

SO DEFT A BUILDER

An Account of the Life and Work of Sir Henry Hadow

by

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## PREFATORY NOTES

I have endeavoured to acknowledge all my debts in the notes, but I would like to make special mention here of the assistance and encouragement of my supervisors at Sheffield University: Professor W.H.G. Armytage, Professor Edward Garden and, in particular, Dr. E.D. Mackerness.

Unless other sources are indicated in the notes, all correspondence referred to will be found at Worcester College, Oxford. Unspecified correspondence is to Hadow's mother, Mary Lang Hadow. Many of these letters are undated.

Some account of those of Hadow's personal friends most frequently referred to in the text will be found in Appendix II.

### Abbreviations:

M.L.H.        Mary Lang Hadow

P.R.O.        Public Record Office, London

V.C.         Vice-Chancellor's Letter Books, Sheffield University

## SUMMARY

From the 1890's until his death in 1937 Sir Henry Hadow exercised a considerable influence on English musical and educational policy. His qualities of scholarship and artistic perception combined with a gift of administrative skill in a life which fulfilled itself in three main sequences.

The early chapters of this study offer some account of Hadow's education at Malvern and Oxford against the background of his home and family life. His training as a classical scholar was realized, and a summer spent in Germany enriched his interest in musical composition. With the publication of Studies in Modern Music in 1892 and 1895, and his subsequent editorship of the Oxford History of Music, he established a distinguished reputation as a music critic.

A new phase in Hadow's life began with his appointment as Principal of Armstrong College - later the University of Newcastle - which was primarily a scientific and technological institution. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham and a member of five national committees. In January 1919, Hadow was knighted, and in this same year he undertook work as a pioneer in the Army Education scheme.

The later chapters, which incorporate Hadow's term of office as Chairman of the Consultative Committee to the Board of Education, also embrace his service to Sheffield as Vice-Chancellor of the University. It was during this final phase that the many "Hadow Reports", including the six reports of the Consultative Committee and the report for the B.B.C., "New Ventures in Broadcasting" (1928) were published. Hadow continued, as at Oxford and Newcastle, to address a variety of audiences on a variety of subjects; and the lectures and writings of this period are as felicitous in style and expression as they are rich in scholarship.

INTRODUCTION

"Character which does not translate itself into exploit is for the biographer a mere phantasm."

Sir Sidney Lee, Principles of Biography,  
Cambridge, 1911.

For all his diversity of achievement, Sir Henry Hadow was far from being the man of action so attractive to biographers. He was not without ambition, but there was no dominant design of personal interest to throw into relief the multifarious details of his life. One gets the impression that, rather than moving from one position to another with a clear goal in view, Hadow developed a happy knack of allowing events to sketch the course he was to follow. Indeed, he remarked to his mother: "I have always found in my own life that when an offer comes unsought it was meant to be accepted".<sup>1</sup> It was the concept of service, rather than that of success, which motivated him.

If not a man of action in the accepted sense, he was certainly a man of intense activity. Those who remember him recall above all the overwhelming enthusiasm with which he pursued his duties and his interests, and the extraordinary degree of energy with which he was endowed. The letters reveal a keen yet sympathetic perception of his fellow men, and a fascination for dialect and vernacular speech: the accounts of colloquies overhead in the train, at a hotel bar or outside a meeting-hall are especially entertaining. He himself was able to enter into conversation on virtually any subject, be it acrostics, cabbages or small beer. His sense of time was almost equally remarkable, as Sir Adrian Boult records: "Sir Henry Hadow could talk extempore for exactly an hour on many subjects. He would stop and then the clock would strike".<sup>2</sup>

Hadow's gift of racy, eloquent speech, supple enough to meet the occasion of festive banquet and academy lecture alike, made him a popular spokesman at almost any social gathering. However, since Hadow rarely used notes, there are few surviving examples of his versatility of social 'attack'.

The personal records left by Hadow were of the scantiest: the papers which were available after his death at the residence of the Troutbeck family<sup>3</sup> (13, Belgrave Road, London) were not saved, and the documents which are extant are dispersed in the files of the various organizations in which he served. Hadow's niece, Miss Enid Mary Hadow, has commented on the meticulous tidiness of both Sir Henry and his sister Grace, and recalls their unawareness of the value which their papers would acquire in years to come. A letter of 25th April, 1920, bears this out:

I've been going through cupboards and boxes lately and find that I have a prodigious number of autograph letters from interesting people - many of them on interesting subjects. They're all anyhow and would take a long time to arrange. What shall I do with them? They're no harm at present, but they'll be a great nuisance to my executors. I've given away a lot but many of them are still private .

It is not known what became of these letters.

Unfortunately, too, there is little opportunity to learn from the tone of address which others adopted toward Hadow. At Sheffield University for example, only copies of the outgoing correspondence from the Vice-Chancellor are preserved; and even the many letters written to Hadow by members of his family and his closest friends have been lost. So the indications as to the character and personality of this extraordinary man have to be gleaned or inferred chiefly from his lectures and essays, the surviving letters to his family and friends (now at Worcester College), and the tributes paid to him after his death.

In attempting to portray something of what the man at the centre of this study was like, I have found it necessary to include not only as much of the fabric of his scholarship and critical discourse as could suitably be presented, but some of the loose strands of gossip and small talk contained in the private letters. These alone can afford us some glimpse into the diverse and often trivial concerns of the daily round which constituted, no less than Milton, Brahms and the Greek dramatists, the stuff of his life, and can, I believe, be included without risk of wrong impression. Hadow had his share of vanity, but no more than would be expected of a man of such extraordinary energy; and always there abides the presence of the exacting master of scholarship, of the mind which could produce that rare phenomenon: a beautifully written and moving documentary report.

Of the significance of Hadow's achievements as a scholar, musician and administrator, there can be no doubt; and happily he was rewarded during his lifetime with a knighthood (1918), the C.B.E. (1920), and nine honorary degrees:

Doctor of Music: Oxford 1909  
                  Durham 1910  
                  Wales 1921

Doctor of Laws: St. Andrews 1923  
                  Liverpool 1925  
                  Birmingham 1930

Doctor of Letters: Bristol 1925  
                  Leeds 1930  
                  Sheffield 1930

Most remarkable, however, was the manner in which Hadow encompassed his achievements, conveying an impression of unflagging but unpretentious and altogether natural industry. The characteristics which strike us today, some forty years after his death, are those which are mirrored in the enduring

qualities of his prose: concinnity of mind, flexibility of style, and, above all, sincerity of purpose.



SO DEFT A BUILDER

An Account of the Life and Work of Sir Henry Hadow

"His celerity was unrivalled. I have never known anyone so swift at seizing points, so skilled at welding them into the main line of argument, so deft a builder."

(Lynda Grier, letter to H.C. Dent, 16/10/59)

NOTES to Introduction

1. Letter to Mary Lang Hadow.
2. Letter from Sir Adrian Boult's Secretary, 22/10/74 (Private).
3. Hadow married Edith Troutbeck, second daughter of John Troutbeck, (1832-1899), Precentor of Westminster Abbey, on 2nd April 1930.

CHAPTER I

FAMILY MATRIX AND SCHOOL YEARS

"...it becometh you to retain a Glorious sence of the world"

Thomas Traherne, Centuries of Meditation,  
II, 92.

I

In 1825 the Rev. William Thomas Hadow, Vicar of Elstree, Hertfordshire, married Eleanor Anne Drinkwater of Salford. The Hadow family had a strong historical connection with the Church, dating back to Principal James Hadow (1667-1747) of St. Andrews University, who was Professor of Divinity from 1699;<sup>1</sup> William Thomas Hadow's father was himself a clergyman.<sup>2</sup> The forbears of Eleanor Anne Drinkwater were, however, soldiers and sailors. One of her brothers, who took the name of Bethune, was an Admiral, and another was the Colonel who commanded a regiment at Gibraltar.<sup>3</sup> The fusion of this active military tradition with the more generally contemplative background of W.T. Hadow was to find particularly interesting expression in the career of the second son of the marriage, Gilbert Bethune Hadow, who served the Army as Surgeon Major throughout the Indian Mutiny in Bengal, and whose compassion and humane sensitivity is reflected in his correspondence with his mother.

There were in all nine children of W.T. Hadow's marriage. The first, William Elliot, was born on 12th April, 1826, at Elstree, and educated at King's College, London, and at Huntington Grammar School. He gained a Foundation Scholarship at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1845 and took his degree in 1849, proceeding M.A. in 1852.<sup>4</sup> Before being ordained in 1851, he became tutor to Sabine Baring-Gould (1834-1924), the author and divine, accompanying him on his travels; and it is clear from Baring-Gould's

reminiscences that Mr. Hadow was both a highly regarded scholar, and a congenial and lively companion.<sup>5</sup> Hadow returned with the Baring-Gould family to Tavistock where he became engaged to Mary Lang Cornish, third daughter of Henry Cornish, a lawyer. They were married in March, 1859, and settled in Ebrington, Gloucestershire, where W.E. Hadow was Curate. He succeeded his father as Vicar in 1865.

William Elliot Hadow was fortunate in his marriage. Mary Lang Hadow came of a cultured and contented family, whose joy in country pursuits, love of nature, and delight in literature were to be observed in her descendants. Her cousin, Elizabeth Rundle (afterwards Mrs. Rundle Charles), a writer of quite remarkable productivity, who was brought up on sisterly terms with the Cornish children, described Mary Lang's father, Henry Cornish, as.

a man of strong individual character and a warm heart. He was an enthusiast for gardening in all its branches, landscape and horticulture. My aunt [Grace Cornish].. was a woman of quick wit and remarkable intelligence and memory, like my father. She first introduced me to Shakespeare. She used to read the plays aloud to us, as we sat around her. I remember sitting at her feet and watching her clever and expressive face as she read and made the characters live to us.<sup>6</sup>

Like Mrs. Charles, Mary Lang Hadow was attracted by the vogue for "romances"; the manuscript of her unpublished novel Madeleine Trevere, preserved at Worcester College, reveals the extent to which she, like her cousin, sought inspiration in the wildness of the countryside which they knew as children. Both women also cultivated a devout yet vigorous habit of mind, and a sense of dedication to the service of God. The extraordinary strength and steadfastness of character which Mary Lang Hadow derived from her religious conviction enabled her to face the many hardships her married

life was to bring her, and for which she was ill prepared by the comforts of her Tavistock home. W.E. Hadow had little talent in matters of finance, and "poverty", "illness" and "sorrow" are noted recurrently in her journal. In 1886, when a considerable amount of money had been lost through unfortunate or imprudent investment, she wrote that.

"God's blessing is very great. He has given us very dear children for whom we have no anxieties beyond their health. In other things the difficulties are very great, much more than we have ever known, but doubtless the discipline is necessary and inside it there is a blessing. My great prayer is 'O God in Thy loving mercy show us what to do'."

Although there was always an absence of luxury in the Hadow home, there was no shortage of necessaries, and things of the mind and spirit were held in high esteem. "I used to put food and education first", Mrs. Hadow informed a friend;<sup>7</sup> and for many years her chief concern was to find ways and means of securing an adequate education for her children. To this end, she assisted her husband in the care and instruction of resident pupils at the vicarage; and she continued to do this even after her own health and well-being were jeopardised.<sup>8</sup> It is significant that her husband's former pupils continued to write to her for many years, recording their gratitude for her influence and help.<sup>9</sup> Her own three boys were all educated at Malvern College before entering Oxford, and although there was little enough money left for the girls - their help, moreover, being needed at home - the youngest, Grace, achieved a brilliant University career. But it was Mary Lang Hadow's eldest son who was the centre of her joy and interest, and who most greatly compensated the hardships she had borne.<sup>10</sup>

II

This first boy, William Henry - "Harry", his mother decided to call him - was born at Ebrington on 27th December, 1869, and until the age of eight enjoyed the influence of a country vicarage home. Many summer holidays were spent at Wood Town, his mother's former home on the edge of Dartmoor, or on the Cornish coast, generally with combined families of cousins. Here the love of walking and climbing, which found outlet in later years in so many of Hadow's holidays, was firmly established. So, too, was his awareness of the importance of family life. His aunts and grandmothers in particular played a significant part in his upbringing. A surviving letter from Grace Cornish (3/12/1863), includes a hymn:

Hear this simple prayer I offer,  
Help me to be good today;  
May I call right thoughts about me  
While I drive the bad away.  
When I feel the selfish wishes  
Creeping in my little heart,  
May I then my Heavenly Father  
Think how kind and good thou art. &c.

Two girls, Margaret Elizabeth (b.1862) and Constance Anne ("Cottie", b.1863), were also born at Ebrington<sup>11</sup> before the family moved to Bristol at the end of 1867, W.E. Hadow having been appointed Vicar of St. Barnabas. They found the city life uncongenial, and in 187) Hadow was presented by Bishop Ellicott, at that time Bishop of the undivided diocese of Gloucestershire and Bristol, to the vicarage of South Cerney. Three more children were born (Gerald Elliott in 1871, Herbert Edgecumbe in 1872, and Grace Eleanor in 1875), and the family remained in the village until the death of W.E. Hadow in 1906.

The large and imposing vicarage which adjoined the ancient church was felt to be unsuitable to the needs of the Hadows, so the family moved into a more modest late-Georgian residence on the other side of the long village road, and opposite "The College", an institution which had been endowed for the widows and unmarried daughters of clergy. Possibly these ladies were

fired by some of the scholarly enthusiasm of Mary Lang Hadow, in whose charge they were, for some elderly inhabitants are said to have inspired awe in the vicarage children by getting up at 5 a.m. each day to study Greek.<sup>12</sup>

Certainly the intellectual atmosphere of the vicarage must have been very stimulating. Mrs. Hadow appears to have been the dominating influence in the home, her husband having little interest in practical matters. He was, however, a preacher of considerable renown,

a mine of exact information on many subjects, a scholar above all things, and something of an authority on heraldry and brasses.<sup>13</sup>

Both parents fostered in their children a love of reading and a faculty for using their observation and intelligence to the full. Gerald in particular became an ardent naturalist - he was later to study medicine after graduating from Oxford in 1891 - and the children developed a keen interest in experiments, and in constructing ingenious machines.

The importance of books in the Hadow home was paramount. In 1916, W.H. Hadow wrote to his mother:

I remember Father giving me Hans Andersen when I was four and my reading it under the dining room table. (I was doing that when Uncle Stuart came to announce Grandfather's death.)

Throughout his life, Hadow's capacity for reading and remembering what he had read was prodigious. "Of Dickens especially", remarked The Times (10/4/37), "he had a profound knowledge and appreciation". It has even been said that he read a novel a day in some European tongue,<sup>14</sup> and this may well have been so during a particular period of his life. In later years Hadow did not have the time to read as much as he wished, and at Sheffield he refused a request by the English Association to deliver a lecture on Modern English Literature on the grounds that he knew nothing

about it. Nevertheless, his remarks concerning the American poet Vachel Lindsay would indicate that he had lost nothing of his critical perspicuity:

..Often vulgar, often illiterate, often exasperating, always at his worst when a light hand is wanted, and yet somehow the thing bleeds when it is pricked. Especially the Chinese Nightingale, Shantung and the Congo Poems. He is a very odd sign of the times'.<sup>15</sup>

From his earliest days Hadow had become accustomed to reading the signs of the times against the broad horizon afforded by a sense of tradition and historical continuity. Folk lore and legend was essential to community life in South Cerney. The fairs, religious processions and Christmas mumming provided an outlet for adventure and artistic self-expression into which the Hadow family entered with whole-hearted enthusiasm. In her book on Grace Hadow (Oxford, 1946), Helena Deneke has written of

..the excitement of the local fairs ... In Cerney itself there was the Whitsun procession on Monday and Tuesday when the Odd Fellows met at the Royal Oak Inn at the Upper-Up and marched down to the Vicarage. ...<sup>16</sup>

Many years later W.H. Hadow and his youngest sister and god-daughter, Grace, were to record the text of the South Cerney mumming play, "Robin Hood and the Tanner", in the Oxford Treasury of English Literature. In a brief introductory passage they observe:

'The whole thing is redolent of the soil: it is plain, downright, and unsophisticated; and the choice of its main subject indicates to some degree that interest in English life and adventure which was afterwards more fully expressed in the Historical drama'.<sup>17</sup>

The salutary influence of this heritage, "plain, downright and unsophisticated", is evident from those examples of the Hadow children's own work which have been kept with the diverse material at Worcester College.



Helena Deneke has depicted the richness of the inventive life which flourished in the little parlour at South Cerney Vicarage,<sup>18</sup> and a fragment of this is captured in the manuscript of a verse play, "Electric Bells", written, apparently, by the children for the family to perform. Of greatest significance, perhaps, was the continued cultivation of that attitude to poetry as an entirely natural medium - poetry as nursery rhyme, so to speak. In their simplicity, these early verses reveal a precision of word and a flexibility of rhythm which were to become the hallmark of all Hadow's writings, and which allowed him such fine insight into the art of songwriting. In an article written in 1926,<sup>19</sup> Dr. Basil Johnson, the Precentor of Eton, and former music master at Rugby, recalled his enjoyment of part singing at Malvern College:

'I cannot remember for certain whether W.H. Hadow, the great Sir Henry, sang with us. I fancy he did because we carried on the custom up at Oxford and often met in his rooms at Worcester College. He used to send me invitations in verse. It was as easy to him to write in verse as any other way. One stanza recurs to me:

'Here, seated round the festive log,  
Our souls on harmony we'll batten,  
With legends of The Franklynne's Dogge,  
Or some of those sweet things by Hatton'

There were about twelve stanzas, the last being as follows:

'Then fail us not, send no excuse,  
Give us the substance, not the shadow;  
So, lest I should be thought diffuse,  
I'll sign myself, Yours ever, Hadow'.

III

Hadow gave early evidence of those skills which he later displayed with such elegance as one of the ornaments of academic society. Indeed, he appears to have been quite disconcertingly teachable, and it is clear from his own reminiscences that he found his early schooling thoroughly enjoyable. In the course of an address on "Education, as treated by the Brontes",<sup>20</sup> he disclosed something of the curriculum of his own preparatory school, Ashley House, Bristol:

"The chief place was occupied by what we should call English studies, including History and Geography as well as Literature. Geography, however, still chiefly meant that mysterious subject, 'The use of the globes', which I can still dimly recall to memory. There were two large, moveable globes in wooden frames; one, I think, terrestrial, and the other astronomical. The teacher turned them round and round, and pointed out that here was France and there America, here the Pole Star and there the Southern Cross; but it did not attain to any standard that modern geographical teaching would recognise even as a poor relation. History meant entirely Political History; and Political History meant almost entirely dates, especially of accessions and battles. I can remember a time in my boyhood when I could have repeated without fault the dates of the battles in the Wars of the Roses, but could not have put within two centuries the invention of the mariner's compass. I am saying this, not to decry Political History, which certainly has great use, but to point out the advantage in our time of a wider horizon. It is not at all necessary to leave out the battles and the dynasties, but we should put in the mariner's compass as well".

Elsewhere, however, in deploring the "prevalent lack of scholarship" in education, and the "false belief that anything which trains the exact memory is uneducational", he paid the tribute,

"My preparatory school happened to be an extremely good and enlightened school. I owe an enormous debt to it. I particularly remember two things. One was the geometry lesson. We were not proud enough in those days to have discarded Euclid, and we were set down at our desks, given a few minutes in which to get up a problem, and then the figure was drawn upside down, and we were told to demonstrate the proposition with a new set of letters. All that was most valuable, but the lesson to which I look back with the greatest pleasure, and from which I believe I got the largest amount of assistance, was what was called narrative from memory. A piece of literature was read out to us three times, and we were then told to reproduce it. When I told that to an educational authority the other day, he said in anguish, "Of

course, in your own words?" I said, "Not at all. We got the highest marks if we could most closely reproduce the words of the author".<sup>21</sup>

The letters the young Harry wrote to his mother from school reveal a childish enthusiasm for all aspects of school life. The earliest date from 1870, when the boy was in his last year at Ashley House and was living with his father and various aunts, while Mary Lang Hadow was at Tavistock or Malvern, convalescing from illness. He was eager to report his progress, and wrote with pride of the new church organ, and of his joining the choir. His interest in music was already established; his mother preserved a simple march-tune, entitled, somewhat grandly, "Ebrington", and written at this time.

In January, 1871, while the Hadow family were settling in at South Cerney, "Harry" entered Malvern College, having gained the Lea Foundation Scholarship.<sup>22</sup>

Malvern College had, in the few years since its establishment in 1863, achieved a reputation not only for good sportsmanship, but for fine scholarship, reflecting the prevailing Arnoldian ideal of the Christian gentleman. Rugby was not, however the model which the school sought to imitate, its founders being of High Church persuasion, and its staff including several Wykehamists. When, therefore, Malvern College reluctantly abandoned Winchester football in 1873 in favour of Association rules, it was generally acknowledged that the alternative of Rugby football was out of the question. "To have adopted Rugby football would have been not only disloyal ... but theologically suspect into the bargain".<sup>23</sup>

The theological commitment of Malvern College was strong. The first headmaster, Arthur Faber, a Wykehamist and Fellow and Tutor of the New College,

Oxford, was required by the Constitution of the College to be in priest's orders; indeed, all the men appointed during the first three years were, with the exception of the foreign language masters, were ordained clergy.<sup>24</sup> The chief ambition of the staff was, however, the extension of the academic prowess of the school, and in 1870, when the College was first examined by outside examiners, and when the first university awards at Oxford and Cambridge were made, the reduction of fees for the sons of clergymen was justified on the grounds that

it is necessary for the efficiency of the upper part of the School that there should be adequate competition amongst the Scholars; but as many of the pupils have been destined for Mercantile pursuits, they have left without reaching the highest forms, thus rendering it difficult to maintain so active a competition as is desirable. It has therefore been thought right to take measures to attract to the College a large number of pupils destined for the Universities.<sup>25</sup>

At first Harry, as a day boy at the school, stayed with his grandmother, Eleanor Hadow, at "Daresbury" in Priory Road, where his uncle Gilbert (Harry's godfather) was a frequent visitor. "He looks quite fierce in his mustachios which come down over his lips", wrote Harry. "They beat papa's hollow".<sup>26</sup>

The letters of 1871 express the boy's delight with his new surroundings: sliding on ice in January and February, scrambling about the Malvern Hills and exploring the Worcestershire Beacon in May, sailing boats on the swan pool with his cousin Bertie in June. So much did he enjoy life at the school that, after a term spent as a boarder in 1872, he wrote pleading to be allowed to stay at McDowall's House. As his grandmother and uncle confirmed that boarding was clearly having an excellent effect on him, this was permitted.

His scholastic progress was rapid and sure, and he appeared to have no difficulty in coping with the daily commitments, of which he gave his mother an example in September, 1873:

"We go up in class with Euripedes and say twelve lines of repetition, after which we do ten verses of Greek Testament and then some Greek grammar. This is all up in class and passes away the time till eleven. At eleven we get our Euripedes again and do twenty lines of translation of it, taking down the translation in note books. This goes on till twelve. At three we do Trigonometry of conic sections till 5.30 and Drew generally begins some long series just about 5.28 and of course goes on till about ten minutes after the bell has stopped. Then for evening work we have:- 20 lines of Xenophon translation; 10 verses of Greek Testament; a scene of Molière's Scapin, a paper of algebra - 10 to 15 sums; 8 verses to correct (Latin) and a lot of notes to copy in (Virgil &c)."

In May, 1872, he reported:

"Last midsummer term I was in the sixth, Christmas I was in the fifth, Easter I was in the fourth, and now I am in the second, having jumped over both lower and upper third at one go'."

In September, 1873, he was in the upper first and receiving special tuition in Greek iambics and harder Latin verses. The list of prizes he won in subsequent years is indicative of his continued success: Lea Shakespeare Prize (for critical study of given plays) in 1876; West Classical Prize, 1877; Martin Prize for Ancient History, 1876, 1877, 1878; Latin Verse, 1877; Divinity, 1877, Latin Prose, 1878; English Verse (with a poem entitled 'Thermopylae'), 1878. Hadow recited this prize poem at his valedictory Speech Day on 10th July, 1878, for which he also composed the traditional verse Prologue, and acted in extracts from Sheridan's "The Critic" and Aristophanes' "Peace". "I remember him", wrote Basil Johnson, who played the part of Hermes in Aristophanes' comedy, "as Trygaeus riding on a hippocanthus".<sup>27</sup>

It would appear that the modesty with which Hadow wore the habit of his achievements in later years was less evident in the more ebullient years of adolescence. In 1937 a school friend wrote of him:

"Slight but wiry, with a thatch of pale brown hair above an ample forehead and known appropriately to his immates as 'Shades', he early displayed that consciousness of his own superiority which is among the qualities ascribed by Aristotle to the man of mighty soul. A flashing figure in the Fives Court, his triumphs were more commonly of the scholastic order.

It was customary in the sixth form, when one was put on to construe, first to read a portion of the Greek or Latin. One day 'Shades' was put on at a crabbed chorus in the Agamemnon. Instead of reading from his book, he allowed it to hang in limp gracefulness from his hand, and recited the whole chorus from memory.

The rest of us looked at him with mingled feelings. Did he expect a compliment? Impossible to say; but all he got from that great and greatly loved Headmaster, Arthur Faber, was - 'Now you can construe'.<sup>28</sup>

The self-confidence which the young Hadow displayed in this episode was also evident in his attitude towards the masters. In the Christmas term of 1875 he wrote that

"I have got on capitally this term with everyone except Belcher, and the reason of my failure with him is that of all the boys that go to him for Greek Play, I am without exception the only one who prepares his work fairly, i.e. without a crib; and his thick head cannot see the difference between a boy who cannot and a boy who will not make it out".

In 1877 he explained this point of view in a disagreement he was having with his teachers:

"I daresay you have had letters from them saying that I work much too fast and carelessly, and they are always telling me the same. The case of Composition is the one which always raises the question between us, and in that I KNOW that the faster I do them the better they are'.

However much Hadow owed to his own resoluteness and self-assurance, he learned at Malvern the value of strict academic discipline and of experienced opinion; and the cautionary note sounded by Faber in a letter to W.E. Hadow (3/7/78) was to awake no echoes in the future:

I think he will do well at Oxford, if he does not - as some men do - read in a selfwilled fashion and without taking advice .

Indeed, Hadow entertained the greatest respect and admiration for the Headmaster, whose portrait, according to Ralph Blumenau,

shows a firm but humorous character, a sensitive and generous mouth, eyes with a sense of fun; one feels that he must have understood the young; and indeed he was just the subject to arouse hero worship in boys....He was a phenomenally swift and methodical worker who packed an enormous amount of activity into every day'.<sup>29</sup>

Hadow's regard for the Rev. T.H. Belcher (who later became Headmaster of Brighton College) also deepened as time went on - and in 1877 Belcher took him to a performance of Bach in Worcester Cathedral. Attendance at concerts was a high point in Hadow's life at Malvern, and he took an active part in the College musical society, which he described as being

...about the jolliest thing that I have yet experienced. Every Wednesday night six of us go over, one alto, two high tenors, one low tenor (myself) and two basses, and sing part-music for about an hour; and the selections are simply exquisite'.<sup>30</sup>

Music appears to have been held in greater respect at Malvern College than at many other public schools, and Hadow reported that he was "reading, on Sunday evening, such books as Hullah's History of Music &c". The music school, at No.4 The Lees, was to attain distinguished musical associations through other figures than Hadow: indeed, it was Elgar's home for a few months in 1889.<sup>31</sup>

The records at Malvern College reveal little evidence of Hadow's musical propensities, although in October, 1878, he wrote to his mother:

'Our music Master, who is rather a swell, and wrote a great many of the St. Barnabas Hymn Tunes, has set one of Tennyson's pieces (the 'Christmas bells' piece in 'In Memoriam') to music, and just as he had got it finished, the poet's publishers refused him leave to print it, except upon payment of £5 for the five stanzas. Haynes accordingly was in a fix, and so I, as he had been very kind to me, offered to write some verses for his music ... and if I can do that successfully one of the songs at the concert will be by -  
Your affate. son, W.H. Hadow .

In the event, it appears that the music master decided to pay for the Tennyson verses. There is no mention of Hadow's name on the concert programme, which does record the performance of a piece, 'Christmas Bells', by W. Haynes. Indeed, although it is probable that Hadow studied the pianoforte at Malvern - by the age of twenty he had evidently attained considerable executive skill - he seems to have taken no part in the annual concerts. He may, however, have been responsible during his final years at the school for the reviews in The Malvernian, which are particularly appreciative of the pianistic abilities of A.B.N. (Basil) Johnson. Johnson himself later observed of Hadow that "We admired his remarkable achievements when he was at school, but I do not think we realized then his extraordinary insight in musical matters". In December, 1885, there was a performance at the College of Hadow's Pianoforte Sonata in G sharp minor.<sup>35</sup>

Hadow's determination as a schoolboy to succeed in spheres other than the scholastic was voiced explicitly in letters to his mother, and in 1877 he was Head of the VIth Form, President of the Debating Society, Editor of The Malvernian, Head of his House, a School Prefect, and in the Second XI at cricket. But his chief field of victory was the Fives court,



and he was delighted when, in 1877, he won not only the House Fives cup, but the Prefects' Fives. "It is a great achievement for me who up to now was supposed to be only good with a book before me".

Hadow's achievements are all the more commendable in view of the fact that he did not enjoy good health, particularly throughout 1877. In January, Belcher, who had succeeded the Rev. Charles McDowall as Master of No.1 House<sup>36</sup> wrote to W.E. Hadow:

I have been dosing him with quinine and giving him a glass of port every day ... I shall continue the glass of port, as I think it does him a lot of good.

In addition, Hadow complained of recurring neuralgia which

. . . refuses to leave me any peace at all...Every time I eat anything it becomes truly awful, and the same result is obtained whenever I take my head out of a voluminous scarf in which it is tied".

Despite Hadow's efforts to ignore his condition of health, it did prevent him from doing as well as his masters had hoped in the Oxford examinations. He missed the scholarship to Hertford College in November, 1877, but he was informed of the strength of the field and "was not so much depressed as I expected". He met with greater success at Worcester College in the following June.

"He will take away a great landmark when he goes", wrote Arthur Faber to W.E. Hadow on 3rd July, 1878,

for he has been with us a long while. It is pleasant to say that I can find nothing to speak of him but good ... I think he would not have failed to get a better, i.e. a richer, scholarship presently. But it was quite understood that we had not time to spare in picking and choosing. And moreover, all exams are sad lotteries: nor has his health been other than a doubtful reed to lean upon ... Meanwhile, Worcester is a good College for him, for they take some little trouble with their boys there, and the inter-communication of Colleges in respect of tuition equalises the instruction very much.

The lasting gratitude and goodwill with which Hadow remembered his school was expressed in the service he gave in later years: as a judge at singing competitions,<sup>37</sup> as Examiner in Classics and Modern Languages, as Chairman in the Committee of Old Malvernians (1908-9) and as a Member of Council (1905-11). He thus sustained a keen interest in all aspects of the life of the school.

NOTES to Chapter I

1. See Arthur Lovell Hadow, Notes on the Family History, 1953. St. Andrews Citizen, 14/7/23, on the occasion of Hadow's receiving the Honorary Degree of LL.D.  
  
Letter from W.H. Hadow to Grace, 8/12/1928: "A propos of possessions did I tell you that I have acquired, from an old clergyman in Surrey, a Family Bible of James Hadow the Principal of St. Mary's (New) College at St. Andrews in the latter part of the 17th century: he is the grim old man whose photograph hangs on my dining room wall".
2. Rev. James Hadow, 1757-1847. Glasgow Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford, Vicar of Streatly and Sundon, Beds.
3. See Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, O.U.P. London, 1946, p.1.
4. See Venn, J.A., Alumni Cantabrigienses II, vol.III, 1947; Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard, 9/6/06.
5. Sabine Baring-Gould, Early Reminiscences 1834-1864, 1923., pp.172, 196-8, 200-201. Baring-Gould remained a firm friend of the Hadow family in later years. A letter from W.H.H. to his mother (10/3/78) enclosed "another explosion of 'Popular Fallacies' which might be useful to Sabine Baring-Gould". In 1880 he wrote of a gift from Miss Baring-Gould: "She has sent me down a china plate, of her own painting, to adorn my walls".
6. Elizabeth Rundle Charles, Our Seven Homes, 1896, p.50.
7. Grace Hadow, *ibid.*, p.5.
8. See letters from W.H. Hadow to his mother, June, 1893.
9. See obituary notice in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard, 17/2/17.
10. Archibald Weir wrote in sympathy to Hadow on 15/2/17: "Today we see it announced that you have lost one who was more than a Mother to you, one who for many years found her chief zest for life in watching the many gratifying incidents of your career. At least it has always seemed to me that this must have been the case when I recalled the times when Anna and I knew her".
11. A fourth child died in infancy.
12. See Grace Hadow, p.2. Further information from Mrs. J. Fenton of South Cerney, April 1974.

13. Grace Hadow, p.4.  
See "Antiquarian Discovery at Ebrington" - Gentleman's Magazine, February, 1892; and "The Monumental Brasses at Cirencester" - Proceedings of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1877. There is also at Worcester College a paper by Gerald E. Hadow, "An Early Form of Beak-Head Moulding, with suggestions upon its course of development". The grotesque moulding over the south door of South Cerney Church is cited as an instance of the final Development of this moulding. The paper was written for the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, but was never used.
14. The Music Student, February, 1918, p.227.
15. Letter to John Bailey, 12/10/23. (V.C. 14, 225)
16. Grace Hadow, p.6.
17. Oxford Treasury of English Literature, edited by W.H. and G.E. Hadow, vol.II, p.290.
18. Grace Hadow, pp.24-5.
19. A.B.N. Johnson: "Malvern Reminiscences, chiefly musical, Fifty years back". Copy in the possession of the Malvernian Society.
20. Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Bronte Society, Halifax, February 14th, 1925.  
See Transactions of the Society, 1925, p.272.
21. "The Claims of Scholarship": Presidential Address, Inaugural Meeting, Twelfth Annual Conference of Educational Associations, 1st January, 1924.
22. The Malvern Register 1865-1904 (2nd edition, 1905), describes the Lea Scholarship as a "Foundation Scholarship of £30 (increased by the Council to £56) endowed by Charles Wheeley Lea, Esq., Vice-President, in memory of the late J. Wheeley Lea, Esq.," (p.546).
23. Ralph Blumenau, A History of Malvern College 1865-1965, London, 1965, p.21.
24. op.cit., Ch.I.
25. Malvern College Council: Eighth Annual Report.
26. Letter to M.L.H., June, 1871.
27. See above, footnote 19. See also The Malvernian no. LXXV, July, 1878, p.586.
28. The Sunday Times, 18th April, 1937.

29. Ralph Blumenau, *op.cit.*, p.11, 15.
30. Letter to M.L.H., 9/2/1878.
31. See Ralph Blumenau, *op.cit.*, p.105.
32. See The Malvernian, no. LXX, February, 1878, p.526.
33. See in particular no. LXI, Feb. 1877, p.418: no. LXX, Feb. 1878, p.526.
34. See above, footnote 19.
35. See The Malvernian, no. CXLII, Feb. 1886, p.3.
36. McDowall was appointed Headmaster of Highgate in 1874.
37. See letter to M.L.H. 31/3/01.

## CHAPTER 2

### OXFORD I: THE MUSICAL DON

"Walter Raleigh once expressed the fear that the existence of the Scholar Gentleman was threatened not so much by revolutionary morals as by the enormous growth of specialized knowledge, which divides human life into many departments, organized under learned barbarism. No man did more than Hadow to break down such divisions."

(C.H. Wilkinson in the Worcester Record ,  
6th May 1937.)

I

Hadow entered Worcester College in October, 1878 as a Clarke Scholar, being preferred the Barnes Scholarship in 1879,<sup>1</sup> when he also won the Collections Prize. He settled in quickly, knew nearly all of the men in Worcester within a month, and appears to have got on well with his lecturers and tutors. On 1st December he was breakfasting at Trinity with his Lecturer on Virgil. "My lecture list", he wrote, "I find well within my powers", and he entered eagerly into the many aspects of University life: debating, boat-racing, cricket, and, of course, fives, included. By March of 1879 he was recognized as the best fives player in the College, and in April he won the Challenge Single Fives Cup.

His interest was not confined to activities in which he excelled.

In June he

'Spent yesterday afternoon in coxing a pair up to Keynsham, about four miles up the river. I am not a good cox. In fact it was my debut, and the two oarsmen might have sat for a group portrait as the Giant and the Dwarf, and so pulled rather different strokes..

His enjoyment of the "Torpids" - races between the second boats of the various colleges - was nevertheless unimpaired.

'You can't form any idea of the picture the river presents, the water as blue as the sky, the barges, with all their colours flying, in the foreground, the boats and the flashing oars, the singing, seething, hauling crowd all along the tow-paths, and the grey towers peeping out of the leafy background ... the course is about a mile, and as it is the duty of every patriotic Oxonian to run with his boat the whole distance and keep up a continuous shout of 'Well rowed so-and-so', the process is very good for training, though it rather takes it out of one at the time .

During Hadow's years as an undergraduate, Worcester College had no cricket or football grounds within its own terrain, and the Worcester

Cricketers had to make their way to the Cowley ground for practice. Hadow found this so tiring that he had difficulty in working in the evening after practice, and in May 1879 he wrote to his mother of his reluctant decision to give up playing cricket. However, he did retain a keen interest in the game,<sup>2</sup> and in later years used his influence as a Fellow and Dean to persuade the College Authorities to investigate the possibility of draining the large swampy field which lay on the other side of the lake. Sir Harry Brittain (1874-1974), who was an undergraduate at Worcester College at this time, recalled the persistence of Hadow's efforts:

'It was our good friend Hadow who gave us the lead, and those of us who were then captains of the different teams did what we could to support him. Of course, it took time to raise the funds and carry out the task, and it was not until some years after I had gone down that Worcester College enjoyed the advantage of possessing its own athletic grounds within its College boundary'.<sup>3</sup>

If time and opportunity did not allow Hadow to indulge in a wide range of physical activity, he made amends by the variety of his intellectual pursuits. As a student he was diligent and ambitious, and although it would appear that he did not look to any particular teacher for guidance and instruction - his intellect perhaps was too mercurial, too heuristic, for that - he gleaned all he could from every great mind to which he could gain access. Outside the walls of Worcester, where he absorbed the teaching of C.H.O. Daniel, T.W. Jackson and his tutor Edwin Wallace, he was influenced by those remarkable personalities who informed the general Oxford "sensibility" of the time. With T.H. Green of Balliol, for example, he engaged in a lengthy philosophical correspondence in 1904.<sup>4</sup>

The range of Hadow's interest was compelling. Whilst attaining First Class Honours in Classical Moderations in 1880 and in Literae Humaniores in



1882, he yet contributed keenly to the meetings of the many College clubs, such as the de Quincey Society, and he worked indefatigably to promote the musical activities of the College. His skills as a speaker, striking in his youth, were phenomenal in his maturity. One admirer wrote that

He would speak of philosophy or music or literature and induce those who heard him to believe that these things could mean to them something of what they meant to him. There is an essential truth in the story of every copy of Shakespeare in some midland town being sold out on the morning after Sir Henry had lectured on him. Many Oxford men, and some of us went to his lectures whatever the subject, remember his exact words and his attractive, incisive manner.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, several of Hadow's Oxford students wrote to Grace Hadow after his death, recalling the lasting influence of his presence and his lectures,<sup>6</sup> and Sir Harry Brittain remembered him with affection as

a tall, slightly built figure, always in a hurry, with a high intellectual forehead, and an even higher voice.

His talks were packed with interest and erudition. As the College clock struck the hour, he would sweep into the lecture room, with his M.A. gown floating behind him, and his high-pitched delivery in full spate, in immediate continuation of his last lecture. For the next sixty minutes we were treated to a torrent of well-chosen words, and then out swept Hadow, rounding up the hour's talk as he vanished through the door.<sup>7</sup>

Hadow's singular mannerisms proved irresistible to the Oxford cartoonists, whose displays in Shrimpton's window at the turn of the century often caricatured the Worcester Don. He rarely used notes, preferring to deliver his addresses in 'impromptu' fashion,<sup>8</sup>

and stories still circulate about his prodigious and unfailing memory, particularly with regard to music. Typical is this recollection of Hilda Matheson:

'I remember one evening before the war when I was staying at Sheffield with the Fishers he arrived for a weekend from a first hearing of Rutland Boughton's *Immortal Hour*. And he sat and played from memory at the piano the two or three good tunes it had in a way I shall never forget'.<sup>9</sup>

Frank Howes refers to Hadow along with von Bülow as evincing spectacular powers of 'chant interieur':

'He gave a lecture on Parry's English Symphony to the Oxford University Musical Club at which he played it through on the piano by heart one Tuesday evening, though he had only received the manuscript score of a work he had never heard on the preceding Sunday evening and had discharged the usual duties of a busy don on the Monday'.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps of greatest fascination to those who knew Hadow was his cultural manysidedness. He entered wholeheartedly into the diverse interests and activities of his friends, and always found time to listen to discussions and to attend lectures on subjects ranging from the cultivation of orchids to the invention of the wireless set. A lecture by Ruskin in March, 1883 was not to be missed;<sup>11</sup> and the influence of Ruskin's aesthetic philosophy is clearly discernable in such statements as this, which occurs in the prefatory discourse to Hadow's first published volume, Studies in

Modern Music:

'All art aims at the presentation of an idea of beauty in accordance with certain formal laws...Pure beauty of colour affects the eye in much the same way as pure beauty of tone affects the ear, and both together derive the pleasure that they afford from certain psychological conditions which belong to all the Arts alike'.

II

Despite the increasing popularity of Hadow's lectures - his Logic lectures had to be delivered in the College Hall, as none of the lecture rooms were large enough to contain the audience<sup>12</sup> - the Worcester authorities were slow in giving his work the official recognition it deserved. In February 1883, Hadow was

'steering the Mods men through their Logic and the Greats men through their Philosophy and the Passmen through their Aristotle and Tacitus and setting Scholarship papers and questions for Mods Divinity',

but it was not until 1885 that he was accorded his proper place amongst College Lecturers in the Calendar. Indeed, so displeased was Hadow with his treatment at Worcester, and so fearful was he of the inactivity which he saw as stagnation, that he very nearly left Oxford to take up an appointment as tutor for Asking and Gabbitas of London.<sup>13</sup> However, his love of University work prevailed, and by 1886 he was contentedly lecturing 18 hours a week. "I have had 35 men put under my Tutorship", he informed his mother.

'I also take all my colleague's pupils who are in for final schools, amounting to about 25 more. I also take a batch of Unattached men'.

The hectic rhythm of the daily round which Hadow was to sustain throughout his working life was irreversibly set in motion:

"Let me give you my yesterday's programme", he wrote in February 1889. "It will serve to epitomize the week. Work of course all the morning: Aristotle (Hons. Final Schools) 10-11; Logic (Hons. Schools) 11-12; Tacitus (Pass Finals) 12-1. At 1 a college meeting for an hour. At 2.15 Lloyd's Orchestral Concert (as audience). That lasted till about 4.30. At 5 a meeting of Scholarship Examiners in New College, to settle committees for setting papers, etc. When I got back from the meeting there were more pupils till 7. At 8 I went down to the Town Hall to play in a Popular Concert, got up for the Proletariat by a Temperance Society. On returning I took two people with philosophy essays until about 11, and then settled down to write notes for a lecture on American Literature which I am to deliver before an essay society tonight. Then a novel for half an hour and then bed".

Hadow's influence with the undergraduates was strengthened in 1888 when he was elected Fellow and Dean and undertook the Secretaryship of the College meetings. As College Dean he appears to have been admirable, businesslike and concise,<sup>14</sup> and C.H. Wilkinson, Fellow, and later, Vice-Provost, of Worcester College, wrote that

'many knew his kindness, his loyalty, and his essential humility, though not all respected what he told me recently, that once an undergraduate made him laugh he was helpless'.<sup>15</sup>

The good humour with which he succeeded in maintaining order in Worcester College is evident from the reminiscences of Sir Bertram Long,<sup>16</sup> who related several instances of Hadow's understanding and tolerance of youth. Typical is his recollection of the occasion when

'a young man found climbing in after hours was sent for and duly reprimanded and, not unreasonably, "gated" for a short time. Then asked the Dean, 'How many irregular ways in do you know?' 'Two', said the delinquent. 'Indeed', said the Dean. 'There were seven in my time'.'

If the undergraduates were grateful to Hadow for his ability to take into account their point of view, Hadow was equally appreciative of the loyalty which they offered to him.<sup>17</sup> The disciplinary aspects of his College responsibilities held little appeal, and in 1895 he refused the offer of a Pro-Proctorship, explaining to his mother that "all the work is either Police or Ceremonial and I hate both". In 1898, however, he was persuaded to serve a year as Proctor. This office was not, as at Cambridge, merely disciplinary, but it entailed membership of the University Council;<sup>18</sup> and Hadow was

anxious to seize every opportunity to influence University affairs, and, indeed, to make his mark on the Statute Book. He did much to win support for the study of the Classics as the foundation of scholarship, but of even greater importance was the role he played in enriching the quality of musical life in Oxford.

III

The prejudice at Oxford against taking music seriously as an academic discipline, and still more as a career, remained strong well into the nineteenth century. As Margaret Deneke observed in her book on Ernest Walker,

"The suspicion that an undergraduate who had a piano in his room was likely to come to a bad end lingered on, and Walker remembered how a delightful young aristocrat, who was treasurer of the Balliol Musical Society, accepted with genuine alacrity the suggestion that envelopes containing fees should be addressed 'Esq'. 'Thank you for telling me: the cricket team prefer it too'.<sup>19</sup>

Stories about the atrocities committed against music in the nineteenth century abound: Dean Gaisford was said to have burnt a chest of precious viols stored in the Bodleian, declaring them "dusty rubbish",<sup>20</sup> and the undergraduate career of Sir Frederick Ouseley (1825-1889), the founder of St. Michael's College, Tenbury, and Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855-1889, affords considerable insight into the state of the faculty of Music at the time. Hadow recounted how "an undergraduate of Christ Church called upon the Dean with a request to have the use of the Hall for a concert. The request was not considered, the sole response being to order Mr. Ouseley out of the room".<sup>21</sup> Moreover, when Ouseley proposed to be examined for the Mus. Bac. degree, "Dean Gaisford remonstrated with him, telling him it was utterly derogatory for a man in his social position to entertain such an idea".<sup>22</sup> There is even a trace of uneasiness in Faber's letter (of 19/10/85) to William Elliot Hadow:

"I was much interested in the criticism of your boy's musical effort. As it seems certain that you cannot expel that musical nature of his with a form, it is to be hoped that he may indulge it as to benefit his future career."

Such, then, was the background against which Hadow set out to give music greater prominence in the intellectual and social routine, and he began by stirring up interest amongst his immediate friends and Worcester colleagues. As early as 1879 he told his mother of a song "on Byron's Black Friar" he had written for Archibald Weir, who had "a fine deep bass voice ; and besides it I have written a duett for Bass and Baritone, which he and I sing and which I am rather proud of as yet". By March, he had inveigled the College Musical Society, to which he was appointed Treasurer, into giving a concert in the Hall. It was a great success, particularly for a first attempt, and the Society determined to give another to include out-college men in the audience. Before long the College concerts were a permanent fixture, and Hadow performed frequently as solo pianist, playing a good many works of Schubert and Schumann, lesser known pieces, such as Fontain's 'Swing Song', and occasionally works of his own. Unfortunately, the manuscripts of these pieces have been lost.

Under W.Hadow's presidentship in the early 1880s the College Musical Society flourished, and despite his reluctance to retain the office too long, he was persuaded to postpone his resignation until after the Eights Week concert of 1885, when the society performed Handel's Acis and Galatea. Their efforts were most favourably reviewed in the Oxford Magazine of 27 May, 1885, which praised the attempt "to invest this performance with special interest by endeavouring to reproduce, as far as possible, the orchestral treatment intended by Handel himself". Included in the programme was a vocal quartet ('A Lake and a Faery Boat', by 'Inigo Jones') which, according to the Oxford Musical Times, "proved to be a new composition by a young musician whose name is beginning to be known beyond the walls of Worcester". 23

Hadow was keen that the undergraduates should undertake "to manage these things among themselves", and encouraged as much autonomy as possible. At the same time, his talents for diplomacy were too valuable to be neglected, and with his friend H.T. Gerrans, the Mathematical Don at Worcester, he greatly influenced the conduct of the Society. His report to his mother of the formation of a Finance Committee at the beginning of 1889 affords an interesting example of the way in which his skills as a policy-maker and peace-maker were developing:

"The accounts were in a bad way, and I wanted them overhauled. If I got up and proposed a scrutiny I was afraid that it would be taken as a personal reflection on the Officers, and thrown out. So I got hold of Gerrans before the meeting, carefully primed him with all the details of my proposal, including the names of the people to serve on the new Committee of Finance (in which I deliberately left out myself so that it shouldn't look like a put up job) and then went down and gravely suggested the dissolution of the Club on the ground of bankruptcy. A long and violent debate, at the end of which Gerrans got up and said his lesson - and the proposal was at once accepted as a compromise. So that I have carried my point without offending anybody and without anybody knowing how it was done."

In June 1891, Hadow was elected to appoint for the Worcester College Organ Scholarship, an office which he apparently found onerous at times:

"I'm much oppressed by the responsibility of selecting an Organ Scholar. Gerrans has been put on as my colleague - of course no use at all for this purpose - and I shall have to run the thing alone".<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, his selection of scholars was excellent, those appointed during his term of office being: 1891, Sir Percy Carter Buck; 1894, Dr. R.O. Beachcroft; 1897, H.H. Ham; 1899, H.C. Colles; 1903, B.J. Picton; 1904, C.B. Allen; 1907, Sir Reginald Thatcher.

Hadow's personal influence on the organ scholars was very strong,<sup>25</sup> and many kept in touch with him in later years. Hadow's testimonial was

certainly instrumental in securing for Buck the position of director of music at Harrow School,<sup>26</sup> a post which he held from 1901-1927, and which led to his appointment as Professor of Music in Dublin University (1910-20) and in the University of London (1925-37). Buck's gratitude and affection for his old tutor were demonstrated in his endowment of the Hadow Scholarship, which remains to this day the only musical scholarship at Oxford open to musicians other than organists. He was, moreover, the organist at Hadow's funeral in 1937, when he played an arrangement of Hadow's setting of "Bright is the Ring of Words".<sup>27</sup>

Hadow's experience as a judge of organists was not confined to Oxford. In 1923 he was appointed with Sir Hugh Allen and Dr. H.G. Ley to select the Municipal Organist for Birmingham, Hadow being principally responsible for the syllabus of the examination.<sup>28</sup> The successful candidate was G.D. Cunningham.



IV

Hadow's gifts as musician, organizer and speaker were soon in demand throughout Oxford, and the Musical Societies were understandably anxious to bespeak him as a member.

The Oxford University Musical Union, which was originally founded for the study and practice of chamber music, received much support from Hadow in the early days of its formation, and he was elected a member of its first regular Committee in October, 1884.<sup>29</sup> Chamber concerts were held, Hadow contributing to the programme of the first meeting with a performance of Schumann's Novellette, Op.21, no.1. The atmosphere of these concerts is evoked in Hadow's introduction to W.W. Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music (1929), in which he speaks of chamber music as being

among all forms of music, the happiest in presentation; the ideal conditions for hearing it imply comfort and ease and an undisturbed content. To many of us its very name recalls the memory of a musical club - an armchair, a pipe, and a quartet playing the first Rasoumovsky - and not all the pleasures of Bayreuth or the Gewandhaus lie so near to our affections .

In December, 1885, a fresh departure was taken in the presentation of compositions by members of the club. Thereafter, E.H. Fellowes recalled, "one programme a year consisted of members' compositions. The most effective was written by W.H. Hadow".<sup>30</sup>

The Concert Index to the Proceedings of the O.U.M.U.<sup>31</sup> records the following performances of Hadow's music:

String Quartett in Eb major.

- December 9, 1885. (A.H. Castle, H.M. Abel, J.B. Baker, F.C. Woods)
- June 23, 1886. (A.H. Castle, H.M. Abel, J.B. Baker, A. Coates)
- November 30, 1886. (R. Heckmann, O. Forberg, Th. Allecotte, R. Bellmann)
- January 30, 1889. (F.A. Fulda, W.B. Glennie, T.E.T. Shore, E.A. Voysey)
- June 19, 1889. (T.A. Teignmouth Shore, M.W. Keatinge, J.B. Baker,  
E.A. Voysey)
- November II, 1890. (R. Heckmann, F. Bassermann, W. Geyersbach,  
R. Riedel)

Pianoforte Trio in G minor.

December 7, 1887. (F. Harvey, A.H. Castle, G.I. Simey)

June 13, 1888. (F. Harvey, T.E.T. Shore, G.I. Simey)

Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in A minor.

December 8, 1886. (W.H. Hadow and A.H. Castle)

June 15, 1887. " "

Two Romances for Pianoforte and Violin in F minor and G major.

December 5, 1888. (W.H. Hadow and T.E.T. Shore)

Sonata for Pianoforte Solo in Ab major.

December 4, 1889. (W.H. Hadow)

June 18, 1890. (W.H. Hadow)

After the first hearing of the String Quartet in December, 1885, the Musical Union offered to publish it, a gesture which Hadow greatly appreciated. However, there was no need for the Union to raise a subscription, as Novello, Ewer & Co. agreed to publish the work early in 1886.

The O.U.M.U. was very soon virtually taken over by Dr. John Henry Mee, Fellow of Merton, Tutor in Ancient History, Precentor of Chichester, and an influential figure in Oxford. As an undergraduate, Hadow appears to have entertained considerable respect for him, and evidently went to him for tuition;<sup>32</sup> but the tactics which Mee employed to further his career and enlarge his reputation became increasingly irritating to Hadow, and a personal conflict intensified. In particular, Hadow disapproved of Mee's leadership of the O.U.M.U., which developed in opposition to the older Oxford University Musical Club. Hadow strove to achieve a harmonious relationship between the two societies, but it was to the O.U.M.C. that he eventually offered his greater support.

This society, with its headquarters at 115 High Street, had an excellent membership which included C.H. Lloyd, Harold Joachim, Paul Benecke (Mendelssohn's grandson), Franklin Harvey, Leonard Rogers, John Farmer, and the violinist Carl Deichmann. Most of the leaders of the Club were, like Hadow, essentially

dons, but "none mingled their knowledge more completely with music than Hadow".<sup>33</sup> In April, 1883, he confided to his mother how

"One of our men who is a devoted autograph hunter got an introduction to Arthur Sullivan in the vacation to pursue his quest. Sullivan asked him where he was and on learning 'Worcester' he said, 'That's where you have the Musical Don isn't it?'."

A new President of the Musical Club, responsible for arranging the regular Tuesday evening concerts, was appointed each year, and Hadow was elected in 1886. "No opposition. That is top of the musical tree here, at any rate for an amateur". He was re-elected in 1896 and in 1906. The pride he took in the Club is reflected in the joy with which he announced in May, 1895, that

"Brahms has just allowed himself to be made an Honorary Member of the Oxford Musical Club ... I am very much pleased, not only for the honour done to us, but because both offer and acceptance have been in some degree my work."

He was much concerned with the establishment of a proper Musical Library, and when Ernest Walker became President of the Club in 1892 he received full support from Hadow for his library scheme. However, the scanty society funds did not allow for reform or expansion in any large scale.

Hadow's energies were most freely given to the Musical Club in the foundation and organisation of the Public Classical Concerts, for which he also wrote the programme notes. The scheme was launched in 1891 in the face of considerable financial hardship and some opposition. On 1st April, 1892, there appeared in the Musical Times an account of the Public Classical Concerts which condemned their "want of quantity and quality". Hadow, who had delivered a public lecture on Parry on 9th March, must have been further goaded by the "Correspondent's" concluding remark that "we have been pertinaciously lectured,

a fate from which University cities can hardly hope to escape". On 3rd April he wrote to his mother:

A bitter anonymous reptile, who, I am sorry to say, must be J.H. Mee from internal evidence, has written a savage attack on our Concerts in this month's Musical Times. By clear implication he accuses us of taking the subscriber's money and not giving them an adequate return. If I don't answer him it looks like acquiescing in a charge of dishonesty; if I do there'll be no end of a row. Of course, I shan't mind that personally, but it means renouncing the peace policy which I have been maintaining all this year'.

Hadow's counter attack was not successful.

"The Musical Times row is at a check", he informed Mary Lang Hadow on 24th April. "The Editor, who wants to shield his correspondent, has cut out of my letter all the points on which the argument depended and returned me a mutilated proof with a mumbling apology about 'want of space'. I believe that the entire journalistic world is exclusively made up of rogues and knaves".

Support was also from strong sources, however, and Hadow's conviction that "If we don't make this scheme succeed there is no more hope for instrumental music in Oxford"<sup>34</sup> was fuel to his enthusiasm. Hubert Parry, then on the staff of the Royal College of Music, lent the full weight of his approval, unhesitatingly offered himself as a guarantor, and, moreover, assured the services of the orchestra of the Royal College. Ironically enough, the contacts which Hadow had made while on the Committee of the O.U.M.U. proved invaluable, in particular Schulz-Curtius, acting manager of Hans Richter. Hadow's system was to allow one or two 'box-office' concerts each year (given by such figures as Richter, Paderewski and Joachim) to pay for the less spectacular remaining concerts. The only occasion on which the guarantee fund was resorted to arose because "a good many musical people in Oxford have ceased to subscribe because they think that, as we paid our way last year, we don't want their support any longer".<sup>35</sup>

A group of widely assorted personalities represented music in Oxford in Hadow's time. Among them were, at Balliol, Jowett, who, although not musical himself, instituted the Sunday night concerts, John Farmer, who had been Director of Music at Harrow, and Ernest Walker. James Taylor, the organist of New College, was a pupil of Sterndale Bennett and the leading pianoforte teacher of his day; his clean-cut, restrained pianism may well have provided the model which Hadow emulated. At Magdalen was John Varley Roberts, whom Hadow admired greatly for his work with the Choir, which he considered the finest in England. Indeed, so appreciative was he of the value of Roberts' work that he agitated with great enthusiasm for its recognition by the University in the form of an honorary M.A., despite the opposition of Sir Frederick Iliffe, Sir Hubert Parry, and other Oxford musicians.<sup>36</sup>

It was to Dr. C.H. Lloyd of Christ Church that Hadow himself owed most of his early musical recognition and encouragement. A very fine organist, whose repute as an improviser was nation-wide, Lloyd began to give Hadow lessons in Harmony and Counterpoint in 1884, and in 1885 proposed him for membership of the Musical Association. Hadow was delighted.

"By attending it", he wrote, "I am for an hour on a footing of equality with all the greatest men in the English musical world, to say nothing of people like Tyndall who belong to it from their scientific connection with the subject".

Certainly the list of names associated with the body since its formation in 1874 for "the investigation and discussion of subjects connected with the art and science of music" is most impressive, and Frank Howes, a former President, wrote of the Association:

Its importance was that it revealed the immense range of studies - that are comprised in what in the last thirty years or so has been called musicology - not only history, which is its chief single subject, but acoustical science (now tending to be transferred to natural science), instruments, exotic music and ethnomusicology, and also critical appreciations both textual and aesthetic, education, psychology and biography ..... By 1880 then musicology had begun to play its part in musical enlightenment concurrently with taste and composition .37

Hadow described his first attendance at the Musical Association with considerable pleasure and excitement. Sir George Macfarren, Sir George Grove, Parry, Stainer and Otto Goldschmidt were present; and he introduced himself to Stainer after the meeting. "'Come along', he said, 'I've been wanting to make your acquaintance'. Nothing could exceed his kindness, and when we parted I felt prouder than I have for a long time".

Sir John Stainer was in the Chair when Hadow addressed the Musical Association on 14th December, 1897, on "Form and Formalism in Music". Hadow again addressed the Association in 1919 on "Sir Hubert Parry", a tribute which Sir Frederick Bridge felt would "stand upon the pages of our Proceedings as a classic"; and in 1923-4 he delivered a course of three lectures on "The Balance of Expression and Design in Music".<sup>38</sup>

VI

Hadow's encounters with Stainer at the Musical Association were soon to prove fruitful. In May, 1889, Stainer was appointed to the Chair of Music at Oxford, and there was talk of his starting a Musical Conservatoire - a proposal which was of the greatest attraction to Hadow, who was, moreover, offered a place on the Board of Studies, provided that he conformed to popular prejudice by taking his Mus.Bac. As early as June 23, 1889, Hadow wrote that

Stainer's first act as Professor here has been to appoint certain deputies or Readers to teach in specific branches. He has offered me Musical Form and Analysis which I have accepted with some trepidation. I told him that I didn't know anything about it but he only jeered.

If this incident recalls Rimsky-Korsakov's appointment to St. Petersburg, so, too, does Hadow's subsequent success. Although he wrote, following his first lecture on October 27, that "I was so nervous that I could hardly read my notes", within a few months he was commenting that

my Musical Lectures are being talked about and the great and wise are beginning to demand the MS book in order to see for themselves.

The manuscript to which Hadow referred was that of a book entitled Sonata Form, whose publication by Novello, Ewer & Co. in 1896 caused a considerable amount of commotion in Oxford's musical circles. Hubert Parry in particular was implacably, if reluctantly, opposed to it. "He evidently regards it as mischievous and unscientific", wrote Hadow in a letter (n.d.) to his mother. "And the more I go over my position, the more impregnable does it seem to be."

Hadow's unorthodox contention was that the first-movement form of the modern sonata developed from the ternary movements of the eighteenth century, and could not be logically analysed as a successor to the binary compositions. His theory, based on the fact that in 'sonata form' the ear detects three clear divisions (exposition, development and recapitulation), has had some support.<sup>39</sup> The majority of textbooks, however, still describe 'sonata form' historically as an elaboration of binary form, in as much as the distribution of key derives more from binary than from ternary form.<sup>40</sup> Of arguably greater importance was Hadow's demonstration in "Sonata Form" of the essential unity which exists between music and the other arts, more particularly the drama. Already, this book reveals, he had begun to strive for a wider recognition of music as a means of culture.

Before long Hadow's audience grew to a size which could not be accommodated in the college lecture-rooms, and his 'lectures for the Heather Professor of Music' were delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre. Margaret Deneke recalled how

his rapid, eager delivery, bubbled over with humour and shone with the fire of a proselytizer. Comparatively elementary musical facts were illuminated with unknown brilliance and the full panoply of philosophical knowledge and wide reading in many languages was drawn upon for the picturesque detail. Walker frequently provided illustrations at the piano for these lectures, which attracted undergraduates and a large general public".<sup>41</sup>

The lecture on Parry's "Cambridge" Symphony, given on 9th March, 1892, filled even the Sheldonian Theatre.

In 1894 Hadow agreed to lecture on music for the University Extension Committee, which had for nearly ten years offered much appreciated information to the people living in the Oxford area. Hadow also began to take a keen interest in musical education in schools, and in October, 1895, accepted the



position of head of the theoretical department in the musical education of the Girls' High Schools throughout England.<sup>42</sup> This appointment was very probably the root from which was to spring the School Music Union.<sup>43</sup> He lectured extensively in schools, where he evidently enjoyed considerable popularity,<sup>44</sup> and he was much in demand as an adjudicator at the House Competitions in Music. These competitions, which flourished at about the turn of the century under the directorship of such fine musicians as A.H. Peppin at Clifton College, C.H. Lloyd at Eton and Basil Johnson at Rugby, were widely adopted and thus enabled useful comparisons to be made between various schools and institutions.

VII

Stainer persisted in his conviction that Hadow should qualify for a musical degree, and in 1890 Hadow set about preparing his Mus.Bac. exercise. He chose the form of the Cantata, having had some success with this genre two years previously; but it is evident that the new composition proved a perplexing travail. Stainer was unflagging in his encouragement:

'I took the mutilated fragments of my exercise to Stainer on Friday and he has accepted them as they stand. I can't hold out against this, and must go on reading for my degree after all. It is really a very high compliment as there are only a few scraps written'.<sup>45</sup>

The composition - a Hymn "Who all these like stars appearing" for Soprano, Tenor and Chorus with accompanying strings and organ and comprising seven sections - was completed by the beginning of November, having undergone surprising metamorphoses.

'I have been arranging my Exercise as a Quintett for Pianoforte and Strings, in which form it is going to be done up here at the end of term. If it 'comes off' all right I think of scoring it for full orchestra - but that is some way off yet'.<sup>46</sup>

There is in fact no record of the performance of Hadow's exercise. Public performance of the exercise for the degree of Mus.Bac. was not customary; and one of Stainer's first acts when he became Professor of Music was to abolish the traditional public performance of the D.Mus. Exercise - an act of kindness as far as both composer and public were concerned, as many of the performances were undoubtedly perfunctory. One of the few exceptions was the performance of J.H. Mee's Missa Solemnis in 1888. He engaged a

professional orchestra, first-class soloists, and the Leeds Choir, and himself conducted the work before a crowded Sheldonian. As it happened, Hadow earned his first journalist's guinea by writing an account of the concert for the Leeds Mercury ("Anyhow it was a novel experience to send a telegram 652 words in length"); and, judging by Margaret Deneke's remarks, the account was generous.<sup>47</sup> "This brilliant setting", wrote Miss Deneke, "was curiously out of proportion to the dull, wooden work so magnificently decked out".<sup>48</sup>

Hadow's exercise having met with approval, he undertook the necessary theoretical examinations.

"I have a meaner opinion than ever of the Musical Degree", he states in an undated letter to his mother, "The three papers were (i) Harmony in 5 parts (ii) Counterpoint in 5 parts and (iii) Musical History. I went in on almost no preparation. I have never had a Harmony lesson in my life. I haven't written a counterpoint exercise since last year (when I did have three lessons) and never one in as many as 5 parts. For Musical History I trusted to desultory reading. And now I am told I did the best work sent in ..."

Hadow's dissatisfaction with the standard of work presented for the Mus.Bac. did not go unvoiced. He was particularly troubled by the fact that graduates in music were members of the University in a limited sense only, the degrees being anomalous in waiving the general requirement of residence. He therefore argued vehemently in favour of regulations entailing residence for music students at Oxford, and in October, 1898, his office as Proctor enabled him to put his proposals before the Hebdomadal Council.<sup>49</sup> His principal statement was that the degree in Arts, entailing residence as a matter of course, should be a necessary preliminary to the degree in Music; and he backed his contention with the following reasons:

- 1) It would remove the unreal relation between musical graduates and the University and substitute one which was real. Under the existing system, he argued, the connection was restricted to matriculation, the examination room, and the ceremony of the degree.
- 2) It would considerably benefit the musical profession by enhancing the educational value of the degree.
- 3) It would enable Oxford to exercise a greater influence over the course of English music. (Hadow was, at this time, particularly concerned to improve the selection of Church Music.)

Hadow's plans secured the sympathy of Sir Hubert Parry, who confided to C.H. Lloyd on 11/10/98:

"About reforms in the method of granting degrees I am very keen, and I think it a deadly mistake on the part of the profession to oppose it. It's all for their own good. Why should a place like Oxford grant degrees wholesale to the rank and file of the profession, for just a fee and an examination? Their being in no real sense University men only maintains the old prejudice that musical men are an inferior caste".<sup>50</sup>

Parry was also understandably attracted by Hadow's proposal that, by way of provision for musicians who could not afford residence at Oxford, the Royal College of Music should put into operation its power of granting degrees.<sup>51</sup> On the condition that this provision should come into effect, Sir Walter Parratt lent his support to Hadow's case, as did many other well-known musicians, particularly those who, like C.V. Stanford, P.C. Buck, B. Harwood, E.H. Fellowes, and C.H. Lloyd, were anxious to find a way of influencing the choice of music being used in churches throughout the country.

Others, however, - notably Sir Frederick Bridge, Dr. F. Iliffe, Sir George Martin and Professor E. Prout - opposed the scheme. Hadow's proposals, they believed, would not only withdraw a privilege that had been granted to musicians for over four hundred years, but would exclude the very group of musicians who most stood to benefit from the existing system. Professional musicians, they pointed out, could not be considered in the same way as other professional men like lawyers or doctors, who were not required to work at their profession until they were through, or partly through, their course. "Of those of us here who are professional musicians", declared Prout, "the greater number have worked at music from our boyhood, and in a large number of cases had to earn our living at a time when we should have had to enter for college".

Such arguments as these proved powerful indeed, and Hadow's efforts failed. Satirical verses, entitled Worcester Sauce ("For - was it not all much Hadow about Nothing?") circulated throughout Oxford. Parry was disappointed, believing that the present system allowed "plodding duffers" to qualify for degrees. The majority of musicians, however, appeared satisfied that it was more important to attract musicians to Oxford than to raise their status. The following advice offered by Percy Scholes to a potential music candidate in 1908 nevertheless indicates that Hadow's concern was not without foundation:

I recommend you to apply to the Principal of S. Edmund Hall. This is the oldest and smallest of the colleges: you will not be treated there as a 'rank outsider' as non-resident men are at some colleges' .53

Professor W.K. Stanton also recalled that

When I went up in 1909, there was no provision of any kind for the outcasts (!) who were foolish enough to wish to read Music. In the Advent term of 1908, however, the first plans were made for individual coaching in Music and ... the tutors were Dr. Allen, Dr. Ernest Walker, Dr. Iliffe, Dr. Varley Roberts and Donald Tovey. We paid them £1 each a term - and they were good enough to accept that paltry sum.<sup>54</sup>

In 1899 Stainer resigned the music professorship, and Parry was elected his successor.<sup>55</sup> Hadow was able to exert more influence on the politics of the faculty than before, and on 29th January, 1900, he reported:

"Last night another little caucus in my room to discuss some of the exams for musical candidates at Oxford. We devised a neat and watertight little scheme which will be brought before Council in due course".

VIII

The other "little caucus" to which Hadow referred in his letters to his mother at the time consisted of "Parry, Stanford, Buck and myself", and was formed for the purpose of discussing the music in current use in churches throughout the country. The feeling that there was need for drastic criticism and urgent reform in the selection of church music reached a high point in 1897, when a meeting was held at the Royal College of Music to discover what steps might be taken in the matter. Stainer, who had long been urging a fuller commitment to the cause of Church Music,<sup>56</sup> took the Chair, and Hadow was elected to a committee whose other members included Basil Harwood, (organist of Christ Church, Oxford), Alan Gray, (organist of Trinity College, Cambridge), John Troutbeck, (Precentor of Westminster), and E.H. Fellowes, (Precentor of Bristol), as well as Parry, Stanford and Buck (at that time organist of Wells).

Several meetings were held, but in 1900, despite Hadow's mention on 28th January of a "successful little conference on Church Music at the Royal College last Tuesday", the movement collapsed. A note inserted by Hadow many years later in the Parry letters now at Worcester College states simply that "A committee on Church Music called by Stainer met a few times at the R.C.M. but did not come to any conclusion". E.H. Fellowes attributes the failure of the movement to the exclusion of Sir Frederick Bridge and Sir George Martin, representing the Abbey and St. Paul's. "Bridge", Fellowes states, "was mortally offended . . . . and when in the autumn of 1899 Stainer was using his influence to get me appointed Precentor of Westminster Abbey in succession to Dr. John Troutbeck, his opposition proved fatal".<sup>57</sup> For this reason Fellowes "felt compelled to let the whole matter (of the Church Music Committee) drop; and no one else took further action".

The aims of the committee - to stimulate the revival of much fine music which had been neglected, and to raise the general standard of music in both cathedrals and parish churches - were, however, not forgotten. Hadow was particularly active in giving lectures whenever and wherever possible. Moreover, the committee succeeded in compiling a repertory of cathedral music in actual use in 1898 which has proved a most valuable record for reference.<sup>58</sup> It is now in the library of St. Michael's College, Tenbury. Hadow's own ideas with regard to the selection of music in Cathedrals are most clearly revealed in a letter written in 1930 to Canon Dwelly of Liverpool:

. .I much prefer the plan of familiarising the congregation with the best works by presenting them often enough for it to learn to love them, and not often enough for it to say 'toujours perdrix' ..... I should not exclude any particular school or style but let in every kind from the 16th century to the present day, provided that it is real Church music and that it is of the right standard of dignity and reverence. [He does not think that Sullivan's "Sing O Heavens" should be included] On the whole I should give preference of place to our Tudor and Jacobean composers, partly because of their intrinsic value as music and partly because their idiom corresponds closely with that of the Liturgy in the Authorized Version. There is the same remoteness and stateliness about it and this, I think, very much enhances its place in the Church service. Again I would, on the whole, give preference to works of English composers, who most nearly represent our national temperament, but I would certainly include a due proportion of the great continental masters and especially of Bach.<sup>59</sup>

By 1930 the ten volumes now widely known as the Carnegie edition of Tudor Church Music were readily available for use in churches.<sup>60</sup> But the deplorable lack of good sources to which nineteenth century Church musicians were attracted to draw their material was the subject of some of Hadow's most powerful lectures. He warned against three "diseases" to which religious music is prone: virtuosity, theatricalism, and sentimentalism, this last



weakness being most prevalent during the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

There has probably been no form of any art in the history of the world which has been so over-run by the unqualified amateur as English Church Music from about 1800 to about 1900,

observed Hadow in 1926, a statement which is well supported by the number of anthems and hymns contributed to the supplements of The Musical Times in the latter half of this period.

Many of our professional musicians at this time stood at a low level of culture and intelligence and were quite content to flow with the stream, so that our service books, and still more our Hymn books, were filled with dilutions of Mendelssohn, reminiscences of Spohr and, worse than either, direct imitations of Gounod; as incongruous with the splendour of our Authorized Version and of our Book of Common Prayer as were some of the stained glass windows of that period with the strength and dignity of our Church Architecture. Thirty years ago (i.e. 1896), we were perhaps at our lowest ebb. This music was deplorably easy to write, it required little or no skill of performance, it passed by mere use and went into the hearts of the congregation, it became a habit like any other, and it is only during comparatively recent years that any serious attempts have been made towards eradicating it.<sup>62</sup>

Hadow's insistence that

"music has a positive and essential place in our worship, and that this entails as a necessary correlative great care in its selection and a great sense of responsibility in its use"<sup>63</sup>

was rooted firmly in the conviction that

the act of worship carries us up through the empirical world, through even the scientific world of laws or the Platonic world of ideas, and brings us as near as human nature can be brought to the very centre and source of all things ... music (is) the natural vehicle of liturgical worship ... the very soul and inspiration of the religious feeling which the words themselves can but partly and imperfectly embody.<sup>64</sup>

The theoretical and metaphysical aspects of Hadow's thinking will be more fully dealt with in Chapter 7 ; of greater relevance here is Hadow's

attempt to show how his ideals could be put into practice. This, he realized, would mean

The application of a critical standard and the rigorous exclusion of all that falls below it. There follows the inevitable question of how and by whom this standard is to be applied, and at what point our line is to be drawn. On this point I would venture to speak with entire frankness. The standard should be applied by a council of those best fitted to speak in the name of Church music, whether from the side of the ministry or from the side of musical art or from those, of whom we have not a few in England, who can hold an authoritative balance between them; and the one general instruction under which such a council should act should be, 'When in doubt exclude'.

Hadow's unflagging determination to secure the formation of such a body of musicians and churchmen resulted in the re-assembly of some of the members of the 1897 committee in January, 1906. It was decided to form a society which should be called the "Church Music Society", and to place it on a national basis with Archbishop Lord Lang, then Bishop of Stepney and Canon of St. Paul's as President and Hadow as Chairman of the Committee.

The new society attracted influential support. The Hon. Spencer Lyttleton who had been one of Gladstone's private secretaries and was on the Council of the Royal College of Music, was honorary treasurer, and among other prominent members were T.B. Strong, then Dean of Christ Church, Sir Walter Parratt, his brother-in-law William Barclay Squire, music librarian at the British Museum, and J.A. Fuller-Maitland, music critic of The Times.

In order to facilitate the selection of music suitable for different Church occasions and for performance by choirs of varying powers and ability, it was resolved that the Society should publish reprints of music not otherwise available, and issue Papers on various subjects connected with Church music. One such paper was contributed by Hadow in 1914, on the subject of "Hymn Tunes".<sup>66</sup>

IX

It is clear that Hadow regarded the hymn as the most important item in church music, in as much as it is the utterance and offering of the entire congregation - the folk song, so to speak, of the Church.

He began in Oxford addressing audiences chiefly on the structure and formation of the tunes, and urging an intelligent reappraisal of the hymns which had been accepted through mere wont and use in churches throughout the country. The too prevalent dingy commonplaceness - which has been caught so neatly and ludicrously by Bertrand Russell in the last paragraph of "Faith and Mountains" - was a source of indignation to him; and he was quick to ridicule literary bloomers such as the line in Hymns Ancient and Modern, "Oh! give us Samuel's ear" ("Though what you want it for, and what you would do with it if you had it I certainly don't know").<sup>67</sup> If his reproach of Sir Arthur Sullivan for being "too much at ease in Sion"<sup>68</sup> indicates a tendency to push the frontier line of judgement a little too far in the direction of austerity, his plea that the hymn, like all church music, should be "touched with a special sense of the sanctity of its purpose"<sup>69</sup> was well founded, and richly supported by philosophical, moral and artistic argument. Moreover, he offered a clear formula for assessing the quality of a given hymn, compounded of (1) melodic curve, (2) organisation of rhythm, (3) good part writing, especially in the bass, (4) structure of stanza, (5) climax, (6) suitability of words;<sup>70</sup> and he illustrated the application of his tests with convincing consistency, even writing a hymn of his own ("O Lord, to whom the spirits live") for the 1906 edition of The English Hymnal.<sup>71</sup> Given that the essential form of a hymn tune was that of

a simple stanza to be repeated verse by verse as in a ballad, he proposed the superiority of that "broad, large, diatonic kind, which gained effect in proportion to the number of voices that took part in them. That test did not enhance but exposed soft, swashing harmony, twiddling melody and foolish, unnecessary harmony".<sup>72</sup>

The vigour with which Hadow sought the eradication of what he considered to be inappropriate and badly-written hymns from church services sprang not only from his own uncompromising taste or the irritation of his musical sensibility. He was convinced that the decline in church going which accompanied the unfolding of the twentieth century could be arrested by a greater regard for the role of beauty in worship.<sup>73</sup>

If the services were such . . . as to attune the soul to worship, the difficulty would be not to induce people to come to church but to keep them away . . . . I would urge particular care in the selection of the hymns. In churches where the choir is adequate and the opportunities for training are sufficient, I would certainly allow a periodic display of an anthem or the like; but it is in the hymns that the music of the Church is most fully and corporately expressed. The congregation are no longer listeners (though to listen to beautiful music is in itself an inspiration), but actual participators, and they are, I believe, very closely influenced by what they sing.<sup>74</sup>

Hadow's audiences did not always take kindly to the proposition that many of their most popular hymns were unworthy of their place in the divine service;<sup>75</sup> following a discourse at Queens College in 1903 he was "heckled thoroughly". Moreover, his views brought him into disagreement with Sir John Stainer, although the good humour and tolerance of both men did not permit any serious conflict to develop. On October 14, 1900, Hadow told his mother of a paper he had just completed for The Guardian on the subject of a collection of hymn tunes, written and introduced by Sir John Stainer.<sup>76</sup>

'I've been rather reluctant to write it, since it is in direct antagonism to Stainer (of whose recent hymn book it is ostensibly a review) ..... But the book was put in my way ..... and I cannot say things unless I believe them to be true. I do think that his views on the subject are fundamentally wrong, and that it is a subject upon which wrong views do a great deal of harm ..... I offered the book back to Hobhouse, that he might send it to someone else ..... but he refused the offer.

Hadow's principal objection was to Stainer's contention that the type of hymn-tune commonly associated with Dr. J.B. Dykes was the most suitable for current use in churches. Hadow argued that "the music to which Sir John Stainer alludes is criticized not because it is modern, but because it is 'weak' and 'sentimental' .... if the sentimental tunes appeal to part of the congregation, the great tunes appeal to the whole". He urged that the selection of tunes for the new edition of Hymns Ancient and Modern be rigorously carried out. "Better even, if the case be doubtful, that a good tune should be sacrificed than that a bad tune should be admitted; there is enough good work about which no reasonable doubt can exist".<sup>77</sup> Happily, Stainer took Hadow's comments in good part, and wrote a kind note in reply to his letter of conciliation. "Meanwhile", wrote Hadow on November 4th, 1900, "I hear that I am to have an antagonist worth fighting. Name T.B. Strong, student of Christ Church, ex-Brampton lecturer. Great power at the Church Congress, keen amateur musician, excellent controversialist. And I've known him very well for the last fifteen years. He is at present preparing to demolish me ....."

Indeed, in a letter published in The Guardian of 7th November, Strong suggested that Hadow

'... does not fully appreciate the conditions under which hymns have to be chosen and used in ordinary Church life, and I think that the ideal position of church music which he sketches has never really existed in the past, and cannot be confidently expected in the future ... a parish [requires]

a very large number of hymns and their words and tunes will have to be adapted to people of very different capacity and education ... I am inclined to ask ... whether the ideal of church music stitched by Mr. Hadow is not a false one ... an artistic ideal, tempered by antiquarianism and the evolution-idea, and not strictly available for church use at all.

Comparing Dykes' "Lead Kindly Light",, in Hymns Ancient and Modern, with the tune offered in the Yattendon Hymnal, Strong observed that

"The former is highly popular, and would be readily sung apart from its harmonies; the other, though a beautiful tune in the Phrygian mode, would generally prove from the congregational point of view a fearful tune.. ."

He appealed to the editors of Hymns Ancient and Modern:

Do not ... be contented with the verdict of the best artistic talent of the day. Inquire also what hymn-tunes are successful in parishes, and ascertain, if you can, why ... If ... it is to succeed as a hymnal it must use the voice and style of the century in which it is put forth; unless it speaks to the ear of its age, it will be vox clamens in deserto..

Somewhat surprisingly, Strong's article went unanswered, despite Hadow's assertion that it "gave me openings all along the line". His commitment to his work was compelling, and he explained simply that "I've no time to write a proper answer".<sup>78</sup>

Hadow was, as may be expected, eminently practical in the methods he used to spread his ideas. His lectures were accompanied by ample illustration of his points, whether outlined by himself at the keyboard or provided by an organist or choir; and while at Oxford he was the leader, since 1896, of a Choral Society "which met at Christ Church (Lloyd being the organist) to sing Bach". Even in this matter Hadow came up against J.H. Mee, who was also running an important choral society. Towards the end of 1901 Hadow instigated a movement to reconcile the two societies. "Mee", he wrote,

"is rather too much of a diplomatist to inspire one with unmingled confidence, and if he is reluctant his society will be reluctant with him". But on March 9th of the following year he reported; "We had a great performance of Bach's St. Matthew Passion on Thursday: the first result of my attempts to make peace between the rival societies. They cooperated for once and the success was so great that I hope they'll be encouraged to repeat the experiment."

The principal off shoot of Hadow's interest in church music flowered in the nineteen-twenties. In August, 1916, he attended a great Eisteddfod and Gymanfa at Aberystwyth - "an opportunity for the expression of national sentiment and aspirations in the midst of war". The occasion was described in the Cambrian News (25/8/16) as the brainchild of Lloyd George, who was "keenly sensitive of the advantages of a great national gathering assembled in solemn mood for the expression of spiritual and devotional feelings at a time of national stress and sorrow". Lloyd George greatly enjoyed a speech which Hadow made during a rest by the choir,<sup>79</sup> and Hadow wrote to his mother on 20/8/16 that "on the Friday afternoon we sat just behind him and had some talk on Welsh Hymns of which he is an enthusiastic admirer". It may well have been during this conversation that the scheme for a new hymn book was hatched. Indeed, the reporter for the Cambrian News informed his readers that

The hymns and tunes were selected as near the original form as possible and it is not unlikely that they will be made the basis of a national hymn book, uniting the vagaries of harmony and phrasing which have divided the denominational books and created divergence in religion, poetry and music.

In 1921 Hadow spent the weekend of 17th - 19th December at Chequers,<sup>80</sup> and after this he began work, with the collaboration of Sir Richard Terry and Sir H. Walford Davies,<sup>81</sup> on a new Hymn Book requested by the Prime

Minister. The important new features of the book, which was to comprise 300 hymns in all, were the inclusion of a large number of Welsh melodies, and a concluding selection of twenty more elaborate settings, to be used as short anthems. "This collection", wrote Lloyd George in the Preface,<sup>82</sup> is an attempt to show that the standard, which all would admit to be desirable, can in practice be realized. It is frankly a compilation: with one exception no tune by a living composer is included: a few sets of words have been specially written when the tune adopted has some special characteristics of rhythm or stanza; otherwise the hymns have been taken from the chief accepted treasuries of Western Europe".

Nevertheless, considerable effort was entailed in the editing of the hymns. The special sets of words mentioned in the Preface were written by Dr. G.R. Woodward (the editor of the Songs of Sion) to suit the many Welsh tunes which were found to be unadaptable to available verses; and many of the hymns were harmonically revised. In this matter Terry was given, by and large, a carte-blanche and Hadow informed him that.

I have adopted all your suggestions except that where we take over a Hymn tune by a known, identifiable composer, we must, I think, take it as he wrote it; I have rather a conscientious scruple about interfering with another man's work ..... I am not sure that your dislike of the unprepared dominant seventh does not amount to a passion. There are instances of it in Bach, there is a remarkable instance of it in 'Sine nomine', but I entirely agree that it is generally weak and sentimental and that we are on the safe side in avoiding it. Anyhow, if I did not I should give way to you on a point like this .83

Hadow finally decided that "...wherever we have a traditional melody or are otherwise free to act, I am replacing the sentimental harmonies with good, honest dominants".<sup>84</sup>

The book, which was eventually brought out by the Oxford University Press in 1926 under the title of Hymns of Western Europe, at the price of 6/6d, attained but scant popularity. Conceived, as it was, for an "ideal" congregation which had no counterpart in reality, it indeed proved, as Thomas Strong had predicted, "Vox clamens in deserto".



Notes to Chapter 2

1. The Barnes Scholarship was valued at £120 a year for four years.
2. "It is not generally known that he (Hadow) took as keen an interest in country cricket as any schoolboy. In the summer term when I was with him at Worcester he always made for the evening papers in the common room after dinner to see the latest scores".  
E.H. Fellowes, Memoirs of an Amateur Musician, London, 1946, p.65.
3. Pilgrims and Pioneers, London, 1946, p.25.  
Hadow was on a special committee for constructing a new cricket ground in 1894, and he informed his mother in 1899 that he had settled the plans for the new pavilion.
4. See letters to M.L.H., October 1904.
5. Letter from C.H. Wilkinson to Grace Hadow, 10/4/37.  
Col. C.H. Wilkinson was a Fellow of Worcester College for forty years, and Vice-Provost from 1949 until his retirement in 1958. He lectured in English Language and Literature, and held the posts of Dean and Librarian at the College.
6. Comments such as these were typical:-  
  
"He was not only a helper but an inspirer, and I regard the hours I spent in his company as the very best in my life .... he treated me as an equal .."  
  
"I still remember his lectures on Ethics .... greatly he raised the level of education and the whole tone of social life in England".  
(J.L. Hammond)  
  
"His self-giving was so utterly complete ... the students did more than just 'like' him. We went to a lecture of his, and there was an ovation - entirely of their own movement". (Rhoda Balfour)  
  
"I heard him lecture at Oxford. It was about Kyd and the Spanish Tragedy - and he not only lectured without a note but declaimed scenes and speeches. We were spellbound". (Freda Hawtrey)
7. *ibid.*, p.23.
8. Letter to Rev. F.E. Hutchinson, 1/2/22. (V.C.10, 369)
9. Letter to Grace Hadow, 10/4/37.
10. Man, Mind and Music, London, 1948, p.126.
11. Letter to Graham Balfour, 12/3/83.
12. Letter from Sir Bertram Long to A.P. Derrington, 21/7/69 (Private).

13. On 2nd December he was interviewed by Campbell-Bannerman (then Secretary to the Admiralty) concerning possible work as a tutor to a young man which would involve travel over most of Europe for at least a year.
14. Sir Harry Brittain, *ibid.*, p.23.
15. Letter to Grace Hadow, 10/4/37.
16. Letter to A.P. Derrington, 21/7/69 (Private).
17. See letters to M.L.H., 16/3/90, 24/5/06.
18. A.M.A.H. Rogers: Degrees - by Degrees, London, 1938, p.92.
19. Margaret Deneke, Ernest Walker, O.U.P., London, 1951, p.40.
20. *ibid.*
21. "The needs of popular Musical Education", address delivered at Barnett House, Oxford, 1918.
22. E.H. Fellowes, *ibid.*, p.9.
23. Worcester College is famous for its lake and for the collection of books, engravings and architectural drawings, including many of Inigo Jones, bequeathed to the College by George Clarke in 1737. Hadow himself mentions the pseudonym 'Inigo Jones' in a letter to M.L.H. in 1882.
24. Letter to M.L.H. November 30, 1903.
25. See letters from Sir William McKie to A.P. Derrington, May-August, 1969.
26. See letters to M.L.H. 28th April and 12th May, 1901.
27. Grace Hadow to Helena Deneke, April, 1937.
28. V.C.14, 823.
29. Other members of the Committee included Franklin Harvey, F. Cunningham Woods, H.M. Abel, J.H. Mee, G.P.A. Acworth, S.C. Sharland.
30. E.H. Fellowes, *ibid.*, p.45.
31. Ten Years of University Music in Oxford: P.C. Buck, J.H. Mee and F.C. Woods, Oxford, 1894.
32. See letter to M.L.H., 27/5/81.
33. Margaret Deneke, *ibid.*, p.48.

34. Letter to M.L.H., 10/5/91.
35. Letter to Parry, 29th October, 1893.
36. See Letter from Parry to Hadow, October 15th, 1907.
37. Frank Howes, The English Musical Renaissance, London, 1966, p.347.
38. Proceedings of the Musical Association, Session XXIV, 1897-8; Session XLV, 1918-19; Session L, 1923-4.
39. Hadow wrote to Graham Balfour from Dresden on 20/1/96:  
"By the way, (J.L) Nicodé, who is a musical swell at the Dresden Conservatorium, showed me their last new book on Musical Form the other day and it so exactly supports me on my controverted point that I shall probably be charged with plagiarism. Quaint isn't it? Anyhow, the book wasn't printed when I wrote mine".
40. See Percy A. Scholes, The Oxford Companion to Music, 10th edition (1970), "Form" 7-8, p.372-3.
41. Ernest Walker, p.45.
42. Letter to M.L.H., 20/20/95.
43. See Chapter 12.
44. See letter to Hadow from Ethel Glazebrook, wife of the Headmaster of Clifton College, 20/20/02.
45. Letter to M.L.H., 22/6/90.
46. Letter to M.L.H., 2/11/90.
47. Leeds Mercury, 12/11/1888. "The work", Hadow wrote, "...may be said to contain both some of the defects and merits incidental to its class, for the rules of counterpoint are so rigorous and so dominating that they 'set the tone' of any composition in which they are explicitly recognized ... and it is on this technical side that Mr. Mee is strongest ... on the other hand Mr. Mee sometimes shows that he can employ colour to great advantage ..."
48. Ernest Walker, p.49.
49. See Bodleian Library, Oxford: Hebdomadal Council Papers 1894-1902, (G.A. Oxon 8 996 (2)).
50. See C.L. Graves, Hubert Parry: his life and works, London, 1926, Vol. II(2), p.11.
51. See letter to Hadow from Parry, 28/11/98.
52. See The Musical Times, November, 1898, pp.719-20.

53. The Music Student, (ed. Percy A. Scholes), Vol.I, no.3, December, 1908, p.48.
54. Letter to E.D. Mackerness, 7/8/67. (Private)
55. Hadow was almost certainly influential in securing Parry's election. On 2nd June, 1901, he reported that he had a place on the board of Electors which appoints the Professor of Music at Cambridge.
56. See, for example, his paper, "Music Considered in its effect upon, and connection with, the Worship of the Church", the Church Congress, Exeter, October, 1864.
57. E.H. Fellowes, Memoirs of an Amateur Musician, London, 1946, p.83.
58. A similar compilation was made in 1938, and the two volumes formed the subject of Occasional Paper XIII of the Church Music Society: "Forty Years of Cathedral Music, 1898-1938".
59. V.C. 27, 296, 11/3/30.
60. See Chapter 12
61. Church Music, Liverpool Diocesan Board of Divinity Publications, Longmans, 1926, p.23.
62. *ibid.*, p.15.
63. "Church Music", Address delivered at the Church Congress at Southport on 7/10/26.
64. *ibid.*
65. *ibid.*
66. Church Music Society Occasional Papers, no.5, London, 1914.
67. Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard, 30/12/16.
68. "Music as an Element in Worship", National Mission Pamphlets - N.S.P.C.K., 1916.
69. *ibid.*
70. See letter to Sydney Nicholson (organist of Westminster Abbey and founder of the School of English Church Music) 21/6/20. V.C.7, 120.
71. The English Hymnal, O.U.P. London, 1906. Musical editor: Ralph Vaughan Williams. No.359: "O Lord to Whom the Spirits Live", (R.F. Littledale); tune "South Cerney".

72. North Eastern Daily Gazette, 9/11/16. Report of a lecture given by Hadow under the auspices of the Newcastle Local Centre of the Free Church Musicians' Union at the Central Primitive Methodist Church, Newcastle.
73. See E.D. Mackerness, A Social History of English Music, London and Toronto, 1964, p.260.
74. Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard, 10/12/27.
75. Sir Joseph Barnby's tune to "For all the Saints", for example, was regarded by Hadow as "a compendium of everthing that a church composer ought to avoid". (See "Music as an Element in Worship")
76. Sir John Stainer: Hymn Tunes, Novello, 1900.
77. The Guardian, 31/10/1900.
78. Letter to M.L.H., 11/11/1900.
79. See Cambrian News, 25/8/19.
80. There appear to have been several visits to Lloyd George. H.C. Colles recorded that, in the summer of 1924, "Walford went to stay the weekend at Churt where he found Sir Henry Hadow and Sir Richard Terry with their host, Mr. Lloyd George". (See Walford Davies, O.U.P., 1942, p.128.)
81. Both men were knighted in 1922.
82. It is apparent that Hadow was guiding the Prime Minister's pen here. "There is the Lloyd George Preface", Hadow wrote to Humphrey Milford on 26/9/26. "I talked it over with him last June and gave him a draft embodying his suggestions, but he has not yet returned it..."
83. Letter to R.R. Terry, 8/2/26, V.C. 18, 975.
84. Letter to Walford Davies, 9/2/26, V.C. 18, 996.

## CHAPTER 3

### OXFORD II: A CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRAT

"Speak of the moderns without contempt and of the ancients without idolatry: judge them all by their merits, but not by their age."

(Lord Chesterfield, Letter to his Son,  
22/2/1748.)

I

For all Hadow's castigating zeal with regard to those aspects of intellectual life which seemed to him to need reform, he was by no means a radical. He indeed deprecated the threat to the traditional administration of the University which occurred when, in July, 1907, the Bishop of Birmingham requested the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the endowment, administration and teaching of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, on the grounds that they were out of date. Hoping to avert the formation of such a commission at Oxford, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the recently elected Chancellor, urged the University "to itself consider the question of its domestic adjustment to modern needs". In 1909, he addressed to the University his "Letter on Principles and Methods of University Reform", later known simply as the "Curzon Report".

This report was opposed by Hadow in as much as it advocated movements towards greater centralization of work through Professors and Faculties as against the older comparative decentralization through Colleges and Tutors. "On general grounds of University Constitution I was a Democrat rather than a Republican", Hadow wrote to C.L. Stocks of the 1920 Oxford and Cambridge Commission.

The unit of a man's University career at Oxford is not so much the University as the College. It mattered much more to a man that he had been at Balliol or New College than that he had been at Oxford. It meant a much more enduring loyalty. Anything, therefore, which tended to depreciate the Colleges, and especially the Tutorial System, seemed to me a movement in the wrong direction .<sub>1</sub>

While Lord Curzon himself had no wish to subvert the Colleges in any way, and spoke with admiration and pride of the tutorial system which they

sponsored, criticisms of the monopoly exercised by the colleges led him to conclude that "in the older branches of study, and notably in Literae Humaniores, the lack of control and the want of co-ordination are most urgently felt".<sup>2</sup>

The principal objections were to the lack of control of the lectures delivered by college lecturers, and the apparent lack of organization of the time-table. The older Boards of Faculties were admonished on the grounds that they were Examination Boards rather than Faculties representing their subjects, and that "they register, where they are expected to revise, the lecture lists submitted to them".<sup>3</sup> The request was made that the Boards should be reconstituted to allow for control of the lectures and courses by the various faculties on the lines of a modern University. The English Board, which had been recently constituted in this way, was cited as an example. It was further argued that the interest of the Professors was at stake. They suffered, it was claimed, from the competition of other lecturers.<sup>4</sup>

Hadow's attitude to such pronouncements was expressed as early as November, 1888:

Freeman's outcry, that men are too much occupied with college lectures to go and hear him, seems to me simply childish. If a Professor doesn't get an audience he has only himself to thank.<sup>5</sup>

The later letter to Stocks further explained:

No legislation could prevent a College from allowing any of its members to lecture at any time on any subject. If a Lecturer were excluded from the list, he could perfectly well make some private announcement, and any attempt to boycott him for inefficiency would probably break down. Besides, I did not think, so far as I had any evidence, that the College lecturers were inefficient.



Thus, when the Arts Board, to which Hadow had been elected in February, 1900, took up the proposition that it should exercise a strict control and censorship over the lectures delivered in the Faculty, Hadow convinced them that, provided the Secretary of the Board continued to ensure that there were not too many lectures proposed on one subject, that the hours did not clash or leave inconvenient gaps, and that the Lecturers made re-adjustment where necessary, such a proposal would be superfluous.<sup>6</sup>

II

Hadow's support of the College system did not blind him to its defects. He urged that the economies advocated by the Curzon Report could and should be effected, particularly with regard to the management of the kitchen and in the administration of estates.<sup>7</sup> He was anxious to improve the examination and scholarship system wherever possible, and was responsible for many amendments and refinements at Worcester College as well as in the Faculties of Arts and (to a lesser extent) Music. But all his reforms were made with the aim of solidifying and strengthening rather than annihilation, and they were made on the basis of first-hand experience. The range of his activities as an examiner was unprecedented.<sup>8</sup> The list of his examining subjects included Logic, Aristotle's Ethics, Political Economy, Music, and Moral Philosophy; and by 1909 he had examined in the final schools of Literae Humaniores, Modern Languages and English. He also served the Oxford Local Examinations Delegacy, of which his Worcester College ally, H.T. Gerrans, was Secretary.

Hadow's concern to strengthen the relationship between the secondary schools and the university, which later prompted him to form the Secondary Schools Council,<sup>9</sup> was rooted in his involvement with the Local Examinations Delegacy. His close friend Graham Balfour, who was assistant secretary of the organization until 1903, when he was appointed Director of Education for Staffordshire, undoubtedly encouraged his interest; and with H.B. George, Fellow of New College, Hadow undertook to produce two volumes of poetry for use in schools. The first, which was prescribed for the local examinations, was accorded excellent notices in The Guardian (23/4/02), . . . The Scotsman (27/3/02), The Times Educational Supplement (2/5/02) and other educational

papers.

The authors' intention was to select poems for school children which would have a direct appeal, and which would encourage them to explore more deeply experience which was already familiar. Guided by the premise that "a selection having to be made, somehow, it seemed good to direct attention in the first place to things which are to be seen at home",<sup>10</sup> they took as their subject Poems of English Country Life, thereby linking the forty-four poems chosen with effective simplicity. A further advantage of this thematic approach - so popular in school text books of recent years - was, as the Times Educational Supplement pointed out, that "it invented a scheme capable of extension". The Supplement also praised the "introductory remarks ... distinguished by a sagacity uncommon in school books of English literature".

Hadow and George again collaborated to produce a selection of the poems of Tennyson in January, 1903, with a similar introduction and notes for teachers, and in 1907 Hadow produced Shakespeare's Sonnets and a Lover's Complaint, (O.U.P.), a reprint of the Quarto of 1609.

III

Despite Hadow's assertion that "the unit of a man's University career at Oxford is not so much the University as the College" he was anxious to improve the lot of the Non-collegiate Students. Indeed, he was in favour of his younger brother Edgie coming up to Oxford unattached. As he explained to his mother on 17/5/90,

It is for one thing less expensive, and for another, controlled by a great personal friend of my own.<sup>11</sup>  
I am Mods Tutor to the Institution and so stand behind the scenes in some respects'.

In 1894, he was appointed a Delegate of the Unattached Students Association, while continuing his appointment as Lecturer. This situation afforded him some amusement. "I have just received a cheque as Lecturer to the Unattached", he wrote on 10 December 1894, "signed by myself as Delegate".

His sister and god-daughter Grace, who was herself to become the Principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students (later St. Anne's), also benefitted from her brother's diverse administrative activities. With the formation of the Association for the Education of Women in 1894,<sup>12</sup> Hadow found himself appointed with H.T. Cerrans and the redoubtable Annie Rogers "as a special council of war to decide on tactics". By February 10 the following year he reported that

"I am getting (Heaven knows how) pushed into the front rank of Women's Education here and am keeping step with the best of them. I wonder how it will all turn out. But at least I'm genuinely keen on the movement and only a little astonished at finding myself playing at Revolutions". In May there was "a proposal ... that we should ask the University to give women students some recognition when they have gone through their course ... vote in favour of attacking the University passed by a majority of 115 to 26. So our next move will be to present a petition to the Hebdomadal Council".

Although the proposal was rejected by Congregation, Hadow's untiring efforts were fully appreciated, and it is not surprising that in 1899 he was urged to stand for the Council of Somerville College, where he was already well known as a lecturer and tutor.<sup>13</sup> He consented, and was thus in a position to be of some help to Grace when she came up in October, 1900. His membership of the Council offered him wide administrative experience, and he "...threw himself with characteristic energy and generosity into the work and life of the College at a critical period".<sup>14</sup> As chairman of the Library Committee he developed the building scheme and fund raising, and fellow members of the Council (including H.A.L. Fisher and A.L. Smith, the Master of Balliol) later re-elected him to this post for the reorganization of the Library in the twenties.

The lively stimulus of Hadow's teaching at Somerville, the willingness with which he contributed to the incidental music for the College performances of Demeter (1904) and Campaspe (1908), and the continued interest he took in Somerville affairs throughout his life earned him the love and lasting respect of the students. When The Times' obituary of 11/4/37 declared him an opponent of Women's degrees, Annie Rogers protested angrily in a letter published two days later.

Indeed, the statement of The Times would appear incontestably ill-founded. Hadow was a member of the A.E.W. until it ceased in 1921; the enthusiasm with which he congratulated Grace on the attainment of her M.A. Degree in 1922 (when she was already Secretary of Barnett House) was unbounded; and one of his greatest achievements at Newcastle was the building of a Women's Hostel. Hadow was, however, an opponent of women's suffrage. Helena Deneke recalled how "it happened that he sat on a platform of a

meeting called to oppose this measure during a time when she (Grace Hadow) was advocating it elsewhere".<sup>15</sup>

It would appear that he later changed his mind. On 26 October, 1918, he told Grace that "One of the most remarkable pieces of news this week is that only 25 members of the House of Commons were found to vote against the admission of women. The world seems to be moving at a very rapid pace".

IV

The most significant work which Hadow carried out in support of established tradition at Oxford was in relation to the study of the Classics. The First Class Honours he attained in Literae Humaniores in 1882 established his reputation as a scholar worthy of respect, and in March 1885 he was asked by the Latin professor to help in the formation of a Latin Dictionary "which shall be the recognized authority just as Liddell and Scott is for Greek". In 1897 he was chiefly responsible for the remodelling of the course in Aristotelian Logic; and on 31st October, 1899, he was nominated University Examiner in Literae Humaniores, an office he had long coveted, and which he held for three years. He therefore occupied a position of some authority during the dispute as to whether the Classics should continue to hold their traditional dominant place in the curriculum.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the traditional supremacy of the Classics had been challenged in both the Universities and the Public Schools.<sup>16</sup> The battle which had been fought to secure for science free enquiry and progressive knowledge was all but ended; there was a ferment of educational reform and expansion at all levels; and the multiplication of educational subjects produced inevitable pressures on both schools and universities. As early as 1891 the Rev. J.E.C. Welldon, former headmaster of Harrow, argued most persuasively in favour of the abolition of the compulsory Greek test for university entrance, on the grounds that

the rigorous exaction of Greek as a condition of academical life tends to narrow the scope of education in schools and colleges, to waste the time of students who cannot become Greek scholars, and to deny them the opportunity of cultivating their natural powers in the best years of life'.<sup>17</sup>

The time had come, Welldon proposed, for the universities to relax their conditions of entrance and to allow the admission of students who had not necessarily studied Greek.

That the new sciences had proper claims was not disputed by Hadow. Indeed, he had long considered the advantages of the development of a "Modern side" at the University, and his eventual appointment as Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle, confirmed his interest in the development of the "Redbrick" Universities. However, endorsing as he did Matthew Arnold's notion of culture as the "pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world",<sup>18</sup> he was convinced of the immense spiritual significance of Greek literature and philosophy, and concerned that its civilising function should be preserved.

Unpersuaded by Welldon's assertion that "the possibility of giving an education which deserves to be regarded as liberal without the knowledge of Greek has now for some time been proven by experience", Hadow was possibly disconcerted by the prevailing tendency to exaggerate the truths of materialism, to believe that the scientific doctrines of great scientists like T.H. Huxley could be appropriately applied to all existence.<sup>19</sup> This not only threatened, as Matthew Arnold had predicted,<sup>20</sup> the function of literature, but it preserved a hostile and pugnacious attitude towards the "old spirit" of learning which made constructive reform difficult.<sup>21</sup> At all events, when, on 29th October, 1904, a Statute which would make the study of Greek optional for entrance to Oxford was brought before Congregation, Hadow decided to oppose the motion. The Statute, he decided, offered no well-considered scheme for an academic curriculum without Greek; and he agreed with the Warden of All Souls that its design was nothing more than a "patchwork of



alternatives", whose chief effect would be to increase premature specialization rather than to broaden the scope of education in schools.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, a visit which Hadow had paid to America in 1903 had convinced him of the dangers of any educational policy which would weaken the basis for a liberal education, and thus endanger the growth of culture. The content of Hadow's speech before Congregation was summarized in the Oxford Magazine:<sup>23</sup>

Changes such as were now proposed had been made at Harvard and other Universities had followed the example, but with most unsatisfactory results. He had been at the Boston Conference last year, and there the voice of American opinion had been all but unanimous; it hoped Oxford would stand firm in defence of Greek. And American opinion was not to be lightly dismissed as that of a country dangerously wedded to traditional forms. No; American experience went to show that to multiply alternatives and to allow options tended to slacken educational fibre and to lower standards all round ... Specialization of the right sort may make for efficiency, but not that specialization which amounts to abstaining from the study of those subjects which one dislikes or finds difficult ... such specialization is a bad substitute for a general education.

The success of Hadow's address, delivered before "a solid phalanx of students of the natural sciences", was applauded by the Oxford Magazine, which paid him the following tribute:

"As a contribution to the debate we should have no hesitation in putting Mr. Hadow's first. He was not at first any too audible, as in the effort not to detain the House he spoke rather too fast, but when he settled down he quite held the attention of his audience, and made his points in admirable style. We do not know whether any speeches in Congregation ever turned votes, but certainly if Mr. Hadow failed to bring over a few waverers we might as well abandon the practice of debating as a useless farce."

The defeat of the Statute by a majority of thirty-six ensured the preservation of Greek at Oxford for some time,<sup>24</sup> but Hadow was untiring in his vigilance. "For Heaven's sake", he pleaded with his friend Graham Balfour on 16th October, 1917 - Balfour having been elected Chairman of the new Board of Education Committee on the position of Science - "do not let them touch Greats".<sup>25</sup>

In practice it was, when I left Oxford, the best examination that I have ever seen, and that for two reasons: first that it was the most flexible and secondly it set itself out primarily as a test of ability. I do not of course mean that knowledge was depreciated, but the idea was that the careful plodder had not the same chance of getting to the top of the tree as the brilliant man who gave his knowledge with originality. It had become traditional to set the big papers such as Logic and Moral Philosophy as widely as possible so as to let every candidate who had a special intellectual hobby or interest find some opportunity of showing his paces. And it was the habitual practice to vivâ such candidates on their strong point. I can remember two or three occasions on which I vivâd men for a first class on subjects which were not specifically mentioned in the curriculum at all but which were good subjects and for which they had showed some special aptitude. The regulations are wide enough to allow this and it has proved very serviceable .....the claims of the scientist could I think be perfectly well met by allowing one or two alternative questions in the big papers which would allow still further openings to candidates of a scientific bent .

He therefore deprecated the introduction of Science in honours courses, "which must necessarily be specialized to some extent", and which would involve "making structural alterations in a scheme which so far as I am able to judge is the best thing that any English University has yet accomplished".

Hadow continued his efforts throughout his life to convince all educationalists of the value of the study of Humane Letters, not only as a means of culture, but as a branch of science and as an engine of progress. In May, 1904, he joined the Classical Association, formed in 1903, to promote the cause of Classical Studies in the jostle of subjects, new and old, for a place in the curriculum of the new schools and University Colleges. His

position on the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities and on the Secondary Schools Councils, in addition to the power he exercised as Chairman of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, enabled him to do much to promote Classical Studies in Secondary Schools; and he convinced many of the false judgements and misunderstandings bedevilling the opponents of Latin and Greek. Speaking of the Renaissance period he reminded his audience at Birkbeck College in 1927 that

Erasmus and Colet brought the new Greek learning to Oxford and were met at first with considerable opposition ..... Indeed, the University broke into two hostile parties who called themselves the Greeks and the Trojans, the latter maintaining the walls of Ilium against the Greek invasion. And I can still remember a passage in Sir Thomas More which says of it that 'either from hostility to Greek or from a distorted zeal for other studies, or, as I am more inclined to think, from an inordinate love of sport and frivolity' it entirely refused to lend an ear to the innovators. When I read, as I still sometimes do, of eminent scientists who find all sorts of inadequate reasons for opposing the study of Greek, I like to think of the description of their predecessors handed down to us by Sir Thomas More .26

However, there is little that the eloquence of Sir Thomas More - or indeed of Hadow - could do to stem the development of that idea which was to be the chief element in the destruction of Greek as Everyman's road to education: the association of Greek with "pure" scholarship. As early as 1911 Gilbert Murray found the case against the compulsory study of Greek irresistible, not because of the claims of other subjects, but because of the disenchantment of classical literature itself;<sup>27</sup> and although he re-asserted in 1954 his belief that

these words written down and copied again and again, do represent moments of experience which mankind would not allow to die, moments too precious to be forgotten.<sup>28</sup>

the weight of opinion seems to have disclaimed such pronouncements.

Despite the efforts of men like Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson<sup>29</sup> to popularise Greek culture, Virginia Woolf speculated in 1946:

"It seems to me possible that our attitude to Greek literature, so queer in its reverence, servility, boredom, querulousness, and uneasiness, may be due to the fact that we have either no sense or a very weak one of the personality of the Greek dramatists .....The ordinary reader resents the bareness of their literature. There is nothing in the way of anecdote to browse upon, nothing handy and personal to help oneself by; nothing is left but the literature itself, cut off from us by time and language, unvulgarized by association, pure from contamination, but steep and isolated. That is a happy fate for a literature, if it did not follow that very few people read it and that those who do become a little priest-like - inevitably solitary and pure, reading with more ingenuity but with less humanity than the ordinary person, and thus leaving out something - is it the character, the personality 'which is at the very root of love and dislike'? - which we guess to be there, but which, save for glimpses, we can never find for ourselves".<sup>30</sup>

George Bernard Shaw's account of his altogether unpleasant and unprofitable school days in the Preface to Misalliance (1919) also accuses the classics of being barren, academical and unilluminating:

"My school made only the thinnest pretence of teaching anything but Greek and Latin ..... To this day, though I can still decline a Latin noun and repeat some of the old paradigms in the old meaningless way, because their rhythm sticks to me, I have never yet seen a Latin inscription on a tomb that I could translate throughout. Of Greek I can decipher perhaps the greater part of the Greek alphabet. In short I am, as to classical education, another Shakespeare. I can read French as easily as English; and under some pressure of necessity I can turn to account some scraps of German and a little operatic Italian; but these three were never taught at school.

Such arguments are powerful indeed, and it may be that Hadow's ability to breach the "steep isolation" of the Greek writers entailed the effort of a creative leap. However, his delight in such humorous passages as the

description of the baby Apollo romping on the shore of his isle and tipping it over by his divine weight,<sup>31</sup> would indicate no stern detachment or steep isolation from humanity; and his plea in 1926 for the restoration of the study of Greek moves us by a deeper attachment than that of a patient scholar to his grammar book:

'It will be seen, therefore, that I advocate the study of languages not so much for their colloquial use - though there is a great deal to be said on that score - as because they admit us to the inner sanctuaries of literature which otherwise we can contemplate only from the outer courts. And because, in the words of a wise physician, 'art is long and life is short'; because not all of us have the gift of tongues or the leisure for their acquisition, it follows that we must make some choice, contented with the second best in some directions if we can attain the best in others. What then shall be our choice for the period of formal education? French and German stand near to us and have great literary histories, but if we dig our foundations deeper we may acquire at least a reader's knowledge of them in after-life. Italian and Spanish have wonderful gifts of melody, and some of the first names in modern literature; their doors are open to all who have special predilection or special opportunity. Latin, the measure of a pure and exact style, is the tongue of Lucretius and Virgil and Ovid, of Catullus, Propertius, Horace, of Cicero and Livy and Tacitus: if we may have two languages we cannot do without Latin. But if we are to select one which is supreme as a vehicle of human thought, which is almost infinitely rich, flexible and sonorous, and which in the few hundred years of its prosperity embodied a literature which is by all acknowledgement incomparable, I would suggest, even in these days of apostasy, to plead that its ancient honour should be restored to Greek. It has an inherent splendour which even the bungling mispronunciation of later times has not been able to tarnish or overlay. As the inflected speech of a sensitive and artistic people it is filled with problems of rhythm and order and construction, and thus calls into play those gifts of observation and analysis which we continuously associate with the domain of science. And it has this high educational advantage that its masterpieces of literature are not confined to its more difficult and remote fields of study, but meet us with an open welcome from the very beginning of our course. Four of the most entrancing stories in the world are written in a simple and lucid Greek, the structure of which is transparent and the idiom easily acquired: from them, as travellers at a first landing, we can proceed through an enchanted region in which every step brings us new opportunities of noble adventure and delight. It is not too much to say that the study of Greek is in itself a liberal education; that it unlocks a treasure-house of poetry and practical wisdom and philosophic insight, of humour and pathos, of tragedy and romance, of religious fervour and scientific exactitude, to which even our own great literature cannot afford a parallel. 32

There was no snobbishness or scholarly "purism" in Hadow's attitude to the Classics. His pupils were grateful to him for his teaching, speaking of the Greats course as "immensely enjoyable", "real and interesting".<sup>33</sup> His work on the Joint Matriculation Board made him concerned that the standard should be comparable to that expected in Modern Languages "so that candidates shall not be enticed away from the classical half by a soft option".<sup>34</sup> It is true that he insisted on the limitations involved in translation, particularly of poetry, in which "the difficulty of transference is almost insuperable"; and as a member of the Crewe Committee<sup>35</sup> he spoke strongly in support of the study of original texts as opposed to an extended use of translations. "It's awkward", he wrote to Grace in 1920, "maintaining that translations do not take the place of originals with Gilbert Murray sitting at the same table". Nevertheless, Murray himself insisted that "most people can win the spirit of Hellenism if they first learn Greek, but it wants special gifts to acquire it otherwise",<sup>36</sup> and Hadow appreciated the value of the role which translation alone could play. In 1930 he wrote to Humphrey Milford of the Oxford University Press suggesting an edition of translations of the "remoter and more rare examples" of Greek literature contained in the Oxford Book of Greek Verse

"The big people like Homer and the dramatists and even Pindar and Theocritus can look after themselves and good translations of them are extant . . . . But there is much talk nowadays about the Greek spirit that it might be worth considering whether you could not disseminate it 'like a breeze bringing health from some wholesome places' among people who would be susceptible of its influence but who cannot get at it from inside. Of course I would suggest that in such an edition the Greek and the English should be printed alongside each other. There are still a good many people who can clamber over the Greek stile if they are pushed by a helpful English hand".<sup>37</sup>

The essence of the "Greek spirit" was, Gilbert Murray explained, "to recognize standards, to know and admire and try to follow what is really good".<sup>38</sup> That this knowledge could be deemed "priest-like, inevitably

solitary and pure", was clearly as inconceivable to Murray as it was to Hadow, who loved the Greeks above all for their rich humanity, their desire to create a reasonable and ordered society. Indeed, his own definition of the educational function of human letters extends beyond the sphere of literary study to touch upon that notion of human perfection as a fusion of what Swift so happily called (in his Battle of the Books) "the two noblest things, sweetness and light":

I am speaking of that kind of education which enables us to take a large and sympathetic view of human nature, to understand its conditions and its problems, and, so far as we have capacity, to help in solving or ameliorating them. It is the education of 'one who loves his fellow men' that I have chiefly in view; its aim is to equip him with wisdom and humour and a sense of perspective that he may play his part among his fellows without misgiving, without ostentation, and without thought of personal reward .39

If Hadow was right in seeing in the study of Greek a means of gaining spiritual inspiration and insight into the essential character of human happiness, the significance of its virtual elimination from the curriculum of schools and universities can only be guessed at. The mechanical and external nature of our civilization, from which so many modern writers have recoiled with disgust and violence, surely reflects, above all things, a lack of that very "large and sympathetic view of human nature" of which Hadow spoke. Perhaps the time has come for a reform in education which will redress the balance between inquiry into the materialistic aspect of things and the pursuit of humanism. It is, after all, no new revelation that mankind cannot bear too much reality.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. V.C.7, 324. 27/3/20.
2. Curzon Report, Chapter VI.
3. *ibid.*
4. See F.W. Joyce, The Life of Rev. Sir F.A.G. Ouseley, Bart., London, 1896, p.146.
5. Letter to M.L.H., 25/11/88. Edward A. Freeman, Fellow of Oriel, was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in 1884.
6. V.C.7, 324.
7. *ibid.*
8. Hadow's proposed work for the summer of 1889 is typical of his commitments:  
  
"(1) Pass Greats, in the ordinary course of events. Accepted.  
(2) Honours Philosophy, Higher Examination for Women. Accepted.  
(3) Local Examinations in Greek, Senior and Junior (the whole) for both the exams of June and July. Accepted. (4) Victoria College, Jersey, for Oxford and Cambridge Board. Refused. (5) Oxford High School. Refused (6) and (7) Two other schools. Refused. (8) St. Helier's College, Jersey. This I shall have to accept as they have petitioned by hand and offered to submit to any conditions. Of course I have omitted the ordinary College Collections which will mean two or three days' work at the end of June. I hardly count that".
9. See Chapter VIII.
10. Rev. Hereford Brooke George: New College, Lecturer 1861; Tutor and Dean, 1862; Sub-Warden 1867; Dean of Arts 1870; Examiner in Modern History 1870-2; Inner Temple 1864; Editor of the Alpine Journal 1863. See introduction to Poems of English Country Life, O.U.P., 1902.
11. R.W.M. Pope, Mathematics Lecturer at Worcester College, 1874-82; Divinity Lecturer, 1875; Master of the Schools, 1878-9; 1881-3; Classical Moderator, 1880; Proctor, 1884; Public Examiner, 1886; Censor of Non-Collegiate Students, 1887.
12. The A.E.W. arranged lectures for the members of Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville, and also for the large body of other women living in Oxford for educational purposes.
13. The letters to M.L.H. indicate that the subjects which Hadow taught at Somerville included Logic, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Aristotle's Ethics, and Music.
14. See letter from Helen Derbyshire (previously Principal of Somerville) to Grace Hadow, 14/4/37.
15. Grace Hadow, p.204.



16. See the Oxford Magazine, 28/10/91.
17. "The Position of Greek in the Universities", Contemporary Review, October, 1891, p.582.
18. Preface to Culture and Anarchy, London, 1869. cf. Hadow's reference to "a standard of thought, feeling or emotion below which he will not willingly fall", (see Chapter IV).
19. See Sir Oliver Lodge, Changes in the Scientific Outlook, London, 1932, and Introduction to T.H. Huxley's Man's Place in Nature, London, 1906.
20. Literature and Dogma, London, 1873, esp. pp.4-8.
21. See J.K. Stephen, The Living Languages . Cambridge, 1891.
22. See the Oxford Magazine, 30/11/04; correspondence with M.L.H., November, 1904.
23. 30/11/04, pp.110-111.
24. The compulsory Greek test for entrance at Oxford was not abolished until 1920.
25. "Greats" was the colloquial name at Oxford for the final examination for honours in Literae Humaniores.
26. "Some Landmarks in Education" - Address delivered on the celebration of the 104th Anniversary of the foundation of Birkbeck College (University of London), 1927. Reprinted in Collected Essays.
27. See Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography, London, 1960, p.125.
28. "Are our Pearls Real?", Presidential address to the Classical Association, 1954.
29. See, for example, "The Contribution of Ancient Greece to Modern Life": Inaugural lecture delivered at the Local Lectures Summer Meeting of the University of Cambridge, London, 1932.
30. "Personalities", The Moment, London, 1946.
31. V.C.27, 471. Letter to Professor Summers, 2/5"30.
32. "The Place of Human Letters in Education": the second of three lectures delivered at Houston, Texas, April, 1926.
33. See letter to Hadow from Leslie Brown, 12/8/09.
34. V.C.13, 45 and 63. Letters to Professor B.M. Connal, Leeds University, 23/1/23 and 29/1/23.

35. The committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Crewe, appointed by the Prime Minister in 1919 to enquire into the position of the Classics in the educational system of the United Kingdom. The report of the committee was published in 1921, following, in a sequence not unknown where different Government departments are involved, the Ministry of Reconstruction's Pamphlet no.21, "The Classics in British Education", which appeared in 1919.
36. "The Place of Greek in Education": Inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Glasgow, 6/11/1889.
37. V.C.27, 6/6/30.
38. "Are Our Pearls Real?", op.cit..
39. "The Place of Human Letters in Education", op.cit..

## CHAPTER 4

### FRIENDSHIPS AND RECREATION

"People say that life is the thing, but I prefer reading."

(Logan Pearsall Smith, Afterthoughts, 1931.)

I

The boundaries of Hadow's educational environment were by no means confined to the cloisters of Malvern and Oxford. His parents encouraged all forms of intellectual and artistic endeavour in the home, and indeed appeared to extend to all forms of art David Holbrook's definition of poetry as "the very culture of the feelings". Hadow himself asserted on one occasion that "the remedy for sloppiness and carelessness of mind is to see that the child is kept in touch with some masterpiece every day. It may be a picture ... a piece of music, a poem, a piece of good prose ... personal contact ... a standard of thought, feeling or emotion below which he will not willingly fall".<sup>1</sup> The countryside, too, exerted an uncommonly strong influence on Hadow from his boyhood, and throughout his life he took pleasure in gardens and in identifying wild-flowers. He enjoyed long walks. The villages of Oxford - Binsey, Marten Woods, Hinksey - were familiar ground to him, and many of his holidays in Europe involved a great deal of walking and climbing.

Hadow's first holiday abroad was spent in Switzerland with his father in the summer of 1879. W.E. Hadow's letters home reveal both affection and consideration for his son, and he evidently derived a great deal of satisfaction from watching the boy's happiness. "...It would do your heart good to see Harry's enjoyment of everything," he wrote to Mary Lang Hadow, "every place we come to he wants to come and settle down and live in". There was always a certain dualism in Hadow's holidaymaking: sheer delight in travel, in the change of scene, was contrasted by a desire to enjoy the permanency of place, to seek the comfort of familiarity. Like his sister Grace, he had an eye for subtle detail, and an infinite capacity for "seeing beautiful

things and packing every minute with all the enjoyment it can hold".<sup>2</sup> Their holidays together, often shared with friends like H.B. George, a keen mountaineer and one-time editor of the Alpine Journal, were a source of indispensable refreshment. "Rome closes in on one, like the sea over a diver's head", wrote Hadow on April 2nd, 1899, "life begins again in a new element, and the shore is very far away..." The impact which Italy made on him is reflected in the vividness with which he recalled the holiday twenty-two years later.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the chronicles of Hadow's travels in Albania with Philip Napier Miles in the autumn of 1899 convey a keen spirit of adventure and romance:

September 6th. Bosna Brod. A roadside shanty, one wing a cafe, one wing porters' rooms, and between them an open station entry with a trestle table for luggage. On the wall six dead pigs hanging by the leg, on the floor a chaos of boxes and crates, and all round a motley crowd of Slavs and Turks, the latter sitting on their heels reading the paper or walking up and down with sedate dignity ... We got into an absurd little narrow gauge railway like a sort of toy, and spent the day in a pleasant and rather slow journey up the Brosna valley ... reaching Sarejevo about 6pm. On our last morning (Thursday) we explored a gipsy encampment up in the hills: a collection of small disreputable picturesque huts - and such people: the men stern, swarthy, wrinkled; the women exceedingly beautiful and as lithe as panthers, and the children, who came and begged of us, looking like something between kittens and little brown angels. The same evening we got a couple of police passes and went to a service of the so-called 'Howlin' Dervishes, about which I cannot write in a letter. It was one of the most striking experiences that I have ever gone through: the first part very beautiful and impressive: the last part a mere outburst of hysterical religious passion. On Friday we left by the slowest train in the world ... and went through such country that we felt inclined to complain of the speed ... The whole thing was unspeakably beautiful - and on Saturday we woke to find that Mostar was better still ... The view from the bridge is beyond the reach of any words and the river - like the Mediterranean on a green day, and so vivid that if you stand on the bank and paddle in the water with your hand it flashes green round the fingers. You take up a handful of liquid emerald and under the rocks it darkens to rich purple and indigo .

The glamour of the new was, however, of no greater significance to Hadow than the pleasure he experienced in revisiting a beloved scene. The association of certain people with certain places was important to him, and he seemed to especially enjoy holidays spent in the homes of friends. With Miles it was at King's Weston, the lovely house built by Vanbrugh to take in the long sweep of the Bristol Channel, and the generating centre of the musical activity of the Bristol area. Besides establishing on his own estate the Shirehampton Choral Society, which was noted for its wide ranging and adventurous repertory and for the high standard of its performances, Miles was President of the Bristol Madrigal Society and a generous supporter of the Glastonbury Festivals.

It was in the atmosphere of the habitual house-parties of the time that Hadow's firmest friendships were nourished. Rooted, undoubtedly, in shared musical and University interests, they flowered in the conviviality and gracious sociability of 'Highland', 'St. Clare', 'Riverdale', and 'King's Weston'. Hadow's description of a Christmas party at Archibald Weir's house, 'Highland', at Enfield in 1883 affords some insight into that easy social intercourse to which everyone brought the best that they had - wit, talent, knowledge, sympathy, or just a helping hand:

. . . .I have been hard at it all day, without intermission, moving tables and sofas, hanging up lanterns and curtains, arranging a studio as an artistic supper room, and sweeping and frottering floors to any extent. Yours truly is rather good with a broom. Moreover, we are to act an elaborate charade tonight, and I have to do most of the music besides and we are to finish with a dance . . . . . A splendid house - all oak, brass and blue china and a Steinway .

Hadow stood Godfather to the Weirs' first child, as indeed to many of his friends' children. On March 19th, 1900 he informed his mother that "I've just acquired a new godson - a small Somervell. That makes six godchildren

in all - a proud position".

Through the community of his friends Hadow was able to enrich and extend his interest in several directions. John Bailey, the critic and essayist, and Bruce Richmond, editor of the Times Literary Supplement, encouraged his ventures into the world of literary criticism and musical journalism<sup>4</sup> and deepened his love of the English poets; Graham Balfour introduced him to the educational scene at Whitehall; and with Arthur Somervell, he was to undertake important work in the interest of music in schools.

Hadow's easy, agreeable and intelligent conversation afforded him a ready entrance to the metropolitan society of the turn of the century, and he became especially known for his aphoristic wit. Bailey recorded in his diary on 15th July, 1908:

Hadow played to us all the evening and when he wasn't playing, talked brilliantly. I only remember two things: 'Pessimism is only cowardice reduced to a system'. 'Chopin is a French novel; sometimes good and sometimes bad, but always just that'. 5

Hadow's growing reputation as one of the ornaments of academic society also led to his inclusion in holidays with the Harcourts<sup>6</sup> at St. Clare, Ryde; and in 1906 he was invited "with a small University contingent" to a house party at Lockinge House, Berkshire. Here he was to meet on several occasions many of the influential Court and Parliament representatives with whom he was to have dealings in later years: The Lyttleton family (John Bailey married Sarah Lyttleton in 1900), Lord Grenfell, Lord Balcarras, A.J. Balfour, Sir Reginald Talbot, and Sir Ian and Lady Hamilton, who invited him to Tidworth House. "The stars and ribbons and decorations made a brave show last night at dinner and in the drawing room", Hadow wrote to his mother on 21/4/06. "I wonder whence your children derive their intense pleasure in luxury and pageantry. We've certainly got it - mostly".

The most memorable of these house-party holidays were not, however, the most spectacular or luxurious, but those spent 'en famille' with the Huntingtons at Sarzana in Italy. Henry Edward ('Hal') Huntington was an old school friend of Hadow's, his father, Rev. Henry John Huntington, having also been at Christ's College with William Elliot Hadow. The delight of Hadow's first visit to Italy in August, 1883, following a trip through Switzerland from Marseilles, where Huntington was Chaplain, virtually shimmers in the letters:

A long sweep of bay with two picturesque little villages nestling at the two ends under the lee of a couple of square grey castles: hills rising from the water's edge and stretching, tier above tier, till they reach the soft white peaks of the Carrara mountains. Miles upon miles of olives, broken by the soft fresh green of a vineyard or the sombre darkness of an ilex grove and above all the sea itself which is never the same colour for two minutes together .... the walls of the house are frescoed, the ceilings are frescoed, the doors are frescoed. There are vases of flowers wherever there is room to place one, while the garden outside is simply a blaze of scarlet and crimson and gold .

He found the place more enchanting at each return, and even in mid-winter the letters glow with enthusiasm:

December 22, 1894. ".....A touch of frost in the air which makes the nights wonderfully brilliant ... And all the day-time the sea is blue and the sky clear and a frosty sun lights up the olives and twinkles on the village roofs and the children and I go out and scramble on the hillsides and pick jonquils and canterbury bells and bring them home to decorate the house with...."

January 13, 1895. ".....Snow - the new experience of bringing in from the garden a bouquet of frozen roses - capped with snow and set with icicles. It was odd, too, to see the oranges joining the tropics to the arctic circle and wearing their jewels under a mantle of fur".

The house described in the first of these letters was called 'Marigola'. It was one of two houses standing in an ilex wood, the other being Shelley's villa. On 22nd January, 1924, Hadow wrote to Mrs. O.W. Campbell, whose book,



Shelley and the Unromantics, had just been published:

I should be most grateful if you could let me know whether Mr. Evershed's etching of the Casa Magni is published and if so, where I could get a copy. I am specially interested in it because I spent almost every summer during the 'eighties within a stone's throw of the door ... Consequently I knew the Casa Magni very well in the old days before its sea front had been entirely ruined by the new road... 7

In 1889 the Huntingtons had to give up Marigola to some new owners, who altered it completely to "a horrible vulgar Italian Palazzo. But the house where we are living (called 'Barcola') is a fine old mansion situated higher up the hill in a more bracing air and commanding a magnificent view of the gulf. And though it is rather a wrench to feel that one has broken altogether with past days, yet it is better so".

II

Hadow's desire to break with the past stemmed from the unhappy outcome of his love for Constance Fletcher, whom he most probably met in Venice in April 1886, when visiting relatives of the Huntingtons. The first years of their association seemed full of promise, and a holiday spent together in Italy in 1887 with the Benson family appeared cloudless:

Zoldo di Sopra, Longarone, Bellarno. September 14.  
"We are in the valley of the Dolomites, some 4000 or 5000 feet above the sea. We have got a complete chalet to ourselves ... and we are clean out of the world as if we had voyaged into another planet ... We left Venice by train on Saturday morning ... And yesterday we came on here, driving in the smallest cart I ever saw, with bags of hay for seats, and established ourselves in Arcadia. We have all relapsed into childhood - we get wet and muddy and happy, we scramble about on perpendicular alps, we spend the evenings round a fire with blazing logs and the smell of pine smoke - and the last suggestion is that we shall send down to Longarone for some brown sugar and make toffee .

Miss Fletcher did not, however, return Hadow's affection sufficiently to enable her to accept his proposal of marriage early in 1888. Hadow was heart-broken, but after some weeks of despair he was able to write to Graham Balfour that.

we have made a pact, she and I. There is to be no further talk of marriage, of hopes, of the future at all. But we are to stand in a relation of - how shall I call it? - a finer friendship: allowing for all interchange of good offices and all play of sympathy and affection. We are to see each other and write to each other as we have done hitherto: only with the clear recognition on my part that there is no 'uncertainty' left about which to torment myself. 8

On 15th July he wrote to his mother: "I am going to turn over a new leaf. It isn't that I have 'got over it', or that I ever shall: but there is something to be made out of life, and I am going to make it, for her sake and yours".

Despite Hadow's assertion that "Friendship is too precious a thing to be thrown away for a matter of personal pride or a point of sentiment", and although there is mention made in the letters of a meeting with Constance Fletcher in London in 1894,<sup>9</sup> the enriched friendship which Hadow had hoped for did not evolve. In a letter to Grace, written after Hadow's death in 1937, when she herself partly crippled with arthritis, Miss Fletcher explained that "I thought it was best as he grew older and was more involved with his career, to become silent and let the years bring him new interests - as they did. Only I wish now I had written".

The effects of this somewhat unfortunate love experience were lasting and profound. Hadow's advice to Balfour when Archie and Anna Weir left England for Tenerife in 1889 revealed something of his own sense of desolation:

.. .It's a bad business; and I only know of one alleviation. Get hold of a piece of work - never mind what - and stick to it without ever taking your eyes off. It seems to deaden one's capacity of feeling, and makes life, if not tolerable, at any rate possible. Experto Crede.

Still - I hope to God that you will never know the difference between separation and estrangement. Of course this is bad enough; but you can write to them, you can get their letters, you can feel that they will be the same when they come back. Believe me there are worse bitternesses than watching the ship over the horizon.

Hadow's close friendship with Graham Balfour intensified when, in 1893, Hal Huntington died of pneumonia after only four years on the staff of Malvern College; and when Balfour moved from Oxford in 1902 with his wife

Rhoda,<sup>10</sup> Hadow became a frequent visitor at Riversdale, their house in Staffordshire. The volume of Hadow's Collected Essays published in 1928 was dedicated to Balfour "in token of fifty years' unclouded friendship". But just as Balfour, after the death of his parents in 1891, turned to his only living relative - his cousin Robert Louis Stevenson - for consolation and companionship,<sup>11</sup> Hadow cultivated his already strong capacity for filial and brotherly affection to a point of tender devotion. Assertions of his concern and love for his mother occur again and again in the letters. Typical is the message of comfort sent following her illness in 1906: "...At present I am anxious before everything else, that you should keep strong. We all depend on you mother dear, as we all live for you. I can see you now as I write. And it's only a week more until I come ..."

Possibly as a gesture of appreciation of the financial hardship which Mary Lang Hadow had endured to enable her son to pursue his ambitions to the full, Hadow was throughout his life increasingly generous to his brothers and sisters, and was always ready with support, both financial and moral, whenever this was needed. The death of his brother Gerald in 1899, on the eve of a brilliant future as a physician, may also have intensified Hadow's desire to protect his family as much as possible. That tendency to despise illness, so common amongst men who are endowed with any extraordinary degree of energy, had prevented Hadow from recognizing the seriousness of his brother's disease,<sup>12</sup> and the outcome must have been a bitter shock. Nevertheless, as early as 4th November, 1888, he wrote to his mother:

...It seems to me that you advise me to look upon my family from a rather business-like point of view. I am not sure that I see my way to adopting it: but anyhow the question can stand over for the present and be discussed when we meet. To me it lies in a nutshell. Are you diminishing your income to pay for the educational expenses? If not well and good. If so I claim the right to intervene. You do not realize how much you are to me: how much my success depends on your help and your teaching: and how, in the hard

days that have been, it was your love and that alone which made life possible .... Don't you see it mater? It is retrospective, not prospective: and my wish to help the children is not so much for their sake (though that would be a strong enough motive) as for yours. I want to make your life easier - and there is no better time than the present'.

Hadow's affection for his youngest sister Grace was exceptional. She was already, at the age of thirteen, quick witted enough to delight her brother's scintillating conversation; and he had long been her hero and prototype. If at first Grace's vividness was obscured by the years between them and by their relationship as god-father and god-daughter, by 1895 their natural affinity was fully established. In that year Grace went to Germany to board with a family at Trier and take lessons in languages and music, and in the summer W.H. joined her for a walking tour in Luxembourg and other parts. "Grace is the best of guides", he wrote in delight, "and she always makes me forget that there is any disparity in our ages". Lettice Ilbert, wife of H.A.L. Fisher, the Liberal historian and Cabinet Minister, wrote of her meeting with Grace when she came up to Somerville in 1900:

'We had both known W.H. Hadow for some years, and it was therefore natural that he should ask us to make friends with her. 'I think you will like her', he said with his half shy and altogether attractive smile. Of course we did, and we all four were upon the friendliest terms. I think the first thing that struck us was the very strong resemblance between the two, in looks, in speech, in manner, and the next the very close relationship between them and their deep and satisfying affection for one another. They were delightful together, their quick minds and neat tongues acting and reacting, each bringing out the best of the other and each obviously so much enjoying the other's company. And underneath all the sparkle one was always conscious of solid rock.. 13

The friendship with the Fishers continued for many years, with regular weekly lunches given alternately at their house - Fisher was Fellow and Tutor at New College until 1912 - or by Hadow at Worcester College. Grace, meanwhile,

was drawn into many of her brother's interests and activities. "Grace and I perform at a reading society on Wednesday. It ought to be rather fun", Hadow wrote on 17th November, 1901; after which he reported that she "read excellently and was a great success". In the spring of 1902 she sang for his lecture at the Teachers Guild<sup>14</sup> and had "a first rate reception". She sometimes went up to London with him for concerts or the theatre, and was with him on a visit to the Harcourts on the Isle of Wight in August 1902, when they witnessed the prelude to the great naval review for the coronation of King Edward VII:

. . . Friday night we assembled on the top of the St. Clare tower . . . . . Superb moonlight night, flooding the trees of the garden below us, and the level quiet sea beyond. Suddenly, someone said 'look'; and we saw the whole fleet with every ship outlined in light: hull, funnels, rigging . . . . . and when they went out the search lights began: great vivid flashing eyes of blue and green and red and white which shone at us across the water or flung great coloured beams across the open sky. . 15

The Hadows loved "to live history": they were all eager witnesses to the Jubilee celebrations on 22nd June, 1897, W.H. stationed at a window in Fishmongers Hall, the girls at a window in Fleet Street. The deep tolling of 'Tom' at Christ Church to announce the death of the old Queen early in 1901 was heard with sorrow: "No more 19th century, no more Victorian age, no more Hanoverian Dynasty . . . . . All one's landmarks appear to be swept away at once".

III

Hadow's belief in his youngest sister's ability was finally substantiated when in 1903 he received news by cable in Toronto of her First Class in the Honour School of English Language and Literature. He had been very ill at the beginning of the year and, having obtained leave of absence, was spending from April to October travelling in America. It is clear that his choice of this holiday - for he had also been offered the opportunity of visiting Sweden - was partly in consideration of Grace, who had been advised to take the opportunity of a temporary teaching post at Bryn Mawr, U.S.A., with a view to ultimate work in October. Hadow's assurance that he would "secure her one or two friends over there and also meet her on her arrival and convey her to college"<sup>23</sup> did much to reconcile Mrs. Hadow to the plan.

Hadow left Liverpool on April 22nd, and after a pleasant trip on board the S.S. Canada, disembarked at Quebec to begin a journey to the West through Canada and the U.S.A. Mrs. Harcourt, who proposed the trip, had furnished him with numerous letters of introduction, and he spent several 'immensely enjoyable' days with the Price family in Toronto, where he paid a visit to Maurice Hutton, formerly a Fellow of Worcester College, and then Professor of Greek and Principal of University College, Toronto.

On 17th May he was at Niagara, having promised to return to Toronto in July.

Imagine the sound and sight of it - a mile wide of leaping tossing tumbling water and then those two sheer white cliffs of foam plunging down into the depths below. Add a cloudless sky and a country full of springleaf and fruitblossom and you will have the materials for a picture which I would give a good deal if I could paint .... The hotels are enormous, overdecorated, lavish and dear. They give you your money's worth, but they give me a great deal more than I want, and they won't give less .

Three days later he was in Chicago,

The most absolutely entirely whole-heartedly utterly and irredeemably detestable city that the counsels of an inscrutable Providence have ever permitted to defile this earth. It covers 187 square miles. It is twenty storeys high. It is paved with cobble stones. It is as dirty as an ill-kept farmyard. It is as noisy as a final cup-tie. Its municipality is (even in America) a by-word for corruption. It has no laws, no manners, no morals, no religion and no humanity'.<sup>17</sup>

He left Denver without regret and "passed through a stretch of uncompromising desert .... the Rockies .... the Utah Valley, a broad fertile plain with snow mountains to the North and East and long purple hills rolling away to the South. Salt Lake City is in a very unfinished condition ... but it has got the makings of a fine town". He visited the Mormon Tabernacle, which interested him greatly, and then moved on to San Francisco - "a wonderful place, a sort of enchanted land where you don't believe that anything is real". California, too, pleased him greatly, and he was as delighted with the wildflowers as he had been bewitched by the exotic perfumes of San Francisco. He revisited Toronto via North Dakota (remarking that he had "read Shakespeare clean through since I was last here"), revelled in the rich associations of Boston ("almost everybody who matters in American literature is connected with it in some way") and attended the University Conference to which he referred in the Greek debate discussed in the last chapter. On 12th July he arrived in Concord, New England: "A delightful village, very English, very restful, full of elms, a quiet stream winding among meadows". Here, thanks to Mrs. Harcourt, he was received by the eminent American music educator Thomas Whitney Surette,<sup>18</sup> whose compositions - particularly an operetta, 'Priscilla', - were enjoying considerable popularity at the time.<sup>19</sup> Since 1885, when he was organist at Baltimore, Surette had



been lecturing extensively,

"doing", Hadow wrote, "much the same sort of musical work as I am trying to do in England - teaching audiences how to listen ... Her (Mrs. Surette's) father is the head of the whole 'Extension Lecture' System in America and consequently they all know Marriott and Hudson Shaw and all the other people who are in front of the movement with us".

Friendship developed, and Hadow was delighted that Mrs. Surette, "a Philadelphian who knows Bryn Mawr well", took an interest in Grace, and agreed to get in touch with her when they went to New York for the winter and spring. In future years Hadow was to sustain a close interest in Surette's work in promoting musical appreciation and shaping the musical curriculum in American schools and colleges. Surette's appointment in 1909 as staff lecturer in the extension department of Oxford University strengthened the ties with England, and references to visits from the Surettes occur in Hadow's correspondence as late as 1929. He himself was able to again enjoy the hospitality at Concord in 1924.<sup>20</sup>

The last week of Hadow's visit to New England in 1903 was spent "mostly sailing with two of the ablest men in America, Eliot of Harvard and Wheeler of California", and meeting many other celebrities from University and Political circles. At the end of July he went to stay at Pottersville with "an American friend from some years in Oxford - uproarious household - great fun", and thence to Vineyard Haven to visit H.W. Parker,<sup>21</sup> Professor of Music in Yale University, and "the greatest of American composers, who is indeed at work now on a great orchestral piece". Parker had stayed with Hadow in Worcester College in June, 1902, prior to his reception of the degree of Mus.D. at Cambridge.<sup>22</sup>

From New Haven, Hadow travelled down to New York in a "gigantic white-and-gold floating hotel". "This is a striking and handsome city, a little

too red in colour .... 'Downtown' the tall warehouses are rather trying, especially a monstrosity which they call the Flat Iron building, a triangular ediface twenty storeys high .... I am here for four days, have been made a temporary member of four clubs, taken a fifth, and offered a membership of a sixth...".<sup>23</sup>

Hadow's book on Sonata Form (1896) and his Studies in Modern Music, which had been published in New York by Macmillan and co. in 1893 and 1894 (see Chapter 6), had won him much respect amongst American musicians; and in New York he was befriended by Arthur Whiting, the pianist and composer,<sup>24</sup> Richard Aldrich, the music critic to the New York Times,<sup>25</sup> and H.W. Gray, the head of Novello's New York office. It was very probably due to the influence of these men, who remained life-long friends, that Hadow was offered the Chair of Musical Theory at the Conservatorium of Music being established in New York the following year.<sup>26</sup>

The final few days of Hadow's holiday in America were spent with Grace, whom he found "looking very well, her usual normal self much interested in everything and alternately amused and delighted". Hadow had in fact missed her arrival at New York, her boat having docked a day earlier than expected; but by a happy turn of fortune she was greeted by H.W. Gray, who "had seen the announcement and by pure inspiration had gone down to the dock, sent up his card to Grace, and by the time I arrived (panting) from the train he had cleared her through the customs house and taken her up to the hotel".<sup>27</sup> They spent three days together at Bay Head on the sands of New Jersey, and after Grace had settled in at Bryn Mawr College they went for a weekend to Philadelphia, "a red brick city set in oak and chestnuts". Hadow sailed for home on 24th September.

IV

Hadow's disappointment in love led not only to an intensifying of friendships and family relationships; it also resulted in a 'spread' of affection which enabled him to give himself wholeheartedly to the service of many different individuals and many different causes. Whenever he began to feel that his service was no longer needed by a particular person or group of people, he experienced a gradual and painless kind of disenchantment, and transferred the exercise of his talents elsewhere. Indeed, it could be said that Hadow related himself more and more to causes rather than to individuals. Thus, his encounters with many of the literary and musical personalities of his day are best seen in the light of the broader social context or artistic movement in which they were involved. His association with Robert Bridges, for example, resulted not only from the shared friendship with the Balfours and Hadow's interest in Bridges' work as a metrist and advocate of Pure English, but also from Bridges' involvement in Church Music.<sup>28</sup> In 1897 Hadow described to his sister, Margaret Cornish, how:

I went to stay with Robert Bridges at a delightful ivied Manor House in a delightful village among the Berkshire hills, where we played about and sat in the sun and sang Palestrina Masses to our hearts' content.<sup>29</sup>

A meeting place for all the prominent figures in English music was provided by the National Music Festivals such as the Welsh Eisteddfodau and the Provincial Competitive Festivals, which flourished after the establishment of Mary Wakefield's Kendal Festival in 1885. It was at these local gatherings, lasting two or three days, or even a week in the larger centres, that Hadow deepened and extended his association with,

among others, Stanford, Stainer, Granville Bantock and Hugh Allen. He adjudicated, probably as an amateur without fee, at the Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Annual Competition in 1904,<sup>30</sup> and sustained such interest in the organization of the festivals as to lead to his election as President of the new British Federation of Musical Competition Festivals in 1921.<sup>31</sup> The Three Choirs Festivals of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford were particularly attractive to Hadow, partly because Gloucestershire remained always his home county, and partly because they drew so strongly on local resources and talent. The daughter of his father's patron, Bishop Ellicott, had a composition performed at the Gloucester Festival of 1892,<sup>32</sup> and the Ellicotts evidently thought highly of Hadow's musical ability. He frequently stayed with them at Clifton, Gloucester and London, and it may have been due to their influence that a Violin Sonata by Hadow was performed in Gloucester at Easter, 1892.<sup>33</sup> Miss Ellicott used to organize chamber music concerts in the Gloucester Guildhall.<sup>34</sup>

Hadow also took a keen interest in Rutland Boughton's Glastonbury Festival Scheme, begun in 1914 with the production by a company half professional, half amateur, of The Immortal Hour. This opera was published in 1920 by the Carnegie Trust, to which body Hadow was musical adviser.<sup>35</sup> Philip Napier Miles, a benefactor of the Scheme, contributed a choral dance, "Music Comes", which was produced at Glastonbury and subsequently given at the Old Vic. Theatre, Boughton having brought his Festival Players to London in the summer of 1920. A vigorous campaign to establish a permanent theatre at Glastonbury failed, despite the efforts of Miles (who was most likely the donor of a site for the theatre) and of Hadow, who, with the help of Sir Edward Elgar, attempted to raise money through the Carnegie Trust.<sup>36</sup> The Glastonbury Players gave their final performance in

August, 1924, with the production of The Queen of Cornwall, the third of Boughton's cycle of Arthurian music-dramas.

Despite the limiting conditions of the assembly room at Glastonbury, where a piano served as orchestra, and there was little scope for scenic manipulation, the productions were original and ingenious, and attracted a discerning audience. Some well-known opera singers gave their services, and other singers who later achieved success gained experience there.<sup>37</sup>

Michael Kennedy recalled that, in 1919, "Shaw, Dent, Fellowes, Vaughan Williams, Hadow, Steuart Wilson and Clive Cary were among the visitors and participants".<sup>38</sup> It was at this time that Vaughan Williams, as a guest of Miles at King's Weston, composed "The Lark Ascending".<sup>39</sup>

Hadow's relationship with Vaughan Williams appears to have been almost entirely governed by shared work and musical commitments. Williams was, with Hadow, a member of the adjudicating panel responsible for the selection of music for publication by the Carnegie Trust; he was an ardent supporter of Hadow's belief in musical nationalism, contributing the introduction to Hadow's English Music (1931);<sup>40</sup> and he was the musical editor of The English Hymnal (1906) in which a tune by Hadow was included. Certainly, Hadow had the highest regard for Williams as a composer. The fundamental simplicity, humour and eloquence of William's music appealed to him greatly, and he was deeply sympathetic to the strong ethical emotions. In one address Hadow spoke of

'the essential sanity of the English genius: its mixture of strength and tenderness, its breadth, its humour, its entire freedom from vanity and affection';<sup>41</sup>

and he later pronounced Vaughan Williams as

'the most English composer since Parry - he is in the succession of Purcell and the Elizabethans'.<sup>42</sup>

For Elgar's music, too, Hadow entertained keen admiration, and, if he had been slow in appreciating the poetic genius which fired the solid craftsmanship of "Gerontius" and the "Enigma Variations", he was certainly not among those mistaken disciples of C.V. Stanford who thought it their duty to ensure a cold climate for Elgar's music in circles where they had influence.<sup>43</sup> On 3rd October, 1922, Hadow replied to a letter from Miss Emily Daymond of the Royal College of Music:

'... I do not know anything about the suggestion that Sir Edward Elgar should orchestrate Jerusalem, but I feel quite sure that it could not have been intended with any disregard of the feelings of Parry's friends. I daresay you know that Parry was the English composer for whom Elgar had the deepest affection and regard. A propos of this, I should like to tell you one story which probably no one else knows. When, after the unveiling at Gloucester they gave the Memorial Service of "Blest Pair", Elgar and I went together into the choir to listen. Elgar, who was next to me, stood all through the performance as a mark of respect, and when it was over I could see that his eyes were full of tears. Do not let this get about; he might feel a little embarrassed if he heard of it. But I tell it for your private ear because it seems to be very significant and very touching'.<sup>44</sup>

There is, however, another story about Elgar at the time of this same 1922 Gloucester Festival. Before the memorial tablet to Parry (who had died in 1918) was unveiled in the Cathedral, a photograph was taken to mark the occasion. The group included Dr. Hull, Lord Gladstone, Elgar, Stanford, Bantock, H.P. Allen, Herbert Brewer, C.H. Lloyd and Hadow. Before they assembled Hugh Allen called out: 'Now then Elgar, don't have your coat all buttoned up like that'. Elgar's reply was devastating. 'Ah', he said, 'I always keep everything buttoned up when I am in this company'.<sup>45</sup>

The remark was almost certainly aimed at Stanford, with whom Elgar had sustained an unremitting personal quarrel for some twenty years; nevertheless, it reveals how deeply he had been hurt by the apparent

'Let's try which can make up a limerick on Leeds first'. While we were both mentally fumbling for rhymes Hadow looked up from the book in which he had seemed to be too immersed to hear our chatter, and remarked:

There was a composer of Leeds  
Who made up a song of Good-Deeds.  
The public, who swarmed  
When the work was performed,  
Declared that it suited their needs.

The impromptu prophecy was emphatically verified a few days later in a packed Town Hall".<sup>48</sup>

The association between Davies and Hadow ripened in many fields. Davies's interest in school music was shared by Hadow; both men worked with Vaughan Williams, Elgar, H.P. Allen, Terry and Fellowes for the Carnegie Trust; Davies joined with Hadow and Terry to produce Hymns of Western Europe; and Hadow even had a hand in Davies's arrangement for strings of Parry's Jerusalem, which task was undertaken for the benefit of the Women's Institutes in Hadow's study at Ecclesall in 1923.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, Hadow was primarily responsible for Walford Davies' election as the first Director of Music in the University of Wales,<sup>50</sup> an appointment which delighted him above all because of its significance in the encouragement of Welsh musical life. It was, perhaps, in the furtherance of the interests of music that Hadow found his chief personal reward.

indifference of the 'academic' establishment during his long years of struggle for recognition. But he harboured no resentment against Parry, who, he said, had shown him "ungrudging kindness" and had advised and encouraged him "on many occasions";<sup>46</sup> and similarly, there is no trace of bitterness or hostility in his attitude to Hadow. On March 25th, 1932, shortly after the appearance of Hadow's article "Fifty Years: the Revival of Music" in The Times,<sup>47</sup> Elgar wrote to him as to an old friend:

... I go seldom to London, now having settled into this small place with my dogs. I am happy in knowing that your life is not lonely - mine is...

Hadow replied, and received another letter (on 11th April, 1932) inviting him to luncheon "at Brooks's sometime".

The most fruitful of Hadow's personal associations in the musical world of the time was that with Walford Davies. The two musicians probably encountered each other for the first time at Edward Dannreuther's private concerts at 12, Orme Square: certainly they met at Oxford in the 'nineties when Alfred Gibson, who led the ensemble at Orme Square, introduced several of Davies' works at the University Musical Club. But the closer contact which developed between them would seem to date from 1904, the year of the production of Davies's Everyman at the Leeds Festival. In January Hadow briefed his mother: "Today the Temple Church, after which Walford Davies is coming back to dine and play over his new work for the Leeds Festival". On October 2nd he wrote from Leeds, "a kindly and cordial place": "I travelled up from Kings Cross with Walford Davies who is the particular hero of this festival..."; and H.C. Colles, Hadow's former pupil at Worcester College, who was also in the carriage, described the journey more fully: "...In a vacant moment after lunch in the train Walford said to me,



Notes to Chapter 4

1. "The problem of the North", Radio broadcast from Sheffield, 10/5/28.
2. Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, London, 1946, p.128.
3. Letter to Mrs. Leathes, 28/2/21. V.C.8, 508.
4. Hadow's correspondence with his mother reveals that he contributed many reviews to The Guardian, particularly between 1900 and 1905, and, like Graham Balfour and John Bailey, he contributed many anonymous articles and reviews to the Times Literary Supplement.
5. John Bailey 1864-1931 Letters and Diaries, edited by Sarah Bailey, London, 1935.
6. Augustus George Vernon Harcourt, F.R.S. Lee's Reader in Chemistry at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1869.
7. V.C.14, 842.
8. Letter to Balfour, 11/6/88.
9. A letter of 3/3/95 also possibly refers to Constance Fletcher: "Someone for whom I care a good deal has been very ill with influenza in London. I shall probably go up to see her on Saturday if she is well enough".
10. The daughter of Leonard D. Brooke of Birkenhead and sister of L. Leslie Brooke, the artist and creator of Johnny Crow.
11. A "Life" of Stevenson by Balfour was published in 1901.
12. See letters to M.L.H. 8/1/99 and 18/6/99.
13. Helena Deneke, op.cit., p.32.
14. See Chapter 12
15. Letter to M.L.H., 17/8/02.
16. Letter to M.L.H., 8/2/03.
17. Letter to Rhoda Balfour, 20/5/03.
18. T.W. Surette (1861-1941). Graduate of Harvard University. Church Organist at Concord (1883-93) and then at Baltimore. In 1914 he founded the Concord Summer School of Music, and with A.T. Davison edited "The Concord Series" of educational music, which was widely used in schools. He was a member of the advisory board of music for the Boston Public Schools, and in 1921 became Head of the Music Department at Bryn Mawr College. His

publications include Wagner (lessons on his operas) and Beethoven (twelve lessons, only the first of which was published) written as part of a series entitled "Music Lover's Library" (Aeolian Co., New York, 1904); A Course of Study on the Development of Symphonic Music (Chicago, 1915); and Music and Life, (Boston, 1917). With D.G. Mason he produced The Appreciation of Music, a course in five volumes intended chiefly for use in schools and colleges (H.W. Gray Co., New York, 1907).

19. According to Baker's Biographical Dictionary (1971) this operetta, first produced at Concord in March, 1886, had more than 1,000 performances in the United States. An opera "Cascabel, or The Broken Tryst", was performed at Pittsburgh in May, 1899. Other compositions include a dramatic ballad, "The Eve of St. Agnes", published in 1897, and various anthems and instrumental pieces.
20. See Chapter 10
21. Horatio William Parker (1863-1919). A prolific composer whose works are comprehensively listed in Groves Dictionary (1954). His Hora Novissima (1893) won him acclaim in England, when it was performed at the Three Choirs Festival, Worcester, in 1899. In addition to much choral music he composed two prize operas: Mona (Metropolitan Opera Co., New York, 1912) and Fairyland (Los Angeles, 1915).
22. See letter to M.L.H., 8/6/02.
23. Letter to M.L.H., 6/9/03.
24. Arthur Whiting (1861-1936) became well known for his concerts of chamber music, designed to be mainly educational. His "expositions" were a regular feature at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities, and he was an authoritative exponent of music for harpsichord and clavichord.
25. Richard Aldrich (1863-1937) held his position with the New York Times until 1923, when he retired from the active musical editorship. He did, however, remain on the editorial staff of the paper in an advisory capacity, and Hadow reported, on his visit to America in 1926, that he had "lunched with staff to the New York Times before leaving", Aldrich was author of "A Guide to Parsifal" (1904) and a "Guide to the Ring of the Nibelung" (1905). A number of his longer articles in the New York Times and Music and Letters were published in 1920 under the title of Musical Discourse (O.U.P.).
26. Letter to M.L.H., 13/6/04.
27. Letter to M.L.H., 20/9/03.

28. See letter to M.L.H., 21/3/97, and Worcester College Library, T.D.3, MS 280: "Notes on Rhythm". Bridges collected "Chants for Psalter" (privately printed in 1899) and the Yattendon Hymnal.
29. Letter of 23/8/97.
30. See the Oxford Review, 4/11/03 and the Musical Times, 1/6/04. The other judges on this occasion were H.P. Allen, E.H. Fellowes, H. Plunket Greene, Oscar Beringer, Basil Harwood, W. McNaught, P.C. Buck, F. Iliffe and J. Varley Roberts.
31. See Chapter 12
32. The Musical Times of September, 1892, records, amongst the "New Works for the Gloucester Festival", a setting by Miss Ellicott of "The Birth of Song", to words by Lewis Morris.
33. See Chapter 5. Letter to M.L.H., March, 1892.
34. See the Musical Times, December, 1902, p.807.
35. See Chapter 12
36. See letters to Mitchell, 20/9/20 and to Rutland Boughton, 31/1/22, V.C.7, 466 and V.C.10, 358.
37. Amongst the singers at Glastonbury were Dorothy d'Orsay, Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies, Arthur Jordan, Stuart Wilson, Arthur Cramer.
38. Michael Kennedy, The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams, London, 1964, p.151.
39. *ibid.*
40. See Chapter 6
41. "Sir Hubert Parry", Proceedings of the Musical Association 1918-19. Reprinted in Collected Essays, 1928.
42. See The Times, 16/3/32.
43. Michael Kennedy, Portrait of Elgar, London, 1968, p.125.
44. V.C.12, 442.
45. See W.H. Reed, Elgar as I Knew Him, London, 1936, p.94.
46. See Kennedy, *op.cit.*, p.126.

47. 16/3/32. Hadow wrote of Elgar in this article: "His public honours have but set their official seal on a career which, more than any other of our time, has brought us into the front rank of European music".
48. H.C. Colles, Walford Davies, O.U.P., 1942, pp.80-81.
49. See letters to Grace, March, 1923.
50. See Chapter 8

## CHAPTER 5

### MUSICAL COMPOSITION

(Note: For Musical Examples see Appendix IV)

"I'm glad we didn't have to play the charade in Latin",  
said Zuleika to Mrs. Duxberry.

"Ah, these classical dons," said Mrs. Duxberry indulgently,  
"it's second nature to them, I suppose".

"Well, second nature's better than original sin," retorted  
Simpkins. "Don't you think so, Miss Dobson?"

"I prefer Art to both", said Zuleika.'

(S.C. Roberts: Zuleika in Cambridge,  
1941)

Hadow's years at Oxford were crucial not only with respect to his academic career, but also as the pivot point of his creative life. The years 1882 to 1909 in particular saw an extraordinary ferment of imaginative energy; during this time Hadow produced a String Quartet, a Piano Trio, Sonatas for Pianoforte, Violin, Viola and Clarinet, six albums of songs, a Sacred Cantata comprising eighteen items, incidental music to Robert Bridges' masque 'Demeter', as well as numerous other unpublished compositions. His first published manuscript, the Three Songs for Baritone or Mezzo-Soprano, to words of L. Uhland, were dedicated to Ernst Pauer, whom Hadow met in Darmstadt in the summer of 1882. Here Hadow had gone to study the pianoforte and musical composition, with the hope of incidentally learning some German.

Hadow stayed with the family of the Rev. Joseph Cummin, who had been but recently appointed Chaplain to the Grand Duke of Hesse.<sup>1</sup> A letter to Mary Lang Hadow<sup>2</sup> describes the Cummin family as cheerful, kind and homely. Certainly it is in keeping that Mrs. Hadow, at all times anxious regarding her children's health, and concerned that "Harry" should renew his strength during the summer vacation, should have sought to secure his place in a leisured and contented household. Her son's letters must have been reassuring. He wrote with warmth of the Irish family at the Villa Cornel - "Seven children and the most extraordinary collection of Christian names I ever saw" - and he took plenty of exercise in his preferred style:

.. .On Sunday afternoon I went out for a tremendous walk with a couple of Militia officers who are getting into condition for the September examination. We kept up five good miles an hour all the way, saw a good sweep of new country - new at any rate to me - and came home looking like boiled lobsters to find the drawing room full of ladies. However, I wasn't nearly the worst of the three, that is one comfort .<sub>3</sub>

Hadow's correspondence from Germany is indeed coloured by a gaiety, even a facetiousness, which is unusual. Nevertheless, that instinctive good taste which made him such an exacting master of scholarship did not allow him to become complacent:

'I have been to a lot of open air concerts and I have heard very little good music, while galops, polkas, waltzes, and above all pot-pourris are the favoured compositions which monopolise the applause'.

In a later letter (dealing with the celebrations for his sister Margaret's twenty-first birthday in 1883) Hadow makes an interesting comment on his own fastidiousness:

... Again, no concert with the management of which I have anything to do shall contain any Molloy, any Marzials, any Sidney Smith, any comic songs, or in a word, any trash. The music may be of whatever type you please - pathetic, inspiring, or humorous, but it shall be music. This is a real point of honour with me and is much more than the fantastic crotchett which I know you imagine it to be; I think it is really wrong to play and sing bad music to suit the taste of a bucolic audience''.

Darmstadt did, however, provide Hadow with considerable musical satisfaction. He made several trips to Frankfurt to see the opera, once or twice meeting up with a Worcester College friend, Sidney Daltry,<sup>4</sup> and there saw Die Walküre and Das Rheingold for the first time. His account of the latter performance reveals the difficulty which he experienced in coming to terms with opera in its entirety: an uneasiness provoked by the essential love of effect.

It was splendidly done, . . . as was the 'invisible cap' which Alberic puts on in mid-stage (and vanishes) and the rainbow across which the Gods walked into Valhalla: but I think that opera ought to be independent of such panorama. It rather lowers the dignity of the music .

By 1889, when he visited Bayreuth as part of a holiday in Germany with C.H. Lloyd, he was more appreciative of the role of the theatre in opera (see Appendix).

The cultured society to which he was introduced at Darmstadt clearly delighted Hadow, although the attempts which were made to make him feel at home proved more amusing than successful. "I am going to be introduced to a great musician here - Baroness Edelsheim", She has, I believe, a splendid voice, and her last new song is called 'Die Kapelle', words by Uhland, music by - shall we say Inigo Jones?"<sup>5</sup> Several days later he reported that.

"On Monday evening I went to Baroness Edelsheim's to supper: and never in the course of my brief existence have I had so much made of me before. I had to play mostly my own things; all discussions and questions were referred to me, my hostess sang Die Kapelle amid vociferous applause; they even gave me a dozen notes as a subject and made me improvise on them, which I did lamely, though they all said 'sehr hübsch' when I ended. The supper was curious: first course, hot potatoes and sweet rusks; second course, beef, chicken, ham and currant buns (the latter out of preference to English prejudice) together with the most awful salad I have ever tasted, which I was bound to eat and admire because the Baroness made it 'before my wery eyes'. Third course, sweet omelettes and wine. We had nearly cold tea at the beginning. Everything was cut up and brought round and - as at Coffee parties - one was bound to take something out of every dish, all at once, on pain of appearing gauche .... This afternoon I am to go to Miss Bechtold's who has asked several people, I believe, to meet the musikalische Engländer .

Hadow's first lessons in Darmstadt were with Fraulein von Bechtold, "one of the best musicians here, who used to play a good deal with the Princess Alice". She was evidently much impressed with Hadow's talent and introduced him to Ernst Pauer. This renowned Austrian pianist, teacher, and composer, described by Margaret Deneke as "a fine figure



of a man, about six foot four and massive in proportion",<sup>6</sup> had been well known in England since the success of his performances in London in 1851; he was subsequently appointed to the R.A.M. and to the National Training School for Music on its foundation in 1876. Pauer asked Hadow to write something "for next Wednesday"; Hadow accordingly went to his interview equipped with an Andante for Pianoforte, which he was asked to perform. Pauer's verdict is recorded in a letter from Hadow to his mother: "It has the fault of all your English musicians, that there is a good-natured, easy-going tameness about it, but it is very decently written". Hadow concluded that it was "Altogether, I think, a satisfactory interview, though I know that I didn't play as well as I could have, or nearly. Now if I can only get a Fellowship, and get into this Royal College, I shall be all there when the bell rings..."

The Royal College of Music was established at South Kensington in 1883 as the British equivalent of the European conservatories. The inaugural meeting to launch the scheme, which took place at St. James' Palace on 28/2/82, may well have been attended by Pauer; he was appointed to the College the following year. No further mention of the institution was made by Hadow for three years, however, and then it no longer evoked the earlier excitement. Indeed, although Hadow had been taking composition lessons with C.H. Lloyd at Oxford since 1884, it was referred to almost in parentheses:

Did I tell you that Villiers Stanford offered me a place in the composition class if I could fall in with the regulations of the Royal College? Unfortunately, that is impossible, as the minimum is a year.<sup>7</sup>

The year 1885 nevertheless promised considerable success. Hadow

wrote on 31st May:

'I think, if I can afford it, that I must publish my last Sonata. I have been strongly urged to do it and there are one or two people who will play it about the country if I do. Besides, Lloyd says it is a 'fine work' so the public ought to have the benefit of it. I have my doubts about their appreciation...

The Sonata for Pianoforte in G sharp minor was published by Augener and Co. (London) in 1885, and a shrewd appraisal of the new work in the Monthly Musical Record of 1st October, 1885, probably by Ernst Pauer,<sup>8</sup> concluded that

..the sonata is worthy of attention as a clever, original, and promising production of a new composer, who has an ample fund of ideas at his command, and who may only need encouragement to be able to present them in an acceptable form to the world'.

The Sonata is in four movements. The first and last are in G sharp minor, and are cast in sonata and sonata rondo form respectively. They enclose an E major Andante, in ternary form, and a Polonaise and Trio in B major. The thoroughness of Hadow's German training resulted in an assured handling of these standard forms, and the sonata reveals a catholic range of influences, mainly of composers already dead. In particular may be cited the influence of Chopin, (in some of the chromatic chords as well as in the use of a Polonaise in the third movement); Schumann (in the opening bars of the Andante, notably bars 5 and 6 Appendix IV, ex.1); and, more notably, Mendelssohn, whose influence, generally apparent in the use of piano technique, is especially evident in the C major middle section of the Andante and in the weak feminine cadence at the end of the previous E major section (ex.2). Although there is some slight influence of Brahms there is none at all of Liszt or his disciples,

since Liszt's so-called 'vulgarity' had always been anathema in English musical circles. The vigorous and wide ranging piano writing of the outer movements nevertheless indicates the not inconsiderable solidity of Hadow's pianistic technique.

In spite of the many influences which can be discerned in this early work it has an original charm - particularly evident in the extraordinary sevenfold triple rhythm of the slow movement - and, in places, delicacy.

A marked improvement in flexibility of utterance is shown in the String Quartet in E flat major, also composed in 1885. It moves more gracefully and allusively than the Pianoforte Sonata, and the structural scaffolding is less obtrusive.

Records of performances of this Quartet, which was first played at the Oxford University Musical Union on December 9, 1885, indicate that the work was highly successful. A performance by the Heckmann Quartet at an invitation Concert in Christ Church Hall, on 30th November, 1886, evoked the following comments from the Oxford Magazine (8/12/86):

'The work was enthusiastically received on Tuesday; whilst conforming to the orthodox lines of construction, it possesses a charming fullness of melody which could not fail to please. The most successful movement was universally considered to be the second or 'Tema con variazioni'. The melody itself marked Mr. Hadow as having the first gift as a composer, and the subsequent variety of treatment revealed an extraordinary power of resource. Of the variations, the most interesting were the fourth, which took a symposia rhythm, and the fifth, written in the form of a march and suggesting pleasant reminiscences of the stately movement of a Corelli. Both the first and last movements were most intelligibly worked out and had their subjects clearly accentuated. One of the many pleasing points in the first was the effective use of

the succession of viola and violoncello. The only structural defect remarked was the partial similarity of the second subjects in the first and last movements. The first hearing of this work under the hands of such splendid interpreters must have been a pleasure to the composer .

Hadow himself wrote to his mother:

It was a great day. The quartett went admirably, and was received as I have never heard anything received before in Oxford. They recalled Heckmann three times, they shouted at me until I refused to get up and bow any more, and after the concert they waited for me in shoals outside the door and waylaid me in the street, and all the people who didn't see me have been sending notes. It has really woken the place up .... The Quartett is going to be given at Bristol and at Birmingham - at least I believe so .

Certainly the Heckmann Quartet included the piece in a concert in Cologne on 28th December, 1886, where it was reported as pleasing the audience more than the other works presented - a Trio (for Pianoforte, Violin and Cello in E minor) by Parry, Stanford's Pianoforte Quintet (D minor) and two pianoforte pieces by Sterndale Bennett.

Hadow sent his sister Margaret copies of the German newspaper reviews,<sup>9</sup> and remarked that

'It is rather a triumph to be told that I showed special knowledge of the capabilities of the different instruments - considering that I can't play a scale in semi-breves on any one of them and have derived all my knowledge such as it is from hearing them at concerts. And anyhow there can't be any personal bias there .

Parry himself wrote encouragingly to Hadow prior to the publication of the Quartet, and made some suggestions regarding its improvement, which Hadow promptly put into effect. Parry recommended that Hadow should tell Messrs. Novello "that I think it also as a Quartett

decidely saleable, and of just the stamp to be popular with intelligent amateur players".<sup>10</sup> This may well, to Hadow, have been damning with faint praise; at all events, there is no further mention of the quartet in the surviving correspondence with Parry.

Hadow continued to compose for the Oxford musical societies, and performances of his music took place throughout the 'nineties and early years of the twentieth century both in Oxford and in London - for the most part at the Musical Artists' Society, at Prince's Hall in Piccadilly.

The manuscripts of most of these compositions, including those of the A<sup>b</sup> major Pianoforte Sonata, the G minor Pianoforte Trio, the A minor Violin Sonata, and the Romances for Pianoforte and Violin performed at the O.U.M.U. (see Chapter 2) have been lost. While it is clear that Hadow regarded much of the music he wrote at this time as unimportant - on 31/1/22 he wrote to A.H. Peppin of Rugby, who was enquiring about some clarinet pieces, that.

Those compositions of mine were never meant to be taken seriously, only to afford occasional amusement to the musical club. 11

the loss of the more extended works is unfortunate. Alexandre Guilmant, the celebrated French organist, was evidently impressed by Hadow's performance on 4th December, 1889, of his A<sup>b</sup> major piano sonata,<sup>12</sup> and Hadow was very excited about the performance in London, in June, 1890, of "three works (with a capital W) and two songs all in the space of a week". From the Ellicott's address at Hyde Park he gave an account of the reception of his Trio for Pianoforte and Strings in G minor:

... I never played better in my life. I wasn't a bit nervous - rather to my surprise - and although my viola man hadn't got up his part properly there was no mishap. Among the audience was (Joseph) Bennett the critic .... Everything went off capitally and I had nice things said to me.

Many distinguished musicians and composers were in the audience including Frederic Cowen, Algernon Ashton, the organist and composer C.E. Stephens, Thomas Wingham, the musical director at the Brompton Oratory and Fellow of the R.A.M., and "some of the Parrys".

Of great moment, too, was the performance of Hadow's Sonata for Viola in B minor, which was first exposed to the critics in Oxford in May, 1889: Hadow wrote to his mother on 5th May;

'The Viola Sonata has created a considerable amount of commotion, which is partly accounted for by the fact that nobody has seen it yet. Straus of Vienna (who I suppose is the greatest violinist in the world) is going to play it; and I know at least one enthusiast of the instrument who is coming up to Oxford for the day simply to hear the work performed.'

He wrote again after the concert, on 26th May:

'The Sonata is in three movements: the first the best that I have yet written: the second pretty and graceful but commonplace; the third a dead failure. If anything is to be done with the work it will want a lot of re-writing ... Lloyd carried off the MS after the concert, to take it up to the Royal College .... Gibson seemed pleased with the first two movements, and wasn't very severe even on the third.'

Ludwig Straus, who, if not the "greatest violinist in the world", nevertheless played the viola with Joachim at the St. James's Hall concerts,<sup>13</sup> evidently thought well of the work. He again played it in London the following year; and in 1891 he joined with Hadow in the performance of his Violin Sonata in F major at the Musical Artists' Society. "As far as the public is concerned" wrote Hadow on 31/5/91,

'the work fell flat - they didn't even hiss it - but of course I don't care about that. What I do care for is that it went well, that Straus played like an angel and that he absolutely refused to take anything for his services. When I made him a timid and stammering offer he cut me short at once. 'The only thing I will accept' he said, 'is that I may play it again the next time that you have it done. It has been a real pleasure to me'. Of course I shall try to get even with him somehow, but think of the implied compliment....'

The manuscript of this Violin Sonata, which happily survives, indeed reveals a potential far greater than that displayed by the competent but unadventurous composer who confronted Ernst Pauer some years before. There is strong, varied, even passionate writing in the outer movements, the texture of the finale in particular suggesting some influence from Brahms. Most striking are the Brahmsian character of the duple within triple time which occurs in certain passages (ex.3) and the use of a persistent repeated motif on the violin, counter-balanced by a flowing arpeggio accompaniment (ex.4).

The opening Allegro moderato in F major is, as would be expected, cast in sonata form. In the exposition the music sweeps forward with a powerful lyrical impetus (ex.5) and the development pursues the thematic argument in animated dialogue. In the recapitulation there is an imaginative rehandling of the texture, leading to a quietly reflective coda. The central movement in G minor is very expressive, employing the darker lower compass of the violin most effectively, especially in combination with a low piano part (ex.6). The syncopations within the beat add to the emotional intensity of the opening, and the mood is well sustained throughout. The concluding sonata rondo is alternately fiery and lyrical, with a full exploitation of the sonority of both instruments. Indeed, the vigour and spontaneity of this work mark it with a distinction not often attained in Hadow's other known compositions.

In March, 1892, Hadow informed his mother of the impending performance at Oxford of yet another Violin Sonata, to which Straus, as he prettily said, was "standing Godfather". This work was evidently performed at Gloucester at Easter; but the manuscript has not yet been found.

The last of Hadow's chamber compositions was his Clarinet Sonata in G major, begun in Vienna in August, 1897, and completed some time later. The first movement is impelled with an intensity of inspiration which is absent from the remainder of the work - it reveals a genuine lyric impulse appropriate to the solo instrument, which is, moreover, used in a wide ranging melodic style. The unexpected chromaticism and modulations which occur at the opening of the Sonata fulfil the promise of the allusive harmonic idiom of the F major Violin Sonata; and there is some good piano-forte writing - again reminiscent of Brahms (ex.7). The exposition develops confidently, with a continuous growth of material. The tonal structure is unsteretyped: after the first subject in G major the second subject begins in E major before moving on to E minor, the relative of the home key - an unusual lay-out in sonata form. In the development section Hadow handles his motives and tonal movement with insight and conviction, exploiting fully (but not excessively) the contrasted themes of the exposition. As in the earlier violin sonata, he varies his textures in the recapitulation, ending quietly, with a reminiscence of the opening theme.

After the splendid élan of the first movement, the hymn-like opening (maestoso) of the second movement tends to sound banal; the effect of static contrast is not altogether successful, and the more interesting texture of the C minor middle section comes as something of a welcome relief. The finale, too - a Sonata Rondo - escapes but rarely from the monotony of the pianoforte chords in the recurrent rondo theme and the relentless dotted rhythm, which dominates somewhat grotesquely, as if it would prevent any reckless flight of fancy from taking wing.

It is indeed possible that Hadow was labouring, during the closing years of the century, under a sense of failure as a creative musician, compounded by a determination to foster more assiduously his academic



and administrative abilities. Hubert Foss's statement that Hadow "as a composer had no pretensions to be more than a dilettante",<sup>14</sup> is somewhat misleading in the small account it takes of Hadow's hard work and exacting standards; but Hadow was always acutely self-critical. "Aware of his own limitations as a composer", wrote Margaret Deneke, "he would ward off praise".<sup>15</sup> Moreover, his correspondence with his mother in the year 1887, when she tried to persuade him to spend a year studying music in London, or, preferably, Germany, reveals the extent to which Hadow viewed any attempt he might make to focus on the cultivation of his musical skills as pure self-gratification, indefensible on the grounds of consideration for others in the family. Although he had disclosed in January (as it were in a moment of weakness) that: "It is aggravating to strangle one's infant tunes because there is no means of bringing them up" on 27th November he wrote:

I have been thinking a good deal about your suggestion, and have come to the conclusion that on the whole it will be unadvisable to change, at any rate for the present. Considering how many things depend on my making a success of myself, I don't see that I have the right to throw away a certainty of doing something for a chance of doing what I want. Again, considered dispassionately, I don't think that my music is worth it...only two Englishmen of modern times have succeeded in creating a style, and I am not one of them. The last trio (quite the best thing I have ever done) is only the work of an exceptionally gifted Parrot - it almost talks like a rational being.

A similar letter confirms

there is too much at stake. If I were alone in the world, if I had nothing to bind me to anyone else, I should go at once and take my chance - but there is too much dependency on my life.

It may be recalled that at this time Hadow was concerned that he should assist the family financially as much as possible; he was, moreover, in love with Constance Fletcher, and hoping to marry her.

The quite remarkable potential revealed in the Violin and Clarinet Sonatas was thus given no real opportunity of development, and by 1900 it appears that Hadow had decided that in the field of composition he could contribute nothing of significant value to English music. Apart from the short pieces of incidental music to Robert Bridges' masque 'Demeter', which was performed at the opening of the library of Somerville College in 1904, he wrote only songs after that date, his last album being published in 1912.

Hadow's predilection for the song was always evident. His literary appreciation and discrimination enabled him to take pleasure in the selection of texts, and he remarked in 1899 that "If ever I make anything out of composition I expect it will be in that line". According to Margaret Deneke his songs did in fact find favour in Oxford homes,<sup>16</sup> and on 11/11/06 Hadow wrote that

My first two lots of songs are going into another edition - the fifth I believe. Miss Hilda Foster is singing 'Of a' the Airts' at a concert in the Town Hall tomorrow.

Newspapers give evidence of several professional performances in London and elsewhere in 1904-5;<sup>17</sup> and although in subsequent years performances of Hadow's songs were less frequent, a postcard sent to M.L.H. on 4/6/11 indicates that Hadow's songs were by no means forgotten:

The Athlete, the Scientist and the Bard

Proud is the charioteer, with flying rein,  
Who distances all rivals in the Stadium:  
Prouder the scientist, whose eager brain  
Conjectures Argon or discovers Radium:  
But proudest one who hears his artless strain  
Sung by Miss Carrie Tubb at the Palladium.

Sir Francis Stevenson recalls that the songs were still being performed in private circles as late as 1930.<sup>18</sup>

Hubert Parry, whose English Lyrics appeared from the early 1880s, and to whom Hadow took his first songs for criticism<sup>19</sup> appears to have exercised a strong general influence. As in the case of Parry, Hadow's poetic taste and judgement were meticulous, and exercised over a wide range: Shelley, Blake and Burns were tackled with the same spirited confidence as were contemporary poets like Austin Dobson and Mary Coleridge. The songs vary from simple settings in strophic form, with only two stanzas, to more extended lyrics like Shelley's "Life of Life" or through composed (or partly through composed) dramatic ballads.

The most characteristic feature of Hadow's song writing was his attention to verbal stress. He rigorously avoided melisma and undue ornamentation of any kind, and limited opportunities for vocal display. Although this successfully removed the danger of sentimental excess, it was to some extent inhibiting. In the case of Demeter, for example, the subtle severity of Bridges' verse is felt to be too dominant, and the music, for all its careful craftsmanship, fails to achieve a momentum of its own. In some of the lyrical songs, too, one feels that the musical impulse is restricted. The setting of Mary Coleridge and Marna Pease tend to be cramped; Blake's "The Blossom" is merely pretty; and even in the Burns songs and Shelley's "Life of Life" the music does not capture the emotional intensity of the poetry (ex.8). Again, Shelley's "Music When Soft Voices Die" is dealt with tastefully, and with feeling for the contour of the poem, but the melody is not well suited to the voice, and the repetition of words is cloying. On the other hand, in the context of strong, direct poetry, as in the dramatic ballads, Hadow's impeccable metric control and rhythmic judgement could result in a clean-cut forcefulness of utterance. Among the most successful of the ballads are

"Nachtreise", to words by L. Uhland, (remarkable as an early composition, (1882), and the settings of Scott's "Coronach" and "Where Shall the Lover Rest", which, beginning simply, builds in complexity and intensity to an arresting climax (ex.9). Amongst the best of the lyrical songs is "Memories", to words of Arthur Symons, where the sudden surge of voice and piano is strongly evocative, and a mood of nostalgic tenderness is achieved. The most poignant of all Hadow's songs, however, is perhaps the setting of R.L. Stevenson's "Bright is the Ring of Words", which, in its unassuming simplicity and measured grace, stands up to the better known setting of Vaughan Williams (ex.10).

That songwriting afforded Hadow considerable emotional release is implied in the following passage:

Song, indeed, more than any musical form, is the natural counterpart of intense emotion, and though it does not always reflect the mood of the Composer, often bears witness to the action of an unusual stimulus from without. Its particular tone may be sad or merry without necessarily implying sadness or merriment in its creator, but to exist at all it requires as condition a higher pitch of excitement than is needed by the more deliberate utterances of the quartett or the sonata. 20

Hadow's best songs do reflect moments of intense emotion, however fastidiously controlled. However, they lack the grit of his more durable prose, and it was perhaps best for the development of English music that Hadow diverted the flow of his energies at such an early stage into providing a healthy and well-disciplined criticism on which to base the new science of musicology.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Joseph King Cummin had previously been at Chester (1867-70), Manchester (1871-76), Deal (1876-79) and at Uckfield, Sussex. (See Crockford's Clerical Dictionary, 1882).
2. From Mrs. Ewen, the wife of the Queen's Messenger, whom Hadow mentions as "at present interviewing the Prince of Wales at Coburg". The letters are undated.
3. Letter to M.L.H., 10/9/82.
4. Sidney John Daltry: Scholar of Worcester College, 1877; 1st Cl. Mod. 1879, 3rd Cl. Lit. Hum. 1884; Ordained in 1891, Appointed to the Archbishop's Educational Mission to Assyrian Christians at Urmi, 1892-97.
5. See Chapter 2
6. Margaret Deneke, Ernest Walker, O.U.P., 1951, p.9.
7. 31/5/85.
8. See letter from Hadow to Archibald Weir 5/10/85.
9. Kölnische Zeitung, Nr. 361, 30/12/86; Allgemeiner Anzeiger für Rheinland Westfalen, Nr. 305 (11664), 30/12/86.
10. Letters from Parry to Hadow, 14/2/86 and 23/3/86.
11. V.C.10, 364.
12. See letter to M.L.H., 8/12/89.
13. See E.H. Fellowes, Memoirs of an Amateur Musician, London, 1946, p.19.
14. Hubert Foss, Ralph Vaughan Williams, London, 1950, p.86.
15. Op.cit., p.48.
16. *ibid.*
17. See The Times, 16/5/04; The Scotsman, 27/5/04; The Daily Telegraph, 25/6/04; The Queen, 18/3/05; Bristol Times and Mirror, 17/3/05; Glasgow Herald, 6/5/05.
18. On 20/7/25 Hadow wrote to Acott and Co. to acknowledge the receipt of a cheque, and commented, "I am much interested to see that the little songs are still selling", V.C.18, 27.
19. See letters to M.L.H., especially 26/10/84.
20. Studies in Modern Music I, pp.173-4.

## CHAPTER 6

### MUSICAL CRITICISM I

"'Your new landscape is all very well,' said a visitor to Constable's studio, 'but where are you going to put your brown tree?'

There is a great deal of the brown tree in musical criticism."

(W.H. Hadow, Studies in Modern Music, I.)

I

It was with the two volumes entitled Studies in Modern Music, published by Seeley & Co., in 1892 and 1895,<sup>1</sup> that Hadow made his first forceful impression on the world of musical science.

"Those who can recall the early 'nineties'", wrote Percy Buck in 1929,<sup>2</sup> "will remember the difficulty of getting together a musical library. Text books there were in abundance, most of them incredibly bad; a few histories, quite unreliable since few of them represented even an attempt at research; and no 'critical' books, save Gurney's 'Power of Sound', for such as could afford it.

Then suddenly there arrived the first volume of Studies in Modern Music, which came to the students of those days like rain to parched fields."

The format was significant and unusual, each volume comprising a prefatory discourse, one on critical method and the other on form, and the separate and distinctive studies of three composers. The breakaway from the older fashioned type of biography was at once bold and irreversible; for the first time the lives of the composers were unfolded in the light of the development of their art and with reference to a clearly delineated critical standpoint. This, asserted Buck,

brought us the assurance of a man versed in all the philosophy of the schools that the laws of music were at one with the laws of all Art, that the laws of art were the laws underlying the whole of life, and that in the study of those laws, not in the fostering of our own tastes and idiosyncrasies, lay the science of musical criticism .<sub>3</sub>

What Hadow was hoping to achieve at the outset is indicated in a letter to his mother, written from Paris in December, 1888, after his return from a lecture on Daudet:

It interested me a good deal and has taught me much about the methods of French criticism which on the whole is far in advance of ours. We don't get much beyond saying 'This is good', 'That is execrable', while these people approach the facts from a definite point of view, and read them in the light of a ready formed theory.

Four years later he had reached the conclusion that

It is the necessary outcome of a lack of scientific principle that criticism should be either invertebrate or ossified, and that in both cases the man of genius suffers. 4

He therefore set out with the open intention of establishing such a principle, and he was in no way deterred by the fact that this involved the disposal of a certain amount of dead wood strewn in his pathway.

As The Times obituary (10/4/37) stated:

He never made any secret of the fact that he undertook the book for the express purpose of breaking through what he called 'the Joseph Bennett ring' ;

and Hadow wrote of these critics in Studies I:

Time went on, but experience does not seem to have brought wisdom. It is a matter of recent memory that our critics found Lohengrin 'dull' and Walküre 'monstrous', that they could see no beauty in Siegfried, and no melody in Tristan. Brahms gained a hearing in this country through the generosity of a brother Composer. The critics attacked him from the beginning, and we have at the present day professional directors of public taste who are not ashamed to assail the Deutsches Requiem with infelicitous gibes. Even our own greatest musician had to pay the penalty for daring to be original. The account of Prometheus in the Musical Times of October 1880, the account of Judith in the Musical Standard of December, 1888 are outstanding examples of the way not to criticize .... it is a matter of comment that every new departure should be met by the same barrier of dogmatic denunciation, and that genius should still be assailed with those very charges of obscurity and vagueness to which almost all the great composers of the present century have been successively subjected. (p.59)



The Musical Times notice of the 1880 Gloucester Festival, at which Hubert Parry's Prometheus Unbound was presented in the Shire Hall, was by Joseph Bennett (1831-1911), music critic of The Daily Telegraph.<sup>5</sup> His attempt at a racy, colloquial idiom, which for the most part succeeded only in being graceless and over-familiar, was in itself offensive to Hadow,<sup>6</sup> and his relentless indictment of Parry as "an inexperienced imitator" strengthened Hadow's opposition. Indeed, Hadow hailed the composer as the veritable saviour of English music:

Under his guidance, and by his example, it is still possible that we may rise to the position which we occupied in the time of Elizabeth, and show ourselves once more the worthy comrade and rival of the great nations oversea.<sup>7</sup>

The failure of such highly gifted composers as Sullivan, Mackenzie and Cowen to build an English music on the basis of an essentially German musical education impressed on Hadow the urgent need to foster a national consciousness of musical thought, and already in 1892 he was arguing that

In music, apparently, we have allowed generations of foreign influence to obliterate our national style, with the result that the heart of the people has been left untouched, and that criticism has often been entrusted to careless or mercenary hands. Music can never flourish as an exotic.<sup>8</sup>

Parry, Hadow claimed,

stood always for the national ideal and upheld it at a time when it needed asserting against the two erroneous schools of criticism which have done most to obscure the real issue. One holds that a work is national in proportion as it is based on the folk-song; the other roundly denies that nationalism has any place in art ... a work is not made national because it weaves a few folk melodies into its texture, nor cosmopolitan because it discards them altogether ... Every great artist, painter, poet, or musician is to some extent the child of his time and his country, and the genuineness which marks his originality will itself be influenced both by his inheritance and by his surroundings.<sup>9</sup>

If this passage points to Hadow's acuteness in one direction, it also points to the gravity of his underestimation of Elgar, who, as D.J. Grout observed.

·was the first English composer in more than two hundred years to obtain wide international recognition; but his music is not in the least touched by folk-song nor has it any technical characteristics that seem to derive from the national music tradition. Yet it 'sounds English'." <sup>10</sup>

If Hadow's initial blindness to Elgar's genius was not caused by any bedazzlement with a 'national school' or folksong movement, it must have been due to the fact that Elgar, growing up outside the sphere of both London and the Universities, remained essentially a stranger to the musical world so dear to Hadow.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless it is curious that, with the Enigma Variations and The Dream of Gerontius already acclaimed, and the First Symphony on the point of appearing, Hadow saw fit to observe of Elgar in 1906 that "despite his decade of reputation he has not yet found himself".<sup>12</sup> He later made amends, and in English Music (1931), wrote that Elgar

has remodelled the musical language of England; he has enlarged its style and enriched its vocabulary, and the monument of his work is not only a landmark in our present advance but a beacon of guidance for its future'.

This future, Hadow claimed, lay not in attempting to keep pace with the more rapid and revolutionary advances of European music, but in focusing the English genius on its own inner resources.

Its principal characteristics, as known time after time in our annals, are strength, sanity, and tenderness; we are not by nature passionate, we have little taste for revolution.... We have our own vision of beauty: a vision of English skies and English woodlands, of Gainsborough and Constable, of Chaucer and Milton and Wordsworth. So far as our music can embody and express this ideal so far will it advance, firmly and confidently, along the lines of its great tradition as a living language". <sup>13</sup>

It is now generally conceded that Hadow perhaps overestimated Parry as a composer. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that his acclamation was based on the supposition that Parry would fulfil the promise of his early works, and Hadow himself gradually modified his acclaim. The tribute to Parry in 1918 is noticeably less apocalyptic than that of 1893:

'As is the man, so has been his influence. I do not speak only of the pupils who have passed under his hand, of the friends who have been privileged to know him, of the struggling musicians whom he has helped and encouraged: there is no side of our musical life in England which is not the better and the nobler because he has lived' .14

It is a mark of Hadow's perspicuity that he was able to discern the importance of Parry's role, if not as a perennial force in the field of composition, then at least as a pioneer in reforming standards of English musical scholarship and in revitalizing musical taste. Much more important than the actual music was the fact generally recognised in society that Parry, a scholar and a gentleman, was writing what they considered to be fine music as a setting for well chosen poetry. Even if Parry's works have proved to be not much better than Shaw pronounced them - "sham classics ... worth no more than the forgotten pictures of Hilton and the epics of Hoole"<sup>15</sup> - their historical significance was far reaching.

Of greater importance than Hadow's overestimation of Parry's music was the danger that in seeking to overcome the prejudices and extremes of one "narrow ring of professed music critics" he succeeded only in establishing a new closed circle of musical opinion. George Bernard Shaw, poured scornful derision upon the Parry - Stanford - Mackenzie triumvirate as a mutual admiration society, and he was ruthless in the application of his famous denunciation of the academic approach to art (Those who can do; those who can't teach). However, if

Hadow's statement that "the basis of musical criticism is the law of organic development together with such study of musical history as may show how the law has been operative through the actual growth and process of composition"<sup>16</sup> is reminiscent of Parry's evolutionary concept of musical history (see below, p.76), his analyses give evidence of a far more penetrating and wide-ranging perception, and a far more intense focus on the salient features of the individual composer.

Julius Harrison writes in The Musical Companion:<sup>17</sup>

For a thorough analysis of Berlioz I cannot do better than recommend the reader to Sir Henry Hadow's "Studies in Modern Music" (Oxford University Press) wherein all the composer's many-sided characteristics are examined in masterly style. And, for a general summing up, the same author's criticism in Grove's Dictionary is most precise: 'Time after time he ruins his cause by subordinating beauty to emphasis, and is so anxious to impress that he forgets how to charm'.

The inherent limitations in an approach to art which is defined from the standpoint of a "definite point of view" are, however, apparent in this very quality of precision and unswerving judgement. Although Hadow was far more flexible in his approach to Berlioz than, for example, Richard Aldrich,<sup>18</sup> he permitted himself little room for adjustment of opinion or statement. No allowance was made, for example, for those instances when Berlioz's charm lies in his ability to impress, as in the brilliant orchestral effects of the Requiem. Nor does the modulation from A major to B<sup>b</sup> at the beginning of the Villanelle in the Nuits d'Ete strike us as "a forcible wrench that surprises without pleasing".<sup>19</sup>

Martin Cooper, moreover, has this to say:

. . . The version of the story by which George Sand exhausted Chopin by her excessive physical demands has no shred of evidence to support it . . . Equally, though more fantastically wide of the mark is, of course, Hadow's suggestion that there existed nothing more between the two than 'a pure and cordial friendship', a suggestion that caused Remy de Courmont such malicious anti-Britannic pleasure. It was Hadow who accused Chopin of 'want of manliness, moral and intellectual', but his own reading of the facts had a good deal of the provincial old maid about it .20

It may be of some interest to trace the route by which Hadow arrived at this particular point of view, as an illustration of the way in which his opinions were so often initially formed in reaction to some proposition which he found unacceptable.

In January, 1882, Joseph Bennett began his biography of Chopin, serialized in The Musical Times under the title of "Great Composers XI". The articles reflect clearly the fashionable tendency to decry George Sand as, at best, a weak and unaimable character, the victim of futile self-deception, and, at worst, a monster of cruelty. The subject of love - and indeed of the sensibility in general - is treated throughout the series with such cynical repugnance as to doom any attempt to justify George Sand's actions on the grounds of deep affection. Hadow, who ten years later, was angered at the still prevalent calumnies "employed to barb some flippant epigram or envenom some sneering comment" leapt to George Sand's defence. Drawing on the accounts of Matthew Arnold, Sainte-Beuve, Delacroix, Heine, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, he asserts his own conviction that

'she was a good as well as a great woman, lacking, perhaps, in reticence and self-restraint, too frank of speech in face of oppression and wrong, but wholly devoid of any taint of luxury, wholly free from the meaner passions, wholly intent on helping all who needed her counsel or assistance. The truthfulness of the Histoire de ma Vie is attested in plain words by no less an authority than M. Edmond de Concourt, whose verdict in the matter will probably be accepted as conclusive . . . In one word, the intrinsic probability of George Sand's account is at least sufficient to throw the onus probandi upon her adversaries .21

If, then, Hadow was somewhat naïf in interpreting George Sand's "une sorte d'adoration maternelle" as a "pure and cordial friendship", it was at least to err on the direction of taking Mme Sand at her word. Hadow did not hesitate to reveal the story of Wagner and Madame Laussot, "veiled in discreet hints by many of the recent biographers", and asserted that theirs was "an intimacy which approached or passed the bounds of legitimate friendship".<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, it was George Sand's account of Chopin's mercurial instability and "l'irritation croissante des nerfs" which caused Hadow to remark a "want of virility" in his character.<sup>23</sup>

Cooper could have attacked Hadow more strongly for his forging of a connection between Chopin's treatment of tonality and modulation and his supposed weakness of character, although this would have entailed taking to task a significant assumption underlying Hadow's critical method:

The character of the musician is probably moulded by fewer external influences than the poet, but it is not less faithfully reflected in his work. And one reason why the work of the musician is the more difficult to comprehend is that it has received less assistance at the hands of biographers and historians.<sup>24</sup>

Hadow's claim regarding Chopin that "The want of virility, which has already been noted in his character, appears beyond question in the music" is open to dispute; but the manner in which Hadow seeks to justify his conclusions does not, to me, in any way, suggest "the provincial old maid":

"Take, for instance, the B flat minor Sonata, in which Chopin most nearly approximates to the 'grand manner' of composition. The first movement, regarded by itself, is a masterpiece .... Not less complete is the Scherzo .... But from this point the value of the Sonata steadily declines. Schumann undoubtedly hits the blot when he declares that the great Funeral March ought to have never

formed part of the work at all. As a separate piece it is of incomparable beauty; as the adagio of this particular Sonata it is wholly out of place. Its key is ill selected in relation to the rest of the movement; worst of all its form is precisely the same as that of the Scherzo; and these objections, not one of which affects the movement itself, are no less than fatal to it in its present context. The Finale, again, has neither the breadth nor the dignity requisite for its position. Its structure, though perfectly clear, is too simple and primitive to justify it as the fitting conclusion of an important work; and its persistent rhythmic figure gives it somewhat the air of an impromptu ... In short, the first half of the Sonata gives promise of a Classic such as, with one exception, the world has not seen since the death of Beethoven; the second half, though almost every bar contains something that is beautiful, is a disappointment and a failure. Icarus has flown too near the sun, and the borrowed wings have no longer the strength to support him.

This want of manliness, moral and intellectual, marks the one great limitation of Chopin's province.

II

Hadow expected that Studies in Modern Music would stir up a good deal of controversy; indeed, it would appear that he hoped for a veritable 'guerre des critiques'. With the appearance of Volume I in October, 1892, he wrote to his mother:

"The war has begun. Yesterday the Daily Telegraph (whose critic I have most directly attacked) retaliated with a vicious little paragraph..

He expected "vitriolic treatment" from the Musical Times, the Musical News, and "all the dailies whose critics are under the thumb of Joseph Bennett". However, Hadow was disappointed. There were few reviews and little critical discussion, although Hadow sent his mother a copy of the Musical Standard of 26/11/92, "from which you will see that I'm becoming a subject of controversy", and on 11th December remarked with satisfaction that

In Saturday's Daily Telegraph Mr. Joseph Bennett utters a disconsolate wail about the critics who are being attacked by the heavy artillery of a University Graduate".

To his surprise the review in the Musical Standard (12/11/92) was favourable, commending his "rare gift of impartial and judicial criticism ... fearless, full of insight most lucidly expressed". "It's especially remarkable", he wrote, "because I picked out that paper as an awful example in my first essay". The Scotsman (24/10/92) was also appreciative. Many papers, however, including the Musical Times, ignored the book completely, and Hadow confided on 27th November that "Seeley thinks that the book's plain speaking may have made the reviewers loth to say anything about it".



For Volume II of the Studies Hadow was more than ever anxious to seek out his information at first hand.

In March, 1893, he set off for Vienna, where he was met at the station by his friend F.J. Lys, a former pupil who had returned to Worcester College as lecturer in 1889 and who subsequently became Provost. With Lys, who proved an excellent companion for sightseeing, he visited many of the theatres, including the Volkstheater and the Burgtheater, and went to concerts and to the Opera. Not all Hadow's time was given to play, however, and he spent many days in the Library of the "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde", turning over piles of old newspapers under the informed guidance of Mandyczewski, the Austrian musical scholar and keeper of the archives,<sup>26</sup> to whom Hadow had written in Latin, "as", he explained, "my German was none too certain and I thought his English might be no better".<sup>27</sup> Then, on 9th April, equipped with an introduction from the violinist Joachim,<sup>28</sup> Hadow went to see Brahms.

You will be pleased to regard this as a more important announcement than if I said I had been to see the Emperor", read Mary Lang Hadow. "Brahms is to me the most considerable of 'great men' at present alive, and I mounted his stair I can assure you with a good deal of trepidation. However, he was very kindly and cordial and we conversed with as much satisfaction as the linguistic difficulty would allow. He speaks no English and his French isn't much better than my German. So we had to do with a good many makeshifts. It ended in our mostly opening the sentence in one language and closing it in the other'.

In June, 1894, the essay on Brahms completed, Hadow informed his mother that "Our Slavonic authority at Oxford is going to give me some introduction to the library people at Prague". At the end of the month he was able to visit Dvorak, who received him kindly and showed him some

unpublished manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> Hadow may also at this time have encountered the Austrian musicologist Guido Adler, then professor of musical science at Prague, who in 1894 began his work as editor-in-chief of the "Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich". Hadow, who visited Adler in Vienna in 1924,<sup>30</sup> took great interest in this series of musical reprints, and once described it as "probably the most monumental edition of music in existence".<sup>31</sup> Adler was the only man outside England to receive a free copy of the Carnegie Trust's Tudor Music Edition.

The second volume of Studies in Modern Music was all but completed in October, 1894, when

'Proof correcting only remains to be done. I see that some of the papers are announcing me in small paragraphs of expectation. They sound like the sharpening of the critical knife .

Nevertheless, the book was again poorly advertised and Hadow was disappointed. There was, however, a review in the Musical Times, to which he drew his mother's attention on 3/2/95:

'Please observe the Musical Times (J.B.'s particular paper) which entirely declined to notice my first volume and now alludes to it as an old friend. What humbug the newspapers are .

Hadow's opinion of the journalistic world at large was, in fact, not a favourable one. On 28th February, 1892, he wrote to M.L.H. concerning Parry's setting of The Frogs of Aristophanes, which was being successfully performed at Oxford.

'A propos, I can give you an amusing instance of the way in which journalism is written. The Oxford correspondent of the Times has to send an account of the play. Knowing nothing about music he asks Lloyd to jot down a few hints for him. Lloyd sent for me: I went and dictated a notice which he wrote down word for word and presented. Shortly after the Times Correspondent came to me himself. 'I wish you'd come with me to the rehearsal' he said, 'and tell me one or two things to say. Between you and me I have got something from Lloyd, but he's part of the concern and I'd rather have an independent opinion'. I gravely acceded, accompanied him to the rehearsal, and gave him the facts which he boiled down into his article. So the public gets its information .

In view of the fact that organized musical criticism was well established by Hadow's time as a part of journalism, and the critics with whom Hadow was concerned - J.W. Davison, H.F. Chorley, Francis Hueffer, Joseph Bennett - were chiefly newspaper writers, it might have been expected that Hadow would seek to build his fortress on their terrain. Indeed, he did undertake some reviewing of books on music for The Times and The Guardian, papers for which he entertained considerable respect; and on 3rd February, 1889, he informed his mother that he had been requisitioned (possibly at the instigation of his friend Bruce Richmond) to apply for the place of Musical Critic to The Times, as successor to Francis Hueffer.

'I was not in any sense offered the place, but I was promised some strong support and urged to try. In the interests of English music, I have refused, partly on the grounds of other duties, partly of entire incompetence; but it was a great temptation. Top of the ladder at one step ... I might have sat on the steps of Jupiter's throne and had the management of one or two thunderbolts ... it is the highest honour that I have ever received, but it would prejudice my position here if it got known.

The post fell to J.A. Fuller-Maitland, who was succeeded in 1911 by Hadow's former pupil H.C. Colles.

Had Hadow's ambitions in 1889 been less closely associated with Oxford, and had he taken the opportunity of writing for The Times, his influence on journalism must surely have been incalculable. As it was, the repercussions of his critical pronouncements were considerable, their impact being all the more forceful for being sounded in a vacuum. Burney's observation in A General History of Music (1776) that:

There have been many treatises published on the art of musical composition and performance but none to instruct ignorant lovers of music how to listen or to judge for themselves.

might have been made on the eve of Hadow's commencement of his discourse

on musical criticism; and the importance of the Studies in Modern Music lay above all in the fact that it was written for amateurs and music-lovers by an amateur music-lover. In this way it marked the beginning of an era.

"From that day forward", wrote Percy Buck, "there has been a renaissance of musical understanding in England, and there has arisen an ever-growing band of earnest and able writers who have ministered to the demand for critical work. But throughout the whole period one and all of them have looked to Sir Henry Hadow as their head".<sup>32</sup>

Hadow's influence is, as would be expected, most clearly seen in the work of his pupils - notably P.C. Buck (The Scope of Music, London, 1923, especially chapter VII) and H.C. Colles; but no other critic has so impressively demonstrated that his art can yield intellectual riches comparable with any in the domains of literature, philosophy, history or science. As Arnold Bennett wrote of the Collected Essays in the Times Literary Supplement (28/2/29):

"What a solace to people like myself who yearn after erudition without the least hope of achieving it, to read an erudite work which is at once admirable in form and taste and lit up by wit and fancy .... He is extremely clever, and clever enough not to be too clever. He knows, but he also feels - and feels with an intense, but controlled, emotion, I am grateful to him for a hundred passages'.

The rich allusiveness of Hadow's prose may at present be out of fashion; we may prefer the light sparkle of the epigram to the rolling cadences of the sonorous statement; the magic of Hadow's 'speaking pictures' still enchants us, however. And their magical power rests in more than the fanciful and fleeting nostalgia of an entertainment lantern. There is, in Hadow's observations, an underlying perception of detail and a depth of knowledge which gives them a ruthless permanency even when, as in the case of Parry, they have proved wrong.

III

After the completion of his Studies in Modern Music, Hadow continued to take full advantage of his travels and holidays in Europe to explore avenues of research which were closed to him in England, and to draw all he could from the continental cultural life. Not all his researches were carried out with any particular end in view: his trip to Russia, for instance, which filled the summer of 1900, was undertaken with only the vaguest intention to write about Tchaikovsky.<sup>33</sup> Hadow's delight in travel had asserted itself, and the letters home offer accounts of strange scenes freshly observed. St. Petersburg he found

.Not a very attractive town. It is wide and spacious with plenty of park and garden, but the streets are remorselessly straight and the palaces, though very large, are square and ugly and washed over as a rule with some uniform-coloured plaster ... Of course the churches are an exception ... My chief disappointment is the want of local colour. The whole place is cosmopolitan - no distinctive costumes except the red shirts of the workmen ... nothing except the language to distinguish the streets from any other European capital'.<sup>34</sup>

Moscow, however, fulfilled his expectations:

'Moscow is best described in Mme de Stael's phrase as 'la Rome tartare'. A vast irregular city, crammed with churches, the streets cobble-paved, the houses red, white, yellow, brown, with gilded signs and green-painted roofs - a little brown river (little beside the Volga, though we should think somewhat of it in England) and in the middle of all the Kremlin'.<sup>35</sup>

And so much did he enjoy his tour on the Volga-"Kazan full of Tartars, all making scented soap out of mare's milk"-that he was not even unduly put out to find on his return to St. Petersburg that the Imperial Library was still shut for the season.

Hadow's introductions to St. Petersburg were furnished in 1896 when he travelled in Germany, in the first months of the year with Philip Napier Miles, who was studying music in Dresden, and in the

summer with H.B. George. From Dresden he wrote of the many notable musicians to whom Miles had introduced him, including Jean Louis Nicodé, the pianist, conductor and composer. Therese Malten, whose performance as Elizabeth in Tannhäuser impressed Hadow greatly, invited him to tea. He found her "very gracious - a pleasant, handsome woman who appears quite unspoiled by her twenty years or so of triumph".<sup>36</sup> At one of the dinner parties which Miles organized to enable Hadow to meet the musical celebrities of Dresden there was held "a sort of impromptu chamber concert", at which Hadow accompanied the performance of one of his own songs. This, he reported, "was admirably given and very well received. But I felt like a minnow among tritons and sat down to accompany with a good deal of apprehension".<sup>37</sup> At this time Miles and Hadow also visited Berlin, where they "achieved the feat of attending two symphony concerts in the same evening ... the attraction of the first was a magnificent Symphony by the Russian man Tchaikovsky: that at the other was Brahms who conducted two concerti and an overture".<sup>38</sup>

September, 1896, saw Hadow in Vienna, where he again called at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde to see Mandyczewski, who gave him letters of introduction to eminent musicians in Budapest. Here Hadow was going to attend the Millennial Exhibition, a momentous event which involved the participation of all the neighbouring countries, including Turkey, and which induced the production of many new operas, both Hungarian and foreign. A letter of 20/9/96 from the Hotel Bristol in Budapest clearly reveals the strenght of Hadow's growing interest in traditional Hungarian music:

Of course my first enquiry was for the gipsy band. You will be glad to hear that I am a sort of sworn brother of all those inspired rascals who compose it. I sat by them each night for two or three hours, jotting down what I could of the melodies: and as soon as they discovered what I was doing they hailed me at once as a fellow artist and, in the intervals, used to cluster round my table and talk to me in broken German. Some of them knew no German at all by the way and with them my conversation was limited. But they showed me their national instrument - the Cimbal - and told me lots about Hungarian tunes, and finally gave me the name of the most notable player in Budapest which was a service that I greatly appreciated. The leader asked for some English tunes as a memento, so I wrote down the first that came into my head - 'Rule Britannia', 'Barbara Allen', 'The Bailiff's Daughter' and 'Come Lasses and Lads'. 'God save the Queen' he knew already. My opinion about their music is unchanged - it is the most wonderfully moving thing that I know, and now that I've had a week of it I simply think in Hungarian rhythms and cadences. I'm soaked through with them.

Hadow's fascination for the passionate charm of the Magyar idiom was to inspire an outstandingly colourful essay he wrote for Ernest Walker's short-lived but excellent magazine, The Musical Gazette, in December, 1899.

The exhibition impressed Hadow greatly, and in the preface to Michel Brenet's book on Haydn<sup>39</sup> Hadow relates how it stimulated one of his most interesting and original pieces of research:

In 1894 or 1895 I discovered in the Taylorian Library at Oxford a copy of Dr. Kuhac's 'South Slavonic Folk Songs'. I knew no word of Croatian, and was therefore at that time restricted to the melodic evidence, but it needed no expert knowledge to see that some of the melodies were identical with themes of Haydn and that others bore a close resemblance to his style. That summer I went to Budapest for the Exhibition, and there, in a showcase, noticed Dr. Kuhac's pamphlet on 'Joseph Haydn and the South Slavonic Folk Songs'. On my return to Oxford I procured this and had it translated. The material seemed to me of such importance that I decided to make such use of it as could be allowed: and in the next summer vacation I went out to Agram to ask permission of Dr. Kuhac. Full permission was readily and generously accorded, and a little volume of mine, published in 1897, was the result.

A far more colourful, if less succinct, account of Hadow's visit to Austria is found in his correspondence. On August, 13th, 1897, he wrote to his mother of his "dreadful journey" to Vienna, and of his disappointment at finding the libraries, including that of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, closed. However, his enquiries at the Embassy<sup>40</sup> disclosed that Prince Esterhazy had called to ask if Hadow would see him the following week. For several days, therefore, Hadow was able to tour the countryside and visit the scenes of Haydn's childhood. He also revisited Pressburg "and my gispy band":

...Pressburg in August has one disadvantage - mosquitos. Compared with them the blades of grass on the prairie and the grains of sand on the boundless desert are few and insignificant. They come at you in a solid phalanx which blots out the light. Their voice would drown the thunder of an alpine valley".

Back in Vienna, he found the Prince "a pleasant, genial, middle-aged man, rather like the last Lord Bathurst, speaking English perfectly, except for a difficulty with his Rs...". The Prince was receptive to Hadow's plans, and the following Monday, Hadow related how

I got up at 5, caught the 6.25 .... and at 8.30 was met by a carriage with a pair of bays and a sort of Hussar in blue and yellow uniform, who drove me off to the castle at Eisenstadt ..... I worked all day at the Haydn MSS with the assistance of Dr. Merenzi the intendant, slept the night in a great empty suite of rooms, where every footfall echoed (the castle is in the process of restoration and there was no-one there), next morning had another three hours at the MSS and went on by a midday train to Esterhazy. Here I found another carriage, another body of officials waiting at the gate, and the same kindness in giving me every facility that I wanted. It is a most magnificent place .... the furniture and appointments are richer than I have ever seen, even at Versailles.



From Esterhazy Hadow set off for Agram.

'If I was a painter I should never leave this place. The streets are narrow and winding, the houses white with warm dark-red tile roofs, there are clumps of chestnut and acacia, there are comely peasant-women washing clothes at the brown trickling stream. The market is simply a human flower garden of bright colours and pleasant faces: men and women sitting in rows behind tables of fruit and vegetables and paprika and queer fish and coral necklaces, and gaudy sacred pictures .

The interview with Dr. Kuhac was most successful, and Hadow left with several copies of his book and instructions to make whatever use he wished of Kuhac's research.

Hadow's thesis was firmly rooted in his belief that art and literature "are pre-eminently the expression of the national voice ... The composer bears the mark of his race not less surely than the poet or the painter, and there is no music with true blood in its veins and true passion in its heart that has not drawn inspiration from the breast of the other country".<sup>41</sup> Haydn, Hadow claimed, was not German but Croatian; Croatian folk-tunes, he contended, possess all the characteristics which distinguish the melodies of Haydn, and many of them were actually used by the composer. The argument, which is carefully evolved, and substantiated by illustrations from Slavonic folk songs and research into Haydn's family background, has in general been rejected by later music historians and critics particularly since the publication in 1934 of Ernst Fritz Schmid's Joseph Haydn, which presented a mass of evidence that Haydn was of German stock. When the question was under discussion in the last years of Hadow's life he stated unequivocally that "I remain entirely unrepentent". His reprint of the article in the Collected Essays of 1928 reaffirms this.

The statement in Grove's Dictionary of 1940 (p.262) that "A Croatian Composer" was "Hadow's unostentatious answer to the controversy which his conclusions about the Slavonic origin of Haydn had raised" is misleading. In fact, Hadow's dissertation was completed by October, 1897, but Seeley wanted to delay publication until Hadow had written a new series of essays, and would only agree to releasing the Haydn essay alone "on different terms". A letter of 24th October, 1897 reports. "My Croatian research has begun to leak out by the way, and the Musical Association has invited me up to London on December 14th to expound..." In the meantime, he delivered a lecture in the Sheldonian which "was the greatest success that I have yet scored in Oxford". Stainer was amongst those who applauded the address, and congratulated him afterwards. "If only" Hadow wrote, "Seeley had the thing ready now - but that's past praying for. He hasn't even begun to advertise it as forthcoming". On 19th December he wrote that "The little Haydn book is out at last. Well done on the whole, but too late to be successful. However, that's not my business". As he observed two years later, and about another matter: "Still, there is a sort of savage irony in its belated appearance. Everything comes to him who waits - if he waits until he wants it no longer".

IV

Hadow's reputation as a critic was growing amongst musical scholars.

As early as November, 1892, he wrote to tell his mother that "Professor Knight of St. Andrew's is bringing out a book on aesthetics in the musical chapter of which I appear among a list of authorities on the subject".<sup>42</sup>

In September, 1897, he received a letter from George Henschel, the noted singer and conductor who founded the London Symphony Orchestra, stating that on his voyage to America some months previously, he had translated Hadow's article on "Brahms and the Classical Tradition"<sup>43</sup> into German, and asking leave to have it published in Germany as a tract. Hadow's reputation as an authority on Brahms also drew him to the attention of Edward Speyer, the chairman of the Queen's Hall Orchestra and of the Classical Concert Society. The Illustrated London News of 13th January, 1906, announced that

"On the 27th inst. the 150th anniversary of the birth of Mozart will be celebrated by a Commemoration Concert at Bechstein Hall given by the Queen's Hall Orchestra, under the auspices of the Concertgoers Club and the direction of Mr. Henry Wood. A paper consisting of explanatory remarks on the works to be performed will be read by Mr. W.H. Hadow, than whom no saner critic or sounder judge of music lives and writes in England today .

Hadow wrote, while staying with the Speyers in Hertfordshire, later in the year:

Mr. Speyer, my host, is a naturalised German, a famous philanthropist, very rich, very hospitable, and a patron of all European music and musicians. Mrs. Speyer (Antonia Kufferath) is said to have been Brahms' favourite pupil, and to be still the best living interpreter of his songs. I haven't yet heard her but hope that she will sing tonight.

Speyer wants me to undertake a very large and serious job: no less than the definitive life of Beethoven for which Thayer spent forty-two years in collecting material. 44

Hadow decided against undertaking this mammoth task: but he was none the less flattered.

George Grove, too, was attracted by Hadow's unique critical qualities at an early stage. In 1895, Hadow contributed to Macmillan's Magazine an essay on "Poetry and Music", in which he decried the prevailing state of song in English music, and argued that "one proximate reason of our failure in song is the present divergence between English music and English poetry: and of this one ultimate reason may be found in our fathers' maintenance of a bad musical tradition".<sup>45</sup> Grove was both appreciative and perceptive, and, whilst indicating what he saw as defects or omissions in the article, was enthusiastic in his praise:

. It is the first paper on a musical subject that I think I ever read which I thought worthy of the subject and it gained very much by its literary ability - not too often a characteristic of articles on musical subjects.. 46

As has been previously mentioned, Hadow contributed the essay on Berlioz in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1904 (edited by J.A. Fuller-Maitland), and he revised and extended Pohl's article on Haydn in the second edition of 1906, in which he found place for his views about the Slavonic origin of Haydn.

This same 1906 edition of Grove's Dictionary recorded that.

'Mr. Hadow's principal claim to fame in the musical world is chiefly based upon his writings on the art and its history, in which rare literary skill and finish are combined with thorough knowledge, the fruit of deep research, and a style that illuminates many branches of a subject generally treated too drily.

H.C. Colles observed in 1940 that "...in age his authority was such that 'What does Hadow say about it?' was the first question which rose naturally to the lips when any matter of musical policy was in debate". Hadow's influence on matters educational and institutional was, of course, exerted more strongly in his maturity; but Colles's statement is also borne out by several incidents early in his career. It is widely held that Hadow was the "musical expert" to whom, in March, 1907, Charlotte Moberly and Eleanor Jourdain took the twelve bars of music they claimed to have heard in the course of their curious "journey in time" at Versailles.<sup>47</sup>

The spread of Hadow's fame was, moreover, unrestricted by the English Channel. His visit to America in 1903 established his reputation there (see above, ch.4); and in April, 1905, he was invited, at the instigation of Romain Rolland, to attend a meeting of the International Music Society in Paris. It was during this sojourn in the French capital, where Hadow was working in the Bibliothèque Nationale, that he attended a public lecture on Voltaire:

But may Heaven protect me (as it probably will) from ever having to give a lecture at the Sorbonne. It lasted from 1.30 to 2.30. At 1.50 people began to go out; at 2.25 the last arrivals came in. The audience was never quiet for a single moment and never gave the lecturer the least mark of sympathy or interest.

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In fact, Hadow was to deliver no fewer than six lectures at the Sorbonne over the Christmas period of 1927: three on Othello, two on Keats, and one on Stevenson and Conrad.<sup>49</sup>

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Macmillan & Co., New York, published the volumes in 1893 and 1894.
2. The Dominant, March - April, 1929, p.22.
3. *ibid.*
4. Studies on Modern Music I, p.106.
5. Bennett also wrote musical criticism for the Sunday Times, the Pall Mall Gazette, the Graphic, and the Musical Times. He edited Concordia (1875-7).
6. *op.cit.*, p.60.
7. *op.cit.*, p.66.
8. *op.cit.*, p.64.
9. "Sir Hubert Parry", Proceedings of the Musical Association, Session XLV, 1918-19. Reprinted in Collected Essays, 1928, p.159.
10. D.J. Grout, A History of Western Music, New York, 1960, p.595.
11. See Chapter 4
12. "Some Tendencies in Modern Music", The Edinburgh Review, October, 1906.
13. English Music, London, 1931, ch.VI.  
Hadow was supported in this contention by Vaughan Williams, whose introduction to the book was coloured by a remarkable bitterness. Williams thrust angrily at the advocates of "a colourless cosmopolitanism" who denied the country her native tradition on the basis of an artistic snobbery.
14. *op.cit.*
15. The World, 14/10/91.
16. "Form and Formalism in Music", Proceedings of the Musical Association, Session XXIV, 1897-8.
17. Ed. A.L. Bacharach, London, 1934, p.236.
18. See Richard Aldrich, Musical Discourse, O.U.P., 1928, pp.195-6.
19. Studies in Modern Music, I, p.138.
20. Ideas and Music, London, 1965, p.93.

21. Studies in Modern Music, II, pp.126-7.
22. Richard Wagner, London, 1934, p.122.
23. L'Histoire de ma Vie, Vol.XX, Paris, 1855, pp.154-7.
24. Preface to Grace Hadow's translation and abridgement of B. Litzmann's Clara Schumann, London, 1913.
25. Studies in Modern Music, II, pp.155-158.
26. Eusebius Mandyczewski (1857-1929), who was since 1897 a teacher in the Vienna Conservatory, was responsible for the complete edition of Schubert's works, and the plan for that of Haydn's. He gave Hadow much assistance, particularly with regard to Hadow's research into Schubert, which was never published. Some notes on Schubert are at Worcester College, but the manuscript of a book, mentioned in Hadow's correspondence with Grace (10/5/22) has been lost.
27. H.C. Colles, "William Henry Hadow", The Musical Times, May, 1937, p.405.
28. See letter to M.L.H., 28/3/93, and Letters from and to Joseph Joachim, selected and translated by Nora Bickley, London, 1914, p.448.
29. Letter to M.L.H., 30/6/94.
30. See V.C.16, 10, 77. Letters to Adler.
31. V.C.16, 517. Letter to Richard Aldrich, 30/9/24.
32. The Dominant, ibd.
33. See letter to Graham Balfour, 20/1/96.
34. 30/7/1900.
35. 11/8/1900.
36. 12/1/96.
37. 17/1/96.
38. 12/1/96.
39. M. Brenet, (Pseudonym of Marie Boubillier): Haydn, translated by C. Leonard Leese, London, 1926.
40. A letter to M.L.H., 18/7/97, mentions that Sir Thomas Sanderson was making application to the ambassador at Vienna, and that Ld. Edmund Fitzmaurice had given Hadow a private letter to Esterhazy.

41. A Croatian Composer: Notes towards the study of Joseph Haydn, Seeley & Co., 1897. Reprinted in Collected Essays, 1928.
42. William Angus Knight, The Philosophy of the Beautiful, 1893.
43. First published in The Contemporary Review, May, 1897.
44. Letter to M.L.H., 30/9/06.
45. Macmillan's Magazine, Vol.LXXII, May - October, 1895, p.106.
46. Letter of 29/5/95.
47. See Elizabeth Morison and Frances Lamont (pseuds.), An Adventure, London, 1911, p.94.
48. Letter to M.L.H., 2/4/05.
49. Apart from one of the Othello lectures, "Iago", reprinted in the Collected Essays, there is no record of these lectures. The Sorbonne has no copy of them in the files.



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I

The immediate cause for Hadow's renown in academic circles in 1905 was the completion, under his editorship, of the Oxford History of Music, to which he himself contributed a volume on "The Viennese Period". It is today difficult to realise the significance and impact of this series, which was the first major work of its kind since Burney's A General History of Music and Sir John Hawkins' A General History of the Science and Practice of Music, both published in 1776.

Here for the first time", wrote Percy Buck of the first two volumes, "the whole apparatus of Tudor music, the origin and growth of its laws, the scope and usage of its conventions, were traced and laid bare".<sup>1</sup>

All six volumes of the Oxford History were of the greatest musicological significance, applying to musical history that concept of evolution which dominated the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Bacon's empiricism had done in the seventeenth century, and giving evidence of a new division of historical material. Volumes 1 and 2 (1901 and 1905) by H.E. Wooldridge, discussed "The Polyphonic Period - Method of Musical Art"; Volume 3 (1902) by Hubert Parry, dealt with the Music of the Seventeenth Century"; Volume 4 (1902) by J.A. Fuller-Maitland was devoted to "The Age of Bach and Handel"; Hadow contributed Volume 5 (1904) on "The Viennese Period"; and Volume 6 (1905) by Edward Dannreuther, considered "The Romantic Period".

The clarity afforded by this direction of enquiry was admirable, and the aim was to temper the biographical method by the unfolding, not so much of the evolution of individual genius, but of the evolution

of art as a whole.

The history of an art, wrote Hadow in the preface to Volume I, "like the history of a nation, is something more than a record of personal prowess and renown. Tendencies arise from small beginnings; they gather strength imperceptibly as they proceed; they develop, almost by natural growth, to important issues; and the great artist has commonly inherited a wealth of past trade and effort which is at once his glory and his privilege to administer.

More especially is this true of music, which among all the arts has exhibited the most continuous evolution.

The assumption that the premises of evolutionary anthropology could be applied to music, in much the same sort of way as Sidgwick had applied them to ethics, was, however, a misleading one, and, as Warren Dwight Allen has pointed out, "the breaks with the past, due to changes in men's ways of thinking, cannot be explained in these continuous series". Hadow himself was puzzled by the apparent historical anomalies.

.It is probably to the imperfection of the record that we may attribute the curious break which separates the method of Discant from that of Counterpoint properly so called....In the former we are dealing with conditions so primitive as almost to justify the famous paradox that the true ancient history is medieval. In the latter we shall find artistic work which can still give the purest and noblest pleasure, and can win our admiration for consummate skill and complete achievement.<sup>2</sup>

The attempt to assess the music of the early middle ages as a search "to find a way through which men should venture to the exploration and conquest of unknown regions" accounts in some measure for the particular bias of the first volume of the Oxford History, which was written by H.E. Wooldridge (1845-1918), Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, and something of an authority on early Italian music. In the

preface to the Introductory Volume of the 1929 edition of the Oxford History of Music, Percy Buck wrote that

'It has been a common criticism of this first volume (of Wooldridge) that, masterly as it admittedly is, it plunges too rapidly into those developments of European music which ultimately led to the great polyphonists .... The student is liable to gather the impression that throughout the Middle Ages music was in a state of chaos, and that the great men were those who nursed the art through its growing pains and infantile complaints, steered it through shoals and quicksands, and slowly and painfully forged a medium in which we can now express musical ideas which are moving and profound'.

Hadow himself observed of Wooldridge that

'his interests were almost entirely concentrated on medieval counterpoint as it rose from its beginnings in the thirteenth century to its climax in the sixteenth'.<sup>3</sup>

and, although Wooldridge's study of this period "was as warm as a passion", the antiquarian research necessary for the first of his volumes did not, perhaps, inspire in him the same degree of enthusiasm.

The data which was unearthed by continental research in the first decade of the twentieth century allowed Buck to present in 1929 a far more detailed survey of the music of ancient times; and it is significant that the volume he contributed to the revised second series drew on the work of several writers. This method of pooling the research of specialists was taken up by the Editorial Board of the New Oxford History of Music in 1957.

"The present work", stated the editors in the General Introduction to the series, "is designed to replace the Oxford History of Music....It has been planned as an entirely new survey of music from the earliest times down to comparatively recent years, including not only the achievements of the Western world but also the contribution made by eastern civilizations and primitive societies".

Certainly such a task would be a formidable undertaking for any small team of writers; and the New Oxford History has provided music lovers with a detailed account of the history of music which is admirable for the breadth and precision of its scholarship.

Inevitably, it superseded its predecessor. The advances in sheer musical knowledge in the intervening half century had been enormous, especially with regard to earlier music. New editions had been published, new works discovered, new perspectives opened out. The simpler viewpoint of the pioneers of English scholarship had been discarded. The implicit assumption that the Austrian-German tradition was of almost exclusive importance could no longer be maintained. Even within that tradition the early contributors were unaware of the importance of such figures as Bruckner. So to a later generation, familiar with a much wider range of music through advancing scholarship and broadcasting and recording facilities, the earlier edition seems at first dated and perhaps even amateurish. But it is easy to overlook its real virtues. It remains remarkable in its overall sweep and its areas of individual insight, and its volumes may yet remain more enticing to the general reader in view of their greater selection of detail and less bewildering variety of style and critical method. Hadow's account of the history of musical composition from the time of C.P.E. Bach to that of Schubert ("The Viennese Period"), although far less comprehensive than the survey of the period in Volumes VII and VIII of the N.O.H.M., is more readily taken in, and the unifying arch of his thought, combined with the easy grace of style, imbues his book with a readability rarely attained in composite authorship.

Also against the advantages of Hadow's Oxford History Series must

CHAPTER 7

MUSICAL CRITICISM II

"It may be possible that with all the method in the world Music will never produce a Lessing or a Sainte-Beuve: it is assuredly only through method that she has any chance of doing so."

(W.H. Hadow, Studies in Modern Music, I.)

be set the inevitable limitations of the capacity of any one writer to cover an entire historical period with sustained enthusiasm and interest. Certainly, it is difficult to see from the preface to Hubert Parry's volume what joy he found in the study of his subject:

The 17th century is, musically, almost a blank, even to those who take more than the average interest in the Art .... There was fully as much activity throughout the century as at other times; and lovers of the Art were quite under the impression that the music of their time would compare favourably with that of other times..... It is interesting to seek for the reasons of its appearing adequate to the people of its time, while it appears so slender and inadequate to those that come after; and it is suggestive of essential but rarely comprehended facts in relation to the nature of Art and its place in the scheme of things, to trace the manner in which the slenderest beginnings, manifested during the century, served as the foundations of all the most important and comprehensive forms of Modern Art.

The extent to which Parry was misled by his evolutionary philosophy of art is illustrated by his conviction that Japanese music "will probably go through the same phases of early medieval music, and the Japanese sense of harmony will develop in the same manner as that of Europeans did long ago";<sup>4</sup> and Parry's notions of evolution and progress in music through "stages of development" which appear in "logical order" were further coloured by his conviction that certain advanced forms of music were inherently superior to others. Opera found no favour with him. As Hadow observed, opera was the one major form in which Parry never wrote, having no taste for it, and "by the end of his life he had come to regard operatic writing with aversion".<sup>5</sup>

Fuller-Maitland, too, seems to have attached little importance to the role of the opera. He did, in the preface to "The Age of Bach and Handel", pay tribute to Reinhard Keiser's work at Hamburg early in the 18th

century, and to the reforms of Gluck, but his dismissal of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini in his statement concerning 19th century Italian Opera is disconcerting. This period, he states,

"was almost without influence on the real art of the day, and as far as concerns creative originality in any branch of art that is of lasting importance, Italy need not be considered from that time down to the time when the taste for real music revived once again towards the end of the 19th century".

Verdi, perhaps, is classed as being "towards the end of the 19th century" in view of Othello (1887) and Falstaff (1893); but are not Nabucco (1842), Rigoletto (1851) and La Traviata (1853) "real music"? It may be that Italy was less susceptible to the Romantic elements which pervaded Germany and France, her conservative attitude being encouraged by the concentration of her genius on the one form of Opera: nevertheless, the admiration which Wagner entertained for Bellini is well known, and, according to Paul Henry Lang, "Liszt and Chopin are not less his debtors", inheriting "the natural and true expressive force of his melody".<sup>6</sup>

That Fuller-Maitland should exclude Italian opera from "the real art of the day" indeed reveals the author's prejudices - prejudices shared by many of his compatriots from the time of Addison onwards.<sup>7</sup> That Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini not only continued the great Italian operatic tradition, but paved the way for the masterpieces of Verdi and Puccini, as well as inspiring such diverse composers as Wagner, Chopin and Glinka, is enough to justify their historical importance. Their inherent artistic worth has been demonstrated by their survival in the historical process, which is ruthless to the second rate opera composer.



Hadow may have felt some discomfort with regard to these infelicities; on the other hand, the pressure of work entailed in his editorship may have led him to overlook them completely. His letters to Mary Lang Hadow during the period October 1896 to December 1904 (when Dannreuther's final MS arrived at the Clarendon Press - 150 pages too long) contain many references to the difficulties of his task. "If ever I get through the job," he wrote on 21st October, 1900, "I'll undertake never to run a team of musical authors again".

Just how much Hadow influenced the work of his authors is difficult to gauge. Parry appears to have consulted his only reference to the illustrations; Wooldridge and Fuller-Maitland worked, it would seem, with complete independence; but Edward Dannreuther, who, although an excellent pianist and teacher and a progressive who championed the cause of Wagner, was not most at home in the field of critical and historical scholarship, gave Hadow 'carte-blanche' to alter or rewrite as he liked.<sup>8</sup> At all events, as far as opera is concerned, Hadow's own understanding was sometimes perplexing. It seems extraordinary that he, who as a boy loved so dearly the rituals of the mumming plays, could have summed up "The Magic Flute" as

...A plot so hopeless that after the first few scenes we give it up in despair: an atmosphere of magic which is merely an excuse for absurdities: a set of characters who are as ineffectual in action as they are unaccountable in nature: a bird-catcher dressed in feathers with a padlock upon his lips: a goddess from the machine who cuts every knot that stupidity could tie:- such was the harlequinade which Schikaneder handed over and which Mozart has turned into a living breathing masterpiece....<sup>9</sup>

Certainly the human ideals enshrined in Schikaneder's libretto are to some extent cheapened by his doggerel; but to dismiss the libretto so

completely is to fail to grasp the vital qualities of the opera. Mozart's music is as dependent on its dramatic framework as are the words on the music, and it is in the overriding sense of unity and dramatic purpose, the intensity of life, that the greatness of the opera lies. Indeed, there is in The Viennese Period something of that tendency towards the "pure magic" view of opera which marked Hadow's reaction to the performance of "Das Rheingold" he saw in Frankfurt in 1882 (see above, Chapter 5). However, if the difference between Da Ponte's hard-hearted, if elegantly witty, treatment of human emotion, and Mozart's more powerful tribute to its significance, led Hadow to also condemn the libretto of "Cosi fan Tutte" as "an ill-wrought tissue of impossible intrigue which belongs to no country in the reasonable world",<sup>10</sup> he never decried the importance of opera as a form. He was an opera lover from his boyhood, when he went with his father to London "to see Semiramide and to hear Patti",<sup>11</sup> and he did his best to dissuade Walford Davies, who held "apparently, that Music expresses Infinities and that there aren't any infinities in opera".<sup>12</sup> The work he carried out in encouraging the Carnegie Trust to improve the lot of Opera companies and composers in England<sup>13</sup> indicates the great value he ascribed to a healthy operatic tradition. He was an honorary member of the council of the British National Opera Company,<sup>14</sup> an organization founded in 1922 as an attempt to revive the valuable work which had been done by Sir Thomas Beecham until the end of the first world war.

Even, however, if he had disagreed with the stance taken by the other members of the Oxford History team in some instances, it is unlikely that he would have voiced his disapproval. He had selected

these authors out of respect for their musical scholarship and, in the case of Parry and Fuller-Maitland, for their professional standing; he would undoubtedly defer to their opinion in any matter bearing on their particular field of interest, as he had deferred to Terry's judgement of Hymn tunes (see above, Chapter 2). Hadow's function as editor was not that of critic and overlord but of adviser, assistant and convener, and his achievement in this regard was remarkable. The intellectual solidity of the Oxford History volumes did much to win over the public to the recognition of music as a part of general culture.

II

Hadow's misgivings with regard to trends in contemporary musical composition are explained and elaborated in several lectures and essays, and it is interesting to trace the pattern of his attitude over the years. Throughout the whole of his critical writings there echoes the cautionary note which was sounded so resonantly in the prefatory discourse to Studies in Modern Music - the critic of contemporary music must be aware of the limitations imposed on his judgement by the absence of an historical perspective.

In "Some Tendencies in Modern Music" he observed that

'One thing at any rate we have learned in course of experience: that music can no longer be appraised by the text-book and judged from the professor's chair .... This does not, of course, mean the abrogation of a critical standard .... But it means that the critical standard is determined by principles, not by rules; and that these principles are all ultimately derived from the sympathy which obtains between the artist and his public' .15

Hadow's musical criticism is thus descriptive rather than prescriptive, seeking always to guide the listener to a position from which he may the better judge for himself, and insisting always on the importance of the relationship between composer and audience:

'Genius does not so transform a man as to put him out of all touch with ourselves: it is the acuter vision of that which we dimly see, the more eloquent utterance of that which we stammeringly confess, the revelation, by divine gift, of truths which we imperfectly recognize' .16

It is those qualities in modern music which put most strain on the receptivity of the audience which Hadow distrusts, although there is indication of some interesting modification of his views in this regard.

In 1906 it is the richness and over-elaboration in Richard Strauss that is seen as a danger, and we are made to look at the condition of our stomachs:

"The board groans under a weight of incongruous dainties, luxury follows luxury and surprise surprise, every corner of the empire is ransacked for a new wine or a new flavour; we are sated before the feast is half over and think ourselves fortunate if we escape with our digestions unimpaired. There can be no doubt about the wealth: it cries out to us from every corner, it dazzles us from every piece of plate, it overwhelms us with a hundred marks of lavishness and profusion. And yet when all is done we are at some pains to express our gratitude: we should have been better off with plainer living and higher thinking, with a less urgent host and a less bewildering display".<sup>17</sup>

By 1924, however, Strauss is ranked among "the contemporary composers which seem to me to be of most account .... brilliant and masterful with great power and little refinement, overwhelming us with his thunders now as Wagner overwhelmed us when we were young".<sup>18</sup> It is the Satie group who are now suspect

'for breaking the most innocuous customs for the mere purpose of attracting attention, affecting a deliberate simplicity which is very little removed from emptiness, shaking a few comic directions from the cruets in order to conceal the fact that there is no taste in the salad, offering us a banquet of Timon and grimacing as they serve it. Very possibly their whole design is mystification; if so, they have at any rate, deluded the critics who take them seriously. But they have no more root than the flowers in an Oxford window-box and they are as inevitably doomed to whither away'.<sup>19</sup>

Constant Lambert showed greater insight into the nature of Satie's "inspired silliness" with his observation that

'There is little doubt that it was a reaction against both the real and the false heroics of the preceding years ... too great an obsession with Satie's humour - whether in the archaic or present-day sense of the word - is apt to distract one from realizing his position as a composer'.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, it is interesting that Debussy's Pelléas and Mélisande, considered by Lambert "one of his weakest and most mannered works",<sup>21</sup> was praised by Hadow some thirty years previously as

'...indescribably charming. Soft in tone, subtle in workmanship, exquisitely scored, it has all the delicate loveliness of Maeterlinck's play',<sup>22</sup>

and in 1924, he unequivocally applauded Debussy for upholding "the national clarity and purity of French style".<sup>23</sup>

Hadow's insistence that "It is by no metaphor that we describe true art as living, and all life implies continuity of growth",<sup>24</sup> led him to the following observations about the experimental German School of the first decades of the twentieth century.

"We may be told that the ear will adapt itself to the new conditions as it has done many times before, and that the day will come when a symphonic poem of Schoenberg is as straightforward as we now find a symphony of Mozart. To this it is a sufficient rejoinder that by that time men will be writing something else, and that these works are therefore in danger of withering before they grow up. But there is a more serious reason for disquietude. One of the clearest lessons in history is that when an artistic school begins to grow luxurious or self-conscious or erudite it is carrying in it the seeds of its own decadence .... and precisely the same peril confronts the German school of which Schoenberg is the greatest exponent. It seems to me not new but old, not adventurous but deliberate, its experiments appear to be the outcome of theories and formulas, rather than the spontaneous impulse of artistic passion .... But in either case, the impression that they give me is that of the end of an old art, not the beginning of a new one."<sup>25</sup>

The reiteration of this prophecy in Music (1924) and in the "Epilogue" to the Collected Essays (1928) indicates the extent to which Hadow was confirmed in his principles of musical judgement. In an address to the Musical Association, delivered on 25th March, 1924, he

stressed that.

. . . It is through the mastery of style and structure that composers really make their appeal. It is on this that artistic judgement is really based, not on specific emotionalisms . . . . I do not believe that there is any combination of notes in our ordinary gamut . . . . which cannot quite legitimately be used to produce an intelligible effect. But the effect must be intelligible and in music as in pictorial art, it must not only have a meaning, but a meaning which is beautiful and noble. 26

This seems reasonable enough as a basis for a musical aesthetic - until one seeks to answer the questions which arise from a consideration of Hadow's critical ideal. As Ernest Newman pointed out,<sup>27</sup> what is the standard by which we are to assess the "beauty and nobility" of a given composition? "There is not much practical use", Hadow is reported as saying,<sup>28</sup> "in writing a symphonic poem upon a theme representing a railway engine leaving a station"; but Honegger's Pacific 231 has been hailed by many reputable musicians as an important piece of programme music, and indeed, not without "beauty and nobility". Likewise, jazz was described by Hadow in the same address as the "musical equivalent of slang . . . Comradeship with Jazz would be on a level with domesticating with Mrs. Camp". How, then, is the work of Gershwin, Aaron Copland, Stravinsky and other musicians who employed the jazz idiom to be assessed?

He warns us against "uncritical acceptance of authority", and assures us that "the true critic is simply the most enlightened listener" - but whose enlightenment is to be the standard?

. . . There can be no great music without great ideas, no charming music without attractiveness of thought and ease of presentation: a cold art leaves us cold, a merely sensuous art crumbles at a touch into dust and ashes. 29

This may be so: but whose temperament is to be fixed on as being neither too ascetic nor too voluptuous? How is "ease of presentation" to be distinguished from the "poverty of style" for which Hadow criticized Berlioz? He decried the complexity of modern music as a "disheartening obstacle"; and yet, in the address to the Musical Association mentioned above, he played the opening of Satie's "Death of Socrates" as an example of "emptiness" in music. "This kind of simplicity", he said, "this deliberate kind, which leaves out everything that matters, is not I think Art at all, but its negation". His statement that "the critical standard is determined by principles ... all ultimately derived from the sympathy which obtains between the artist and his public"<sup>30</sup> implies some kind of corporate consensus of value: but it may be wondered whether there is, in fact, a "public" in the sense in which Hadow used the word any more than there was one "congregation" for the singing of hymns. (See above, Chapter 2)

Hadow's "principles of musical judgement" would appear to turn out, on examination, to be rather elusive. Those which he defines so clearly in the Preface to Studies in Modern Music I - Vitality ("The composer must be the parent of his ideas, not their fabricator"), Labour ("The composer who stands in any true relation to his idea will spare no pains to present it in its most attractive aspect"), and Proportion ("The separate parts ... must be so combined as to express the highest possible approximation to a general type of organic unity and symmetry") - derive from the relation between the composer and his composition. Since they are independent of "the sympathy which obtains between the artist and his public", their relevance to an understanding of this is limited.



It would seem that Ernest Newman was correct in isolating as the chief factor in the formulation of Hadow's principles his temperamental bias.<sup>31</sup> Musical thought and workmanship of the kind of those of Beethoven and Brahms appeal to Hadow directly, because "expression and design" are held in "perfect balance".

As early as 1897, in an obituary tribute, Hadow acclaimed Brahms "the last great representative of the classical tradition in German music",<sup>32</sup> and the full significance of this is expounded in "Some Tendencies in Modern Music" (1906):

Yet, except on Glazounov and on some of our English composers, the influence of Brahms has been hitherto almost negligible .... And the reason would seem to be that Brahms, like Bach, stands rather at the end than at the beginning of a period. He has summed up, as fully as our present conditions admit, the pure structural possibilities of symphony and quartet and sonata; he has brought them to a point of organization which, given the musical language of our day, cannot be surpassed. It is only natural that the art should turn aside, as it turned aside in 1850, and follow quests which, for the time, can be more profitably pursued. But, if we may trust the warrant of history, it will be only for a time. After the Viennese school had run its course, Bach came by his own; when music is ready for another stage in its advance it will return to Brahms for counsel'.

It is interesting that when this essay was reprinted in 1928 in the Collected Essays - after the appearance of Elgar's symphonies and violin concerto - Hadow did not see fit to modify his remarks. Yet, even if he had, his approach to contemporary composition must inevitably have remained the same, reflecting an allegiance to an aesthetic which could only be exercised - with however fine an intelligence and however admirable a flexibility - within a certain area of musical thought.

"I entirely agree", wrote Hadow in 1925, "with the artistic canon that you must be generous before you can be just: but when a man talks to me of 'Brahms and Bruckner' or treats Darius Milhaud as a composer of talent, then I cannot disagree with him because I do not know what he means. He is evidently discussing the matter from some point of view to which I have not access".<sup>33</sup>

The clearest indication of the basis on which Hadow's aesthetic principles are founded is embodied in the series of lectures on "The Balance of Expression and Design in Music", delivered before the Musical Association on 4th December, 1923, 8th January, 1924, and 25th March, 1924.

Hadow's natural propensity for relating his ideas to the traditions and discoveries of the past is evident in the second lecture, when he discussed the relation between form and content in musical history. The breadth and common sense of Hadow's assessment of the historical importance of polyphony and harmony is typical:

... Now the discovery of harmonic treatment and especially of polyphonic treatment cuts both ways. In the one direction it, of course, very much enlarges the scope of design ... It is not obvious, but equally true that discoveries in polyphonic elaboration can have enormous effect on the emotional content of music .... So the discovery of polyphony not only had its effect in the weaving together of the texture of music, but also an equally important part - although that part is not sufficiently regarded, on the gradual, emotional development of the art .<sup>34</sup>

The extent to which Hadow's critical method is in itself rooted in the traditions of the past is also evident here. The passage is reminiscent of Roger North,<sup>35</sup> and Hadow's note-books reveal a thorough knowledge of such musical commentary as appears in the writings of educationalists like Elyot, Mulcaster, Vicesimus Knox, Locke, Rousseau and Milton.

The first of the three Musical Association lectures is of the greatest importance in that it constitutes the clearest exposition of the philosophical assumptions underlying such statements as this:

"For in the first place the function of music is to beautify and idealize; and not everything can be expressed in terms of beauty, but only those aspects of life and nature which are capable of idealization".<sup>36</sup>

The philosopher to whom Hadow pays chief tribute, both explicitly and tacitly, is Plato; and it is clear that Hadow accepts the Platonic notion that truth is the supreme goal of human inquiry and endeavour, and that perfect beauty is a manifestation of truth. More remarkable is Hadow's appreciation of the significance of Schopenhauer's treatment of music in Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung (1819). Indeed, the backbone of the lecture is formed from the explanation of Schopenhauer's dissertation on "The Platonic Idea as Object of Art":

... Music differs from all the other arts, because all the other arts copy the Platonic ideas whereas Music expresses the Will itself of which these ideas are the objectification .... in Music there is no representation at all .... And it is because of its completeness, because of the exact balance which in ultimate perfection it holds between truth, emotion and design, between content and form, between truth of feeling and the beauty of line and colour with which that feeling is expressed; it is because in the highest degree it holds these in exact balance that it seems to be the most divine of all the arts'.<sup>37</sup>

This throws considerable light on Hadow's statement concerning church music that

'The act of worship carries us up, through the empirical world, through even the scientific world of laws or the Platonic world of ideas, and brings us as near as human nature can be brought to the very centre and source of all things.'<sup>38</sup>

and the implications are far-reaching. For since Hadow accepts that

"pure" music partakes of Plato's divine reality, and the "vision of truth", he must concede that the lover of such music is a philosopher, if not a theologian. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the "pure music in Beethoven's quartets" is to be distinguished from Church music, other than that of the Liturgy, since it is said to be "Beethoven's vision of divine reality - the aspect of that divine reality which he wishes to communicate...."; and it may be wondered whether Hadow was not merely "begging the question" in justifying his "terms of beauty" with reference to an equally subjective philosophical idealism. The inability of Hadow's critical artistic aesthetic to meet the changes and developments in art during the first decades of the twentieth century is indicated in a letter to Sir William Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Art, and Professor of Civic Art at Sheffield University,<sup>39</sup> (written on 20th July, 1920):

....I am really rather distressed at being out of sympathy with so many artists whom intelligent people regard as great .... I want to find out what they are driving at (so far as my eyesight and intelligence will serve), how much of it is deliberate reaction and defiance (both of these seem to me to be bad art, because they have some other and in view than the pure service of beauty) and how much of it is a genuine attempt to reach beauty in a new and interesting way. •40

Although Hadow asserted that with regard to "the new music" that "where I do not like it I can put my finger on the point where the artist and I are at variance", he admitted that "where one disagrees with an artist it nearly always (not quite always) happens that the artist has got the best of it."<sup>41</sup>

Hadow himself made no sweeping claims concerning the importance of his musical criticism. "After all", he wrote lightheartedly to Mary Lang

Hadow on 30th October, 1892, "I'm very like the Artist in Punch. I only care to have my work admired by sensible people, and I mean by sensible people those who admire my work". More seriously and significantly, he confided in the "Epilogue" to the Collected Essays of 1928:

"...To those of us who have followed for some years the difficult pursuit of music criticism it has become abundantly plain that we shall never reach Paris: that Dieppe is the farthest point of our reasonable hopes, and that we shall be fortunate if we do not stay weather-bound in Newhaven harbour. Whatever we look to achieve we shall not attain finality: we are well advised if we set that ambition behind us and satisfy ourselves with the humbler task of interpreting a transitory period to a transitory generation".

Given this transitory nature of musical criticism, and accepting the limitations imposed on Hadow's musical thought by those same evolutionary assumptions discussed in connection with the Oxford History of Music - "...all great art proceeds by evolution, not by violence", wrote Hadow in Music (1924) - it is important not to dismiss his opinions too lightly, or to assume that everything he wrote is "wrong" for today. If some of his statement now seem strange and outdated (such as his remark that Debussy's string quartet "has blurred with iridescent rays the severe contours of chamber composition"<sup>42</sup>) and if his appraisal of Scriabin as the most promising musician of his generation was frustrated by the sudden death of the composer in 1915,<sup>43</sup> his observations concerning Schoenberg have proved almost alarmingly accurate. We can sympathise with the despair underlying his quip to Walford Davies - "The cat and the banjo, by the way, would make a very good team for a modern sonata"<sup>44</sup> - and the fears he expressed in his address to the Royal College on "The Direction of Music" are compelling.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, Hadow's understanding of the importance of the music of Brahms was, in the context of his time, not only "right", but boldly so. Compare Hadow's decree that "it is as a master of form that he will live" with George Bernard Shaw's comments on Brahms in

The World, 7/2/94:

"...I have been accused of indifference to, and even of aversion from, that composer; but there never was a greater mistake. I can sit with infinite satisfaction for three quarters of an hour listening to his quintets or sestets - four instruments cannot produce effects rich enough for him - in which he wanders with his eyes shut from barcarolle to pastoral, and from pastoral to elergy, these definite forms appearing for a moment on the surface of the rich harmony like figures in the fire or in the passing clouds .... Brahms, feeling his way from one sensuous moment to another, turning every obstacle and embracing every amenity, produces a whole that has no more form than a mountain brook has, though every successive nook and corner as you wander along its brink may be as charming as possible".

The absurdity of Shaw's "forms appearing for a moment on the surface of the rich harmony" is possibly self-evident; at all events, no better rejoinder could be found than in the conclusion to the first of Hadow's Musical Association lectures:

When talking about expression design in music, there is no external relation whatever: the two are inter-fused and inter-wined in music .

Hadow's greatest achievement as a writer on music was, however, to evolve gradually during the years of his full maturity. As will be seen in later chapters, the aim of his lifelong devotion to music throughout a career in which his energies were chiefly given to other aspects of education was to incorporate the art into the normal life of the individual, and to enable it to take its place in the routine activities of society.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. See preface to the Introductory Volume of the second edition of the Oxford History, 1929.
2. Preface to Volume I, 1901.
3. See Dictionary of National Biography, 1912-21, and V.C.10, 403, 360, (Letter to Robert Bridges).
4. The Art of Music, London, 1893, p.95.
5. English Music, London, 1931, p.152.
6. P.H. Lang, Music in Western Civilizations, New York, 1941, p.838.
7. See, for example, The Spectator, 6/3/1711: "An opera may be allowed to be extravagantly lavish in its decorations, as its only design is to gratify the senses and keep up an indolent attention to the audience".
8. See letter to M.L.H., 15/11/1885.
9. The Viennese Period, p.112.
10. *ibid.*, p.110.
11. Letter from W.E. Hadow to M.L.H., 13/7/1879.
12. Letter from Hadow to Sir Hugh Allen, 3/3/24. V.C.15, 142.
13. See British Music: A Report, Dunfermline, 1921.
14. See letters to Paget Bowman, 16/11/25, 1/12/25, 1/6/26, V.C. 18 and 19.
15. The Edinburgh Review, October, 1906. Reprinted in Collected Essays, 1928.
16. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.*
18. "The Balance of Expression and Design in Music", Lecture III, 25/3/24. Proceedings of the Musical Association, Session L, 1923-4.
19. *ibid.*
20. Music Ho!, London, 1966 (1st edition, 1934), p.116.

21. *ibid.*, pp.39-40.
22. The Edinburgh Review, *op.cit.*
23. Music, 1924, p.228.
24. *ibid.*
25. "Some Aspects of Modern Music", The Musical Quarterly, 1915. Reprinted in Collected Essays, 1928.
26. "The Balance of Expression and Design in Music", *op.cit.*
27. The Sunday Times, 3/3/29 and 10/3/29.
28. See The Observer, 1/8/26, reporting on Hadow's address at the fifth summer course of music teaching at Cambridge the previous day.
29. "Some Tendencies in Modern Music", *op.cit.*
30. *ibid.*
31. The Sunday Times, 10/3/29.
32. "Brahms and the Classical Tradition", the Contemporary Review, May, 1897. Reprinted in Collected Essays.
33. Letter to Professor Boillot (Bristol University), 23/2/25. V.C.17, 70.
34. Proceedings of the Musical Association, Session L, 1923-4, pp.37-8.
35. Roger North, Musical Grammarian, c. 1728.
36. "Some Tendencies in Modern Music", *op.cit.*
37. Proceedings of the Musical Association, *op.cit.*, pp.20-28.
38. "Church Music": address delivered at Southport, 7/10/26.
39. Hadow had been a friend of the Rothensteins since 1916, when he sat for Rothenstein's 'great frieze' of academic personalities. (See letter to Balfour, 30/4/16, to M.L.H., 19/7/16; from Rothenstein to Fisher, 28/5/16) Rothenstein presented a pencil drawing of Hadow to Sheffield University in 1920.
40. Letter to Rothenstein 20/7/20, V.C.7, 289.
41. *ibid.*
42. "Some Tendencies in Modern Music", *op.cit.*
43. "Some Aspects of Modern Music", *op.cit.*



44. 17/10/22, V.C.12, 562.
45. Address delivered in the Parry Room, Royal College of Music, 27/5/25. Printed in the R.C.M. Magazine, 1925. See below, Chapter 12.