1 The Afterlife of a 'Beaten Ghost'

> Now that the famous haunt has been overshadowed by the added eating accommodation, the uneasy ghost of pre-war days that ventures within its doors must turn away, affrighted, before an endless vista of glittering napery, and resort in despair to the doubtful consolations of club or pub, or merely retreat to bed – a beaten ghost.[1]

In this remark, the Welsh painter Augustus John cast the changing format and clientele of London's Café Royal in terms of a broader sense of receding hope and cultural failure. John recalled nostalgically the 'Byzantine splendour' of the bar and the 'fly-blown rococo of the famous saloon', and noted how it was one of the few continental-style public houses in England. He sketched the disparate groups who gathered within – the sporting fraternity, 'loud raucous-voiced men seeking to intimidate each other into bets'; a 'colony of our future allies *d'outre-manche*'; a group of 'unusually bulky and grave persons, collected from the vicinity of the British Museum' who 'conversed in voices pitched like the speaking of bats so high as to be inaudible except to the trained ear' and whose female members '*portaient barbe*'; a '*schemozzle* of Cubist painters'; the 'leader of the Avorticist [sic] movement', who kept a 'vigilant eye on the balance of power as indicated by the number and consuming capacity of the different parties'; a 'well-dressed gang of blackmailers, pimps, con-men, *agents provocateurs* and bullies'; a 'cluster of intoxicated social reformers'; a 'body of exquisite Old Boys of the nineties, recognizable by their bright chestnut wigs and raddled faces' who 'exchanged unctuous *facetiae* in the sub-dialect of the period'; and finally 'within easy reach of the exit a mixed company of poets, prostitutes and portrait painters drank shoulder to shoulder', together with a 'sprinkling of the less reputable nobility'.[2]

John's image of the Café emphasizes the heterogeneity of the cultural milieu that the famed late-Victorian institution supported during the

[1] Augustus John, foreword to *Peter Warlock: A Memoir of Philip Heseltine*, by Cecil Gray (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934; second impression, 1935), 11.
[2] John, foreword to *Peter Warlock*, 11–12.

years before World War I – he evokes representatives of the old and new, near and far, and the high and low all occupying the same space within its walls. French and French-inspired artists are prominent in his description, as are a number of canonical modernist literary figures associated with Vorticism and Bloomsbury. Wyndham Lewis – who, together with Ezra Pound, established the vorticist agenda through the short-lived but influential journal *BLAST* – is present in this picture, and among the Bloomsbury writers, John perhaps alludes to Virginia Woolf, with a reference to her appearance as a bearded Abyssinian Royal in the 'Dreadnought Hoax' of 1910.

In this account of cultural recession and others like it written between the wars[3] there is a sense in which the avant-garde had been 'beaten' in part by their own success. Their art had come to serve a market desire for newness and novelty, and their commitment to lifestyle experimentation was ideal fodder for gossip columns and fashion magazines.[4] Indeed Daniel Bell's description of the late-twentieth-century avant-garde as 'modernism mummified' might equally be applied to the interwar generation: 'Contemporary bourgeois society, seeing its inflated, decorative, culture collapse under the onslaught of cultural modernism, had in an astonishing *tour de force* taken over cultural modernism and flaunted it as its own culture.'[5] The popularization of forms of cultural modernism was not simply viewed as a symptom of decadence. Characterizations of the conditions of culture in the 1920s and 30s more often emphasized the feeling of coming *after* an ending, yet without the promise of new possibilities. One of the most evocative characterizations appeared in George Orwell's 1935 review of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), where he offered a powerful image of 'modern man' as being 'like a bisected wasp which goes on sucking jam and pretends that the loss of its abdomen does not matter'.[6] In the context of the original review Orwell was referring to humankind's anxious sense of purposelessness in the wake of the decline of religion, yet the image also encapsulated a collection of concerns that have

[3] In George Orwell's noted essay 'Inside the Whale' (1940), for example, he gives a similar account of the parallel cultural shift experienced in Paris: 'the cosmopolitan mob of artists vanished, and the huge Montparnasse cafes which only ten years ago were filled till the small hours by hordes of shrieking poseurs have turned into darkened tombs in which there are not even any ghosts' (George Orwell, *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940), 132).

[4] For more on the relationship between musical modernism and fashion see Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[5] Daniel Bell, 'Modernism Mummified' *American Quarterly* 39.1 (1987): 122–32, 124.

[6] George Orwell, 'Some Recent Novels' *New English Weekly* (14 Nov. 1935): 96–7, 96.

since become associated with the aging of modernism.[7] Orwell's bisected wasp pursued a mechanical adherence to its task and displayed all the outward signs of vitality and urgency despite having lost any genuine imperative for its actions. The wasp had a blind need for continuation in the wake of a catastrophic event, linking a cultural sense of 'lateness' to the trauma of the War.[8]

Even as early as 1915, writers such as T. E. Hulme were using similar imagery to decry the middle-class pretensions of 'Liberal socialism' as a 'pathetic spectacle of an apparently exuberantly active being which is all the time an automaton without knowing it'.[9] After the War's end, the Scottish music critic Cecil Gray similarly warned against the spectre of lifeless replication in the cultural sphere, describing 'our moderns' as lacking any genuine vitality, and merely 'drinking the spilt wine from the overturned and broken glasses and licking the plates' of the previous generation of artists.[10]

Still, the disillusionment of Augustus John, Cecil Gray and others in the early decades of the twentieth century was of a particular type – a type specifically shaped by a self-conscious desire to define themselves in relation to the 'institution of the new'.[11] In the musical sphere, a similar disillusionment has been ascribed to composers who pursued forms of experimentation that did not accord with the popularized association between musical modernism and the departure from tonality. For example, James Hepokoski has described how

> a mid-career decision was […] forced upon each composer of the 1855–65 generation to confront in some way the innovations of Schoenberg and Stravinsky, many choosing to decline to endorse – much less to embrace – the musical revolutions,

[7] Orwell's image of the bisected wasp is cited to this end by Tyrus Miller in *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7–8.

[8] Like Miller, Robert Spencer has cast Adorno's conception of lateness as a product of 'shellshock' and 'guilt' – as a 'sense of coming after something of which one is a survivor' (Robert Spencer, 'Lateness and Modernity in Theodor Adorno', in *Late Style and its Discontents: Essays in Art, Literature, and Music*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Sam Smiles (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 22–34, 229). Elizabeth Bowen gave a similar description of what she called the 'extinct scene' after World War II, referring to the strange ordinariness of everyday life amidst the large-scale violent events of history in a way that emphasized the disconcerting combination of rupture and continuation (Elizabeth Bowen, *The Demon Lover and Other Stories* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1945), xii, cited in Thomas S. Davis, *The Extinct Scene: Late Modernism and Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 1–2).

[9] T. E. Hulme, 'Translator's Preface to Sorel's *Reflections on Violence*' *The New Age* 17.24 (14 Oct. 1915): 569–70, 569.

[10] Cecil Gray, 'Modern Tendencies Again' *The Sackbut* 1.5 (1920): 214–20, 214.

[11] See Rod Rosenquist, *Modernism, the Market, and the Institution of the New* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

even though each […] perceived them as watershed events that brought the competitive phase of [their] own modernist projects to an end.[12]

As Hepokoski points out, this withdrawal from modernist competition was not a conservative regression, nor a backward turning – a concession to the progressive authority of the next generation of composers – nor was it akin to neoclassical tendencies of the interwar period. Rather, Hepokoski suggests that this type of response might be viewed in terms of the adoption of a particular attitude, or what he terms a 'compositional persona'. With this in mind he adjures us to 'listen to the post-1910 Sibelius, Strauss, Elgar, and so on, by realizing that these composers are deeply aware of using a language that does not bring to its acoustic surface the "state of the musical material"', and to understand how their decision in this respect placed them at odds with what the 'liberal-bourgeois institution of concert music' consecrated as legitimate musical progress and innovation.[13] Tomi Mäkelä has made a similar point, noting that Sibelius was well aware of Schoenberg's musical experimentation ('very few knew that [Sibelius] was buying and reading Schoenberg's scores')[14] and also well aware that this form of experimentation was quickly being construed as the 'voice of the future', such that his classicizing tendencies after his Fourth Symphony represent a conscious statement about the possibility of alternative forms of modern experimentation informed by a different conception of history and time.

It is my contention that there is a link between the sense of disillusionment described by Augustus John among his artistic associates at the Café Royal and that observed by Hepokoski in the mid-career compositional personae of Sibelius, Strauss and Elgar, in that both were the result of an underlying concern about the codification of modernism – the idea that modernism had hardened into one particular form of stylistic experimentation. I will also contend that this underlying concern provoked a reasonably coherent cultural response, with identifiable characteristics. For figures such as Augustus John, Wyndham Lewis and their disparate associates

[12] James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 8.

[13] Hepokoski, *Sibelius*, 8. This generational disposition has also been ascribed to Ravel (see Barbara L. Kelly, 'Ravel's Timeliness and his Many Late Styles', in *Late Style and its Discontents: Essays in Art, Literature, and Music*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Sam Smiles (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 158–73, drawing from Emile Vuillermoz, *Musiques d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Crès, 1923), 93–4). See also Kelly's *Music and Ultra-Modernism* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013).

[14] Tomi Mäkelä, 'The Wings of a Butterfly: Sibelius and the Problems of Musical Modernity in 1957', in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, ed. by Daniel M. Grimley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 89–124, 93.

and sympathizers who have recently been collected together under the rubric of 'late modernism', the rejection of 'high' or pre-war modernism was expressed through the embrace of a type of classicism embodied in the writings of T. E. Hulme, and a pragmatic assertion of autonomy and impersonality in literature and art criticism. Likewise, Sibelius and his second-generation Anglophone sympathizers such as Cecil Gray were openly sceptical of the mainstream modernist composers, and they shaped their own brand of 'modern classicism' in response, advocating approaches to music composition and criticism that resisted processes of generalization and abstraction.

Lateness and Modernism

To describe this type of generational disposition as either 'lateness' or 'late modernism' presents a range of possibilities and difficulties. Quite apart from the ambiguities involved in using the term 'modernism', let alone claiming that there was such a moment as its 'late stage' or 'end-time', the term 'late modernism' comes with further complications in that it has been used to refer to different periods in the history of music, literature, architecture and fine art, respectively. For example, 'late modernism' in literature has typically referred to the post-World War I period, from the late-1920s up until the 1940s, including the work of writers such as Wyndham Lewis, Djuna Barnes, Samuel Beckett, Virginia Woolf, George Orwell and Christopher Isherwood.[15] With respect to the work of these literary figures, 'late modernism' has referred to a self-conscious response to the aging of modernism, both institutionally and ideologically – a response which involved a disillusionment with the failure or hardening of modernism's

[15] See for example Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Miller, *Late Modernism*; and Alan Wilde, *Horizons of Assent: Modernism, Postmodernism, and the Ironic Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981). By contrast, Fredric Jameson, Raymond Williams, Brian McHale and, in architecture, Charles Jencks all saw late modernism as running parallel with postmodernism in the later part of the twentieth century (Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002); Raymond Williams, 'When Was Modernism?' *New Left Review* 175 (1989): 48–52; Brian McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction* (New York: Metheun, 1987); and Charles Jencks, 'Postmodern and Late Modern: The Essential Definitions' *Chicago Review* 35.4 (1987): 31–58). These accounts differ both in periodization and also in the extent to which they seek to revive or critique the works they describe. Nevertheless, they often share a view of late modernist work as involving a response to codification, either in terms of the popularity of high modernist art works after World War I, or in terms of the institutionalization of modernism after World War II.

revolutionary mandate, *combined with* a bleak sense of faith in the possibilities of its continuation. Crucially for us, it indicated a combination of pessimism and faith.

By contrast, in music, 'late modernism' usually refers to the post-World War II period, perhaps intensifying in the 1970s and 80s, applying to composers such as Milton Babbitt, Stockhausen, Boulez, Nono, Berio, Ferneyhough and Ligeti, and more broadly to spectralism and new complexity.[16] In this context the term refers loosely to a continuation or revitalization of some aspects of modernism in a modified, late-century form, though perhaps without the same sense of disillusionment with the effects of modernism's institutionalization that is commonly ascribed to the mid-century literary version.

A category of lateness that has perhaps received greater purchase within discussions of music is the idea of 'late style'. The idea of a specifically musical expression of 'late style' was articulated most famously of course by Theodor Adorno with respect to Beethoven's late works, but it has since become a more widely applied category in music, with more recent studies claiming that the category found expression in the late works of other composers such as Schubert, Debussy and Brahms, among others.[17] Despite the application of the concept of 'late style' chronologically – or biographically, as it were – to understanding the late works of these composers, it bears mentioning that the concept should not be understood as necessarily related to aging, nor with imminent death. As Daniel Grimley has suggested in relation to Sibelius, 'late style' 'is not concerned with a purely chronological sense of time, but rather […] with an *attitude* or *tone of voice*: a mode of musical utterance that both *engages with a rich critical legacy* and also *unfolds new creative space*'.[18] Once again this conceptualization renders

[16] See for example Arnold Whittall, '1909 and After: High Modernism and "New Music"' *Musical Times* 150 (2009): 5–18; and David Metzer, *Musical Modernism at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), who draws from Claus-Steffen Mahnkopf's notion of a 'second modernism' and Alastair Williams's idea of a 'transformed modernism' around the period of 1980.

[17] On Schubert's late style see Lorraine Byrne Bodley and Julian Horton, eds, *Schubert's Late Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Laura Tunbridge, 'Saving Schubert: The Evasions of Late Style', in *Late Style and its Discontents*, 120–30; and Susan Youens, *Schubert's Late Lieder: Beyond the Song Cycles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On Debussy see Marianne Wheeldon, *Debussy's Late Style* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009). On Brahms see Margaret Notley, *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Also see Laura Tunbridge, *Schumann's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[18] Daniel M. Grimley, 'Storms, Symphonies, Silence: Sibelius's *Tempest* Music and the Invention of Late Style', in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, 186–226, 187. Emphasis added.

lateness both backward- and forward-looking – both disillusioned and hopeful – an attribute that Edward Said attributed to its 'allusive silence', or music's embodiment of 'that precarious exilic realm' where we 'first truly grasp the difficulty of what cannot be grasped and then go forth to try anyway'.[19] It suggests a heightened self-consciousness about being in a state of transition – an unwillingness to engage with the youthful charge towards disintegration, on the one hand, but also an unwillingness to consolidate or synthesize, on the other. Stylistically, the late modernist work 'turns to the reader a more reserved and diplomatic face than the fractious modernist monster'.[20] This new sobriety was surely prompted by the War and the need to re-evaluate modernism's 'violence-inciting' rhetoric in the face of wartime realities, yet it also represented a polemical phase within modernism itself as artists sought to distinguish their work from popularized (or 'vulgarized') forms of modernist expression.[21]

Crucially though, late style offers a language to *a form of 'going against' without pre-determining the form of that withdrawal*, as the conventional conception of musical modernism seems to do. As Said points out

> this lateness is a thing in its own right, not a premonition or obliteration of something else. Lateness is being at the end, fully conscious, full of memory, and also very (even preternaturally) aware of the present.[22]

[19] Edward Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 144. This 'tension between what is represented and what isn't represented' was thematized by Julian Johnson in his recent discussion of lateness, in terms of Orpheus's tragic backward glance. See Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 13–46.

[20] Miller, *Late Modernism*, 11.

[21] Michael H. Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine, 1908–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 140–54. An exemplary case of this factionalism can be seen in the argument between Pound and Amy Lowell about the application of the term 'imagist'. Pound became concerned that Lowell was attempting to extend Imagism too far, to apply to any form of *vers libre*, and her refusal to adhere to his more narrow application of the term led Pound to withdraw from the group and pursue the project of Vorticism.

[22] It is in this way that Beethoven and Adorno were able to be 'untimely and scandalous, even catastrophic commentator[s] on the present' (Edward Said, 'Thoughts on Late Style' *London Review of Books* 26.15 (2004): 3–7). For more on the concept of lateness see Ben Hutchinson, *Lateness and Modern European Literature* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Michael Bell, 'Perceptions of Lateness: Goethe, Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, and D. H. Lawrence', in *Late Style and its Discontents: Essays in Art, Literature, and Music*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Sam Smiles (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 131–46; Whittall, '1909 and After'; J. M. Bernstein, *Against Voluptuous Bodies: Late Modernism and the Meaning of Painting* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Notley, *Lateness and Brahms*; and Reinhold Brinkmann, *Late Idyll: The Second Symphony of Johannes Brahms*, trans. Peter Palmer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). J. M. Bernstein

Late style can in this sense be associated with a range of artistic outcomes, and need not be specific to a particular historical period.[23] On the other hand, 'late style' undoubtedly receives expression in response to particular cultural and historical circumstances, and therefore can be more broadly generalized in the context of a particular milieu. For example, while certain composers faced having to make a conscious decision about whether or not to align themselves with Schoenbergian experimentation, writers of the same generation found themselves having to contend with the 'shadow of *Ulysses* and *The Waste Land*'.[24]

Recognizing this link between late modernism, late style and lateness is crucial to understanding the cultural milieu of interwar Britain. 'Late modernism' does not merely represent a proliferation of terms to describe modernism. Rather, it describes a particular form of relation – to history, subjectivity and the public – which bears the hallmarks of lateness. Lateness can be understood as a response to codification, or projected codification; it is characterized by a sense of passionate impasse, or tempered utopianism; a fear of transience and fashion; of theory and over-intellectualism; and a rejection of prevailing terms of judgement or competition. Understanding lateness as a style of being, or a 'form of relation' in this way, is important for comprehending interwar concerns about impersonality, autonomy and classicism.

Extending upon this sense of lateness as an ethos, disposition and style – features that can find expression in any historical context – I would like to suggest that the attributes of lateness associated with literary 'late modernism' in the interwar period in Britain did have a counterpart in musical discourses, and that these can be seen in the writings of musical figures who were a part of a common and closely-knit milieu. The historical position occupied by the artists I am implicating in this cultural response has become a subject of significant interest in recent scholarship in literary and musical modernism respectively, leading to highly influential theorizations of 'late modernism' in literary studies, and to revaluations of the music of William Walton, Frank Bridge, Vaughan Williams and Sibelius, among

described modernism in fine art in terms of a 'perpetual lateness' – a 'waning and remaining' – conceiving lateness as something that was inherent to modernist aesthetics itself (p. 1). Ben Hutchinson made a similar argument with respect to what he claimed was the 'constituent' lateness of modern European literature.

[23] It is worth noting, for example, that aspects of this form of relation (namely, autonomy) were exhibited as a part of the 'high' modernism aesthetic as well, though not perhaps so readily combined with pragmatism and classicism, as it was in late modernism.

[24] Miller, *Late Modernism*, 28.

others. In other words, untimely ideas have been rendered prescient, as studies of modernism increasingly turn towards exploring the disparate anxieties of a generation of artists whose mid-career phase was cut short by the War – a war in which many of them did not actively participate. So while lateness is by no means *necessarily* a matter of timing, the particular form of lateness described in this book was shaped by the alignment of historical events with the career trajectories of a certain generation of artists.

Jed Esty has described a 'generational fatigue' evident in interwar literary culture in Britain in a way that echoes Hepokoski's invocation of a 'generational crisis' affecting certain composers. Tracing changes in literary form to the realities of imperial decline in interwar Britain, Esty attributes 'many of the generic and stylistic changes that characterize late modernism' to a sense of fatigue and contraction, 'especially since the canonical group of Anglophone modernists seemed to enter into dogmatic middle age (Eliot, Pound, Lewis) or to expire (Yeats, Joyce, Woolf) with remarkable consistency sometime around 1940'.[25] Even more significantly, Esty suggests a causal explanation for the same combination of pessimism and faith that we saw above in the words of Augustus John and others:

> the end of British hegemony was a fait accompli to the Auden-Greene generation and therefore not the occasion for searching attempts to manage the transition between imperial universalism and national particularism. That generation's minor-chord lament stems in part from not having come of age artistically during the days of imperial centrality; they inherited the cultural detritus and political guilt of empire without the corresponding advantages of metropolitan perception.[26]

Unlike the Auden-Greene generation, the late modernists had experienced part of that older world, and they bore the mark of lateness as an expression of that experience. For example, many of the writers and composer-critics discussed in this book outwardly rejected the impressionist criticism of Walter Pater and the cosmopolitan ethos of the Bloomsbury group, yet their derision was nostalgic and idealizing, betraying a continuing sympathy for the cause. Equally, they tended to advocate collective forms of social organization and expression as a way of resisting the type of individualism they associated with late-Victorian and Edwardian thinkers. Yet they were also staunch advocates of individuality and autonomy, and they sought to secure a sense of universal beauty and artistic permanence to counter the sensationalism of the market and the waywardness of popular opinion. They

[25] Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 4.
[26] Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 8.

wanted to regain autonomy from market forces by pursuing an individual view of 'tradition' – a process that involved the cultivation of untimeliness.

The preceding generation of the musico-critical lineage described in this book included musical figures born in the 1860s and 70s such as Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) and Edward J. Dent (1876–1957), as well as Frederick Delius (1862–1934), Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) and Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924), the latter three of whom became idealized by the British late modernist critics under consideration here.[27] Norman Douglas (1868–1952) and W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) were also figures from this generation who are relevant to our discussion not only intellectually and artistically but also by close personal association (particularly Douglas) with the milieu described. The second generation, born in the 1880s and 90s – who were personally associated with their direct literary contemporaries such as Robert Nichols (1893–1944), T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), Ezra Pound (1885–1972), Wyndham Lewis (1882–1975), D. H. Lawrence (1885–1930), Edith Sitwell (1887–1964), Hilda Doolittle (H. D.) (1886–1961), John Middleton Murry (1889–1957), Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923) and Richard Aldington (1892–1962), and with whose 'lateness' I am concerned here – included Cecil Gray (1895–1951), Bernard van Dieren (1887–1936), Philip Heseltine (also known by his pseudonym Peter Warlock) (1894–1930) and Kaikhosru Sorabji (1892–1988). And the third generation, whose agenda coincided for a time with this stream of thinking in the interwar period, and who were personally acquainted with the group just identified, included Constant Lambert (1905–1951) and William Walton (1902–1983) (who were contemporary to the Auden (1907–1973)/Greene (1904–1991) generation in Esty's formulation).

The artists of these three generations did not represent any kind of intellectual consensus, and indeed were often in direct opposition, yet they did occupy a discernible lineage of critical ideas in the early twentieth century across music and literature, and their intellectual interaction was reinforced by the fact that they were often in close association, partaking of the same milieu, writing for the same journals, drinking at the same London haunts, studying at the same educational institutions, living together and sharing intimacies. I will argue that the three generations of musical figures

[27] We might also include as affiliates in this milieu the first generation of British Sibelians: Granville Bantock (1868–1946), Ernest Newman (1868–1959), Henry Wood (1869–1944) and Rosa Newmarch (1857–1940). For more on Sibelius's British supporters see Byron Adams, '"Thor's Hammer": Sibelius and British Music Critics, 1905–1957', in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, 125–57; and Peter Franklin, 'Sibelius in Britain', in *The Cambridge Companion to Sibelius*, ed. by Daniel M. Grimley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 182–95.