The manuscript contains only the first 44 bars, the last four of which are incomplete (Appendix 5.5), and reveals both Wood's approach to working (arranging from bar-to-bar rather than sketching out the whole outline of the work), and that this latest arrangement was to be on a typically grand scale. The orchestration is intricate and detailed, with much fragmentation of the lines and contrasts in effect (Appendix 5.6), and shows further development of his perception of colour in Bach's writing. There is no clear explanation as to why the work is incomplete but one might speculate that the opportunity to edit and publish a complete set of the Brandenburg concertos took priority. As the manuscript copies of Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 5 and 6 were dated 1943, the manuscript for Brandenburg 3 must have been prepared the year before, 1942, which shows that it potentially usurped his 1941 work on the Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor. Such a timetable goes some way to explaining why, despite claiming that 'what time I had for myself I gave to the study of Bach',³⁷ Wood was frustrated by never having enough time to work on such projects.

³⁵ For example, the appendices in Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 434.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 232.

³⁷ Jessie Wood, p. 70.

Epilogue

Wood's promotion of Bach arguably reached its height by 1930. It may be exemplified by a programme of all six Brandenburg Concertos at Queen's Hall and the question posed by the *Manchester Guardian* in response to the performance:

Has this ever been done before in England? And is there anything more surprising, not that the public popularity of Bach here is of recent date, - but that it is only of recent date?³⁸

The recognition of Wood's success was acknowledged by the public and critics alike, the latter noting that 'there was hardly anyone at Queen's Hall who did not stay spellbound all the time, and it is a long time since one has seen the press emerge from a concert hall at the close of a performance in so solid a body'.³⁹ However, this time also marked a turning point in the reception of Wood's endeavours on behalf of the composer. Newmarch had observed that a 'Bach Cult' with Wood at its centre had been growing since the mid-1920s,⁴⁰ and others spoke of the public going 'slightly mad in its devotion to Bach.⁴¹ Some doubted the sincerity, the 'genuineness and permanency' of the movement,⁴² describing 'cyclic ebullitions of enthusiasm more or less artificial, such as we are now witnessing on the special Bach nights at the "Proms".⁴³ Others challenged the quality of the repertoire, suggesting that 'works of Bach that fill Queen's Hall do not, in the main, represent him at his best', and cited the Brandenburg Concertos as 'examples of superficial Bach.'44 Expressing his scepticism towards the 'discrimination' of the Promenaders, Gordon Stubbs, of the Manchester University Music Department, noted a number of issues that he felt questioned the judgement of Bach audiences. The first was the increasing over-use of theological terminology in musical criticism of the composer, raising Bach 'higher and higher on his pedestal, until it was considered almost blasphemous

³⁸ Anon, 'Notes and Comments', BMMN, 6.57 (October, 1930), p. 267.

³⁹ E. B., 'B.B.C. Symphony Concerts: Bach's Brandenburg Concertos', *The Manchester Guardian*, 13 November, 1930, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Rosa Newmarch in Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 164.

⁴¹ Herbert Hughes, 'Music Notes; Our Eternal Public', *SRPLSA*, 158.4115 (8 September, 1934), p.
92.

⁴² Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', *MT*, 76.1106 (April, 1935), 305-310 (p. 305).

⁴³ Mr Ernest Haywood in Alec Robertson 'Bach at the "Proms", *MT*, 79.1149 (November, 1938), 815-6 (p. 815).

⁴⁴ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', p. 307.

to penetrate the mist of mystic religious emotions said to be evoked by his music⁴⁵. The second was that Prom audiences were inclined to 'mass emotion' and 'the excitement of being one of a crowd', which accounted for the 'spontaneous applause that greets, not only Bach, but any composer from Palestrina to Mossolov who happens to be played'.⁴⁶ Baffled as to 'why so many thousands of ordinary folk attend all-Bach concerts, and enjoy them so much', Stubbs asked:

Was the music two hundred years ahead of its time when it was written, and are we only just beginning to comprehend it in its full light? Or are we to regard the Brandenburg Concertos and Dance Suites that Sir Henry Wood conducts as a sort of 'intellectual jazz' for 'Prom' audiences, that by its throbbing rhythms, and sequences hammered out with maddening insistence, produces a state of nervous tension not unlike our reaction to the music of that other famous Henry?⁴⁷

Whilst favouring the 'latter view', Stubbs concluded: 'there are profound depths to be plumbed in Bach, but I doubt whether the average 'Prom' frequenter reaches very far below the surface'.⁴⁸

There was also a notion that the popularity of the composer reflected the times. It had been long accepted that 'one of the most marked of the physiological results of the war' was the 'desire of movement' shown 'not only in the dancing craze, but in the practical affairs of life' (i.e. the increasing speed of travel, sport, technology, and movement of social classes).⁴⁹ Two types of musical works were posited to meet this need: 'for the musical (whether so by instinct or training) there is the vitally-rhythmic music of the early classics; for the rest there is jazz'.⁵⁰ The appeal of Bach was thought to be in the 'athletic basses and vital rhythms',⁵¹ and the 'continuity, energy, and tunefulness' of his music, but with the hope that 'the crowds of devotees who have become so mainly because of its obvious and external qualities will gradually appreciate its more subtle virtues.'⁵²

⁴⁵ Gordon T. Stubbs 'Bach at the "Proms", MT, 80.1151 (January, 1939), pp. 58-59.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Others questioned audiences' critical acumen, stating: 'the Wednesday nights devoted to Bach have been quite uncomfortably crowded and rather undiscriminating applause the rule'. Peter Davidson, 'The "Proms" 1931', *Sackbut*, 12.1 (October, 1931), p. 46.

⁴⁷ Ibid. (The other famous Henry was Henry 'Red' Allen, jazz trumpeter and vocalist, who was particularly in vogue from the 1930-60s.)

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Feste, 'Ad Libitum', MT, 67.999 (May, 1926), 415-8 (p. 415).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', p. 309.

⁵² Feste, 'Ad Libitum', p. 415.

By 1931 the volume of complaints regarding the number of Bach broadcasts and amount of Bach repertoire on Proms programmes was such that a 'Down with Bach' campaign was launched to coincide with the announcement of the Prom season.⁵³ It was rebuffed with evidence that 'the increasing hold that Bach has on the concert audience was plainly shown by the fact that last year's Bach Proms were the most crowded of the season' and the question 'is it because Bach is unpopular, that, for instance, more people attend the Wednesday Bach Proms than the Saturday 'Popular' evenings?'⁵⁴ Whilst the conclusion that 'one might just as well curse butchers for selling beef, as malign the B.B.C. for providing Bach as staple fare' encapsulated the popularity of the composer,⁵⁵ the widespread appeal answered the academic concerns:

One wonders if the superior persons who look down with lofty scorn upon the untutored music-lover have ever realized that it is possible to arrive at the heart of Bach through intuition and not merely through knowledge.⁵⁶

Arguably, Wood's greatest achievement in this respect was that he had taken Bach from the status of 'the musicians' composer', 57 and, through the Proms, given him to the people – a view that was posited in a lengthy reflection on the matter on the celebration of the 250th anniversary of his birth:

Bach's popularity is, then, a fact – and an important and significant fact; if its genuineness be doubted, the sceptics are probably still thinking of Bach in the terms of a couple of generations ago, when his name was almost exclusively connected with the more scientific and intellectual side of composition – a natural result of the fact that the earliest propaganda on his behalf in England was concerned with fugues.⁵⁸

Whilst the anniversary celebrations 50 years earlier had been restricted to the few events noted in the introduction to this thesis, in 1935 there was a wealth of commemorations, from performances to publications, exhibitions, and lectures.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Philharmonic Society marked the occasion with a programme of

⁵³ Descant, 'Nonsense about Bach', *MT*, 72.1063 (September, 1931), p. 838.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Alec Robertson, 'Bach at the "Proms", p. 816.

⁵⁷ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', p. 310.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 307.

⁵⁹ For example, Alfred Einstein, 'Bach Through the Ages', *ML*, 16.3, (July, 1935), pp. 230-237; and Joseph Muller, 'Bach Portraits', *MQ*, 21.2, (April, 1935), pp. 155-165.

Bach's Orchestral Suites, Brandenburg Concertos, and arias – conducted by Wood.⁶⁰ This shows how Wood had helped to popularize and elevate this orchestral repertoire to the extent that he was chosen to represent Bach with the most authoritative concert society in the country.

The notion that the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites ranked amongst Bach's greatest compositions was firmly established in print. By the mid-1920s the longest description appears in a chapter on Bach by William Gillies Whittaker in the first volume of Hubert J. Foss's *The Heritage of Music*:

The only purely orchestral pieces, apart from some twenty odd numbers in the cantatas, are the six Brandenburg Concertos and the four Suites or Overtures. Some of the former are of the old concerto type, where the solo instrument or instruments are only slightly differentiated from the rest of the orchestra; others are only concertos in the sense of being concerted music. All are for different combinations, in one case only strings, divided into nine parts in another, solo harpsichord, violin, and flute, with strings as a background, and so on. They are all fascinating, and are becoming more and more popular. The suites are not so interesting as awhile, though they contain some delightful music. They are cast in the form of the French Overture, a slow introduction, a fugal movement, and then, not a single dance, as is the case of Handel's opera and oratorio overtures, but a whole series.⁶¹

Furthermore, Whittaker encapsulates the revival of Bach in his opening statement:

The story of the neglect, discovery, and triumph of Bach's music is without parallel in the history of art. There are many examples of want of appreciation, and of amends made by posterity, but such progress from obscurity to a position of dazzling splendour is a phenomenon an equal of which has not been recorded.⁶²

Citing works such as the Mass in B Minor, the Matthew Passion, cantatas and piano works as contributing to this success he concludes that there are 'no more popular orchestral numbers than the Brandenburg concertos',⁶³ an accolade that can be ascribed directly to Wood's work at the Proms. Given Whittaker's assertion that 'the old idea that Bach was a pedant with an enormous brain but no heart is rapidly disappearing',⁶⁴ Wood's work in establishing Bach had been swift:

⁶⁰ Elkin, p. 168.

⁶¹ Whittaker, 'Johann Sebastian Bach' in Hubert Foss, *The Heritage of Music*, 2 Vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), I, p. 43.

⁶² Ibid., p. 17.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

The discovery of Bach is, after all, an affair of a mere generation, and the present enthusiasm is the natural fruition of the seeds sown by Mendelssohn in Germany and the Wesleys and Benjamin Jacob in England. [...] its spread to the general public is due largely to the steady output of excellent editions of works that were hitherto practically unknown save by name [...] and to the work of conductors – above all, Sir Henry Wood – in familiarizing the public with the concerted works.⁶⁵

Comparison with two contemporary conductors, Sir Hamilton Harty and Sir Thomas Beecham, serves to highlight further Wood's achievement in popularizing Bach. In 1930 the BBC hosted a series of Promenade Concerts in the North of England, employing the Hallé Orchestra and Harty.⁶⁶ The first twelve Northern Proms were held at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, Proms thirteen to eighteen were in the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, and the remaining six were given in Leeds Town Hall. Whilst the Northern Proms reflected the earlier seasons of the main Proms through composer-specific nights (e.g. Wagner Mondays and Classical Fridays), throughout the four-week season J. S. Bach only featured four times – each in mixed concerts. At the first (Prom 2), Adila Fachiri and Jelly d'Aranyi performed the familiar Concerto for Two Violins in D minor; Prom 11 included an arrangement of the Chorale Prelude 'Liebster Jesu, wir sind, hier' for piano, performed by the arranger William Murdoch; Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 was programmed for the 'Last Night' in Manchester (Prom 12); and in Prom 24, the 'Last Night of the Season' in Leeds, Thomas Matthews and Don Hyden reprised the Concerto for Two Violins in D minor. These concerts were obviously severely limited in their Bach repertoire in comparison with Wood's contemporary work at the main Proms.⁶⁷

Sir Thomas Beecham was widely considered to be Wood's greatest rival.⁶⁸ In many ways Beecham's promotion of Handel mirrored Wood's promotion of Bach, especially with regard to the number of works programmed and use of orchestral arrangements. However Beecham's apparent dislike of Bach, suggested in an anecdote by Sir Walter Legge, was related to Wood's success:

⁶⁵ Feste 'Ad Libitum', (May, 1926), p. 415.

 ⁶⁶ Jeremy Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 205-6.
 ⁶⁷ By comparison, the 1930 London Prom season presented 37 works by Bach over 11 weeks,

including a full cycle of Brandenburg Concertos.

⁶⁸ John Lucas, *Thomas Beecham: An Obsession with Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 134.

Frequent early morning telephone calls which so often began with: 'My dear Walter. What are we going to do to rescue British musical life from the hegemony of the three bloodiest bores in the history of music? I am referring, of course, to Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms.' Those three B's were in his [Beecham's] view the necessities of life to British musical taste and for which he did not give a damn.⁶⁹

Although the concept of the three B's in concert programming pre-dated Wood,⁷⁰ his expansion of examples of Bach's orchestral repertoire resulted in greater potential for such programmes in concert halls. Wood's success was also implicit in Beecham's complaints:

While touring America a few years ago, Sir Thomas Beecham was reported to have replied to a demand for the name of the most popular composer in England today, 'I am very much afraid that it is Bach.' Some of Beecham's *bon mots* contain more wit than wisdom, but the delicate irony of this one expresses to a nicety the feeling of a great many musicians in this country with regard to the position of Bach.⁷¹

Beecham's words are a measure of the impact the Proms had had on the general opinion of the concert-going public. In London there was 'no better gauge of popular musical taste in London than the booklet containing the Programmes of the Promenade Concerts',⁷² and the accolade that Newman and Wood had an 'intelligent anticipation' of what audiences 'could be got to like' was astute.⁷³ Their annual presentation of Bach had had the desired effect:

If he was not the first to include a Brandenburg concerto in his programmes, he is certainly the only conductor who has had the courage to play them all, and to persist in doing so until his audience has become familiar with them. Now they will fill the hall as surely as the Symphonies of Beethoven.⁷⁴

During Wood's lifetime there were signs that his efforts in popularizing Bach would be overlooked in the future; one critic remarked that 'sufficient credit has never been given to Sir Henry Wood for his propaganda on behalf of Bach'.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, *On and Off the Record: A Memoir of Walter Legge* (London: Faber, 1982), pp. 167-8.

⁷⁰ Peter Cornelius terms the phrase 'the three B's' in reference to Bach, Beethoven, and Berlioz. See Peter Cornelius *Ausgewählte Schriften und Briefe*, ed. by Paul Egert (Berlin: Hahnefeld, 1938), pp. 134-5. Hans von Bülow later chose Brahms in place of Berlioz.

⁷¹ Gordon T. Stubbs, 'Bach at the "Proms", pp. 58-9.

⁷² Dyneley Hussey, 'Music: The "Proms", *SRPLSA*, 140.3643 (August, 1925), 210-212 (p. 210).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

The primary reason for this was the questionable quality and style of the performances, especially in the later years of Wood's career. The Proms gained a reputation for being the place to hear new repertoire or begin a career in criticism,⁷⁶ and the audience was described as 'a queer body' with 'too accommodating a standard', being 'blessed with an appetite rather than endowed with a palate.'⁷⁷ Even by the mid-1920s, arguably the height of popularity for Wood's Bach, there were reviews which gave the impression that the music was more memorable than the interpretation of it:

In sum, these [Brandenburg] concertos present us now with a very complete survey of the masterpieces of music in the past with digressions towards present developments. The performances may not always be entirely satisfactory to the connoisseur, but they are always workmanlike. To demand of Sir Henry Wood an absolute standard of perfection would be to ask the impossible. Let us be profoundly thankful for what he does give us – a plain, unvarnished reading of the scores, which enables us, each according to his own bent, to estimate the composer's relative worth and place in history, to surrender to the enchantment of imaginations more potent than our own, or just to take an hour's pleasure in the sensuous beauty of musical sound.78

The praise for Wood's achievements at the Proms became increasingly general, eclipsing his particular association with Bach.⁷⁹ Furthermore, a review of 'Conductors and Their Ways' from 1933, cited Wood as the first significant English conductor, but associated Adrian Boult specifically with Bach's music:

There is, of course, no such person as the perfect conductor. Conductors are born (of various species), or made. In this little island we have more than our share of the first order and a respectable number of the second. Henry Wood, Landon Ronald, Beecham, Coates, Harty, Goossens – here are born conductors. And think of their dissimilarities! Wood and Ronald are masters of orchestral accompaniment. Wood will give as fine a performance of a Mozart overture as anyone alive, yet wring the last revolting ounce of sentimentality out of Tchaikovsky, and remain the idol of the Proms. [...] Put a big Bach score in front of Boult, or a Brahms symphony, and he will give you a good sound performance, without excesses of any kind; but that is no proof that the next time he conducts *Walküre* at Covent Garden he will not make the Spring Song take on the undulating lassitude of a barcarolle.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ See R. Vaughan Williams's discussion in Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 412.

⁷⁷ Anon, 'Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', p. 307.

⁷⁸ Dyneley Hussey, 'Music: The "Proms", p. 210.
⁷⁹ Anon, 'Our Knightly Band', *MM*, 10 (March, 1930), p. 65.

⁸⁰ Herbert Hughes, 'Conductors and Their Ways', SRPLSA, 155.4031 (28 January, 1933), p. 93.

Amongst his contemporaries, Wood was the 'idol of the Proms' but not the Bach conductor. Once Bach was firmly established in the repertory, Wood's contribution was forgotten because it had served a particular educative purpose. His interpretations did not leave a lasting impression – the impact had been in what he had done rather than how he had done it. The Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites that Wood championed were already in print at the inauguration of the Proms and his live interpretations could only be assessed on cataloguing the Wood Archive at the outset of research for this thesis. His recorded legacy of orchestral Bach is limited to the nine recordings in Appendix 4.45, Boosey did not complete his editorial project of the Brandenburg Concertos, and the only two published orchestral arrangements were superseded by the works of more respected composer-arrangers such as Elgar, Respighi, Stokowski and Schoenberg.⁸¹ Wood does not feature in histories of the early music movement as they concert the period after his death, therefore he falls between interest in the early discoveries of Bach's manuscripts and the interest in post-1945 interpretations.

After Wood's death Bach continued to be programmed at the Proms. Appendix 5.7 shows the extent to which the yearly cycles of Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites were maintained. Although the popular Brandenburg 3 and Orchestral Suite No. 3 remained the most consistently programmed, the presentation of the purely orchestral repertoire was comparatively inconsistent and a complete cycle of both Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites in a single season has not been heard since Wood's lifetime. The six years in which all Brandenburg Concertos were programmed give an indication of the treatment of the repertoire after Wood's death. The first, in 1948 shows continuity of the Proms format with sole conductor Malcolm Sargent and the BBC Symphony Orchestra the year after he took up permanent conductorship of the Proms. In 1954, the Jubilee Year of Proms, the Brandenburg cycle appears to be a homage to Wood but was performed with multiple conductors and orchestras. Basil Cameron returned to conduct Nos. 6 (Prom 2) and 4 (Prom 14) with the LSO and Nos. 1 and 2 with the LPO (Prom 21), whilst Sargent performed No. 3 with the BBCSO (Prom 35), and John Hollingsworth performed No. 5 with the BBCSO (Prom 48). The resurgence of

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⁸¹ Alternatively, conductors made their own orchestral arrangements. For example John Barbirolli performed his arrangement of Sheep May Safely Graze (BWV 208) extensively during World War 2 - see statistics of performances with the Hallé Orchestra, LPO, LSO, and BBCSO in Raymond Holden, *Barbirolli: a Chronicle of a Career* (Uttoxeter: The Barbirolli Society, forthcoming).

Bach's orchestral repertoire during the 1960s was at the instigation of William Glock (who particularly encouraged the programming of early music) and the performances in 1965 and 1966 were divided between home and visiting orchestras conducted by Charles Mackerras, Malcolm Sargent, Colin Davies, George Malcolm, Hugh Maguire, and Raymond Leppard. However, by 1972, all six Brandenburg Concertos were once again performed in one evening by one conductor: George Malcolm, with the Northern Sinfonia. The full cycle has not been performed since in the Royal Albert Hall. The instrumental concerns cited by many of Wood's critics were addressed by the early music movement, and its rise and momentum mirrors the decline of orchestral Bach at the Proms. The sixth and most recent full cycle of Brandenburgs was given in 2010 as part of the 'Bach Day' by Sir John Eliot Gardiner and the English Baroque Soloists, not in the Royal Albert Hall, but in the more acoustically appropriate Cadogan Hall.

Of Wood's immediate successors in London, a full symphonic sound for orchestral Bach was explored by Basil Cameron, Adrian Boult, Malcolm Sargent, John Barbirolli, and particularly Otto Klemperer, principal conductor of the Philharmonia Orchestra from 1959. Some recognized in Klemperer a 'valuable reinjection of the solid German clause into British conducting',⁸² but he paid little attention to modern scholarship in the formation of his Bach interpretations. His weighty performances of the Brandenburg Concertos were recorded with the Philharmonia first in 1954, and again in 1960 at which point a *Times* critic cited 'a curious mixture of modern loyalty to history and traditional suet pudding [...] much of the music sounded humdrum, or uncharacteristic of Bach's thought as our age conceives it'.⁸³ Although he did not use the full forces of the Philharmonia for every concerto, Klemperer's disapproval of smaller ensembles, the use of the harpsichord, and embellishments in Bach performance fuelled the resolve of the English early music movement. By the end of the 1950s, the divide in the approach to performing Bach in England, begun in the 1930s, was clearly established.

The 1935 recorded performances by Busch, highlighted in Chapter 3, had been seen as a radical departure from the full orchestral treatment of the works that

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⁸² *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, ed. by José Antonio Bowen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 188.

⁸³ Anon, 'Brandenburg Concertos', *The Times*, 5 December, 1960, p. 16 and Edward Greenfield 'Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 1-6 by Bach: Philharmonia; Klemperer', *MT*, 102.1425 (November, 1961), p. 702.

had been heard at the Proms under Wood. The Busch Chamber Players (BCP) were an augmentation of the Busch Quartet, with Rudolf Serkin at the keyboard.⁸⁴ An astonishing sixty-eight hours of rehearsals preceded the 1935 performances in which the ensemble stood to perform, and Busch directed from the violin or viola (depending on the concerto). The first performance – at the Palazzo Pitti (Florence) on 7 May – was declared a 'watershed in the Bach revival'.⁸⁵ Busch's approach to interpretation is described by Tully Potter as 'doing for Bach what Toscanini had accomplished for Beethoven: sweeping away a century of accumulated Romantic "tradition" to reveal the composer in all his vigour and intensity."⁸⁶ The rapturous reception for the Brandenburg concertos attracted the attention of London-based agents Ibbs and Tillet, who arranged repeat performances at London's Queen's Hall in October of the same year.⁸⁷ For the English performances Busch's core of string players and flautists Marcel and Louis Moyse were joined by English wind players including Evelyn Rothwell, Paul Draper, Aubrey Brain, and George Eskdale, all of whom had adopted the low pitch in use at the Queen's Hall and required the BCP to do the same. The two performances on 10 and 16 October 1935 were sold out, and Columbia Gramophone Company recorded all six Brandenburg Concertos at Abbey Road Studios simultaneously (9 to 17 October). The audience apparently accepted the lack of conductor but most of all, there was a feeling that this was Bach in a 'new way'.⁸⁸ Even in 1935, there was a sense that this was a sharp contrast with Wood's Proms approach. Robert Elkin suggested that 'to those whose acquaintance

⁸⁴ It was agreed that as a touring project, local wind players would be recruited, but Marcel and Louis Moyse became permanent features following the success of the first performance.

⁸⁵ Tully Potter Adolf Busch: the life of an honest musician. 2 vols (London: Toccata Press, 2010), I, p. 610. For Brandenburgs I, II, IV, and V, strings were divided 5-4-3-2-1, and following many experiments, Busch settled on doubled viola da gamba parts and four violists sharing each solo viola da braccio part. Though the latter may still appear large body of players to 21st century ears, contemporary performers such as Steinbach, Busch's mentor, demanded a body of players at least twice the size (p. 611). Seinbach proposed a performance for London in 1911 demanding 16 violas and 8 gambas. It was cancelled when the players could not be sourced. Wood's 1906 experiments with a standing ensemble had evidently been forgotten as this feature was considered revelatory. ⁸⁶ Potter, p. 609. His innovations, such as the short violin cadenza in the middle 'movement' of Brandenburg 3, sparked an alternative approach (p. 610), even the establishment of new traditions of performance, based on 18th-century principles of a flexible ensemble (many players doubled on related instruments including Busch himself on violin and viola) and his own fascination of source material. Busch was clear where he would and would not compromise. His insistence on finding wind players who could master all the notes at pitch caused obstacles – for example in finding a suitable trumpeter for Brandenburg 2 (p. 610), but he achieved the sound of ensemble that he sought. ⁸⁷ Potter, p. 612.

⁸⁸Anon, 'Busch Chamber Players', *The Strad*, 46.547 (November, 1935), p. 293. 'Completely absorbed in the music, their individual understanding of it was so profound that they achieved a spontaneity of ensemble which no conductor, however fine, could have attained, their playing throughout having breadth and variety, warmth and tenderness, as the mood of the works required'.

with these concertos was limited to the ponderous, four-square treatment typical of a Bach night at the Proms, the sensitive, buoyant, chamber-music quality of the Busch performances came as a delightful revelation'.⁸⁹ In a similar vein, the Boyd Neel London String Orchestra was established in 1932 by Neel, a then enthusiastic doctor, with the aim of promoting string-only repertoire in a small self-contained ensemble.⁹⁰ Britten summed up their achievements in his introduction to Neel's biography of the orchestra:

To their efforts largely is due the fact that the public nowadays will accept the distinction between Great music and Big music, will realise that importance is not achieved by a large, thick sound and that a band of hundred is not five times as good as a group of twenty. And what a repertoire the orchestra has made known to us – not only music foreign to the limited, nineteenth century-ridden orchestral programmes of to-day, but also much familiar music which yet needs the thin clear lines of a small ensemble to make really musical sense.⁹¹

Although finances initially dictated the establishment of the ensemble in chamber rather than symphonic proportions, the result was an orchestra ideally suited to playing Bach. The addition of wind players enabled performances of the Brandenburg Concertos, and Neel recorded Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 between 1941 and 1947.⁹² In many respects, he represented some degree of continuity with Wood by using many of the soloists who had played for Wood at the Proms (and also with Adolf Busch) such as Dennis Brain, George Eskdale, and Leon Goossens. Robert Thurston Dart played the harpsichord on a number of occasions and, when Neel took up the position of Dean of the Royal Conservatory of Music at Toronto in 1952, he took over the orchestra and renamed it the Philomusica of London. His 1958-9 recordings of the Brandenburg Concertos with the Philomusica were performed with one player per part and have been described as the 'most stylish' of the period.⁹³ Under Dart, Neville Marriner led the Philomusica prior to setting up his own Academy of St Martin in the Fields in 1959.94 Dart and Marriner continued to

⁸⁹ Elkin, *Queen's Hall*, p. 90. The following year, 1936, saw the addition of the Four Orchestral Suites to the set, again recorded at Abbey Road, London on 27-8 October and 1-2 November. ⁹⁰ Boyd Neel, The Story of an Orchestra (London: Vox Mundi, 1950), pp. 3-10.

⁹¹ Benjamin Britten, 'Introduction', in Neel, p. vii.

⁹² These recordings may be heard in the British Library Sound Archive: http://sounds.bl.uk/Classicalmusic/Bach/026M-1CL0002836XX-0100V0 [accessed 27 March 2014].

⁹³ Dorottya Fabian Somorjay, 'Musicology and Performance Practice: In Search of a Historical Style with Bach Recordings', Studia Musicologica Academiæ Scientiarum Hungaricae, T. 41 (2000), 77-106 (p. 83).

⁹⁴ Wilson, The Art of Re-enchantment, p. 70.

collaborate, with Dart acting as musicological consultant, preparing editions and advising on performance practice until his death in 1971.⁹⁵ Dart's pupils, who included Christopher Hogwood and John Eliot Gardiner, represent the establishment of the more specific British 'period performance movement', who, along with Roger Norrington and Trevor Pinnock rejected Germanic traditions.⁹⁶ Although Fabian cites the common activity during the 1950-1980 period as 'rediscovery rather than performance practice' in which 'articulation, instrumental technique and the exploration of means of expression were hardly ever discussed',⁹⁷ Wood emerges as an earlier pioneer in this process and his scores address such issues comprehensively. In the English Bach awakening, he is the bridge between the initial Philharmonic Society performances directed by Mendelssohn and Cusins, and the recorded interpretations of Adolf Busch, Boyd Neel, Thurston Dart, and Otto Klemperer.

Wood's role in the English Bach awakening was ultimately that of the educator. Whereas his artistry may have been questioned, his motives were not. However, Jessie Wood remarked that 'he believed completely in his readings of Bach', and that his final word on adapting the music for performance was due to the perceived limitations of Bach's age: 'No flapdiddle human, this, whose only means of reproducing his musical thoughts was via the instruments at his command and under conditions prevailing in the eighteenth century.'⁹⁸

Although history has been slow to credit Wood's contribution to the popularization of Bach, for Wood, the key to his success was the opportunity for annual repetition, and his meticulous attention to the interpretations of his '*dear John Sebastian Bach*': ⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Stephen Daw, 'Brandenburg Concertos by Bach: Academy of St-Martin-in-the-Fields; Marriner; Dart' *MT*, 114.1559 (January 1973), p. 39. For discussion of the period performance movement see Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), esp. pp. 175-88.
 ⁹⁶ Stephen Johnson, 'The English Tradition' in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, p. 189. Also see Butt, 'Joining the historical performance debate' in *Playing with History*, pp. 3-52.

⁹⁷ Fabian Somorjay, pp. 81-2.

⁹⁸ Jessie Wood, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

One hears it often said: "Let the music speak for itself". Does it? And if and when it does, what is the answer? – Dull, dead notes, just notes! The great artists know how to apply a subtle tempo rubato and yet keep to the time within the bar: they truly borrow and pay back. How simple it is to direct such artists! Do you think I should have ever gathered together the great company of music lovers the Promenade Concerts have created, had I not taken full advantage of the whole gamut of human emotions which music can, and does, so adequately express, and as I maintain *intended* to express? Did I "let the music speak for itself" when I introduced the immortal Brandenburg Concertos to England at the Promenade Concerts? No! And if I had I am certain the man in the street would not have listened, and would not have come to fill Queen's Hall to overflowing every Bach night.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Wood, About Conducting, p. 28.

Table of Abbreviations

BMMN	The British Musician and Musical News
EM	Early Music
JAMS	The Journal of the American Musicological Society
JM	The Journal of Musicology
JMR	The Journal of Musicological Research
JRMA	The Journal of the Royal Musical Association
MA	Music Analysis
MH	The Musical Herald
ML	Music and Letters
MM	The Musical Mirror
MMR	The Monthly Musical Record
MN	The Musical News
MOMTR	The Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review (until 1927)
МО	The Musical Opinion (Post 1927)
MQ	The Musical Quarterly
MS	The Musical Standard
MT	The Musical Times (and Singing Class Circular)
OMR	The Orchestra Musical Review
PPR	Performance Practice Review
QMR	The Quarterly Musical Review
SMR	The School Music Review
SRPLSA	The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art

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⁴Johann Sebastian Bach. March 21, 1685 – July 28, 1750', *MT*, 76.1106 (April, 1935), pp. 305-310

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List of Musical Works on Accompanying CDs

CD/Track 1/1	Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Orchestral Suite No. 2</i> , Robert Murchie, Unknown Symphony Orchestra, cond. by Sir Hamilton Harty (Columbia, L1557; L 1558, 1924)
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- Johann Sebastian Bach/Sir Henry Wood, Orchestral Suite No. 6, Prelude, New Queen's Hall Orchestra, cond. by Sir Henry Wood (Columbia: L1684-1685, 1925)
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The Role of Sir Henry J. Wood in the English Bach Awakening: Orchestral Bach at the Proms 1895-1944

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Volume II: Appendices

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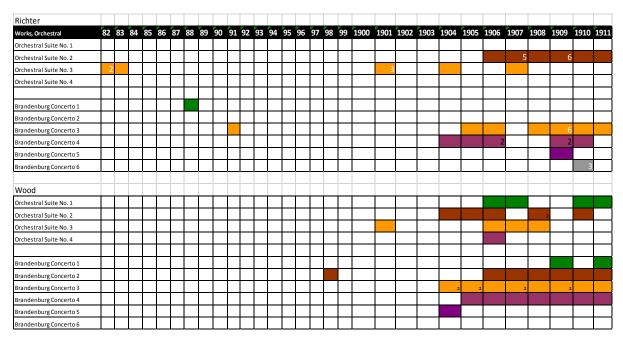
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Significant Performances of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites in London between 1844 and 1891¹

Date	Work	Conductor	Orchestra	Event notes
24.6.1844	Orchestral Suite No. 3	Dr F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy	London Philharmonic	Philharmonic Society. First
				performance in this country
24.6.1872	Brandenburg 3	W. G. Cusins	London Philharmonic	Philharmonic Society. First
				performance in this country
15.5.1876	Orchestral Suite No. 2	W. G. Cusins	London Philharmonic	Philharmonic Society
8.5.1882	Orchestral Suite No. 3	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	Richter Concerts in London
18.6.1882	Orchestral Suite No. 3	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	Musicalische Abend at the
				Atheneum Club
1.3.1883	Orchestral Suite No. 3	W. G. Cusins	London Philharmonic	Philharmonic Society
10.11.1883	Orchestral Suite No. 3	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	Richter Concerts in London
17.05.1887	Orchestral Suite No. 3	C. V. Stanford	The Bach Choir [Orch]	St James's Hall
2.07.1888	Brandenburg 1	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	Richter Concerts in London
1891	Brandenburg 3	Frederick H. Cowen	London Philharmonic	Philharmonic Society
10.02.1891	Brandenburg 4	C. V. Stanford	The Bach Choir [Orch]	St James's Hall
25.05.1891	Brandenburg 3	Hans Richter	Richter Orchestra	Richter Concerts in London

Appendix 1.2

A comparison of Richter's UK performances and Wood's Prom performances of Orchestral Suites and Brandenburg Concertos²



¹ Sources include: Myles Birket Foster, *History of the Philharmonic society of London 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, 1912); Basil Keen, *The Bach Choir: the first hundred years* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Hans Richter's diaries in the private collection of Dr Christopher Fifield.

² 1.2: Sources include: Hans Richter's diaries in the private collection of Dr Christopher Fifield; Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 442-461; and London, British Library, Collection of programmes: Henry Wood (1898-1944) X.435/115 and Music Collections h.5470.a2.1 NB not the online Prom Archive.

Bach Orchestral works (only) programmed by the Bach Choir: a) 1884-1944 and b) 1945-73 3

Date	Place	Soloists		Conductor
26/03/1884	St James's Hall	Vns: Carrodus, Emily Shinner	Concerto for 2 Violins in D Minor	Goldschmidt
17/05/1887	St James's Hall		Orchestral Suite in D [No. 3]	Stanford
05/03/1889	St James's Hall	Vn: Joachim	Concerto for Violin in A Minor (also Violin Sonata in G Minor)	Stanford
25/02/1890	St James's Hall	Vns: Joachim, Gompertz	Concerto for 2 Violins in D Minor (also Violin Sonata in C)	Stanford
10/02/1891	St James's Hall	St James's Hall Vn: Joachim; Fl: Barrett/Tootill Concerto in G for Violin, 2 Flutes, and Strings [Brandenburg Concerto No. 4] (Also Violin Sonata in E)		Stanford
10/03/1891	St James's Hall	Pfs:Eibenschütz, Borwick [Leonard]	Concerto for 2 Pianos in C	Stanford
10/03/1893	St James's Hall	PFs:Fanny Davies, Borwick, Henry Bird	Concerto for 3 Pianos and Strings in D minor	Stanford
04/04/1895	Queen's Hall	Vn: Joachim; Ob: Lebon; Pfs: Zimmerman, Davies, Borwick	Concerto for Violin in A minor and Concerto for 3 Pianos in C (also Toccata (Concertata) for Organ in E and Violin Sonata in G minor)	Stanford
19/05/1896	Queen's Hall	PF:Fanny Davies	Concerto for Piano in D Minor	Stanford
08/04/1897	Queen's Hall	Vn: Joachim; Org. Sir W Parratt	Concerto for Violin in E Major and Orchestral Suite in D No. 1 [3] (also Toccata & Fugue in D minor and Chaconne)	Stanford
07/02/1899	Queen's Hall	PFs: Leonard Borwick, Fanny Davies	Orchestral Suite No. 2 and Concerto for 2 Pianos and Orchestra in C	Stanford
26/01/1904	Portman Rooms	Vn: Marie Soldat	Concerto for Violin in A Minor	Walford Davies
02/04/1906	Queen's Hall	Vns: Isabel and Eldreda Watt; Org: H. P. Allen	Concerto for two violins in D Minor (also organ prelude and Fugue in E minor and Chorale in Eb)	Walford Davies
18/03/1908	Queen's Hall		Bandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F	Allen
24/03/1914	Queen's Hall	Vn: May Harrison; Fl: D. S. Wood, PF: Fanny Davies	Concerto for Violin in E; Triple Concerto in D for piano, violin, and Flute [Brandenburg Concerto No. 5]; and Overture in D [Orchestral Suite No. 3?] (also Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue)	Allen
16/04/1920	Central Hall, Westminster	Vn: W. H. Reed and C. Woodhouse	Concerto for 2 violins and strings in D minor	Allen
17/04/1916	Central Hall, Westminster	Vn: May Harrison; Fl: L Fleury; PFs: Hess, Freyer, Samuel	Orchestral Suite for flute and strings in B minor; Concerto for Flute, Violin, and Piano in A Minor; Concerto for 3 Pianos in C; Overture in D [Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D] (also Preludes and Fugues 48 Bk. 1 Nos. 21 and 3)	Allen
14/12/1921	Central Hall, Westminster	LSO; Vn: W. H. Reed; Fl: Daniel Wood, PF: Harold Samuel	Triple Concerto in D for Piano Violin, and Flute [Brandenburg Concerto No. 5] (also Organ Prelude in C major and French Suite in E major (piano))	Vaughan Williams
22/01/1922	People's Palace, Mile End		Air and Gavotte from Suite in D	Vaughan Williams
22/01/1923	Queen's Hall	LSO	Bach-Elgar Fantasia and Fugue in C minor	Eugene Goossens
19/12/1923	Queen's Hall	LSO; PF: Harold Samuel	Concerto for Piano in E major	Vaughan Williams
31/03/1925	Central Hall, Westminster	l Hall, LSO; Vn: Adila Fachiri, Jelly Concerto for 2 Violins in C minor		Vaughan Williams
07/06/1926	Central Hall, Westminster	LSO; Org. G. Thalben Ball	Concerto for Piano in E major	Vaughan Williams
08/12/1930	Queen's Hall	LSO; PF: Vronsky	Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G and Concerto for Piano in F minor	Boult
11/02/1932	RCM	PF: C.T. Lofthouse, Fl: Robert Murchie	Brandenburg Concerto No. 5	Jacques
19/12/1933	Central Hall, Westminster	PF: Samuel	Concerto for Piano in D Minor	Jacques
19/03/1934	Central Hall, Westminster	Vn: Jelly d'Aranyi	Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 and Concerto for Violin in A Minor	Jacques

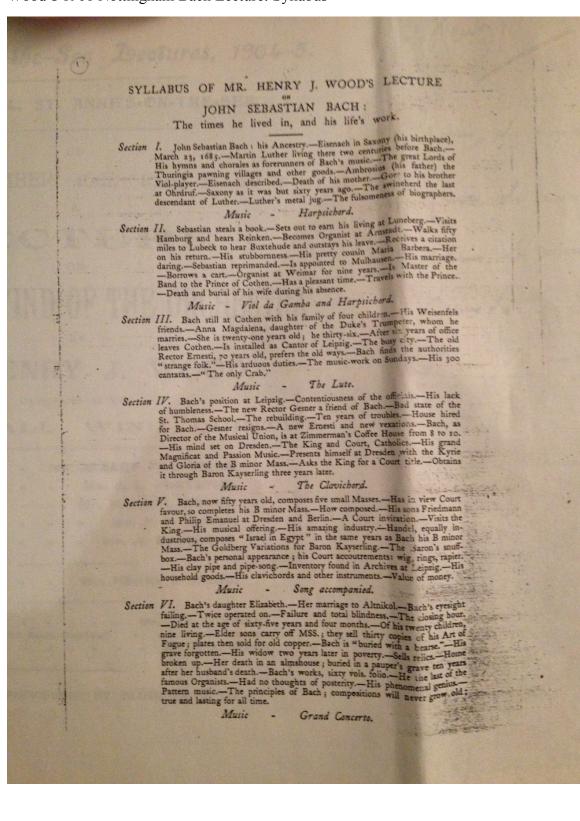
a) 1884-1944

³ Basil Keen, *The Bach Choir: the First Hundred Years* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 203-302

b) 1945-1973

Date	Place	Soloists	Work	Conductor
12/03/1948	RAH	Org: Peasgood; Harpsichords:	Orchesral Suite No. 3 in D and Concerto for 3	Jacques
		Wallace, Lush, C.T. Lofthouse,	Cembalos and Strings in C	
		Jacques O		
16/12/1962	RAH		Air and Gavotte from Orchestral Suite No.	Willcocks
			3 in D	
18/12/1962	RAH		Air and Gavotte from Orchestral Suite No.	Willcocks
			3 in D	
19/12/1971	RAH	Tpt: Wilbraham, Perc: Corkhill,	Chorale from Cantata 129	Willcocks
		Philip Jones Brass		
16/06/1973	Winchester Cathedral	Brass Ensemble from the RCM	6-part Ricercar (Musical Offering)	Willcocks
22/09/1973	Exeter Cathedral	Fl: Nicholas McGegan, Philippa	6-part Ricercar (Musical Offering)	Willcocks
		Davies; Contemporary Brass		
		Ensemble		
23/09/1973	Truro Cathedral	Fl: Nicholas McGegan, Philippa	6-part Ricercar (Musical Offering)	Willcocks
		Davies; Contemporary Brass		
		Ensemble		

Appendix 1.4 Wood's 1901 Nottingham Bach Lecture: Syllabus



Wood's 1901 Nottingham Bach Lecture: transcription of the first three pages

[P1]

"On October 17, 1707, the respectable Herr Johann Sebastian Bach, a bachelor, and organist to the Church of St. Blasius at Mulhausen, the surviving lawful son of the late MOST RESPECTABLE Herr Ambrosius Bach, the famous town organist and musician of Eisenach, was married to the virtuous maiden, Maria Barbara, the youngest surviving unmarried daughter of the late VERY RESPECTABLE and famous artist, Herr Johann Michael Bach, organist at Gehren; here in this House of God, by the favour of our gracious ruler, after the banns had been read at Arnstadt."

The "respectable" baby who had grown up to be the herein-before mentioned Johann Sebastian, was born on the 23rd of March 1685 at Eisenach in Saxony.

It goes without saying that all who are here present know the name "Bach", yet it crosses my mind that had I come as a stranger to this city, and asked "the man in the street" or the first elderly resident standing on a doorstep whom I chose to accost as old-fashioned enough to know everybody, saying to him,

"Excuse me, sir, do you know anything of Bach?" Then something like this might occur:

"Who did you say? I'm a little hard o' hearing."

"Bach – B.A.C.H."

"Oh! – Baiche, you mean! No, I don't know him – never heard on him, not to my knowledge!"

Well, this elderly citizen – of no mean city – might well represent 999 in a thousand even in London itself; and if he corrected my pronunciation, how could I decently correct him?

[P2]

What would it matter to him? Indeed, let me say there is one thing all our eager enthusiasts in music should remember, and that is, that music is not the Be-all and End-all of living – except of course for those who have to make a living out of it, - and Bach had to do that.

1685 – how long ago is 1685? 216 years. By years it is far off, but reckoning without bearings will leave but a vague impression. History should help us to realize how far off. For instance, Tallis, our great composer, died in that year. In that year Father Smith and Renatus Harris were competing for the building of the Temple Church Organ. In that year Charles the Second died, and only a few weeks before Johann Sebastian was born. Think of all the history of our country since that time, - all that has happened and the cast differences between now and then, in customs, manners, modes of living, - differences in the thoughts that stirred man's minds, differences

alike in the aims and possibilities of civilisation and in the standpoints of sciences and arts.

To understand Bach and how he worked, we need first to understand the times he lived in, and where he lived, and the influence that his surroundings had upon on him and upon the music he wrought. And to afford you, if I can, this kind of insight is the object of this day's lecture.

[P3]

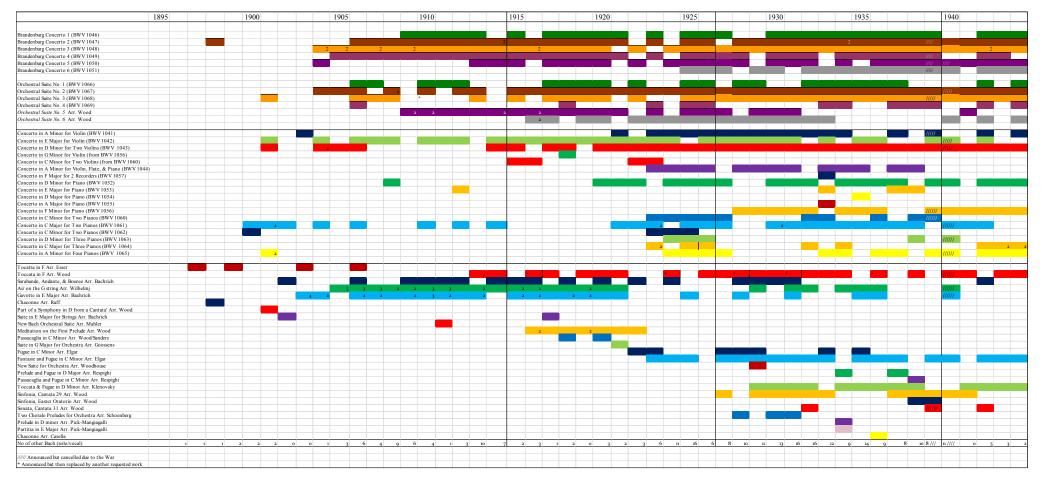
HIS ANCESTRY

Remarkable coincidence it is that Eisenach had made its mark in history two centuries earlier; an indelible mark in the world's history – for here the Luther family had been settled for generations. In 1483 – note it is two centuries before one Sebastian, Martin Luther was born, not far away in another Saxon valley at Eiselben, and to Eisenach to the home of his fathers he came as a lad, learning in the old school-house and helping with his voice in the church choir, and singing in streets and collecting the [unreadable] towards his keep. Here at Eisenach is still shown the room where in after years he sat translating the Bible and the black patch on the wall he made when in his passionate might he threw his inkpot at the devil - still there. [Unreadable] his hymns, his strong chorales direct to the heart of the common people are as the lifeblood of Germany even to the present day.

It was in the lovely valleys of Thuringia also that the Bach family struck the roots, deeply into the soil. The Bachs were everywhere seeking a network of monopoly in music, so that the name became a trademark, - a town piper, a fiddler or an organ player, he was sure to be known as a Bach, although more probably was a Schmitt or a Müller.

Wonderfully gifted inheritors of music were these Bach folk, all the dominion of the race culminating at last in John Sebastian.

Appendix 2.1 Bach Performances at the Proms 1895-1944



Nightly Attendance Record and Income 1941

Prom No.	Income	Audience Nos.	
1.	471.5.6	3760	First Night
2.	409.19.0	3240	Tchaikovsky and Wagner
3.	472.6.0	3485	Mixed
4.	371.17.6	2950	Mozart and Brahms
5.	360.11.6	3200	Mixed
6.	460.5.0	3460	Beethoven
7.	560.7.6	4100	Saturday Popular
8.	219.2.6	2200	Wagner
9.	264.9.6	2450	Mixed
10.	403.18.0	3340	Bach
11.	264.9.6	2650	Mixed
12.	553.14.6	4280	Beethoven
13.	567.4.6	4150	Saturday Popular
14.	381.1.0	3100	Tchaikovsky and Wagner
15.	580.8.0	4280	Popular Mixed
16.	277.4.6	2700	Brahms
17.	276.1.6	2700	Dvorak
18.	595.5.6	4300	Beethoven
19.	608.11.6	4300	Saturday Popular
20.	323.19.6	2900	Wagner
21.	379.18.6	2850	Mixed
22.	257.4.0	2750	Brahms
23.	585.12.0	4290	Mendelssohn and Schubert
24.	589.18.0	4300	Beethoven
25.	431.19.6	3650	Saturday Popular
26.	386.7.0	3400	Wagner
27.	277.6.0	2800	Mixed
28.	545.3.0	4150	Bach
29.	221.19.0	2500	Mixed
30.	600.1.6	4300	Beethoven
31.	601.3.0	4300	Saturday Popular
32.	382.7.6	2550	Wagner
33.	592.15.6	4300	Mixed
34.	542.1.6	4100	Brahms
35.	565.5.6	4250	Mixed
36.	593.15.0	4300	Beethoven
37.	593.5.6	4300	Popular Last Night

Appendix 2.3 Soloists in Orchestral Suite No. 2, 1895-1944

Date	Flute	Conductor	Orchestra
1904	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	QHO
1904	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	QHO
1906	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	QHO
1908	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	QHO
1908 (2)	Eli Hudson	Edouard Colonne	QHO
1908 (2)	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1910	Albert Fransella		NQHO
1912		Henry J. Wood	~
	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1915	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1916	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1917	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1918	Albert Fransella	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1919	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1920	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1921	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1922	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1923	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1924	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1925	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1926	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	NQHO
1927	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	HWSO
1928	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	HWSO
1929	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	HWSO
1930	Gordon Walker	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1931	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1932	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1933	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1934	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1935	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1936	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1937	Robert Murchie	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1938	Gerald Jackson	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1939	Gerald Jackson	Henry J. Wood	BBCSO
1940	Gordon Walker	Henry J. Wood	LSO
1941	Gordon Walker	Basil Cameron	LSO
1942	Arthur Ackroyd	Basil Cameron	LPO
1943	Gerald Jackson	Adrian Boult	BBCSO
1944	Gerald Jackson	Adrian Boult	BBCSO
17 I f	Seruid Suckson		

Appendix 2.4 Soloists in Brandenburg Concerto No. 2, 1895-1944

Date	Trumpet	Oboe	Flute	Violin	Cond	Orch
1898	Walter	Désiré-Alfred	Albert Fransella	Arthur W Payne	HJW	QHO
	Morrow	Lalande				
1906	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Henri	HJW	QHO
				Verbrugghen		
1907	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Henri	HJW	QHO
	51			Verbrugghen		
1908	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Henri	HJW	QHO
	21			Verbrugghen		-
1909	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1910	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1911	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1912	F. L. Gyp	Henri Busscher	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1913	F. L. Gyp	Leon Hansenne	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1914	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Albert Fransella	Arthur Catterall	HJW	QHO
1915	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1916	F. L. Gyp	James McDonagh	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1917	F. L. Gyp	James McDonagh	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1918	F. L. Gyp	James McDonagh	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1919	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Robert Murchie	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1920	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
				Woodhouse		
1921	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
				Woodhouse		
1923	F. L. Gyp	Léon Goossens	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
				Woodhouse		
1925	F. L. Gyp	Jesse Pantling	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
				Woodhouse		
1926	F. L. Gyp	Jesse Pantling	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
				Woodhouse		
1928	F. L. Gyp	Jesse Pantling	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	HWSO
1000				Woodhouse		
1929	F. L. Gyp	Jesse Pantling	Gordon Walker	Charles	HJW	HWSO
1020		A 1 XX71 *++ 1		Woodhouse	11137	DDCCC
1930	Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Gordon Walker	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
1021	Hall	A 1 XX71-14 - 1	Dahaut M. 1	Woodhouse	111117	DDCCC
1931	Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
1022	Hall	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Woodhouse		DDCCO
1932	Ernest	Alec whittaker	Kobert Murchie	Charles Woodhouse	HJW	BBCSO
1933	Hall Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
1733	Hall	AICC WIIItlakei	Kobert Murchie	Woodhouse	115 W	DDCSU
1934	Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Marie Wilson	HJW	BBCSO
1754	Hall				113 99	00000
1935	Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Marie Wilson	HJW	BBCSO
1755	Hall				115 W	00000
1936	Ernest	Alec Whittaker	Robert Murchie	Marie Wilson	HJW	BBCSO
1750	Hall			111110 11110011	115 11	00000
1937	Ernest	Terence	Robert Murchie	Paul Beard	HJW	BBCSO
1751	Hall	MacDonagh		- uur Dourd	110 11	22050
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1938	Ernest	Terence	Gerald Jackson	Paul Beard	HJW	BBCSO
	Hall	MacDonagh				
1939	Ernest	Terence	Gerald Jackson	Paul Beard	HJW	BBCSO
	Hall	MacDonagh				
1940	George	John McCarthy	Gordon Walker	George Stratton	HJW	LSO
	Eskdale			-		
1941	George	Alec Whittaker	Gordon Walker	George Stratton	HJW	LSO
	Eskdale					
1942	Ernest	Horace Green	Gerald Jackson	Paul Beard	HJW	BBCSO
	Hall					
1943	Ernest	Horace Green	Gerald Jackson	Marie Wilson	HJW	BBCSO
	Hall					
1944	(Cancelled:	(Cancelled: soloists not announced)				

Appendix 2.5 Soloists in Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, 1895-1944

Data	Violin	Elute 1	Flute 2	Cand	Orah
Date		Flute 1		Cond.	Orch.
1905	Henri Verbrugghen	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
1906	Henri Verbrugghen	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
1907	Henri Verbrugghen	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
1908 1909	M. Wolters Arthur Catterall	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
1909		Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
1910	Arthur Catterall	Albert Fransella Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée Victor Borlée	HJW HJW	QHO
1911	Arthur Catterall Arthur Catterall	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée		QHO
	Arthur Catterall			HJW HJW	QHO
1913 1914	Arthur Catterall	Albert Fransella Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée Victor Borlée	HJW	QHO
					QHO
1915	Arthur Beckwith	Albert Fransella	Victor Borlée	HJW	NQHO
1916	Arthur Beckwith	Albert Fransella	Leonard	HJW	NQHO
1017	Arthur Declarith	Albert Fransella	Hopkinson W.G. Smith		NOUO
1917	Arthur Beckwith			HJW	NQHO
1918	Arthur Beckwith	Albert Fransella	W.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1919	Arthur Beckwith Charles	Robert Murchie	Victor Borlée W.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1920	Woodhouse	Robert Murchie	w.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1921	Charles	Robert Murchie	Leonard	HJW	NQHO
1921	Woodhouse		Hopkinson	115 W	NQIIO
1923	Charles	Robert Murchie	W.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1725	Woodhouse		w.o. sinti	115 W	ngno
1925	Charles	Robert Murchie	W.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1723	Woodhouse		W.O. billin	115 **	ngno
1926	Charles	Robert Murchie	W.G. Smith	HJW	NQHO
1720	Woodhouse		W.O. Dillini	110	
1927	Charles	Robert Murchie	W.G. Smith	HJW	HWSO
	Woodhouse				
1928	Charles	Robert Murchie	W.G. Smith	HJW	HWSO
	Woodhouse				
1930	Charles	Gordon Walker	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
	Woodhouse				
1931	Charles	Robert Murchie	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
	Woodhouse		_		
1932	Charles	Robert Murchie	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
	Woodhouse				
1934	Marie Wilson	Robert Murchie	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1935	Marie Wilson	Edward Walker	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1936	Marie Wilson	Robert Murchie	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1937	Marie Wilson	Robert Murchie	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1938	Paul Beard	Gerald Jackson	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1939	Paul Beard	Gerald Jackson	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO
1942	Jean Pougnet	Arthur Ackroyd	Richard Adeney	HJW	LPO
1943	Marie Wilson	Gerald Jackson	Frank Almgill	HJW	BBCSO

Appendix 2.6 Soloists in Brandenburg Concerto No. 5, 1895-1944

Date	Piano	Flute	Violin	Cond.	Orchestra
1904	Lily Henkel	Albert Fransella	Henri	HJW	QHO
	2		Verbrugghen		
1913	Johanne	Albert Fransella	Maurice Sons	HJW	QHO
	Stockmarr				
1914	Fanny Davies	Albert Fransella	Sidney	HJW	QHO
			Freedman		
1915	Fanny Davies	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1917	Benno	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
	Moiseiwitsch				
1918	Benno	Albert Fransella	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
	Moiseiwitsch				
1919	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Arthur Beckwith	HJW	NQHO
1920	Fanny Davies	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
			Woodhouse		
1922	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
			Woodhouse		
1924	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
			Woodhouse		
1925	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
			Woodhouse		
1926	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	NQHO
			Woodhouse		
1927	Harold Samuel	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	HWSO
			Woodhouse		
1928	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	HWSO
			Woodhouse		
1930	Harold Samuel	Gordon Walker	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		Woodhouse		
1931	James Ching	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
			Woodhouse		
1932	Harold Samuel	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
1024	x 1 x 1		Woodhouse	*****	DD G G G
1934	John Hunt	Robert Murchie	Charles	HJW	BBCSO
100.0			Woodhouse		DD G G G
1936	Myra Hess	Robert Murchie	Marie Wilson	HJW	BBCSO
1937	Angus Morrison	Robert Murchie	Adila Fachiri	HJW	BBCSO
1938	John Hunt	Gerald Jackson	Paul Beard	HJW	BBCSO
1939	Angus Morrison	Gerald Jackson	Isolde Menges	HJW	BBCSO
1940	James Ching	Gordon Walker	George Stratton	HJW	LSO
1941	Harriet Cohen	Gordon Walker	George Stratton	BC	LSO
1942	Berkeley Mason	Arthur Ackroyd	Jean Pougnet	BC	LPO
1943	Harriet Cohen	Richard Adeney	Jean Pougnet	BC	LPO
1944	Joan Davies	Richard Adeney	Jean Pougnet	BC	LPO

Sources for Wood's full scores and orchestral parts for Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites held in the Wood Archive

Brandenburg Concertos

No.	Title	Publishers	Sigla	Date	Description in Text
1-6	[Six Brandenburg concertos] Joh. Seb. Bach's Kammermusik	Leipzig: Bach-Gesellschaft	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143591- 1001	1871	BG edition
1	Brandenburgisches Konzert No.1	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 0064408	1871	B&H edition
1	Brandenburgisches Konzert No.1	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, Ed. Max Seiffert	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143580-1001	1910	Seiffert edition
1	Bradenburgisches Konzert No.1: for Kleines Orchester	Berlin: Simrock, Ed. Philipp Wolfrum	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143588-1001	c. 1914	Wolfrum edition
1	Brandenburg Concerto, No.1	Manuscript: Black and purple ink on 18-stave paper, in the hand of a copyist	<i>GB-Lam</i> 154945- 1001	No date	Wood manuscript
1	Brandenburg concerto no.1 in F major BWV1046	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 021	1971	Orchestral parts
2	Concerto II [BWV1047] [in F for trumpet, recorder, oboe, violin solo, strings and continuo]	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 44507- 2001 / 44507-3001	1871	B&H edition
2	Konzert in F dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel Arr. Felix Mottl	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143583- 1001	1901	Mottl edition

2	Brandenburg concerto, No.2, BWV 1047	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 021	1871	Orchestral parts
2	Concert in F dur / J.S. Bach	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel Arr. Felix Mottl	GB-Lam HW 021	1901	Mottl orchestral parts
3	[Brandenburg] Concert in G	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 44508-2001	1871	B&H edition
3	Brandenburgisches Konzert No.3	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel Ed. Max Seiffert	<i>GB-Lam</i> 150616-1001	1908	Seiffert edition
3	Brandenburg concerto no.3 in G major BWV1048	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 022	1871	Orchestral parts
4	Concert in G dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143584-1001	1871	B&H edition
4	Concert in G dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 023	1871	Orchestral parts
5	Konzert fur Klavier, Flote und Violine in D	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 44510-2001	1871	B&H edition
5	Konzert in D dur fur Klavier, Flote und Violine mit begleitung des Streichorchesters	Leipzig: Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, Arr. Alexander Il'yich Siloti	<i>GB-Lam</i> 150117- 1001	1912	Siloti edition
5	Brandenburg Concerto, No.5 in D: for solo pianoforte, flute & violin with accompaniment of strings	Manuscript: black ink on 20-stave paper, in the hand of Henry Wood.	<i>GB-Lam</i> 152384-1001	1943	Wood's manuscript
5	Concert fur Klavier, Flote und Violine in D dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 023	1871	Orchestral parts

6	Brandenburg Concerto, No.6 in B flat:	Black ink on 14-stave paper, in the	GB-Lam 152386-	No date	Wood's
	for 2 violas da braccio, 2 violas da	hand of Henry Wood, with	1001		manuscript
	gamba, violoncello, violone and cembalo	corrections in pencil.			
6	Brandenburg Concerto, No.6 in B flat	Manuscript: Black ink on 18-stave	<i>GB-Lam</i> 152387-	1944	Beard's
		paper, in the hand of Paul Beard.	1001		manuscript
6	Sechstes Brandenburgisches Konzert: fur	Leipzig: Peters, arr. Felix Mottl	GB-Lam 143590-	No date (pre	Mottl edition
	2 Violas da braccio, 2 Violas da gamba,		1001	1911)	
	Violoncello und Bass				
6	Brandenburg concerto no.6 in B-flat	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 024	No date	Orchestral
	major BWV1051				parts

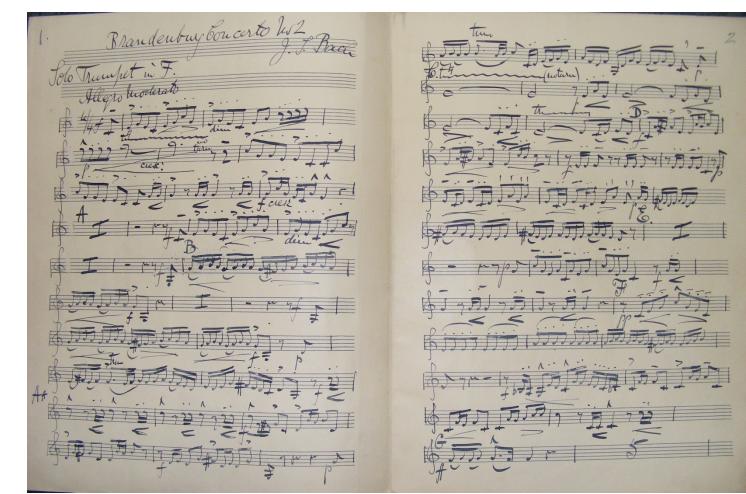
Orchestral Suites

No.	Title	Details	Sigla	Date	Description in text
1-4	Joh. Seb. Bach's Orchesterwerke. Ouverturen in C dur, h moll, D dur, D dur,	Leipzig: Bach-Gesellschaft; Ed. Alfred Dorffel,	<i>GB-Lam</i> 150620-1001	1886	BG edition
1	Sinfonia in F dur Suite in C dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel Arr. Felix Weingartner	<i>GB-Lam</i> 128377-1001	1905	Weingartner's edition
1	Suite No. 1 BWV 1066 in C major	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 028	No date	Orchestral parts
2	Suite in H moll	München: Jos. Aibl, Arr. Hans von Bülow	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143629-1001	1885	Bülow's edition
2	Suite no.2 BWV1067 in B minor	München: Jos. Aibl, Arr. Hans von Bülow	GB-Lam HW 028	1885	Orchestral Parts
3	Suite in D-dur: fur Orchester	Leipzig: Bartold Senff Arr Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy; Ed. Ferdinand David	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143600-1001	1866	David and Mendelssohn's edition
3	Suite no.3 in D major, BWV1068 / arr. F. David	Simrock	GB-Lam HW 029	No date	Orchestral parts
4	Overture in D dur	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	<i>GB-Lam</i> 143630-1001	1898	Orchestral Suite No. 4
4	Suite no.4 BWV1069 in D major	Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel	GB-Lam HW 029	No date	Orchestral parts

Appendix 3.2 Brandenburg Concerto No. 2: Mottl's edition [*GB-Lam* 143583-1001], bars 65-72



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Appendix 3.3 Brandenburg Concerto No. 2: Wood's handwritten trumpet part, bars 1-64

Brandenburg Concerto No. 2: The BG edition [GB-Lam 143591-1001], bars 1-9 and trumpet annotations at the start of the score

15 huntes CONCERTO II. Helepu hiodente. Flan Jow Violine Violino I. di ripieno Violino II. Mi ripieno. E Viola di ripieno Violon di ripien Violoncello e Cembalo

CONCERTO II. Allegu hiosleints. Flanto. (Fhite/ bec)

Appendix 3.5 Brandenburg Concerto No. 2: B&H edition [SIGLA 44507-3001], bars 39-41



Appendix 3.6 Members of the New Queen's Hall Orchestra 1928¹

14 First Violins: C. Woodhouse G. S. Mackay M. O'Donnell Miss Bates (crossed out with note, gone to Belfast) W. Price L. D Oliveira Miss J. C. Stewart W. H. Davies Miss M. C. Lucas Miss E. Bailey K. R. Cullingford Miss V. Pusey J. E. Matthews Miss G. G. Higham **12 Second Violins:**

G. R. Stratton

Miss M. Blower W. Manual Miss H. C. Milne L. V. Leonard Miss B. E. C. Ireland A. Kirk Miss J. Macfie H. H. Jenkins W. J. Cass L. S. Southworth S. Williams

8 Violas: P. P. Sainton B. A. R. Shore J. C. Cload Miss P. Lucas Miss A. Wolfe

Miss V. L. Henkel J. M. Fraser Miss M. Gladden

8 Violoncellos:

C. A. Crabbe T. G. Budd Miss D. Griffiths M. Bontoux D. Cameron J. Moore H. A. Revell C. Goodhead

6 Double Basses : A. Lotter H. S. Sterling F. G. Powell A. Reed D. Burton

H. C. Smith

3 Flutes: R. Murchie

W. G. Smith C. Stainer

3 Oboes:

J. C. Pantling Miss H. Gaskell T. McDonagh

3 Clarinets: H. P. Draper J. S. Hughes M. P. Draper

3 Bassoons:

A. R. Newton F. Wood

A. Penn

4 Horns: A. Brain

M. Graydon F. W. Salkeld G. W. Smith

4 Trumpets:

F. L. Gyp F. Armitage H. Barr W. L. Barraclough

3 Trombones:

A. FalknerA. T. GarvinF. Guttridge

1 Tuba: F. W. Glynn

4 Timpani: C. Bender W. J. Grader H. Barnes

F. H. Wheelhouse

1 Harp: Miss M. Goossens

¹ Information as outlined in a loose-leaf document in British Library, X.435/115.

Orchestral Suite No. 1: Weingartner's edition [GB-Lam 128377-1001], Prelude a) bars 58-65, and b) bars 90-101

9:10 P > 7 \$ 6 the elle 11 - 10 + 10 + + + + + ***** ******** Vcl. Solo -----PHOP PPCHO **** 1000000 m Sater # 10h# 10 Solo 70000000 0 . 0 ... pp sempr i p p pp sempre chestere starting 7 3 9: 1 1

Orchestral Suite No. 3: David and Mendelssohn's edition [GB-Lam 143600-1001]

- a) Overture, p. 6 bars 41-44 (Solo Violin)
- A DE CARA DE C
- b) Air (complete)

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Appendix 3.9 Orchestral Suite No. 2: Dehn's edition [*DB-Mus* 10362]

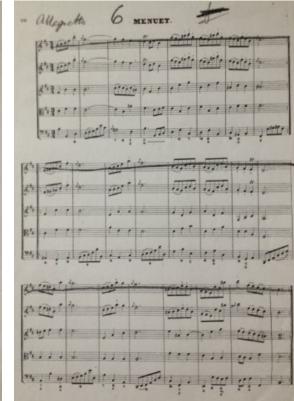
a) Overture bars 80-103



b) Rondeau, bars 1-25

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c) Menuet (complete)



Appendix 3.10 Orchestral Suite No. 2: The cover of Wood's copy of Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001]

Ho mins Full Score. Suite Seb1 Bach Nº 2, in B Minor for flute and Strings . Arranged and Edited by Hans von Biilow.

Appendix 3.11 Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Overture (Allegro), bars 12-19



Appendix 3.12 Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Rondo (complete)

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Appendix 3.13 Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], note under the Polonaise

(*) Die Flöte mag bei der Wiederhelung der Theile pausieren, um für das Trio über volle Kraft verfügen zu können. R. 25494

Appendix 3.14

Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [GB-Lam 143629-1001], Sarabande bars 1-16



Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Overture, bars 1-19

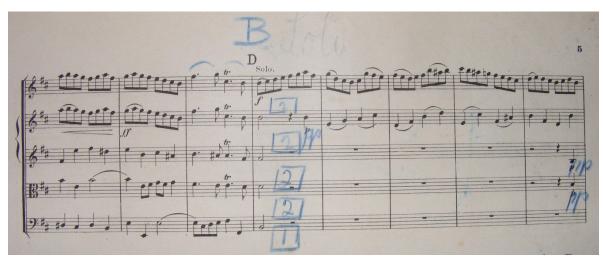
HENRY J. WOOD. Industrial Sunte Joh. Seb. Bach. Suite in H moll. Ausgabe rture. ligt von n BULOW HANS Flauto Violini. B[#]≉ e Viola.): ₽_# C , Cello e Bas fi o

Orchestral Suite No. 2: a) Dehn's edition [DB-Mus10362], bars 56-79 and b) Bülow's edition [GB-Lam 143629-1001], bars 60-83





Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Overture bars 52-59

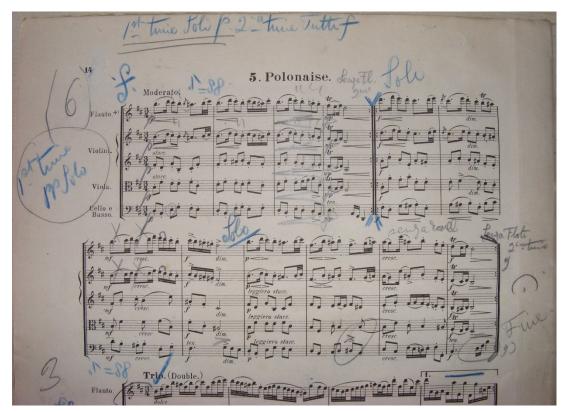


Appendix 3.18

Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Sarabande, annotation and bars 1-4

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Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Polonaise bars 1-12

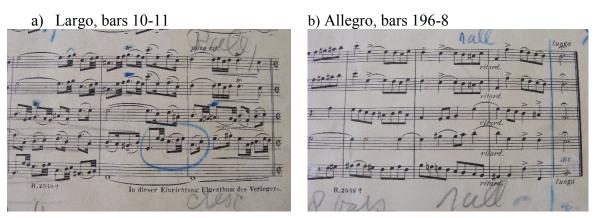


Appendix 3.20

Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Polonaise Double (complete)

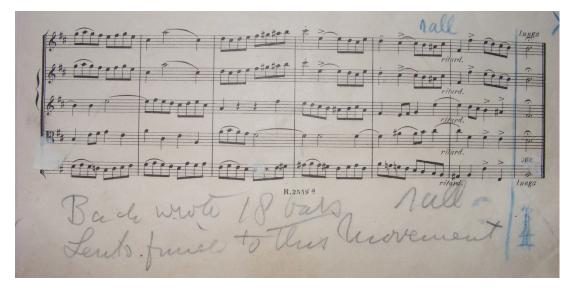
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Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [GB-Lam 143629-1001], Overture



Appendix 3.22

Orchestral Suite No. 2: Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001], Overture, Wood's annotation under bars 192-198



Orchestral Suite No. 2: Overture, Wood's insert of the final 18 bars into GB-Lam 143629-1001, and Bülow's original conclusion, bars 171-198

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Appendix 3.24 Orchestral Suite No. 2: BG edition [*GB-Lam* 150620-1001], Overture

a) bars 183-209

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b) bars 210-215

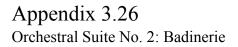


c) tab to highlight the page









a) Dehn's Edition [DB-Mus 10362], bars 1-20

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b) Bülow's Edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001] (complete)



Appendix 3.27 Orchestral Suite No. 2: Menuet (complete)

a) Dehn's Edition [DB-Mus 10362]



b) Bülow's edition [*GB-Lam* 143629-1001]

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Movement II. Ten entry points to correlate with Figures 3.12 and 3.13

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I, bars 95-102

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Appendix 3.30 Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: BG edition [*GB-Lam* 143591-1001], annotations on inside cover

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], annotations on inside cover

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement III, bar 168



Appendix 3.33

Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I, a) bars 57-8 b) bars 74-80



alle 9:

Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I a) bars 119-122 b) bars

b) bars 123-126

c) bars 135-6







Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [GB-Lam 44508-2001], Movement I

a) bars 1-9

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b) bars 103-110

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Appendix 3.36 Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement III

a) bars 7-9 (Fig H)

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b) bars 31-36 (Fig K)



Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I a) bars 78-82



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b) bars 51-2







c) bars 67-9

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e) bars 57-60

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Appendix 3.38 Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I

a) bars 127-136

b) bars 32-5





Appendix 3.39 Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I



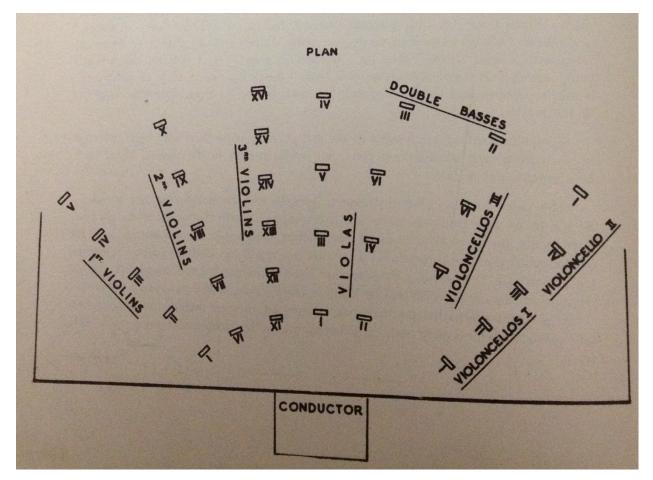
d) bars 124-5

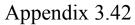


Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44508-2001], Movement I, bars 45-53

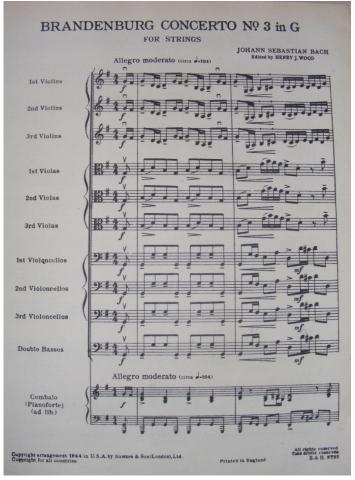
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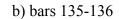
Appendix 3.41 Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 0031177-1001], orchestral disposition

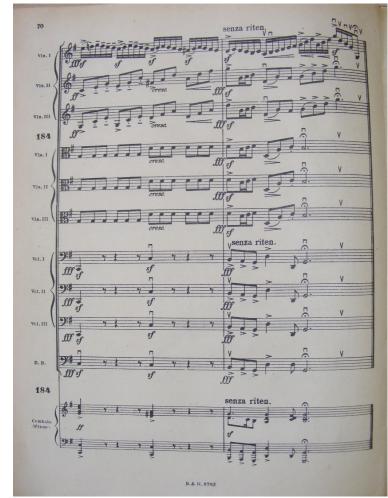


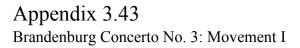


Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: Wood's edition *GB-Lam* 0031177-1001 a) bars 1-2









a) B&H edition [GB-Lam 44508-2001], bars 77-80



b) Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 0031177-1001], bars 78-80



Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: Wood's edition, [*GB-Lam* 0031177-1001] Movement III, bars 1-2



Appendix 3.45

Brandenburg Concerto No. 3: Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 0031177-1001], Movement I, bars 60-2



Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Comparison of the score layout:

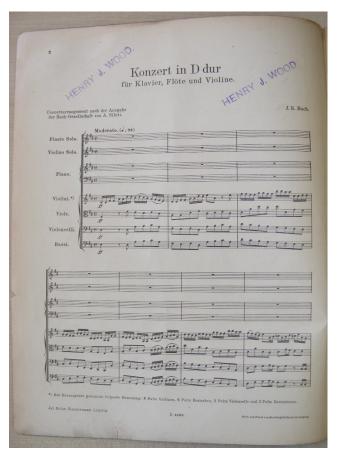
a) Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 152384-1001]

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b) BG edition [*GB-Lam* 143591-1001]

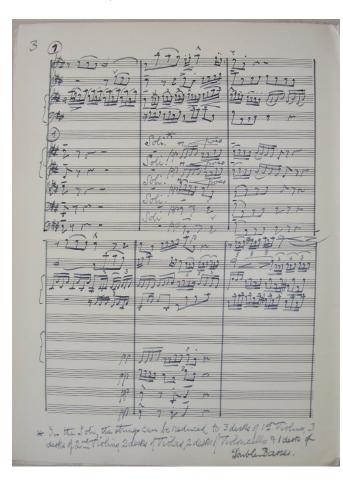
lutte, CONCERTO V. 1=92-96 Flauto traverso violino principa Violino I di ripieno. Viola di ripie Violoncello. Violone Cembalo concertato

c) Siloti edition [GB-Lam 150117-1001]

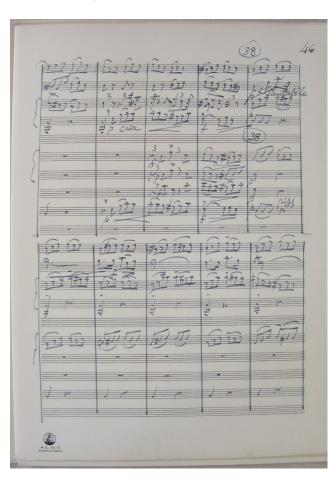


Appendix 3.47 Brandenburg 5: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001]

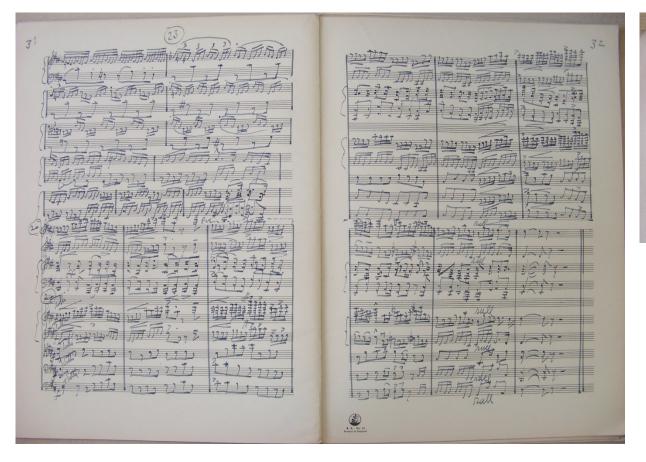
a) Movement I, bars 9-14



b) Movement III, bars 85-94



Appendix 3.48 Brandenburg 5: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001], Movement I, bars 208-227 (closing ritornello bars 219-227)



Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: BG edition [*GB-Lam* 143591-1001], annotation inside the front cover

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Appendix 3.50 Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Movement II

a) B&H edition [*GB-Lam* 44510-2001] bars 25-34 (Rehearsal marks R and S)



b) Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001] bars 24-35 (corresponding Figures 28 and 29)



Appendix 3.51

Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 152384-1001], Movement I

a) bars 21-26 (*pp* already indicated)



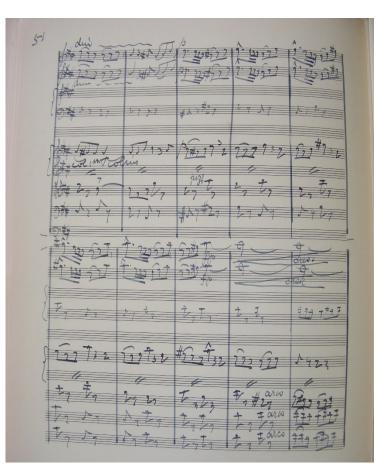




Appendix 3.52 Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001], Movement I, bars 45-48 (Fig 5)



Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001], Movement III, bars 135-144



Appendix 3.54 Brandenburg Concerto No. 5: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152384-1001]

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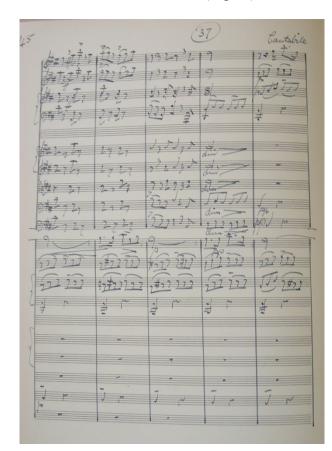
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a) Movement III, bars b) Movement I, bars 95-101 130-32



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c) Movement III, bars 75-79 (Fig 37)



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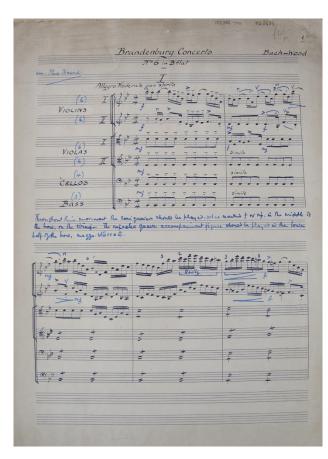
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Appendix 3.55 Brandenburg Concerto No. 6:

a) Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152386-1001], bar 1 (Beard's initials under the scored-out note)



ii) Beard's manuscript [GB-Lam 152387-1001], bars 1-5



Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Wood's handwritten copy of the realized cembalo part (after the BG edition), Movement II; bars 1-22

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Appendix 3.57 Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Mottl edition [*GB-Lam* 143590-1001], Movement I, bars 1-7

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Appendix 3.58

Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: BG edition [*GB-Lam* 143591-1001], Wood's list of violas

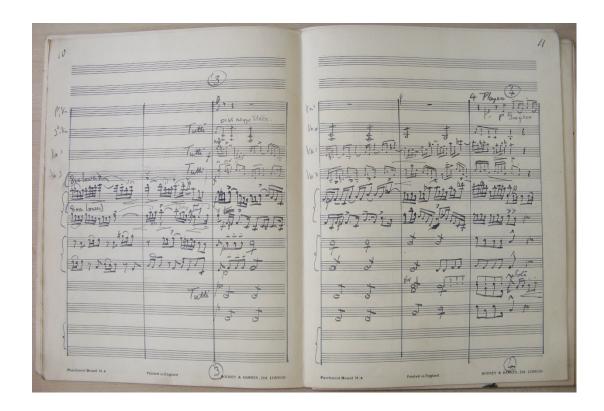
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7 (4)	Hart, Muriel Wyand, H.B.	(4) Hepton, A. Sherman, A.	
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Appendix 3.59 Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152386-1001], Movement I, bars 11-16

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152386-1001], Movement I, bars 17-28, Beard's alterations

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Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152386-1001], Movement I

a) bars 35-7 b) bars 38-40 1499 2779 TAT 1012227977 T121 \$229 24117 1/20 JJ

c) bars 44-6





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Brandenburg Concerto No. 6: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152386-1001], Movement II, bars 46-51

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Scores and manuscripts of Bach orchestral arrangements in the Wood archive

Title	Publishers	Sigla	Date	Description in Text
Introduction and General Reference				
Suite in G: taken from the French Suites for pianoforte	London: Chester	GB-Lam 143646-	1931	Goossens' suite
Orchestrated by Eugene Goossens		1001		
Suite of six pieces from the lesser known piano works	London: Hawkes &	GB-Lam 143596-	c1929	Woodhouse's suite
Arranged for string orchestra by Charles Woodhouse	Son	1001		
		& 143596-1002		
Suite aus den Orchesterwerken von Joh. Seb. Bach. Arranged	New York: Schirmer	GB-Lam 142734-	c1910	Mahler's suite
by Gustav Mahler		1001		
Suite aus den Orchesterwerken von Joh. Seb. Bach. Arranged	New York: Schirmer	GB-Lam HW 032	c1910	Orchestral parts
by Gustav Mahler				
Suite in E for Strings	Vienna: J. Gutmann	GB-Lam 143634-	c1895	Bachrich's suite
Arranged by Sigismund Bachrich		1001		
Suite in E for Strings	Vienna: J. Gutmann	GB-Lam HW 032	c1895	Orchestral parts
Arranged by Sigismund Bachrich				
Toccata in F	·			·
Compositionen fur die Orgel : [Band III]	Leipzig: C.F. Peters	GB-Lam 90389-2001	c1900	Bach's original
Toccata fur die Orgel / componirt von J. S. Bach ; fur grolses	Mainz: Schott	GB-Lam 143638-	1854	Esser's edition
Orchester eingerichtet von H. Esser		1001		

Toccata un F/ arr. by H. Esser	London: Universal	GB-Lam 034	1854	Orchestral parts		
	Edition					
Toccata in F major for organ	Unpublished	GB-Lam 153668-	1913	Wood's manuscript		
Transcribed for full orchestra by Henry J. Wood	autograph score	1001				
Toccata in F major for organ	Unpublished parts	GB-Lam HW 016	1913	Orchestral parts		
Transcribed for full orchestra by Henry J. Wood						
Orchestral Suites Nos. 5 and 6	·	·	•			
Suite in G (No.5): for orchestra	Unpublished	GB-Lam 1552244-	1909	Orchestral Suite No. 5		
	autograph score	1001		or the Fifth Orchestral		
				Suite		
Suite in G (No.5): for orchestra	Unpublished parts	GB-Lam HW 003	1909	Orchestral parts		
Suite No.6 for full orchestra	London: Murdoch	GB-Lam 39526-	c1923	Orchestral Suite No. 6		
		2001-5		or the Sixth Orchestral		
				Suite		
Suite No.6 for full orchestra	London: Murdoch	GB-Lam HW	c1923	Orchestral parts		
		030/005				
Toccata and Fugue in D Minor			•			
Johann Sebastian Bach's organ works. Vol.4	London: Augener	GB-Lam 149898-	c1890	Bach's original		
		1001				
Organ toccata and fugue in D minor: for orchestra	London: Oxford	7 Copies: GB-Lam	1934	Wood's		
Orchestrated by Henry J. Wood (Klenovsky)	University Press	143650-1001-6, 1		edition/version/		
		marked GB-Lam		orchestration		
		143650-1007				
Organ toccata and fugue in D minor: for orchestra	London: Oxford	Uncatalogued in	1934	Orchestral parts		
Orchestrated by Henry J. Wood (Klenovsky)	University Press	Archive				

Wood's predecessors and contemporaries in the field of Bach arrangements and transcriptions (up to, and including, 1944, the year of Wood's death)¹

Date	Arranger	Work	Perf. at
			Proms
1854	Heinrich Esser	Toccata in F major , BWV 540, transcribed for large orchestra (coda elaborated by Sir Edward	Yes
		Elgar in 1932)	
1855	Heinrich Esser	Passacaglia in C minor, BWV 582, transcribed for large orchestra [Mainz Schott, c1855]	No
c1870s	Sigismund Bachrich	Sarabande, Andante & Bourreé, from violin sonatas, transcribed for string orchestra.	Yes
		Sarabande and Bourrée from Sonata for solo violin No. 2 in A minor, BWV 1003; - Andante	
		from the fifth sonata for flute, or violin, and clavier, BWV 1020 (?)	
1871	August Wilhelmj	Air (Mvt. 2) from Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068, arranged for violin with string	Yes
		orchestra and 2 clarinets or piano or organ accompaniment (known as Air on the G string).	
1873	Joachim Raff	Chaconne (Mvt. 5) from Partita for solo violin No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004, arranged for	Yes
		large orchestra [Seitz (later Ries & Erler), 1874] (In 1874 arranged for Piano Four Hands)	
		WoO.40	
1874	Joachim Raff	English Suite No. 3 in G minor, BWV 808, arranged for orchestra. Prelude, Allemande,	No
		Courante, Sarabande, Gavotte	
1874	Johann Joseph Abert	Fuga. (Orgelfuge no. 12. Bachausgabe 15ter jahrgang), arranged for large orchestra	No
c1884	August Wilhelmj	Deutsche Suite [based on Partita for solo violin No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006], arranged for	No
		violin with orchestra or piano accompaniment	

¹ Sources include articles on Grove Online, details of arrangements at <u>www.bach-cantatas.com</u>, and Abram Chasins, *Leopold Stokowski: A profile* (London: Robert Hale, 1979) and Rollin Smith, *Stokowski and the Organ* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2004).

1885	August Wilhelmj	Siciliano (Mvt.1) from Sonata for violin & keyboard No. 4 in C minor, BWV 1017, arranged	No
		for orchestra or violin with string orchestra and two oboes or piano accompaniment	
1895	Sigismund Bachrich	Praeludium, Adagio, Gavotte en Rondeau, transcribed for string orchestra (from Sonatas &	Yes
		Partitas for solo violin)	
1897	August Wilhelmj	Sarabande, Gavotte und Musette [from English Suites] by J.S. Bach, arranged for violin with	No
		orchestra or piano accompaniment.	
1897	August Wilhelmj	Chaconne (Mvt. 5) from Partita for solo violin No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004, arranged for	No
		violin with orchestra or piano accompaniment	
1904	Johann Joseph Abert	Prelude, Choral & Fugue for orchestra	No
		- Prelude (Andante) BWV 849, Choral (Grave); Fugue (Allegro) BWV 542	
1905	Richard Henry Warren	Prelude and Fugue in E Minor for Organ and Orchestra	No
1909	Henry J. Wood	New Suite in G (later Orchestral Suite No. 5)	Yes
1910	Gustav Mahler	New Bach Orchestral Suite	Yes
1911	Archer Gibson	Pastorale in F BWV 590 (Pastorale, Museltte, and Aria)	No
1911	Archer Gibson	Prelude and Fugue in F BWV 556 for Woodwinds	No
1913	Henry J. Wood	Toccata in F (full orchestra)	Yes
1915	Max Reger	O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross (strings)	No
1915	Leopold Stokowski	Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme	No
1916	Henry J. Wood	Orchestral Suite No. 6 (full orchestra)	Yes
1918	H. J. Wood /Francis Sanders	Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor BWV 582	Yes
1921	Eugene Goossens	Suite in G for Orchestra	Yes
1922	Arnold Schoenberg	Chorale Prelude Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele, BWV 654, arranged for orchestra	Yes
1922	Arnold Schoenberg	Chorale Prelude Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist, BWV 667, arranged for orchestra	Yes
1922	Leopold Stokowski	Passacaglia in C Minor BWV 582	No
1922	Edward Elgar	Fugue in C Minor	Yes

1923	Edward Elgar	Fantasia in C Minor (to precede the Fugue)	Yes
1923	Vittorio Gui	O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross	No
1924	Leopold Stokowski	Wir glauben all' an einen Gott	No
1924	Leopold Stokowski	Ausder Tiefe rufe Ich	No
1925	Leopold Stokowski	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor	No
1925	Ralph Vaughan Williams	Chorale Prelude Wir glauben all an einen Gott, BWV 680, arranged for string orchestra	No
1925	Granville Bantock	Chorale Prelude Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme, BWV 645, transcribed for orchestra	No
c1925	Vitttorio Gui	Chorale Prelude Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ, BWV 639, transcribed for orchestra	No
1926	Leopold Stokowski	Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ	No
1926	Leopold Stokowski	Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor	No
1926	Leopold Stokowski	'Great' Fugue in G Minor	No
c1920s	Dimitri Mitropoulos	Fantasia & Fugue in G minor ("Great"), BWV 542, transcribed for orchestra	No
1927	Arthur Honegger	Les noces d'Amour et de Psyche, ballet (based on works of J.S. Bach)	No
1928	Arthur Honegger	Orchestration of the Suite of the Noces d'Amour et de Psyché (for orchestra)	No
1928	Arthur Honegger	Prélude et Fugue of the Noces d'Amour et de Psyché (for orchestra)	No
1928	Gustav Holst	'Jig' Fugue BWV 577 (for winds)	No
1928	Arnold Schoenberg	Prelude & Fugue in E flat major ("St. Anne"), BWV 552, arranged for orchestra	No
1929	H.J. Wood/ Paul Klenovsky	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor	Yes
1929	Ottorino Respighi	Prelude and Fugue in D Major BWV 532(for full orchestra)	Yes
1929	Charles Woodhouse	Suite of six pieces from the lesser known piano works, arranged for string orchestra	Yes
1930	Gustav Holst	'Jig' Fugue BWV 577 (for full orchestra)	No
1930	Ottorino Respighi	Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor BWV 582 (for full orchestra)	Yes
1930	Leopold Stokowski	'Little' Fugue in G Minor	No
1930	Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli	Prelude & Fugue in D minor, K 539, transcribed for string orchestra	Yes

1930	Riccardo Pick-Mangiagalli	Prelude (Mvt. 1) from Partita for solo violin No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006, transcribed for	No
		string orchestra	
1931	Vittorio Gui	Pastorale in F major, BWV 590, transcribed for orchestra	No
1931	Leopold Stokowski	Christ lag in Todesbanden	No
1933	Leopold Stokowski	Adagio (Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue)	No
1933	Vittorio Gui	Goldberg Variations BWV 988, transcribed for orchestra (Arioso dall'Aria con variazione)	No
1934	Robert Leech Bedell	Fantasy in C BWV 573	No
1935	Walter Damrosch	Chorale Prelude Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (A Mighty Fortress Is Our God), BWV 720,	No
		transcribed for orchestra	
1935	Otto Klemperer	Aria for Soprano Bist du bei mir BWV 508, transcribed for orchestra	No
1936	Arthur Honegger	Prélude, Arioso, Fughette sur le nom de Bach (String Orchestra)	No
1936	Alfredo Casella	Chaconne (Mvt. 5) from Partita for solo violin No. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004, transcribed for	Yes
		Orchestra	
1937	Alexander Tansman	'Dorian' Toccata and Fugue in D Minor	No
1937	Leopold Stokowski	Prelude and Fugue No. 3 in E Minor	No
1937	Otto Klemperer	Trio Sonata in E flat major, BWV. 525, transcribed for orchestra	No
1937	Otto Klemperer	Chorale Prelude Nun Komm' Der Heiden Heiland, BWV 599, transcribed for orchestra	No
1939	Leopold Stokowski	Allegro, Trio Sonata No. 1 in E-flat	No
c1942	Dimitri Mitropoulos	Prelude & Fugue in B minor, BWV 869, arranged for orchestra	
1943	Vittorio Gui	Chorale Prelude In Dir Ist Freude, BWV 615, transcribed for orchestra	No
1943	Erich Leinsdorf	Chorale Prelude Herzlich tut mich verlangen, BWV 727, transcribed for orchestra	No
1944	Frederick Stock	'St Anne' Prelude and Fugue in E-flat BWV 552	No

An organ recital given by Wood: International Inventions Exhibition, 29 October 1885

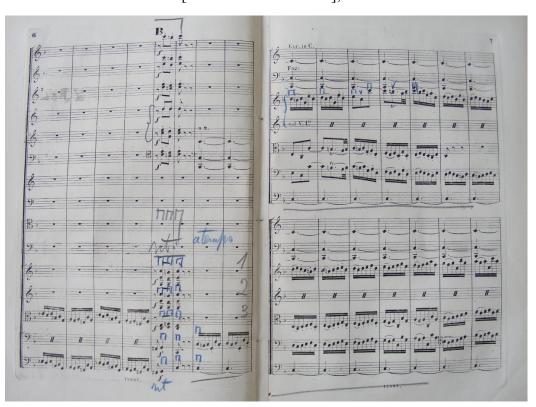
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Appendix 4.4

Toccata in F: Esser's edition [GB-Lam 143638-1001], bars 1-6

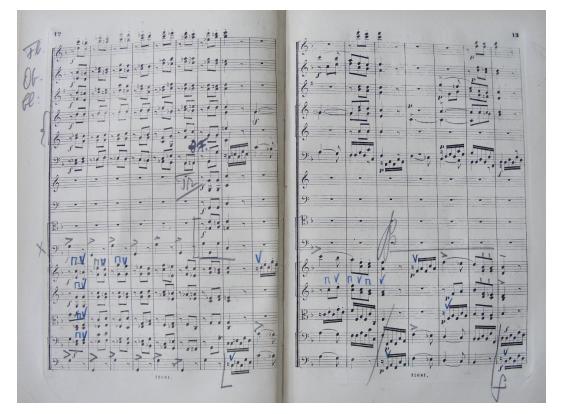
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Appendix 4.5 Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001], bars 66-98

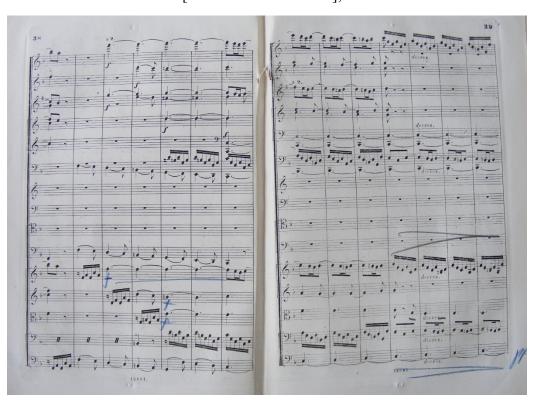


Appendix 4.6

Toccata in F: Esser's edition [GB-Lam 143638-1001], bars 169-184 (B1 at bar 176)



Appendix 4.7 Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001], bars 388-401

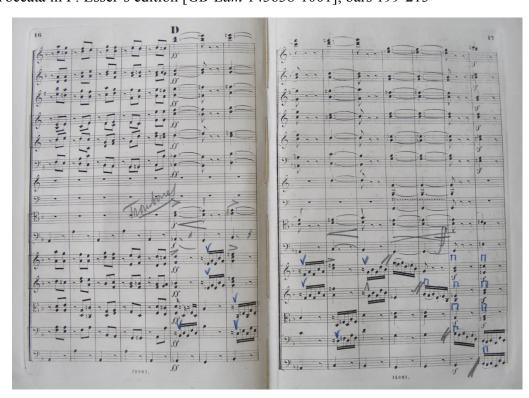


Appendix 4.8

Toccata in F: Esser's edition [GB-Lam 143638-1001], bars 305-320

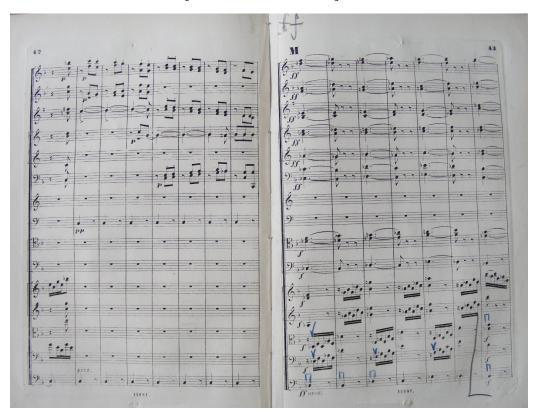
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Appendix 4.9 Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001], bars 199-213



Appendix 4.10

Toccata in F: Esser's edition [GB-Lam 143638-1001], bars 416-430



Toccata in F: Esser's edition [GB-Lam 143638-1001]

a) bars 431- 445





b) Wood's insertion, bars 437-8



c) Bach's organ notation, bars 430-438



Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001], String parts only in:

a) Bars 305-320



b) Bars 323-331



c) Bars 431-6



Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001]

a) bars 113-8

b) bars 298-303

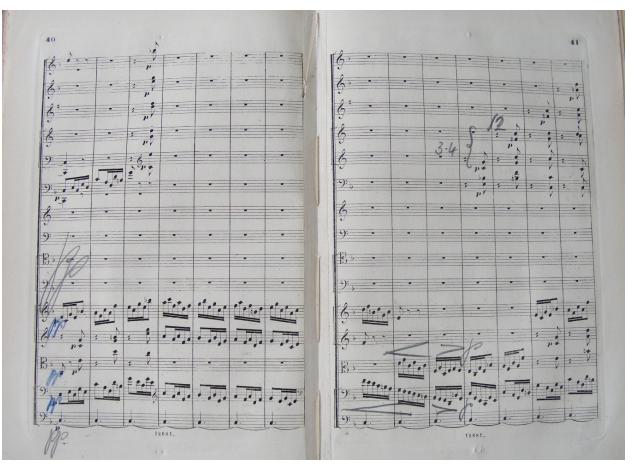




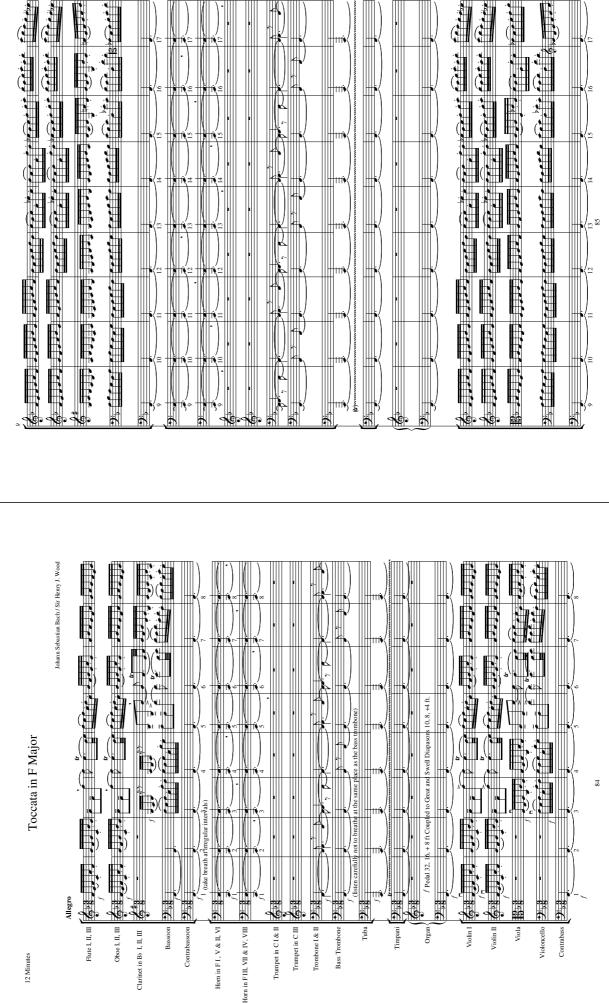
c) bars 202-213



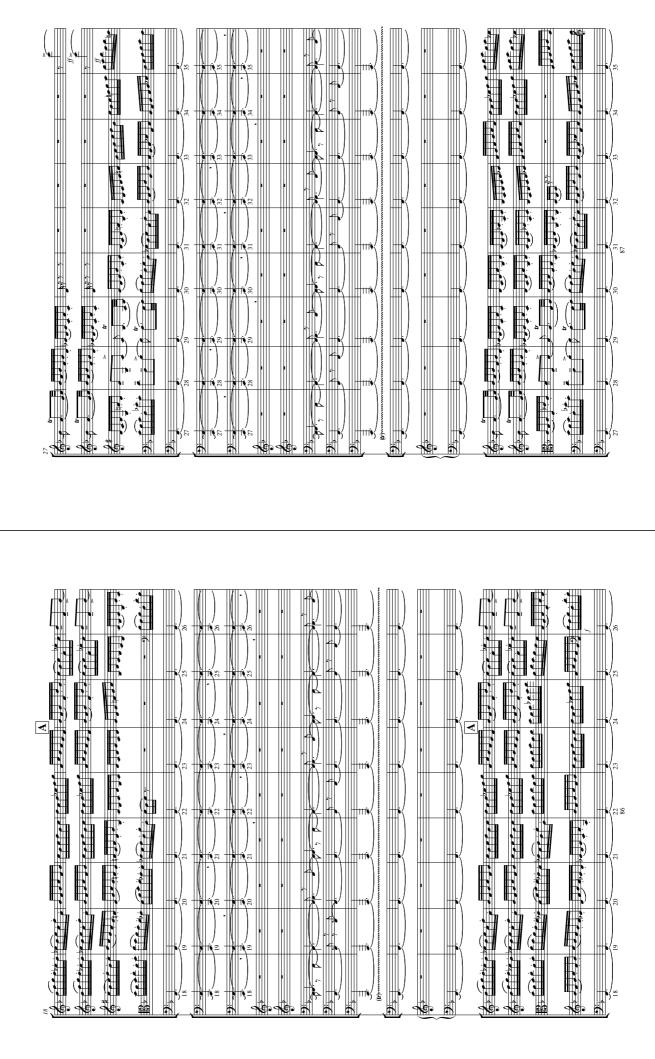
Appendix 4.14 Toccata in F: Esser's edition [*GB-Lam* 143638-1001], bars 402-415

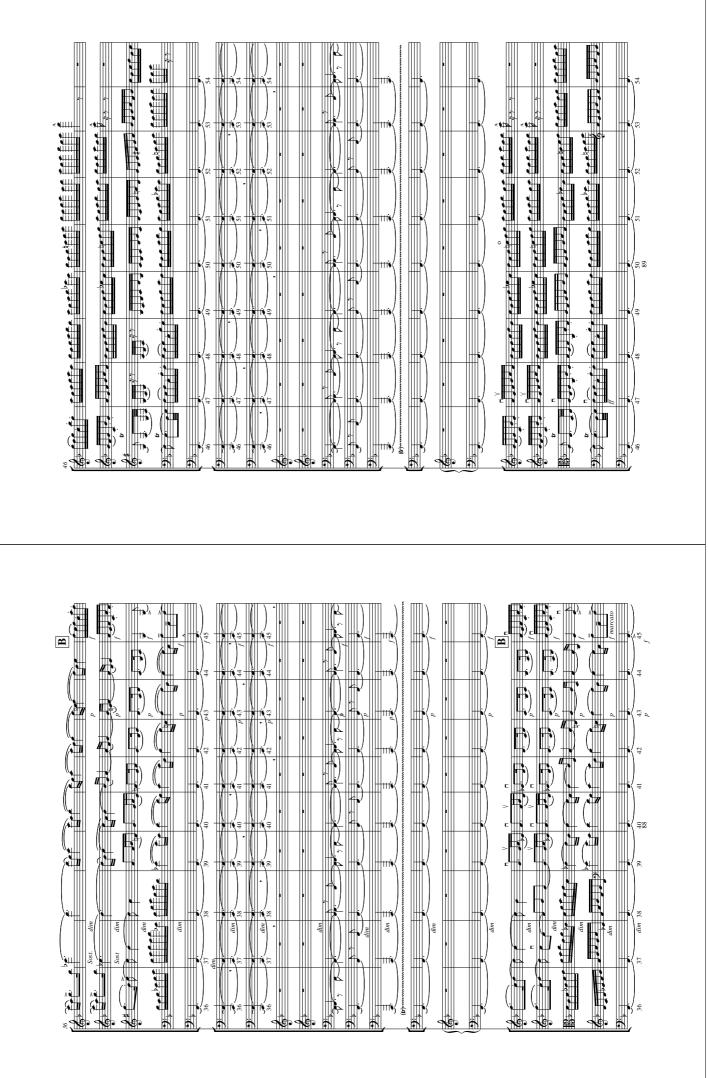


Toccata in F: New Edition after Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 153668-1001] and parts [*GB-Lam* HW 016] (complete)



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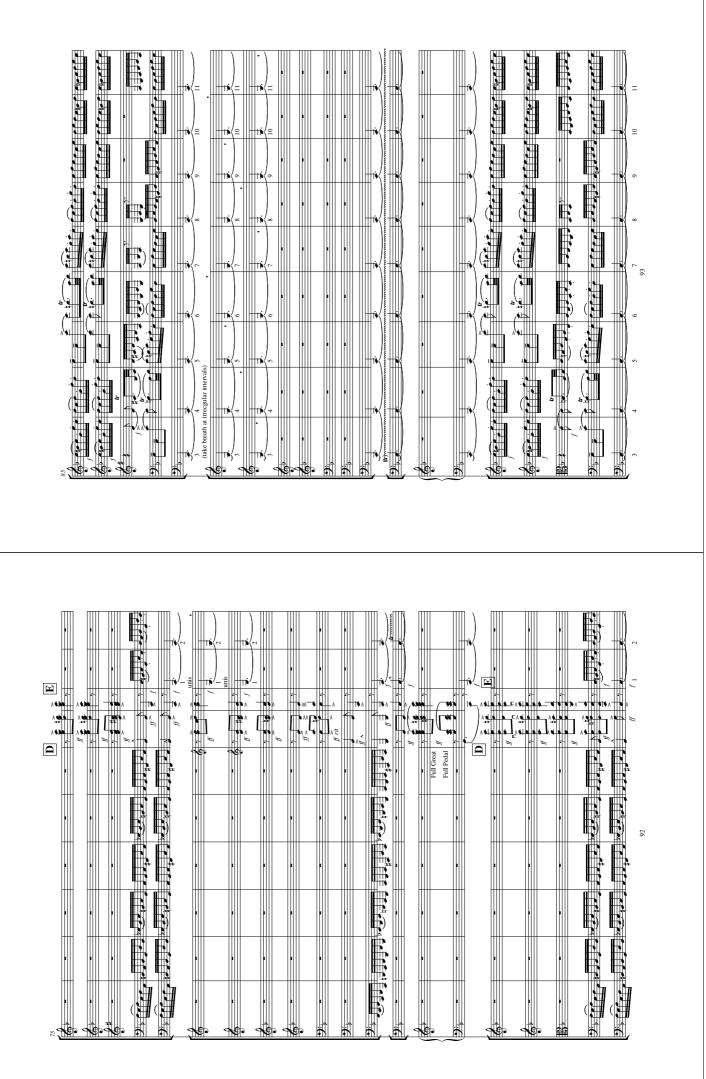


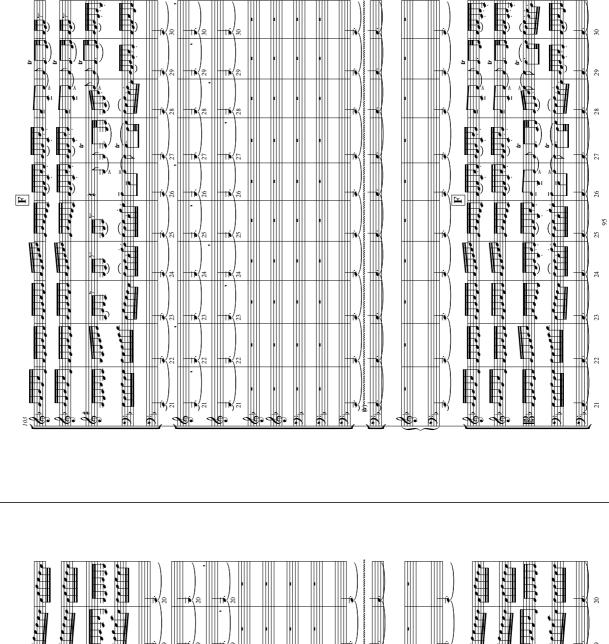


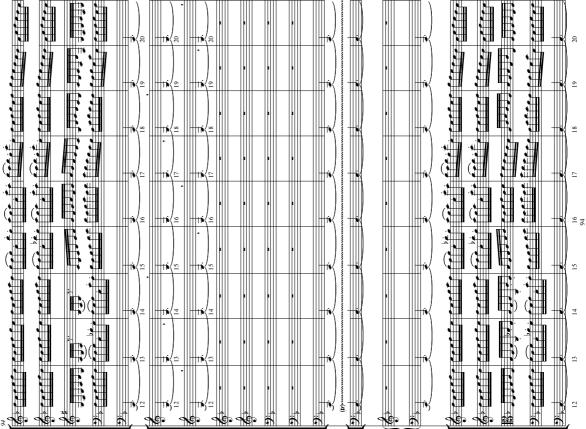
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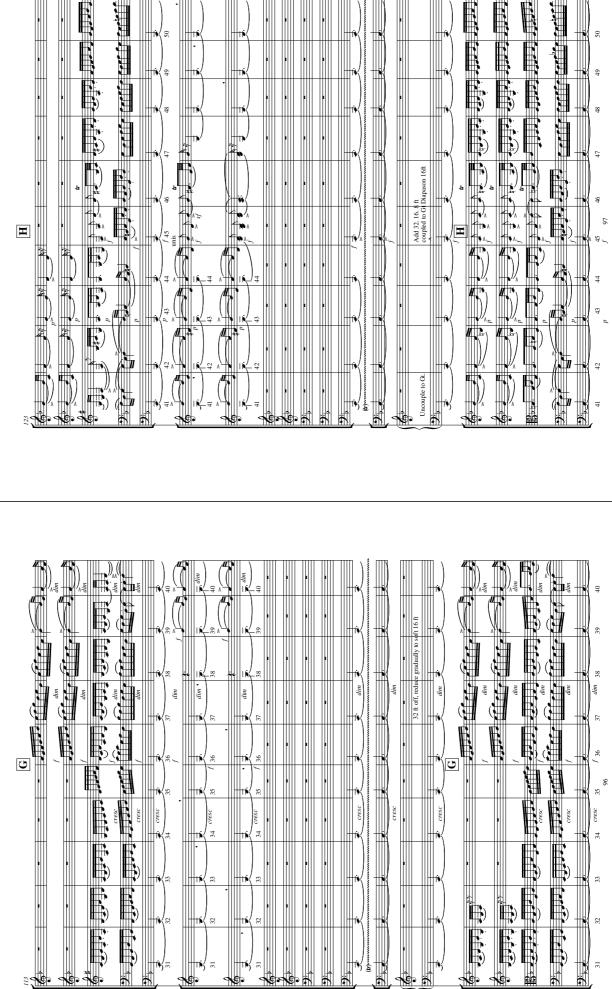
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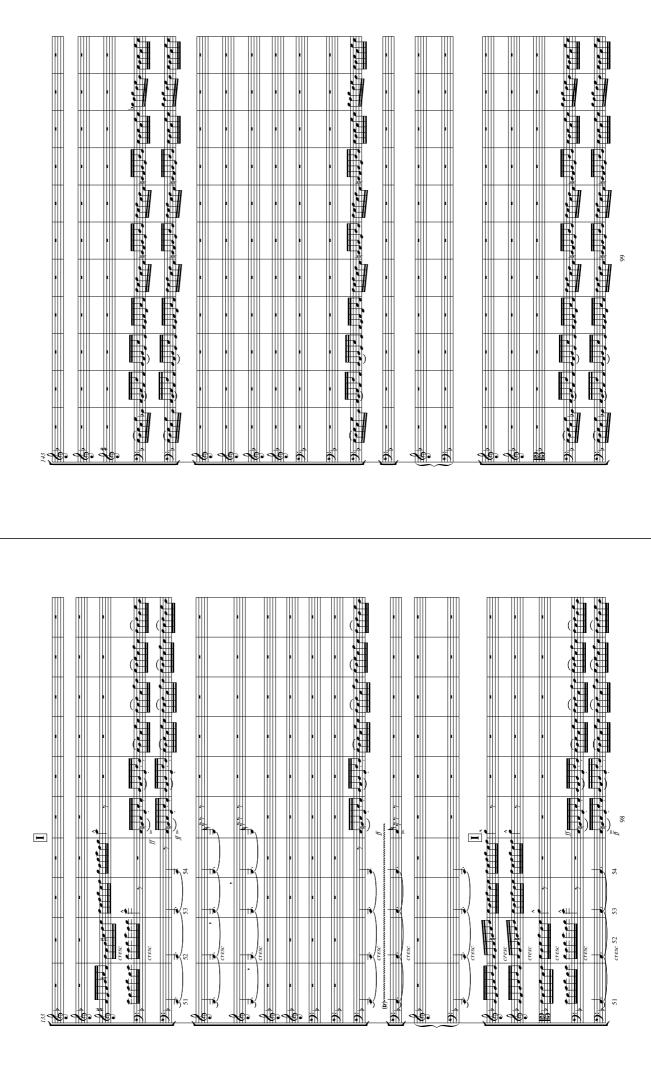
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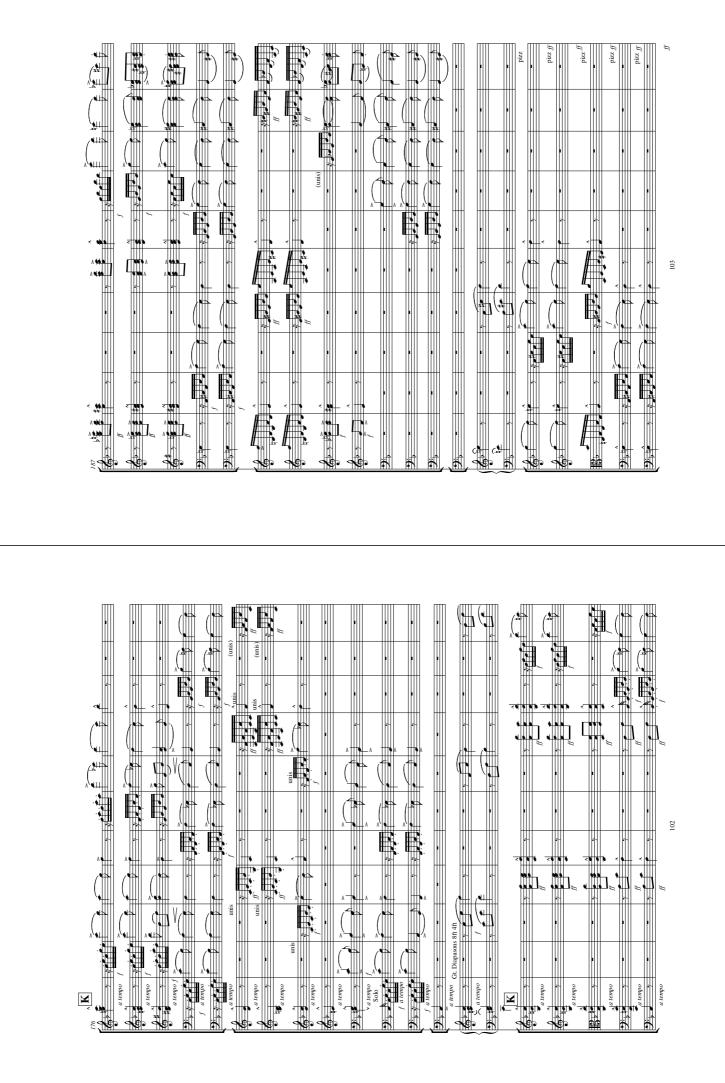
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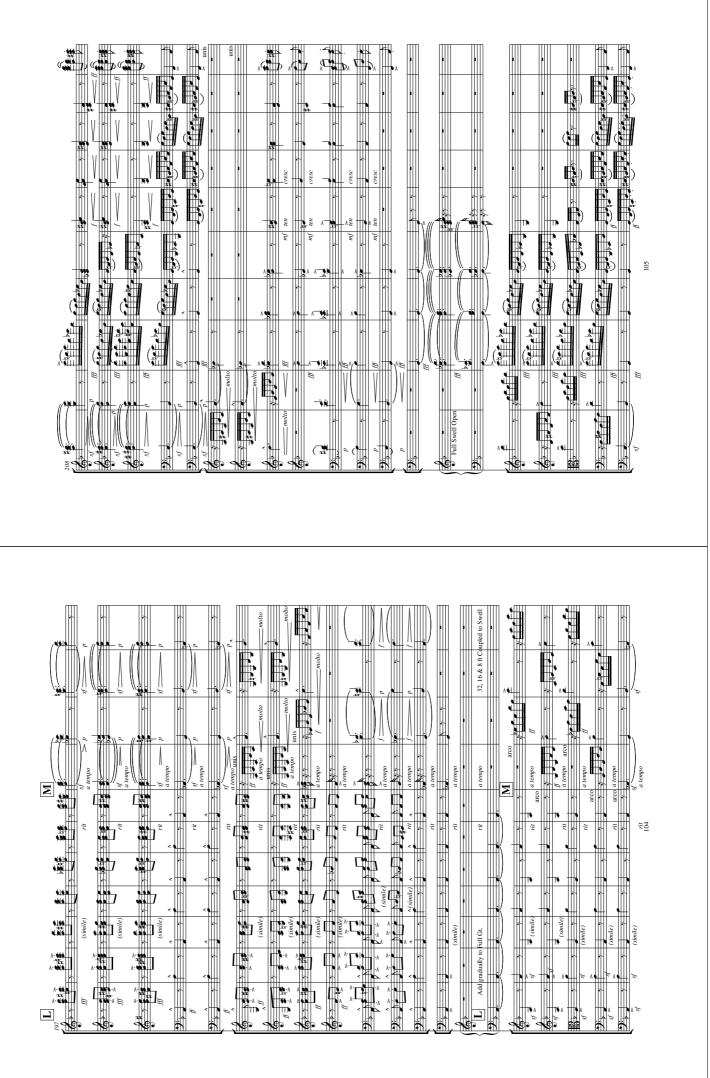
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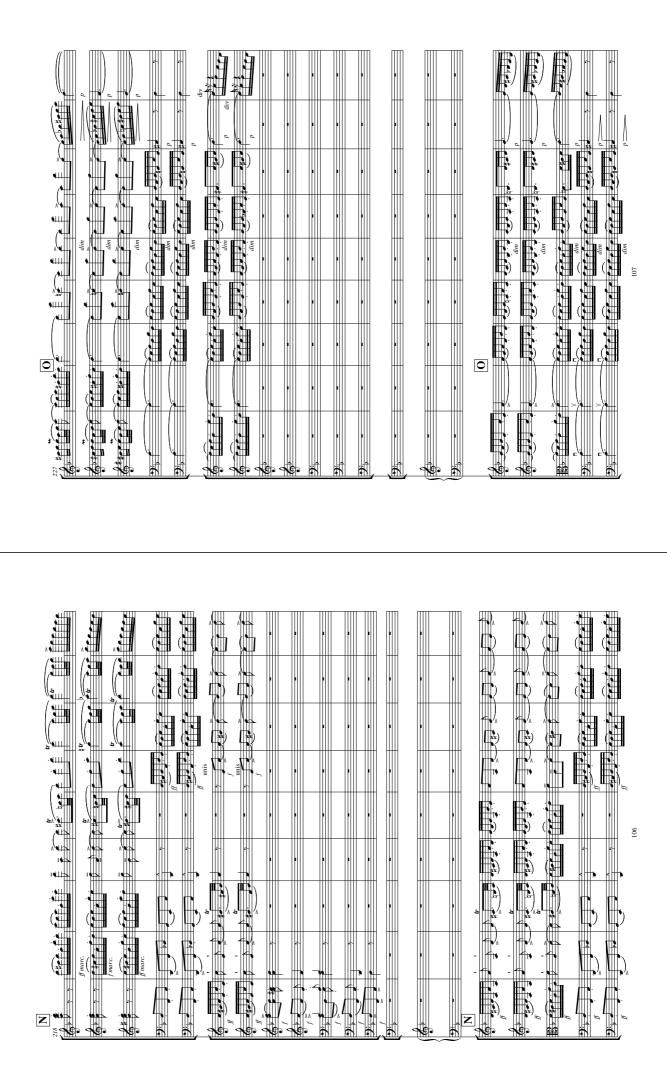


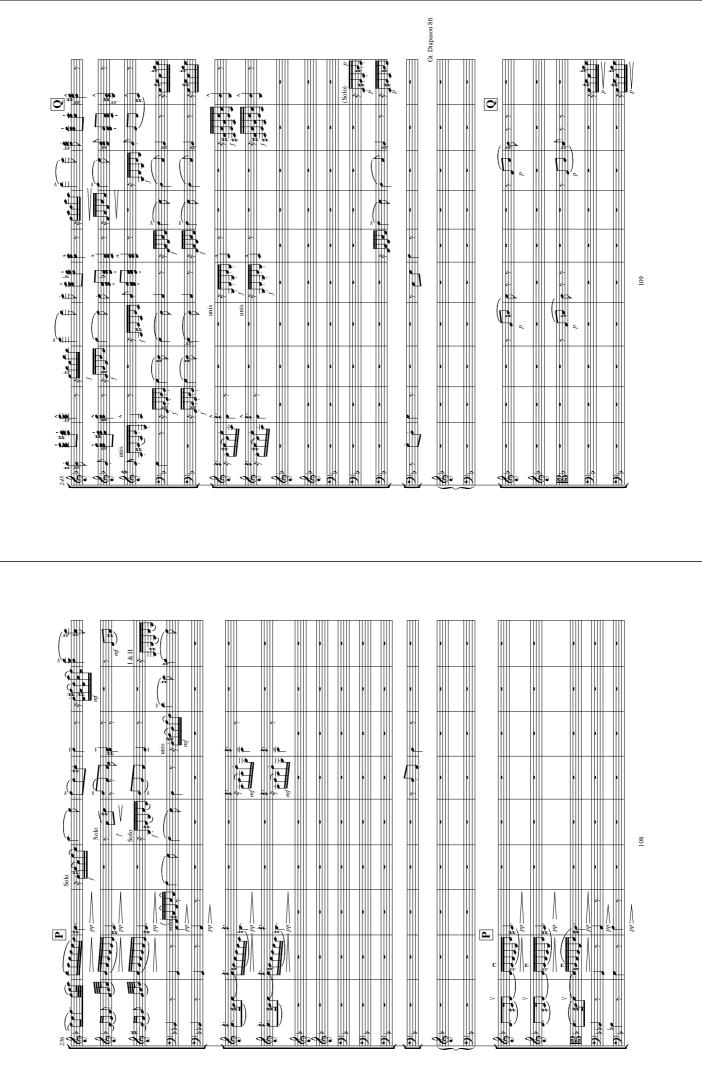
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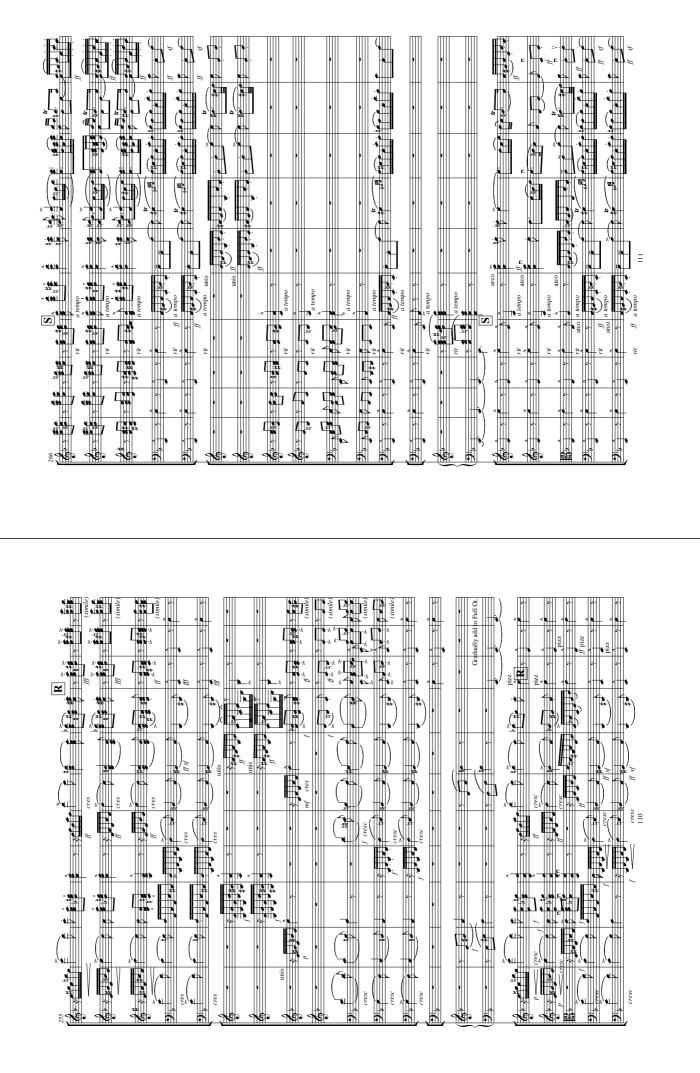
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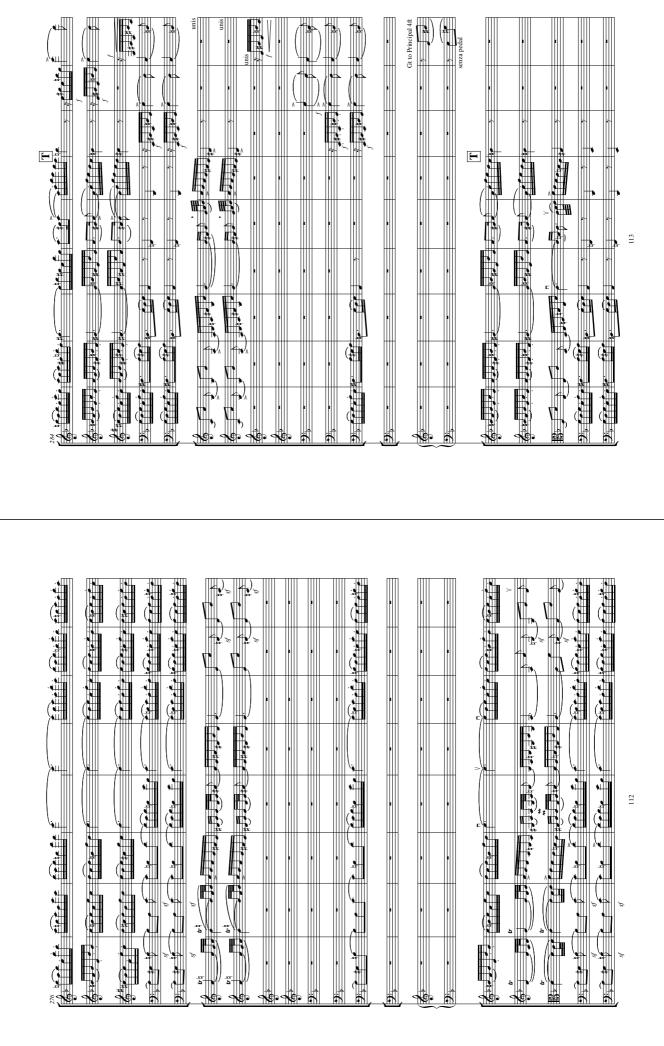


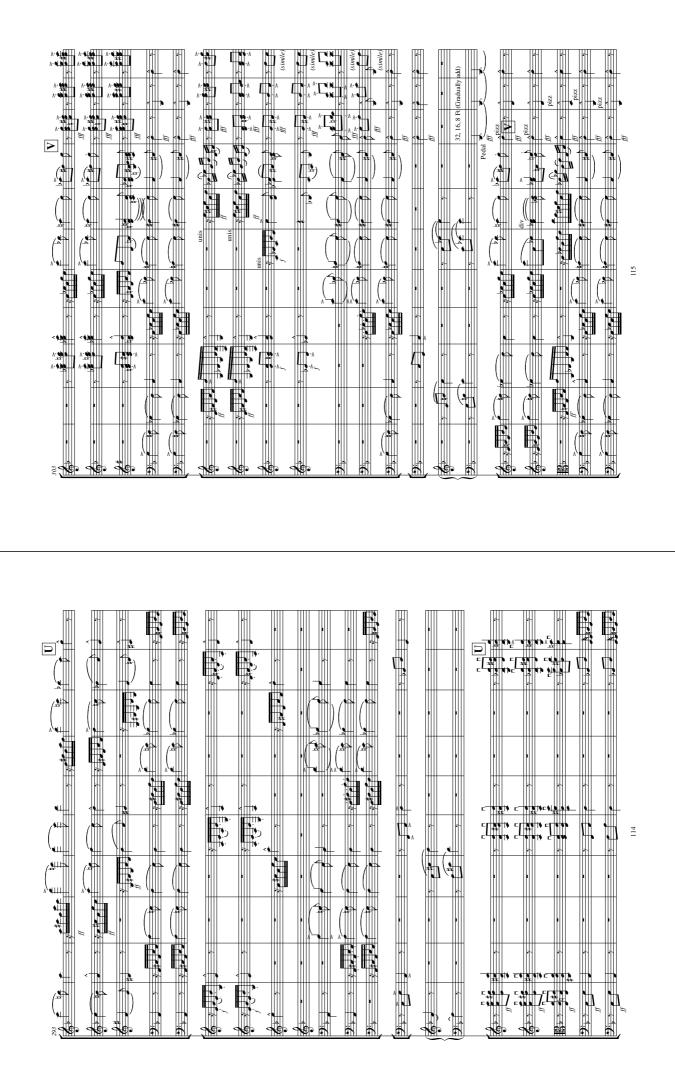


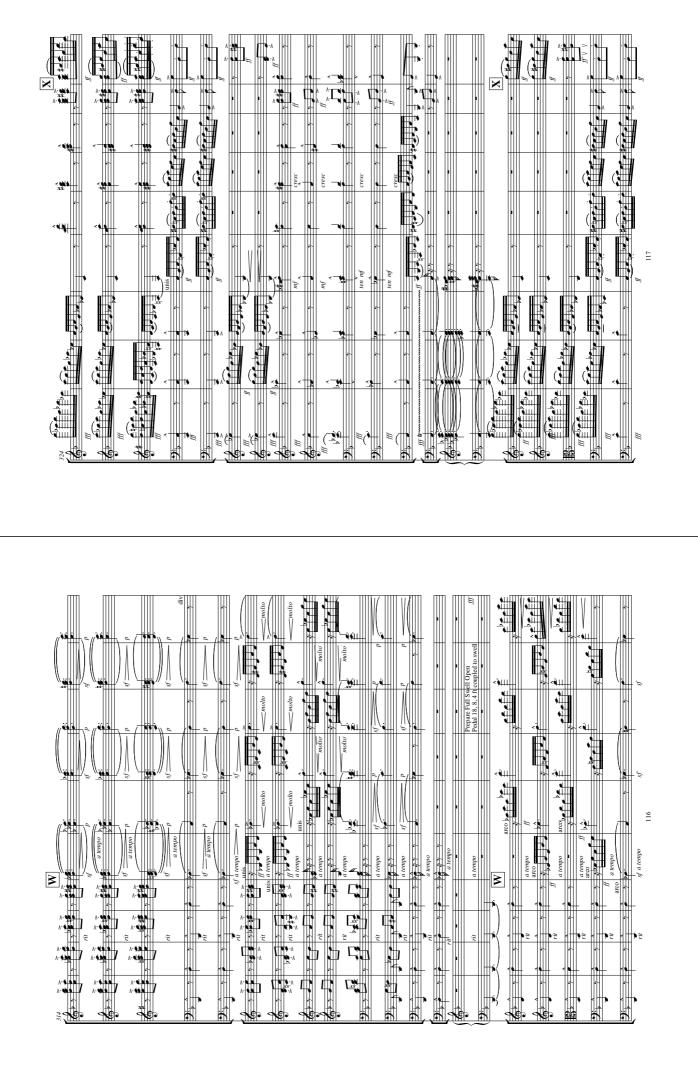


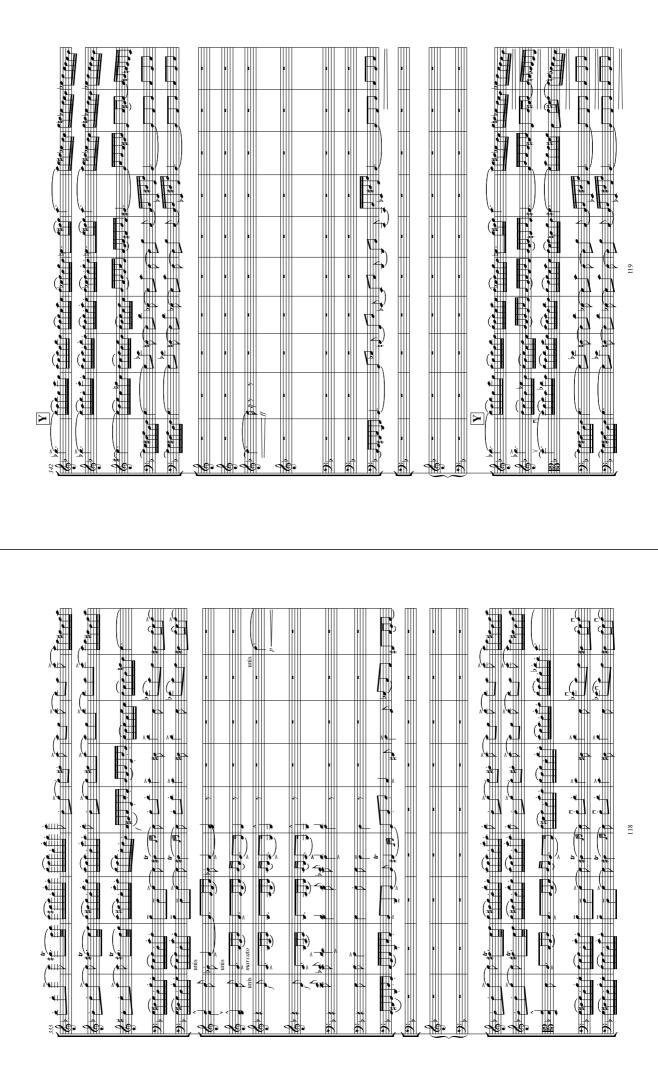


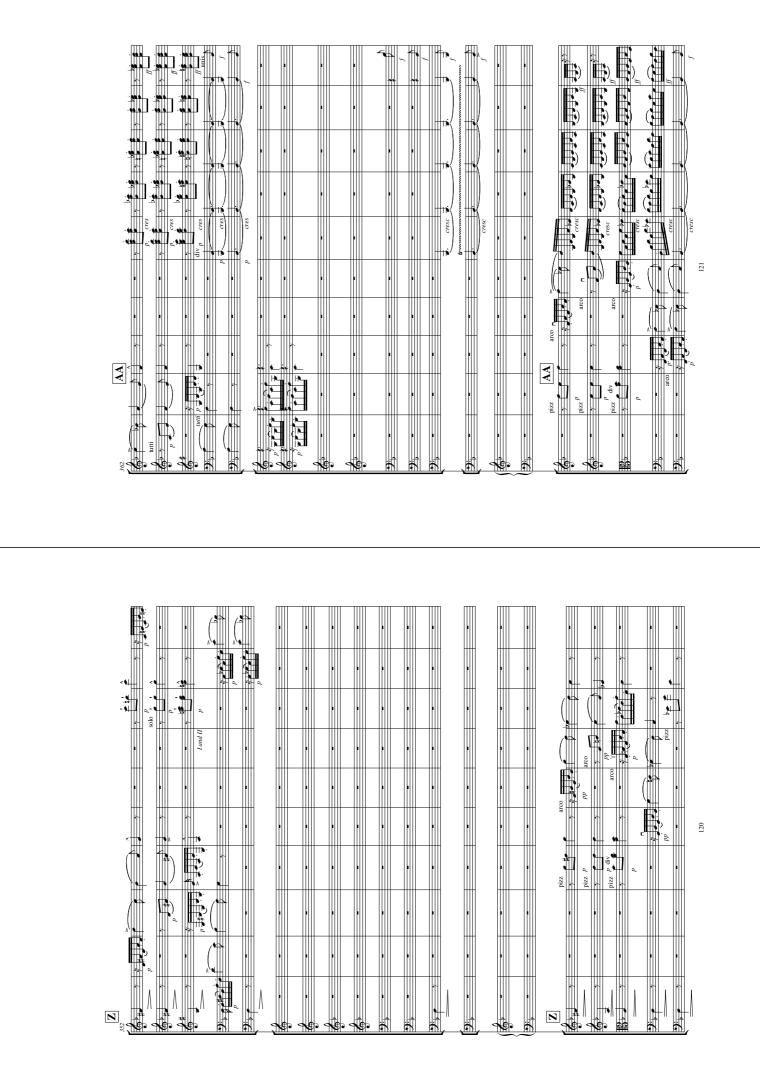


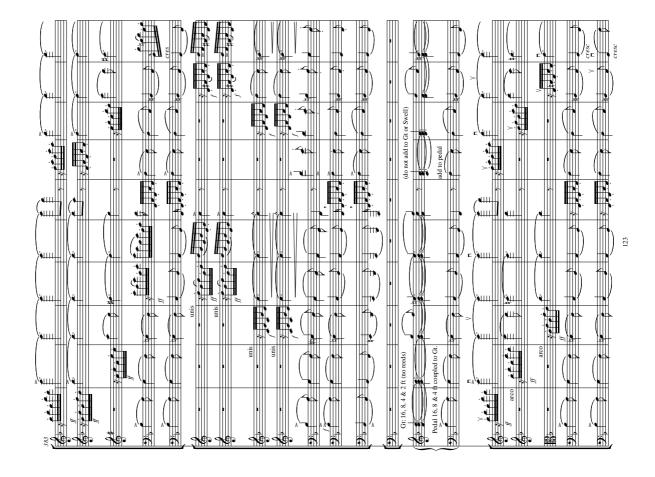


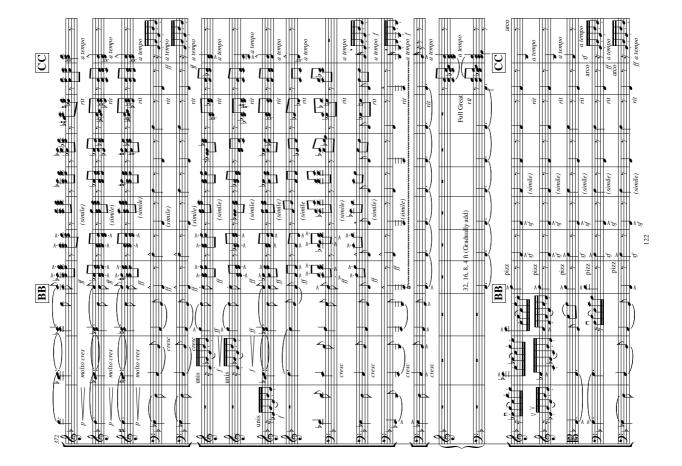


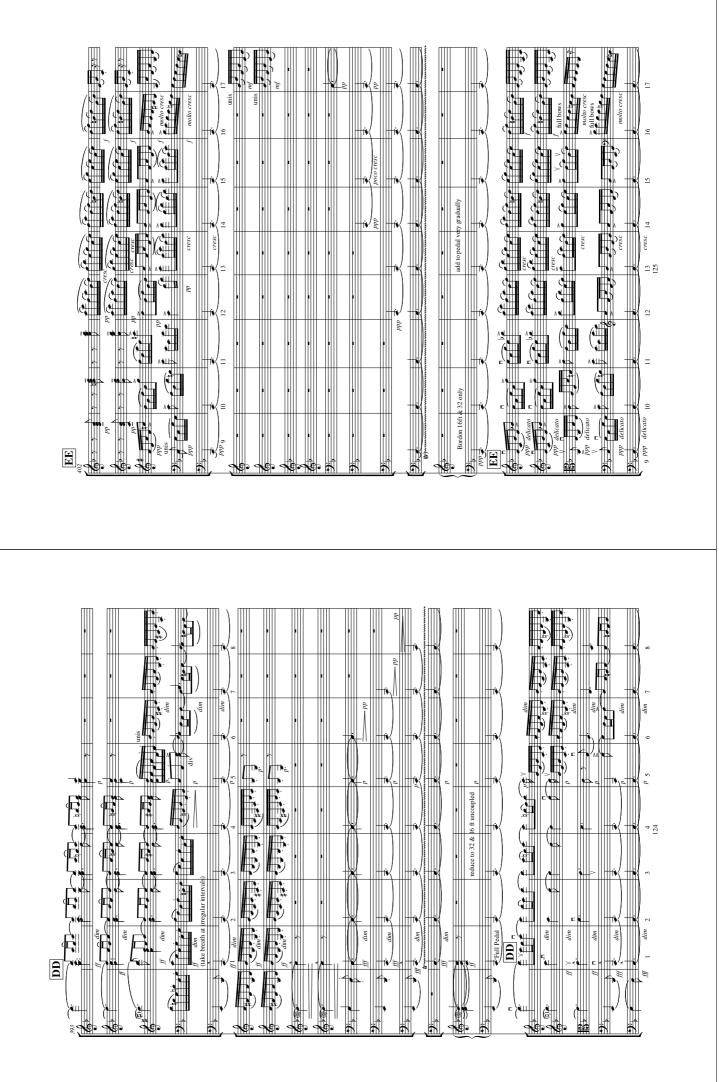


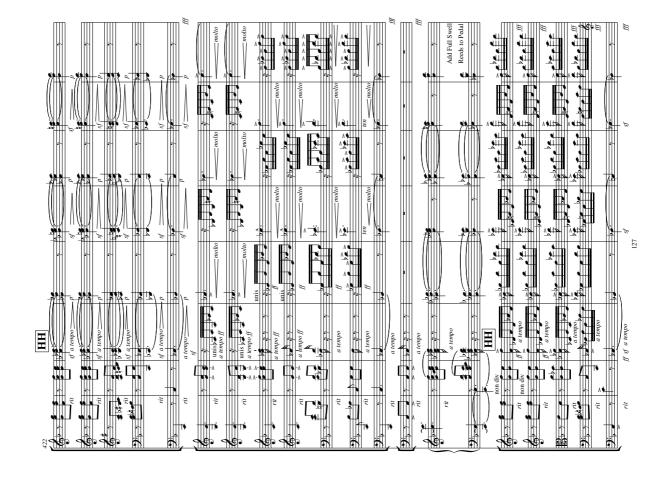


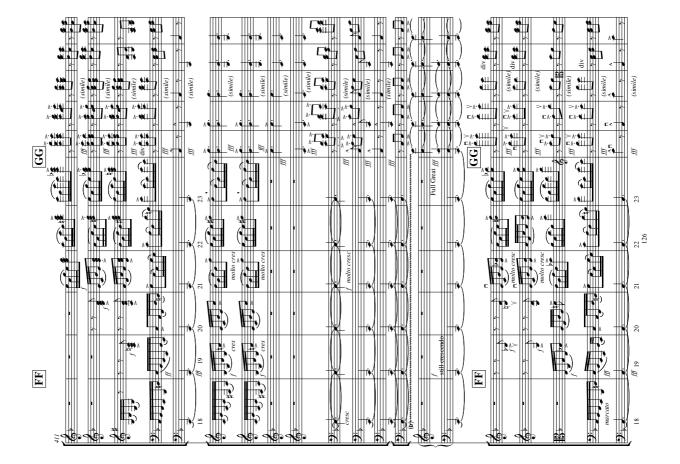


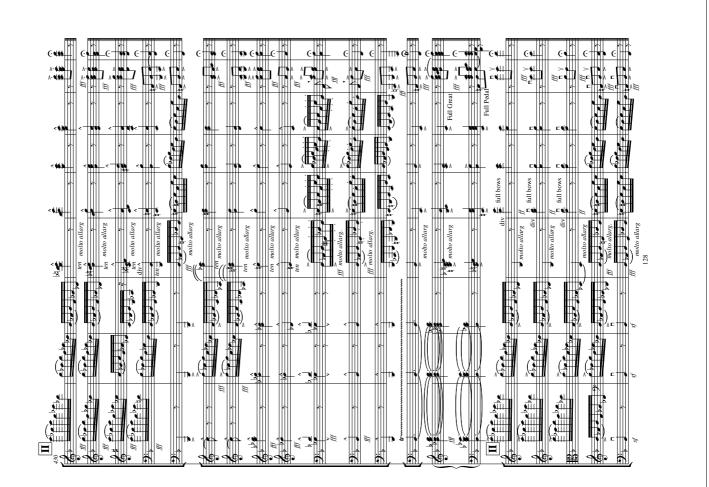












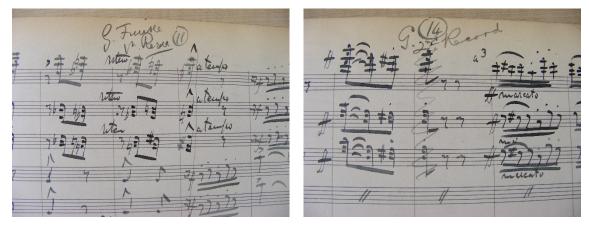
Toccata in F: Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 153668-1001], bars 1-3

12 hunter Megro 3 Flates Oboes 3~ Clarinets Bb Fagotte take breath at irregular interva Contra Fagotto long held notes, en (during there e player 4 Horns in F. Frombas in E. 3 (durin') there long tied notes, the three Troubnes must never Frombones to breath at e place as sen Jubas. 1-1-1 marcin Organ. Oedul 32, 16 + Pyt Coupled & Great + Posel Diapurono (6.8+4/t. Allegro Violin 1st al !! Violin 2nd Violas Violoncello Contrabasso Allegro

Toccata in F: Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 153668-1001], (Woodwind parts shown)

a) bars 174-6, Fig. 11 (Fig K in Appendix b) bars 217 4.15) 4.15)

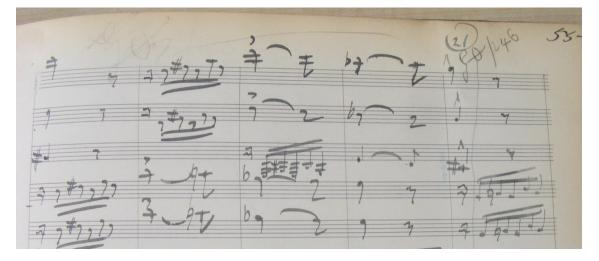
b) bars 217-19, Fig 14 (Fig N in Appendix 4.15)



c) bars 246-250, Fig. 21 (Fig P in Appendix 4.15)



d) bars 298-302, additional Fig. 21 (Figure U in Appendix 4.15)



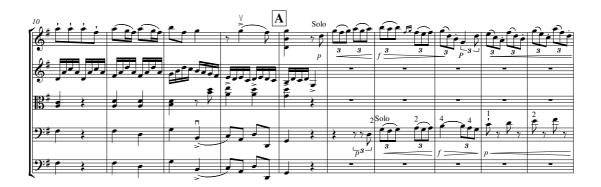
Orchestral Suite No. 5: Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 152244-1001], cover

14 Mins HENRY J. WOOD. Juite u Orchestra Rac (Cetaber 1909)

Orchestral Suite No. 5: New edition after Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152244-1001] and parts [*GB-Lam HW 003*]

Movement I from Organ Concerto No. 1 in G





















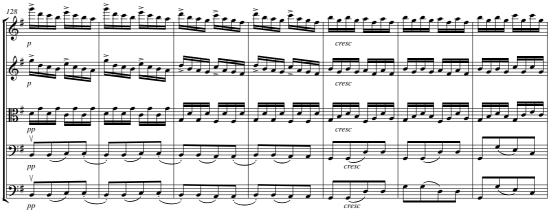


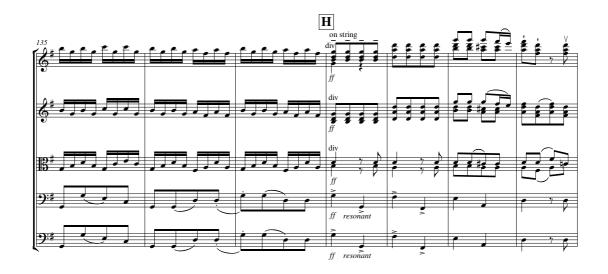


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Movement II from the 4th Organ Sonata in E Minor for Two Manuals and Pedals





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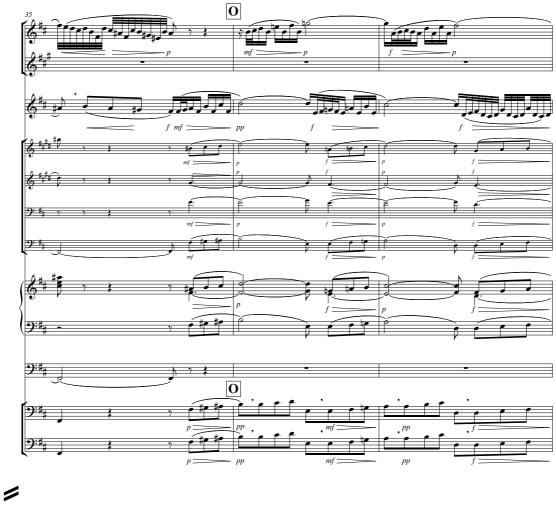
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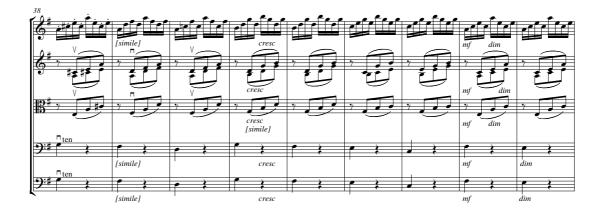
Movement III from 6th Organ Sonata for Two Manuals and Pedal

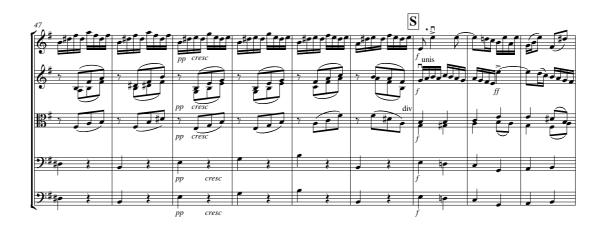








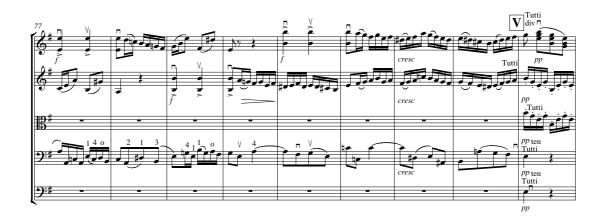




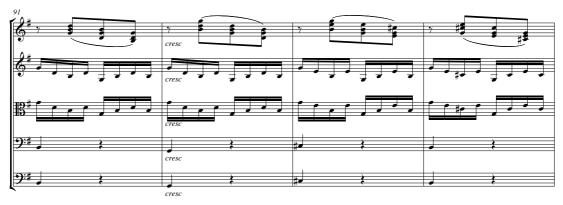












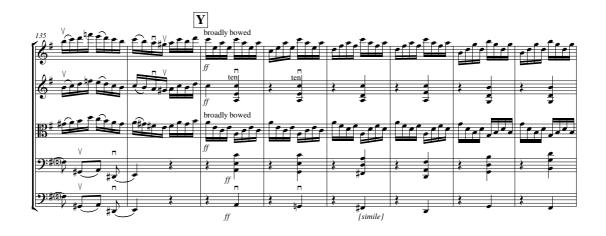




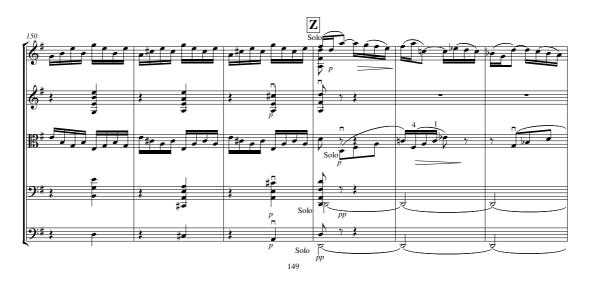










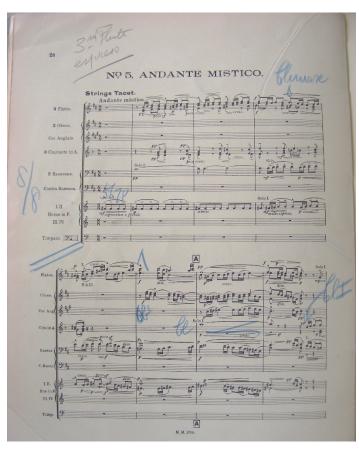








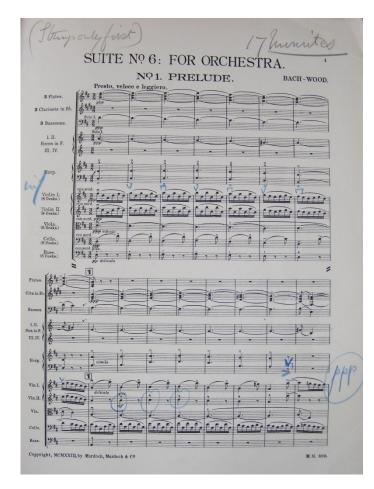
Orchestral Suite No. 6: Wood's published edition [GB-Lam 39526-2001], Movement V (complete)







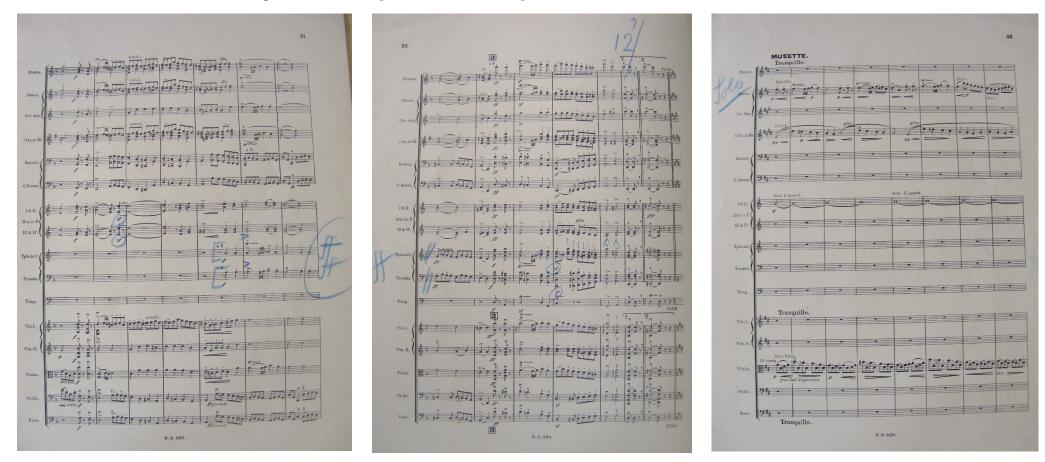
Orchestral Suite No. 6: Wood's published edition [*GB-Lam* 39526-2001], Movement I, Prelude a) bars 1-16



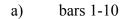
b) bars 53-70



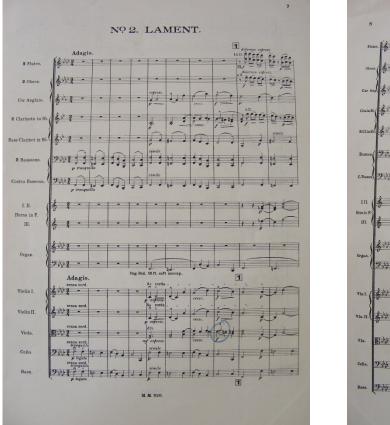
Orchestral Suite No. 6: Wood's published edition [GB-Lam 39526-2001], Movement IV, Gavotte bars 21-33 and Musette, bars 1-8

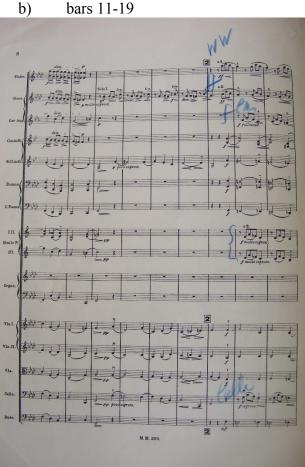


Orchestral Suite No. 6: Wood's published edition [GB-Lam 39526-2001], Movement II, Lament (complete)



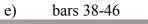
bars 11-19











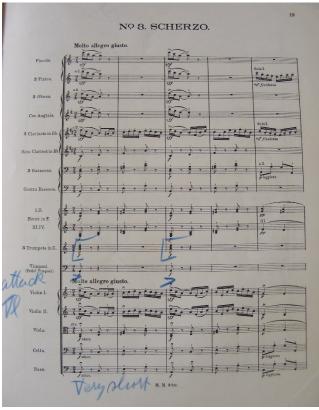




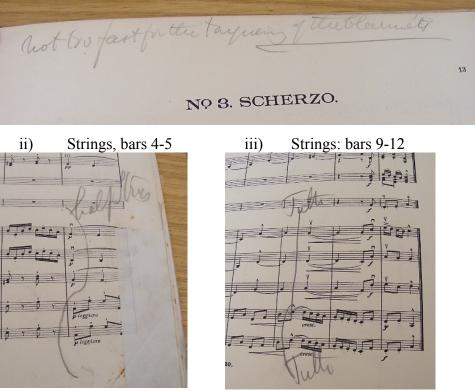
Orchestral Suite No. 6: Movement III, Scherzo

a) Wood's published edition [GB-Lam 39526-2001], bars





- b) Recording Score [*GB-Lam* 39526-2002], examples of additional instructions:
- i) Note at the head of the page



Orchestral Suite No. 6: Movement VI: Comparison of orchestration

a) Bach: BWV 29; Sinfonia, bars 35-44



b) Bachrich: Suite in E; Prelude, bars 33-41 [*GB-Lam* 143634-1001]

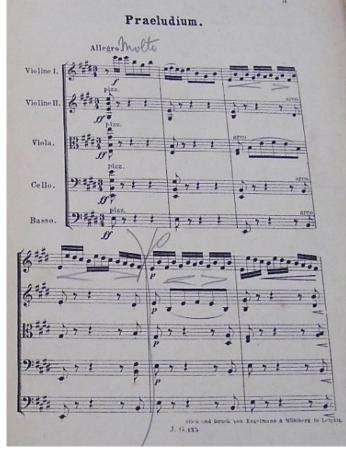


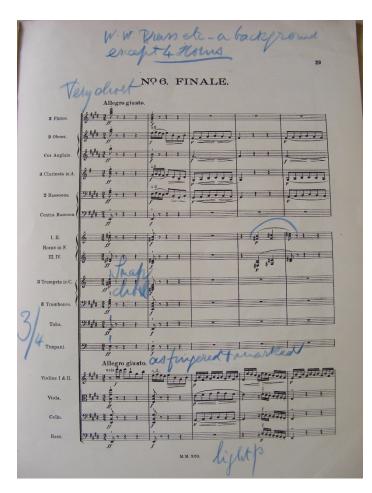
c) Wood: Orchestral Suite No. 6; Finale, bars 36-41 [*GB-Lam* 39526-2001]



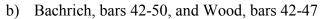
Orchestral Suite No. 6: Movement VI, comparison of Bachrich [GB-Lam 143634-1001] and Wood [GB-Lam 39526-2001]

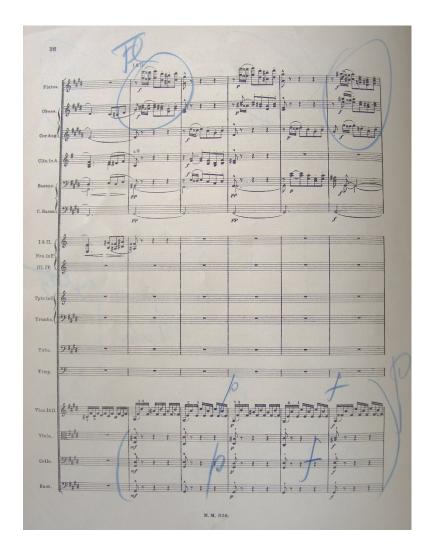
a) Bachrich, bars 1-6, and Wood, bars 1-5









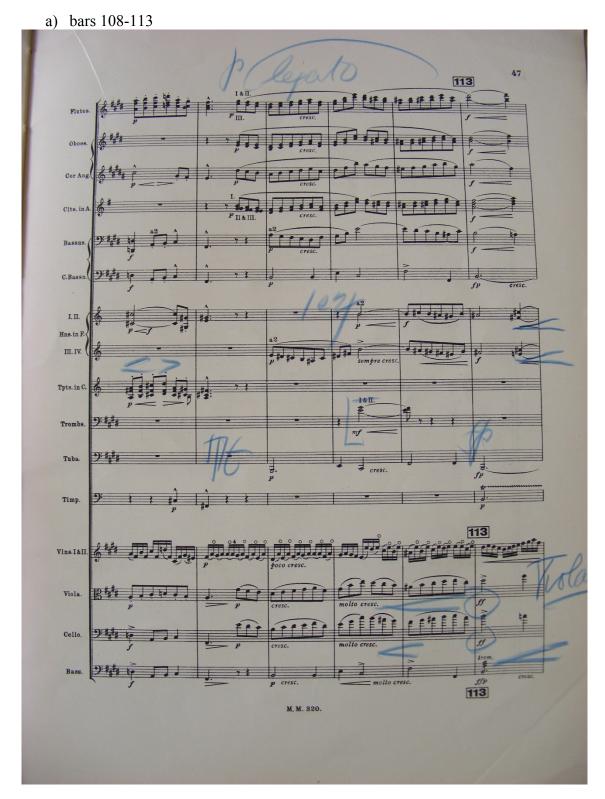


1:10 + tempe + tempo

c) Bachrich, bars 132-138, and Wood, bars 132-138

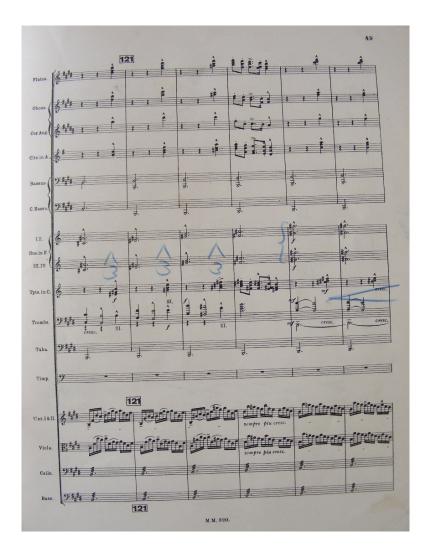


Orchestral Suite No. 6: Wood's published edition [*GB-Lam* 39526-2001], Movement VI

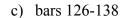


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b) bars 114-125







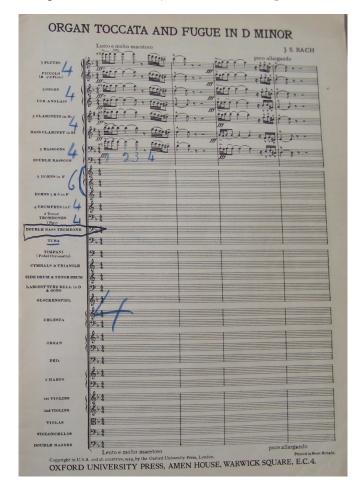
Works by Bach used on film soundtracks from 1931 to 1950¹

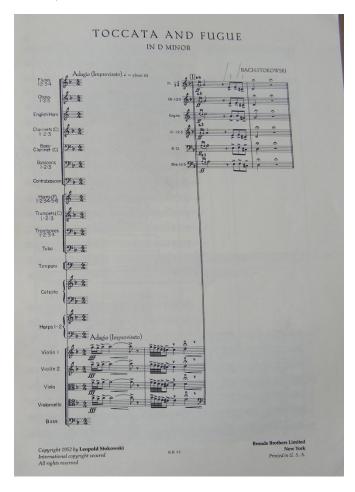
Date	Film	Bach
1931	Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565; Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ in F Minor, BWV 639
1933	Crime on the Hill	Prelude
1934	The Black Cat ("The Vanishing Body"	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BVW 565
	USA)	
1934	Dr Monica	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV565
1935	Break of Hearts	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565
1935	The Raven	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565
1936	El castigador castigado	Extracts from themes by Bach and Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565
1936	Rainbow on the River; "It Happened in	"Ave Maria"
	New Orleans" - USA (reissue title)	
1937	Escape	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565
1938	The Marseillaise (1938	"Musique ancienne" [ancient music] as Bach
1938	Mad About Music (1938)	Gounod/Bach Ave Maria
1938	The Girl of the Golden West	Gounod/Bach Ave Maria
1938	Heimat; "Magda" - USA	Buß' und Reu (from "St Matthew Passion", BWV 244)
1939	A Girl Must Live	Fugue in G
1939	Naughty but Nice	Music acknowledged as JSB
1940	In the Fields of Dreams; "Unelma	Toccata und Fuga
	karjamajalla" -Finland (orig.title)	

¹ Sources include <u>http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Movie/Year.htm</u> and <u>http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001925/</u>

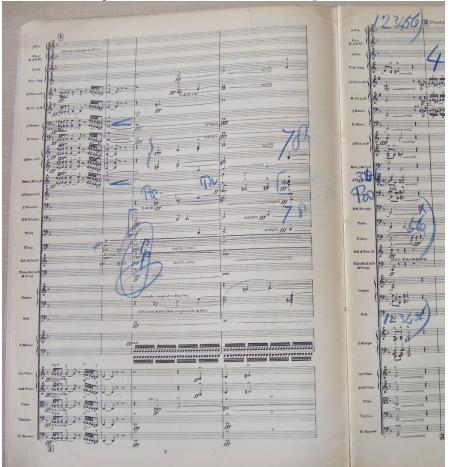
1940	Fantasia ; "Walt Disney's Fantasia" - USA (poster title)	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BMV 565
1940	The Eternal Jew; Der ewige Jude" - Germany (orig. title)	Toccata und Fuge in D-Moll BWV 565
1943	Cuando pasa el amor	Extracts from "Choral" and Sonata in E flat major
1944	A Canterbury Tale	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565
1946	Cross of Love; Rakkauden risti - Finland (orig. title)	Toccata und Fuga
1946	Toccata and Fugue; Musicolor Productions (#1)	Toccata and Fugue in D minor
1946	Concerto; I've Always Loved You - USA (orig. title)	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor
1946	The Beast with Five Fingers	Chaconne in D minor BWV 1004
1947	Motion Painting No. 1	Brandenburg Concerto no. 3, BWV 1048
1947	The Ghosts of Berkeley Square	Toccata and Fugue in D Minor
1948	Concert Magic	'Aria' from Orchestral Suite No.3; 'Prelude' from Violin Partita No. 3; Ave Maria; 'Erbarme dich, mein Gott' from Matthew Passion.
1948	The Dark Past	"Air"
1949	Passione secondo S. Matteo	The St. Matthew Passion
1950	Pastoral	'Sheep may safely graze'
1950	Les Enfants Terribles	Concerto in A minor for 4 pianos (BWV 1065)
1950	Sunset Boulevard	Toccata and Fugue in D-Minor, BWV 565

Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: a) Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007], bars 1-4 and b) Stokowski's edition bars 1-4

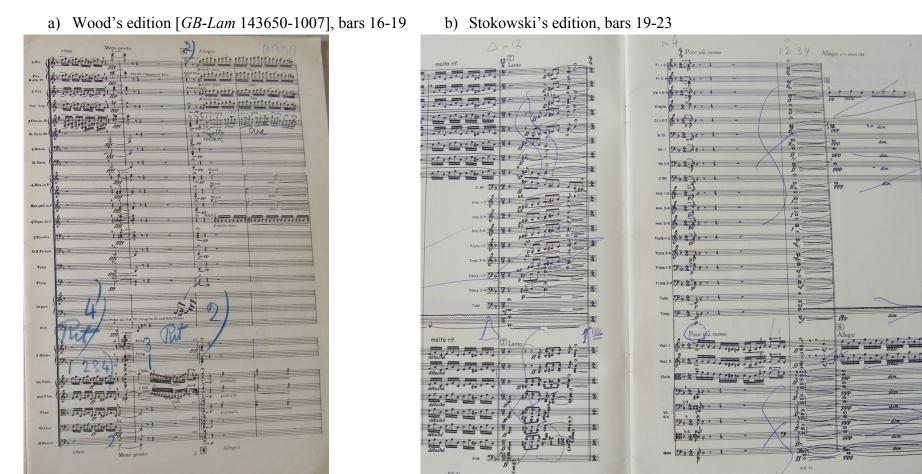




Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007], bars 5-9



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Wood and Stokowski at the same juncture



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach and Wood at the same juncture

a) Bach (BG edition), bars 83-88



b) Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007], bars 90-93

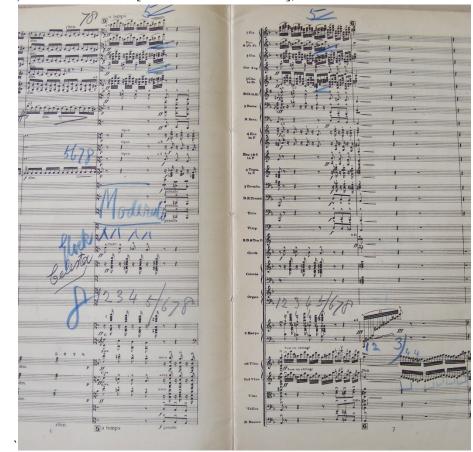


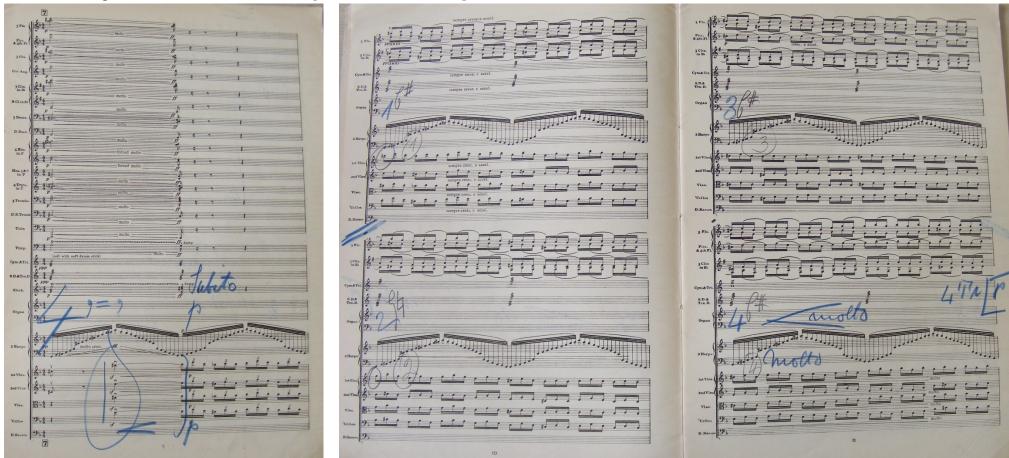
Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach and Wood at the same juncture

a) Bach (BG edition), bars 15-18



b) Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 143650-1007], bars 21-24





Appendix 4.34 Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 143650-1007], bars 28-32

Toccata and fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach, Wood, and Stokowski in the fifth presentation of the fugue

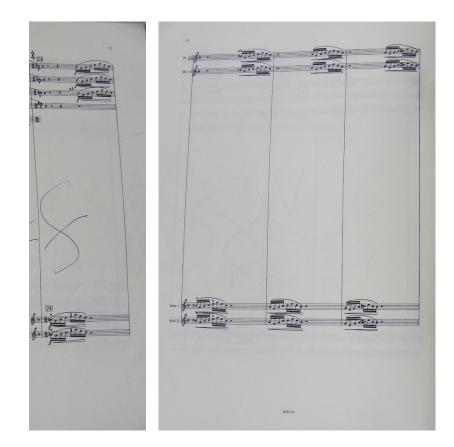
a) Bach (BG edition), bars 64-71



b) Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 143650-1007], bars 72-75

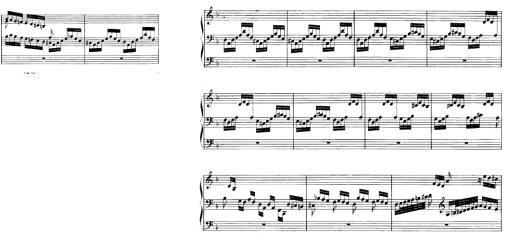


c) Stokowski's edition, bars 99-102



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach and Wood at the same juncture

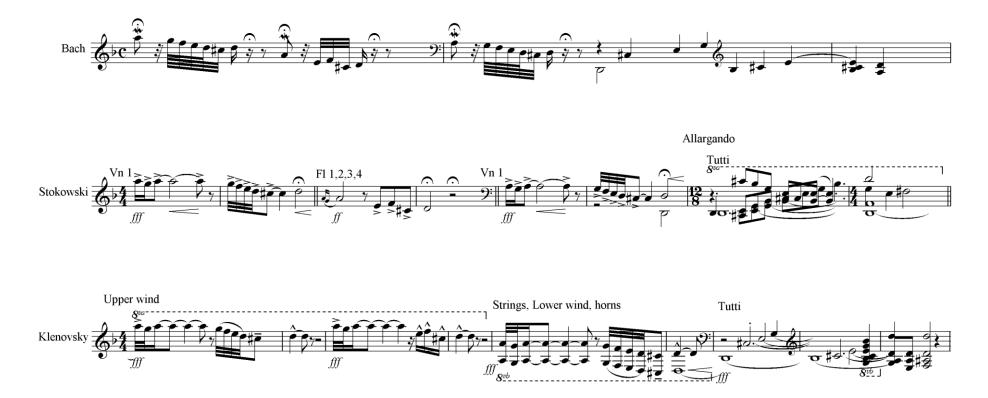
a) Bach (BG edition) bars 73-85



b) Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007], bars 80-89



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of notation of the opening sequences as presented by Bach, Stokowski, and Wood (Klenovsky)



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach, Wood, and Stokowski in their approaches to the second major cadential point in the Toccata

b) Wood's edition [*GB-Lam* 143650-1007],

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a) Bach (BG edition), bars 9-14



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c) Stokowski's edition, bars 19-23

Doss 9 1 2 2 0 + 1

Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Bach, Wood and Stokowski at the same juncture in the Maestoso

a) Bach (BG edition), bars 28-31



b) Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007, bars 34-36

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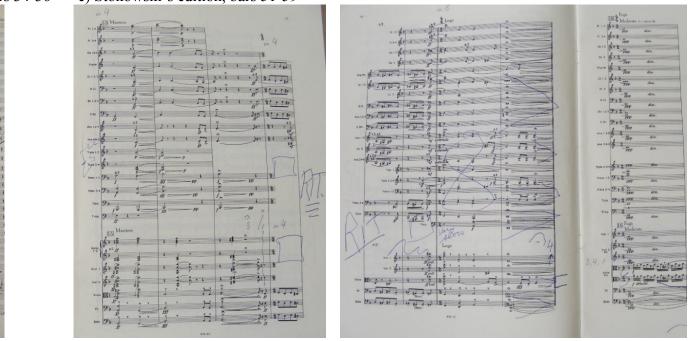
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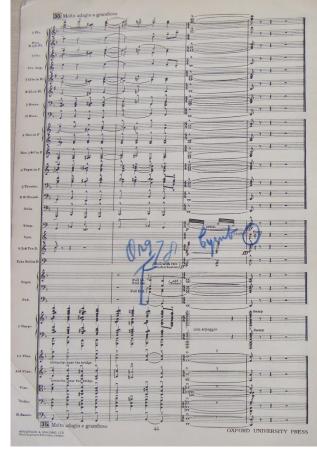
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c) Stokowski's edition, bars 51-59



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: comparison of Wood and Stokowski in the final bars

a) Wood's edition [GB-Lam 143650-1007], bars 147-150



b) Stokowski's edition, bars 187-190



Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: A comparison of tempo markings in the scores of Bach, Stokowski, and Wood

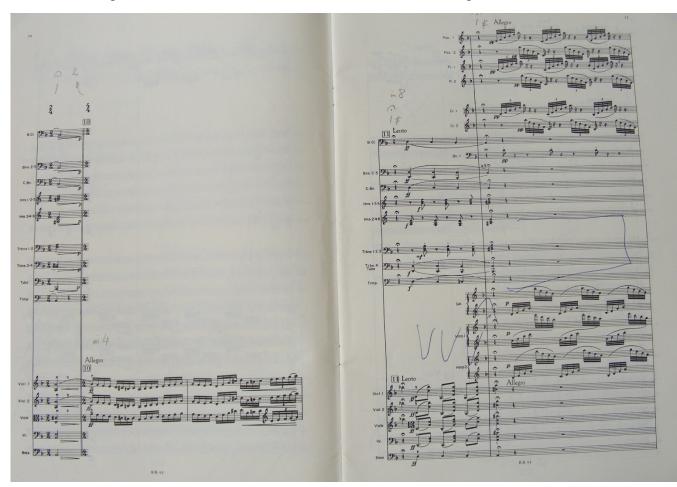
	Bach		Stokowsl	ki			Wood			
	Bar	Tempo	Bar	Fig.	T-sig	Tempo	Bar	Fig.	T-sig	Tempo
Toccata	1	Adagio	1		4/4	Adagio (Improvisato) crotchet = about 63	1 3-4		4/4	Lento e molto maestoso Poco Allargando
			7 8	3	12/8 4/4	Allargando				
	4	Prestissimo	9	4	4/8	Allegro Quaver = about 120	10	2		Prestissimo
			19 20 21	7	12/8 4/4	Molto rit Lento Poco piu mosso	16 16-17	3		Riten. Meno Presto
			23 27	8		Allegro, crotchet=about 144 Rit.	18 21	4		Allegro Riten.
			30 31 32 33	9		Allegro Lento Allegro Lento	22	5	8/8	A tempo
			34 35 37 38 39	10 11	2/4 4/4	Allegro Lento Allegro Lento	26	6		Riten.

			41	12		Allegro				
			42			Animato,rit				
			43	14		Pause				
	22	Prestissimo	44			Allegro	29	7	4/4	Sempre Accel.
			51	15		crotchet=about 126	31			Maestoso
						Maestoso				
			54		4/8		32	8		Accel.
			57		4/4	Largo	33			Riten.
							34			Lento
Fuga			59	16	4/4	Moderato	34	9		(Allegro
			73		2/4	crotchet=about 84				Sostenuto)
			74	19	4/4					
			77							
			83			Un Pochiss.				
						Largamente				
						Piu Animato				
			86		2/4	Piu Tranquillo	62	14		Poco Allarg.
			87	21	4/4	A tempo	62			A tempo
			89	22	2/4	Pochiss. Animando				
			94	23	4/4	Crotchet= about				
			98		2/4	128				
			99	24	4/4					
			103	25		A tempo	75	17		A tempo
						crotchet=about 84				
			106	26		Animato	79	(18)		Tranquillo
			111		2/4	crotchet=about 128				
			112		4/4	Ritenuto	89	(20)		Poco Riten.
			114	27	2/4	A tempo	91	21	8/8	
						crotchet=about 84				

		117	28	4/4	A tempo giusto crotchet = about 88	92 95	22	4/4	Poco Accel.
		123		2/4					
		124	30	4/4					
		135		2/4					
		136		4/4					
		140			Rit				
		141	32		Largo, accel	114	27		Riten, Allarg.
		142			A tempo crotchet =	115			A tempo
		145			about 92				
		146		2/4	Accel				
					Poco a poco				
		147	33	4/4	Piu agitato	120	28	4/4	Agitato
		151			Rit				
		152	34		A tempo giusto crotchet = about 88	125	29		Allargando
		155			Rit				
		156	35		Poco a poco piu				
					largo				
		159			Pause	131	31		Rall.
127	Recitativo				Presto crotchet =	132		8/8	
		163			about 156	134			Rall.
					Rit				
130	Adagissimo	165	37		Maestoso crotchet	135	32		Adagissimo
	0	167	38	4/8	= about 50	137			Accel.
		169		1/4		137			Riten.
		170		4/4					
					Lento				
133	Presto	171	(39)		Presto crotchet =	139	33	8/8	Presto (8/8)
		173		2/4	about 146				× /
		174		4/4					

136	Adagio	177 178 179		1/4 4/4	Rit molto (to 179) Adagio	142			Riten.
137	Vivace	180 185	40		Vivace (non troppo) crotchet = about 96 Poco a poco rit	143	34	8/8	Molto moderato brillante
141	Molto Adagio	188	41		Molto Adagio	147 149	35	4/4	Molto adagio e grandioso
	137	137 Vivace 141 Molto Adagio	136 Adagio 178 137 Vivace 180 185 185 141 Molto 188 Adagio 188	136 Adagio 178 137 Vivace 180 40 185 185 41 141 Molto 188 41	136 Adagio 178 4/4 137 Vivace 180 40 185 185 40 141 Molto 188 41	136 Adagio 178 4/4 Adagio 137 Vivace 180 40 Vivace (non troppo) crotchet = about 96 185 185 Poco a poco rit 141 Molto Adagio	136 Adagio 178 4/4 Adagio 142 137 Vivace 180 40 Vivace (non troppo) crotchet = about 96 143 141 Molto 188 41 Molto Adagio 147 141 Molto 188 41 Molto Adagio 147	136 Adagio 178 4/4 Adagio 142 137 Vivace 180 40 Vivace (non troppo) crotchet = about 96 143 34 141 Molto 188 41 Molto Adagio 147 35	136 Adagio 178 4/4 Adagio 142 142 137 Vivace 180 40 Vivace (non troppo) crotchet = about 96 Poco a poco rit 143 34 8/8 141 Molto Adagio 188 41 Molto Adagio 147 35

Toccata and Fugue in D Minor: Stokowski's edition, alternation of allegros and lentos in bars 30 to 41



Appendix 4.43 Wood's Bach discography

Bach Orchestral Arrangem	ients	
Work	Recording details	Orchestra
Gavotte (Mvt. 3) from Partita for	Columbia L1515 [mx. AX 4]; 16 May 1923	New Queen's Hall Orchestra
Suite No. 6, for full orchestra	Columbia L1684/1685 [mx. AX 909/12]; 5 February 1925	New Queen's Hall Orchestra
Prelude (Mvt. 1) from Partita for solo violin No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006	Columbia L2335 [WAX 5031]; 19 June 1929	New Queen's Hall Orchestra
Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D major, BWV1068: Air ('Air on a G String') arr. Welhelmj	Columbia unissued [mx. CAX 6442]; Beulah 2PD3; October 1932 at the Central Methodist Hall, London	British Symphony Orchestra
Gavotte (Mvt. 3) from Partita for solo violin No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006: Transcribed for orchestra	Columbia unissued [mx. CAX 6442]; Beulah 2PD3; 16 June 1932 at the Central Methodist Hall, London	British Symphony Orchestra
Toccata & Fugue in D minor, BWV 565, transcribed for orchestra	Decca K.768 [mx. TA 1781/2], Beulah 2PD3; Biddulph Recordings 83069/70; 2 May 1935 at Decca Queen Street Studio, London	New Queen's Hall Orchestra
Bach Orchestral Works		
Work	Recording details	Orchestra
Brandenburg Concerto No. 6	UK Columbia LX 41 and LX 42, and US Columbia 67842-D and 67843-D (released September 1930); 12 June 1930, in the Central Hall, Westminster	British Symphony Orchestra
Brandenburg Concerto No. 3	UK Columbia LX 173, and US Columbia 68084-D (released October 1932); 16 June 1932	British Symphony Orchestra
Concerto in D Minor for Keyboard BWV 1052	Columbia; original issue numbers: L 1624; L 1625; L 1626; Recording date unknown	Unidentified Orchestra with Harriet Cohen (piano)

Recordings of Stokowski conducting his own orchestral arrangement of the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor BWV 565

Date	Orchestra	Ref. Original and Subsequent Re-releases
06/04/1927	Philadelphia Orchestra	Matrix: CVE 37468/9; Victor 6751 *78; Victor MA 6 *78; RCA RVC 1522 *78; RCA RED 2034 *78; HM V D 1428 *78; RCA TVM 2-7032 *78; Gramophone W 979 *78; Victor VCM 7101 *33; RCA VIC 6060 *33; dell'Arte DA 9001 *33; Neiman-Marcus DM M4-0341-3 *33; Pearl GEMM CD 9488 *CD+; Pearl GEMM CDS 9098 *CD+; Phonographe PH 5025/26 *CD+; Grammofono AB 78586 *CD; Magic Talent CD 48002 *CD; Andante 2985 *CD+; Allegro CDO 1011 *CD; Magic Master MM 37022 *CD; History 20.3290 *CD; Cantus 5.00090 *CD; Naxos 8.111297 *CD
26/11/1934	Philadelphia Orchestra	Matrix: CS 87006/7; Victor 8697 *78; Victor M 1064 *78; Victor RL-9 *78; HMV DB 2572 *78; Music & Arts CD 1173 *CD+
25/05/1939	Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra	[live]RSPO 1000-2 *CD; Toccata: Orfeus 1-73-1 *33
1939	Philadelphia Orchestra	Top Rank 30-003 *33; Disneyland/US WDX 101 *33; Disneyland WDL 4101 *33; Buena Vista BVS 101 *33; Columbia CSS 76-7 *33; King FML 83 *33; Columbia CS 7217/8 *33; Disneyland 101VT *RR; Buena Vista CD 020 *CD; Pickwick DSTCD 452 D *CD+; Pony Canyon PCCD 00009 *CD; Avex AVCW 12048/9 *CD
04/07/1941	All-American Youth Orchestra	Columbia X 219 *78; Cala CACD 0527 *CD+
22/03/1947	Leopold Stokowski Symphony Orchestra	Victor 11-9653 *78; Victor 49-0263 *45; HMV 7RF 136 *45; Victor LM 2042 *33; Victor LRM 7033 *33; HMV BLP 1074 *33; RCA AGM1-5280 *33; RCA LS 2135 *33; Victor ES 8584 *45; RCA GD 60922 *CD+; RCA BVCC 5205 *CD; Archipel ARPCD 0056 *CD; Dutton CDBP 9803 *CD
07/05/1954	BBC Symphony Orchestra	[live]BBC TV Production+
15/02/1957	Leopold Stokowski Symphony Orchestra	(mono) Capitol P 8399 *33; (mono) Capitol P 8694 *33; Capitol SP 8694 *33; Capitol SP 8399 *33; Angel S 60235 *33; Seraphim SIB 6094 *33; EMI SFMP 2145 *33; Toshiba SLC 24 *33; Toshiba ECA 93105 *33; Toshiba ECC 30090 *33; Toshiba 47099/100 *33; Toshiba ECC 55130 *33; Toshiba CSC 5038 *33; Toshiba CA 8196 *33; EMI 7 69072 2 *CD+; EMI 5 65614 2 *CD+; EMI 5 66385 2 *CD+; EMI HMV 5 74049 2 *CD; Toshiba CC 33-3797 *CD; Toshiba TOCE 8849 *CD; Toshiba TOCE 7113 *CD; Toshiba TOCE 3300 *CD; Toshiba CA 4555 *CD; EMI 5577580 2 *CD; EMI 50999 6 98555 2 8 *CD
03/01/1962	Chicago Symphony Orchestra	[live]VAI 69603 *VHS+; Denon COBO-4061 *DVD+
13/07/1965	Japan Philharmonic Orchestra	[live]Platz P23G-535 *CD; Kapelle 32G 175807 *CD+
09/08/1967	Sveriges Radios Symfoniorkester	[live]BIS 76.30899/4 *33; BIS LP-331 *33
7,8/09/72	Czech Philharmonic Orchestra	[live](07/09/72) TV Production; Supraphon 1110 1953 *33; London SPC 21096 *33; Decca PFS 4278 *33; Decca D94D2 *33; King SLC 2410 *33; King K30Y 1512 *CD; King GT9141*33; King K38C 70011 *33; King SLC 8051*33; King K20C 8649 *33; King GT9231 *33; Decca 6.42297 *33; Decca 417 851-2 *CD+; Decca 421 639-2 *CD; Pickwick IMPX 9033 *CD+; Decca 448 946-2 *CD+; Super Analogue Disc *33; KIJC 9118 *33; King KICC 8135 *CD; Decca 467 828-2 *CD; Decca 433 876-2 *CD; King 30E 5107 *CD; King KICC 8300 *CD; King KICC 8472 *CD; King KICC 9255 *CD; Decca POCL 9890 *CD; Decca POCL 90104 *CD; Decca UCCD 7018 *CD; Decca 475 145-2 *CD
27,29/07/74	London Symphony Orchestra	RCA 09026 68643 2 (in 09026 68443 2) *CD+; RCA BVCC 38001 *CD; RCA BVCC 38248 *CD
27/07/1974	London Symphony Orchestra	rehearsal [live]

Appendix 5.1 Wood's significant events in introducing orchestral Bach

Year	Significant Event
1897	Introduced Esser's Toccata in F: the first orchestral Bach at the Proms
1898	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 to Prom audiences
1901	Introduced Orchestral Suite No. 3 to Prom audiences
1901	(Gave lecture: <i>Johann Sebastian Bach: The life and times in which he lived</i> , Nottingham)
1903	Introduced Bachrich's Gavotte in E to Prom audiences
1904	Introduced Brandenburg Concertos 3 and 5 and Orchestral Suite No. 2 to Prom audiences
1905	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 and Wilhelmj's 'Air on a G String' to Prom audiences
1905	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 to England (disputed)
1906	Introduced Orchestral Suites Nos. 1 and 4 to Prom audiences
1908	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 to England
1909	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 to Prom audiences
1909	Completed Orchestral Suite No. 5 and premiered at the Proms
1909	Allocated Friday Night Proms for Bach
1911	Introduced Mahler's New Bach Orchestral Suite to England
1913	Arranged Toccata in F and premiered it at the Proms
1916	Arranged Orchestral Suite No. 6 and premiered it at the Proms
1922	Introduced Elgar's Fugue in C Minor to Prom audiences
1923	Introduced Elgar's Fantasie (and Fugue) to Prom audiences
1923	Published Orchestral Suite No. 6
1925	Introduced Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 to Prom audiences
1925	Allocated Wednesday Night Proms for Bach
1925	Recorded Orchestral Suite No. 6
1928	Introduced Schoenberg's Two Chorale Preludes to Prom audiences
1929	Recorded Brandenburg 6
1929	Arranged Toccata and Fugue in D Minor and Premiered at the Proms
1932	Recorded Brandenburg 3
1934	Published Toccata and Fugue in D Minor
1935	Recorded Toccata and Fugue in D Minor
1938	Introduced Respighi's Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor to Prom audiences
1938	(Published, My Life of Music including a chapter on Bach)
1944	Published his edition of Brandenburg 3
1945	(Posthumously published <i>About Conducting</i> – including many references to Bach)

Manuscripts prepared by Wood in the 1940s¹

Date	Composer	Work	RAM Class-mark
1944	Handel	Concerto no.4 for organ and orchestra in F	MS2481
1943	Bach	Brandenburg concerto, no.6 in B flat: for 2 violas da braccio, 2 violas da gamba,	MS2428
		violoncello, violone and cembalo	
1943	Bach	Brandenburg concerto, no.5 in D: for solo pianoforte, flute and violin with	MS2427
		accompaniment of strings	
1942	Handel	7th concerto in B flat for organ and orchestra op7 no1	MS2483
1942	Handel	Overture 'Semele'	MS2344
1941/	Purcell	Trumpet voluntary : for trumpets, trombones, timpani & side drum & full orchestra (in default	MS2526
6 ²		of Organ)	
1941	Bach	Fantasia and fugue in G minor: transcribed for full orchestra	MS2430
1940	Goffin	Heroic suite (No. 1, in D minor)	MS2636
1940	Schubert	The Erl King ("Who rides there so late"): in E minor	MS2550
1940	Schumann	The two grenadiers ("To France"): song	MS2549A
1940	Haydn	Two songs. (a) My mother bids me bind my hair [and] (b) The mermaid's song	MS2490

¹ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, pp. 434-5.
² A fair copy in the hand of a copyist, originally dated April 1941 but copied in 1946.

Appendix	5.3
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Year	Composer	Work	Publisher
1944	Bach	Brandenburg Concerto, No. 3: for Strings	Boosey and Hawkes
1943	Arne	'Rule Britannia' from the Fantasia on British Sea Songs	Chappell
1937	Handel	Five Operatic Choruses	OUP
1936	Purcell	'Suite in Five Movements' (two versions: piano/orchestra)	Murdoch
1934	Bach-	Organ Toccata and Fugue in D Minor' BWV 565	OUP
	Klenovsky		
1933	Purcell	Trumpet Voluntary (arr. Brass, organ, drums)	Murdoch
1933	Grainger	Clog Dance (Handel in the Strand)	Schott
1929	Handel	Largo, D (Violin and Piano)	OUP
1928	Handel	Largo, E (Orchestra)	OUP
1927	Handel	Five Operatic Choruses	OUP
1924	Anon	God Save the King/Queen	Curwen
1923	Bach	[Orchestral] Suite No. 6	Murdoch
1914	Rachmaninov	'Prelude in C sharp Minor', op.3 no.2	Novello
c1905	Bach	Motet No. 4 'Be Not Afraid' BWV 228	Breitkopf and Härtel
Unknown	Bach	Motet No. 6 'Praise the Lord, all ye heathen' BWV 230	Breitkopf and Härtel
Unknown	Chopin	Funeral March from Piano Sonata in B flat Minor	Breitkopf and Härtel

Henry Wood's complete catalogue of published arrangements and editions³

³ Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood*, p. 434.

Appendix 5.4 Klenovsky-Bach Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor: Wood's manuscript [*GB-Lam* 152388-1001], title page and bar 1

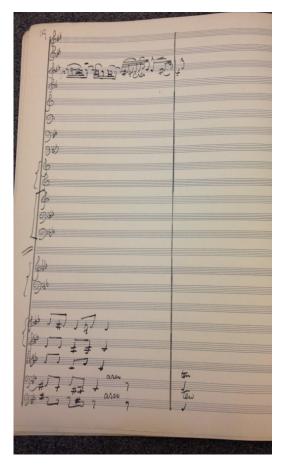
Fantand + Juque in & minor Transcribed for Full Orchestra Bach-Kle Henry 1. Wood 1941

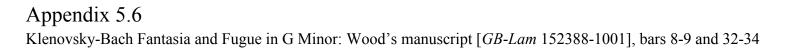
Fantasia & Huque in Gminiot. 2 Flutes Piroto 2 Abres le Barrow Four Horns Aunt Hark Tisten Tolor cellos Haaguo maes

Klenovsky-Bach Fantasia and Fugue in G Minor: Wood's manuscript [GB-Lam 152388-1001], bars 38-40, 41-42, and 43-44



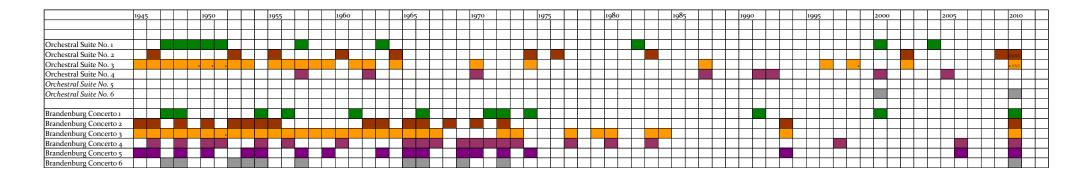
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Appendix 5.7 Performances of the Brandenburg Concertos and Orchestral Suites at the Proms after Wood's death⁴



⁴ Sourced from the online Prom Archive at <u>www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive</u>