

Introduction

Elisabeth Lutyens to my mind is really not a reassuring role model at all: her life was pretty dreadful, really.

Judith Bingham¹

I like him very much!! Only he never writes!

Anton Webern about Edward Clark²

Elisabeth Lutyens and Edward Clark's work and lives in music have been subject to strong opinions. This Introduction's epigraph contains two examples and another couple of crucial judgements appeared in a major book on music of their time, Francis Routh's *Contemporary Music in Britain* of 1972. Edward Clark is there portrayed as 'an enlightened champion of contemporary music through the medium of radio performances', while Lutyens is an 'English derivative [. . .]' of Schoenberg and Webern; at best, she is '[p]rominent among those who have worked within the Schoenberg tradition'.³ Today, judgement has almost reversed: several of Lutyens's pieces of concert and stage music await wider rediscovery as gems of a British, individual, and lyrical serialism;⁴ but Clark's star has sunk, as his efforts on behalf of the music of his time pale when contextualised with his administrative shortcomings and with a long period towards the end of his life when he lost what was left of his influence over the country's musical life. The intensity of the couple's striking and controversial personalities shines through

¹ Mark Doran and Judith Bingham, 'Composer in Interview: Judith Bingham', *Tempo* 58.230 (October 2004), 20–36, 25.

² Anton Webern to Humphrey Searle (9 November 1939). Reprinted in Humphrey Searle, *Quadrille with a Raven*, www.musicweb-international.com/searle/500.htm (accessed 22 June 2018).

³ Francis Routh, *Contemporary British Music: The Twenty-Five Years from 1945 to 1970* (London: Macdonald, 1972), 14, 15, 319.

⁴ See for example Anthony Payne and Toni Calam, 'Lutyens, (Agnes) Elisabeth', *Grove Music Online* (2001). (<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17227> (accessed 31 March 2023)).

Lutyens's autobiography *A Goldfish Bowl*, which she published the same year as Routh's book, and through her biography by Meirion and Susie Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*.⁵ In fact, both personalities loom so large over their musical work that some of the many biographical anecdotes have overshadowed this work. Although Lutyens fought bitterly to dispel some legends that sprang up about her, Clark, and her music, she later occasionally profited from the reputation that these storms in the goldfish bowl of British music had created (her interviews on the radio and in popular magazines later in life show this). The residue of these myths, anecdotes, and judgements has not yet fully settled and still colours Lutyens and Clark's musical legacy. This book peers through this settling biographical residue to contextualise Lutyens and Clark's multifaceted work in music in broader terms, that is, historically, music-analytically, and culturally. The purpose of this Introduction is to situate Lutyens and Clark biographically and to introduce the central concepts of theoretical scaffolding that pervade all chapters of the book: influence, networks, and craft.

Under the Influence

Lutyens and Clark's beginnings are worth a short consideration, not least because both must still be considered figures whose biographies are not common knowledge. Both Lutyens and Clark forged themselves origin myths – sets of anecdotal stories and memories around their musical beginnings that served as explanations of who they wanted to be seen as. Let us look at both, beginning with Lutyens. Elisabeth Lutyens came from an artistic and comparatively affluent family that bound together formerly influential nobility and hard-working middle-class arts and craft. She was the fourth of five children of the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens and Lady Emily (née Lytton) and thus a granddaughter of Sir Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Earl of Lytton and Viceroy of India. Elisabeth Lutyens claimed that she only took up music because it was not practised in her close family except by her formidable aunt Lady Constance Bulwer-Lytton, a former militant suffragette whose imprisonment had left her disabled.⁶ 'With my decision to become a composer, I became involved in something the family neither knew of nor cared for, so that no one could spoil

⁵ Elisabeth Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl* (London: Cassell, 1972); Meirion Harries and Susie Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul: The Life and Works of Elisabeth Lutyens* (London: Michael Joseph, 1989).

⁶ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 7–9; Laurel Parsons, 'Early Music and the Ambivalent Origins of Elisabeth Lutyens's Modernism', in *British Music and Modernism: 1895–1960*, ed. Matthew Riley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 269–91, 274–5.

it for me', Lutyens later wanted to remember.⁷ Once she had made this choice (which was a form of protest against the strict regime of theosophy she encountered through her mother), her musical education before her enrolment at the Royal College of Music in 1927 was determined by where and when she was permitted and able to study.

After attending Proms concerts with the family's nursery maid, taking violin, piano, and harmony lessons, and writing 'secret compositions',⁸ the first of two important pre-College experiences was Lutyens's brief stay at age 16 in Paris, where she lived with the Russian-born French composer and pianist Marcelle de Manziarly (1899–1989), Nadia Boulanger's close friend and pupil. Brought about by an exchange between the mothers of the two young women (both Lady Emily and de Manziarly's mother were members of the Theosophical Society and followers of Jiddu Krishnamurti, a boy proclaimed by theosophists Annie Besant and Charles Leadbeater as the World Teacher),⁹ Lutyens became a flatmate and mentee of de Manziarly, who had already won prizes and even entered the *Prix de Rome* competition three years earlier. De Manziarly admired Stravinsky, probably mediated through his friendship with Boulanger, and she introduced Lutyens to Stravinsky's music, the Diaghilev ballets, and impressionism.¹⁰ This experience may have resembled today's *Erasmus* exchanges and Lutyens submitted to a continental musical diet. She took twice-weekly classes in piano and *solfège* at the recently founded *Ecole normale* where Boulanger was a teacher in composition, harmony, and music analysis, complemented by playing the 'fiddle' in her spare time and frequent visits with 'Mar' to concerts and the Opéra.¹¹ Nothing is known from Lutyens's side about an acquaintance with Boulanger, but de Manziarly introduced Lutyens to a variety of contemporary music and its composers by playing through scores and allowing her flatmate to explore her music library. In her autobiography, Lutyens mentions a small, distinctive, and by then already matured corpus of works as her principal treasures: Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Stravinsky's *Le sacre du printemps*, and Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*.¹² Although this fruitful flat share

⁷ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 10. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹ Mary Lutyens, *To Be Young: A Memoir of Childhood and Young Love by the Daughter of the Great Edwardian Architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Corgi Books, 1959).

¹⁰ Parsons, 'Early Music and the Ambivalent Origins of Elisabeth Lutyens's Modernism'.

¹¹ There has been no mention of Lutyens having met or studied under Boulanger during this time, although it could easily have happened. Cf. Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24–5.

¹² Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 21–2.

with de Manziarly did not last beyond April 1922 because Lady Emily insisted on a more traditional young lady's 'finishing' experience and moved Lutyens from de Manziarly's flat, another important friendship was struck before Lutyens's return to London in the summer of 1923. The siblings Antoine and Anne Geoffroy-Dechaume, children of a friend of Lutyens's youngest maternal uncle Neville Lytton, fascinated the would-be composer. Antoine, an organist, is credited in *A Goldfish Bowl* with introducing Lutyens to the music of Frescobaldi, and Anne later married the influential BBC Music Controller William Glock.¹³

After a private and short-lived apprenticeship with an unnamed 'German professor of music' in Ehrwald, where she had travelled with her mother's theosophist friends in 1923, Lutyens embarked on private composition lessons with John Foulds, former Hallé cellist, theosophist and composer, in 1924. Together with his wife, the violinist, Indian music expert, teacher, and writer Maud MacCarthy, Foulds had written *A World Requiem* (1918–20), a theosophically inspired experiment with 'clairaudience', or setting music 'in a psychically objective way'.¹⁴ It appears that Lutyens was drawn into this musical engagement with the occult for a short period, which involved her straining to listen for afflatuses from the astral plane, only to retrospectively dismiss her impression of Foulds's 'St Michael's music' as 'boring', and to blame this practice for her first serious mental breakdown.¹⁵

She now turned to her father, the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, for a new parental role model, and, together with the music she now encountered at the Royal College of Music, absorbed his ethics of professionalism and craftsmanship. His influence was a salutary voice of sobriety and sense after her theosophical exertions, and she would feel close to her father until his death in 1944.¹⁶ According to Elisabeth, Sir Edwin 'began by building – aged 19 & learned by the doing'.¹⁷ When asked for professional advice by his daughter, he delved into the idea 'that music was built on structural

¹³ Harries and Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*, 62; cf. Parsons, 'Early Music and the Ambivalent Origins of Elisabeth Lutyens's Modernism', 275.

¹⁴ Maud MacCarthy, quoted in Rachel Cowgill, James Mansell, Chris Scheer, and Sarah Victoria Turner, 'Pioneering Spirit: Maud MacCarthy – Mysticism, Music and Modernity'. Digital exhibition of the network 'Enchanted Modernities', https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/pioneering-spiritExhibition.jsp?caseId=case_3 (accessed 8 February 2017).

¹⁵ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 27.

¹⁶ Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens: By His Daughter Mary Lutyens* (London: John Murray, 1980), 282.

¹⁷ Lutyens, letter to William Alwyn (13 June 1973). William Alwyn Archive, Cambridge University Library.

principles and relationships stemming, as did architecture, from the Greeks', and instilled in her the desire to work continuously and develop a solid technique – which she certainly took to heart and later also sought to instil in her students.¹⁸ As if in an anticipatory reflection of Lutyens's own working life, Sir Edwin would sometimes shower his family with presents and money, only to sit by candlelight and worry over the cost of electricity at other times.¹⁹ His alleged dislike of the Lytton tendency of 'writing rather than doing' certainly influenced a young Lutyens's new working ethics.²⁰ There are few extant sketches for her music apart from row charts for many of her serial concert pieces, just as she alleged that Sir Edwin went straight from his notebook to the drawing board. His daughter's composing, as Lutyens's first musical analyst Sarah Tenant-Flowers suggests, was just as spontaneous and fast when at its best.²¹

Armed with this eclectic set of experiences, Lutyens entered formal musical training aged 21 at the Royal College of Music, then firmly established as one of the best musical colleges in the country. Compared to the more sparkling female students such as Elizabeth Maconchy, Grace Williams, Imogen Holst, and Dorothy Gow, Lutyens kept a low profile. These four young composers won student prizes or travel awards and were snapped up by the College's most sought-after professors Vaughan Williams and John Ireland, while Lutyens studied composition with Harold Darke as a first subject and viola with Ernest Tomlinson as a second. Darke's primary occupation was as an organist, although he was also a composer in his own right known for his choral music (in particular a setting of the carol *In the Bleak Midwinter*). Lutyens later acknowledged Darke's personal support in securing her College performances of some of her earliest pieces, such as *The Birthday of the Infanta*, a neoclassicist one-act ballet that was subsequently performed by the Camargo Society under the baton of Constant Lambert. Lutyens later withdrew the piece, which (probably unbeknownst to her) Benjamin Britten had dismissed in one of his diary entries as 'long meandering Petrouchka-like' at its premiere at a Royal College Patrons' Fund concert.²² Much later, in some notes for a lecture on English music, she described this phase of her life as 'bewildering, the confrontation of different styles with no mental experience to analyse them with, & no yardstick

¹⁸ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 43–4. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44–5. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

²¹ Sarah-Jane Tenant-Flowers, 'A Study of Style and Techniques in the Music of Elisabeth Lutyens' (University of Durham: PhD thesis, 1991), 422.

²² Britten, diary entry (9 July 1931), in *Journeying Boy: The Diaries of the Young Benjamin Britten 1928–1938*, ed. John Evans (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 78.

of judgment, & there was no getting away from the fact that I wasn't Russian, Hungarian or German. I was English'.²³

After her studies at the Royal College, Lutyens co-founded the Macnaghten-Lemare Concerts with fellow RCM alumnae, the violinist Anne Macnaghten and the conductor Iris Lemare.²⁴ This was Lutyens's first public foray as a professional composer, programme-builder, arranger, and performer, as she collaborated with Macnaghten and Lemare on all aspects of the concert series. Whether or not Lutyens already knew of Edward Clark, the aims of the Macnaghten-Lemare concerts complemented and to a degree mirrored the events that Clark's London Contemporary Music Centre (L.C.M.C.) was putting on.²⁵ Sophie Fuller, for example, reads the Macnaghten-Lemare concerts as a 'home-grown' response to Edward Clark's 'foreign' BBC Concerts of Contemporary Music and his concerts at the L.C.M.C.²⁶ The Macnaghten-Lemare Concerts' goal was the promotion of young British composers and performers, both male and female. It was Lutyens's first of several similar ventures designed as networks of shared aesthetics she felt were in danger of being artistically overpowered by better-known music. These concerts also served to promote music important to her, and to hear her own music. Lutyens was able to trial several of her early pieces: the String Quartet in One Movement, Five Songs for soprano, arrangements of music by Frescobaldi and Titelouze, the choral *Winter the Huntsman*, her song 'The Night is Darkening', and after a hiatus during the years 1933 and 1934 the Four Songs for tenor and piano (sung by her future first husband Ian Glennie), *The Dying of Tanneguy de Bois*, and her arrangement of a Buxtehude passacaglia.²⁷ She met Edward Clark at a party in 1938; at this point she had been married to Glennie for five years; the couple had three children.

Edward Clark, eighteen years Lutyens's senior, was from Newcastle, where he had been taught the piano as a child and was given harmony and counterpoint lessons alongside it. His father was the President of the Newcastle Philharmonic Society and worked with the Newcastle Choral Union, and the number of distinguished musicians visiting the house fuelled Clark's claim that he 'had been in closest touch with the most

²³ Lutyens, handwritten lecture notes on English music, notebook in GB-Lbl.

²⁴ Sophie Fuller, "Putting the BBC and T. Beecham to Shame": The Macnaghten-Lemare Concerts, 1931-7, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 138.2 (2013), 377-414.

²⁵ See also Chapter 4. ²⁶ Fuller, "Putting the BBC and T. Beecham to Shame", 383.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, appendix 1. Fuller does not list the Four Songs and *The Dying of Tanneguy de Bois* among the Lutyens pieces performed there, as opposed to Harries and Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*.

vital musical movements in Europe since about the year 1900'.²⁸ After a period of music study in Paris, where he met Debussy, Ravel, and Roussel, Clark arrived in Berlin in 1909 (at the age of twenty-two) to study conducting.²⁹ Ernest Ansermet, a sympathetic occasional mentor, later claimed that Clark's 'intelligent physiognomy' and 'radiant gaze' had stood out among the many young musicians crowding the concerts and bars of the city, when pianist-composer Joaquin Nin introduced the two.³⁰ Clark had come to Berlin to study with the conductor Oskar Fried (1871–1941).

Fried's greatest service to Clark's education may have been his introduction to Schoenberg's music, and to the composer himself. At a 1910 Fried performance of *Pelleas und Melisande*, which Schoenberg later described as tumultuous and sparking 'violent' criticism, Clark experienced his moment of enlightenment.³¹ He referred to this event years later as an 'overwhelming revelation' in a BBC talk about Schoenberg.³² Clark was struck not only by the expressive power of Schoenberg's music but also by the composer's personality and stature as a teacher. Therefore, Clark's next steps focused almost exclusively on assisting Schoenberg with his move to Berlin.³³ This allowed Clark to make the most of his claim that he 'was familiar with the music of [Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern] years before they were generally known to the public'.³⁴ But we know as little of Clark's discipleship with Schoenberg as with Fried, except that by the summer of 1914, Clark appeared ready to start his first conducting job at Szczecin (then Stettin) Theatre as Webern's assistant.³⁵

²⁸ Clark, 'E.C.'. Autobiographical sketch in Edward Clark Papers, Northwestern University Evanston.

²⁹ Annika Forkert, "Always a European": Edward Clark's Musical Work', *The Musical Times* 159.1943 (2018), 55–80.

³⁰ Ernest Ansermet, memoir of Clark, sent to Lutyens for a memorial event in 1963, GB-Lbl, Add MS 71144.

³¹ Arnold Schoenberg, record notes of *Pelleas und Melisande*, quoted in Elliott W. Galkin, *A History of Orchestral Conducting in Theory and Practice* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 105.

³² Edward Clark, 'Schoenberg in Berlin', BBC WAC, for BBC Third Programme (5 January 1958).

³³ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 97; Clark, 'Turning Points in Twentieth-Century Music' (script quoted in Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 95–7); Harries and Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*, 75.

³⁴ Clark, 'E.C.'.

³⁵ Lutyens's biographers assume that the position was that of Webern's successor (Harries and Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*, 76), but this is unlikely given that Webern himself had only signed a contract with the Theatre in April 1914. It is therefore more likely that Clark was intended as an assistant to the notoriously unreliable Webern. It is unclear where Clark was between the closure of the Theatre in August and the opening of Ruhleben Internment Camp in November 1914 (see also Lewis Foreman, 'In Ruhleben Camp', *First World War Studies* 2.1 (2011), 27–40).

When the Theatre closed at the onset of the War, Clark was detained as a foreigner at fighting age and interned at Ruhleben Prisoner of War Camp just south of Berlin, as he had not left the country earlier (like for example Adrian Boult, who had returned from his studies with Arthur Nikisch in Leipzig in 1913). Lewis Foreman has shown that the Camp had a lively musical scene,³⁶ but Clark did not play a prominent part in it. He registered as a 'student' of conducting on fellow inmate Frederick Keel's list of forty-two musicians and may even have taken informal lessons with the more experienced conductors Charles Webber or Frederick Charles Adler. The only traces of Clark's activity in the Camp are of his playing a small part in a production of *Twelfth Night* in April 1916, singing in the Chorus of Pirates in *The Pirates of Penzance* in August, and being generally enthusiastic about music.³⁷ Despite the cheerful stories of generous German officers, Mosel wine, and the orchestra, internment was a traumatic experience. Clark's only recorded memory from his Camp time was that he nearly missed his train to freedom because he insisted on finishing his last football match.³⁸ Clark was exchanged against German prisoners half a year before the end of the War, but back in England he was not willing or able to make any use of the connections with other musicians gained during the imprisonment. His narrowly missed opportunity to conduct professionally in central Europe was not to return.

Lutyens's stay in Paris in the 1920s fulfilled a similar function as pre-1914 Berlin had for Clark. Both could claim acquaintance and early influence of European modern music. Both possessed a first-hand knowledge of this music, its composers, and culture; but details of their respective musical training are not known. Clark sought recognition as a disciple and interpreter of the modernist Schoenberg through his conducting, but Lutyens stressed her discovery of French and Italian early music as the guiding influence on her own early composition, as Laurel Parsons has shown.³⁹ (It is curious but also telling that Lutyens omits to mention in her autobiography de Manziarly's close friend, teacher, and mentor Nadia

³⁶ Foreman, 'In Ruhleben Camp'.

³⁷ Ibid., 35; Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 98; GB-Lbl 'Englaenderlager fuer Zivilgefangene', A Collection of concert, theatre, and sports programmes, RB.31.c.827 lists E. Clark as one of two Servants to Olivia in a Shakespeare performance in April 1916, and a Mr Clark (could be A. M. Clarke) in *The Pirates*. He is not listed in the 'Handbook of the Ruhleben Football Association, Season 1915' (ibid.).

³⁸ Lutyens, *A Goldfish Bowl*, 98. Confirmed in Charles Webber, 'Bayreuth and Ruhleben', *Music & Letters* 34.3 (1953), 224–31, 231.

³⁹ Parsons, 'Early Music and the Ambivalent Origins of Elisabeth Lutyens's Modernism'.

Boulanger.) For Lutyens as well as Clark, the return from Europe was sobering.

Back in England, Clark began to capture various conducting engagements, which culminated in his concert series in London in 1921. He then became a Music Director of the BBC's Newcastle Station until his move to the Corporation's London Music Department. Clark's time at the BBC from 1924 to 1936 – the year Clark resigned over a perceived insult about his programming – were probably the most influential of his career. He worked with Adrian Boult and several others to establish the BBC Symphony Orchestra and programmed exciting 'ultra-modern' music.⁴⁰ When he met Lutyens, however, he felt he had been 'blacklisted' by the Corporation and was struggling to maintain his bachelor lifestyle in Fitzrovia. He had been divorced from his first wife Dorothy in 1930, who had left Clark for the BBC engineer Peter Eckersley and who was attracted strongly by German national socialist ideology – so strongly that in 1939 she settled with her and Clark's son James in Germany, where both worked in English-language programmes of the German radio before being arrested and tried on their capture and return to England in 1945.⁴¹

Politics loom large in the lives of Clark and Lutyens, just as they did in almost any person of interest's life at this time. Because of archival limitations, we do not know much about Clark's political leanings except that he was a socialist who wanted to interest workers in new music. This chimed with Lutyens's ideas. She was, at least for a while, a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Together with her unique, and uniquely problematic, position as a female British serialist, her politics played into Lutyens's understanding of her networks and the ultimate purpose of her musical being. But she also made statements in public and private conversation that bore witness to bitter anti-Semitic and homophobic feelings she harboured. With these outbursts she caused, and still causes, hurt. Some of her anti-Semitic attitudes are similar to those that were fashionable and widespread in her class and wider society.⁴² Specific to Lutyens was the bitterness and openness of her remarks, which stemmed from the feeling that she was singled out

⁴⁰ Jennifer Ruth Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922–1936: Shaping a Nation's Tastes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴¹ Stephen Michael Cullen, 'Strange Journey: The Life of Dorothy Eckersley', *The Historian* 119 (Autumn 2013), 18–23.

⁴² Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

compared to male composers, whose Jewishness or sexual orientation she would highlight as evidence for her different treatment as an inferior.⁴³ In a letter to her friend and colleague William Alwyn she complained, for instance: ‘Then my RAGE when I learn that Alan Blyth has written of me for Radio Times the kind of camp article on the colour of the nails matching my scarf. Would he interview our arch queens – Britten, Tippett, Maxwell Davies like this?’⁴⁴ While her desire to be treated by critics as an intellectual rather than a curiosity is understandable, Lutyens ended up attacking those who already bore the brunt of homophobia and anti-Semitism. Remarks such as this one became more frequent and more negative in her conversation as she grew older and, ironically, more respected as a composer. Lutyens was famously indifferent to the hurt she caused. She directed her bitterness at those who she suspected of having it easier than she did. William Alwyn complained to Peter Pears that ‘Lutyens is her own worst enemy; she is a compulsive egocentric unable to restrain her bitter (“bitchy” is a good word!) tongue from which no one and nothing is exempt except Stravinsky and, incongruously enough, myself.’⁴⁵

In a field where competition for performances and recognition was so intense, it should not surprise that ‘bitching’ (as Alwyn put it) and verbal roughness were frequent. What surprises is Lutyens’s frankness – she shared bottled-up resentment and bitterness with many of her colleagues, but she was not hesitant to make it public. It was no secret who she liked and disliked, but almost all colleagues also admitted that her sometimes intense and open bitterness never fully overwhelmed her generosity and her will to fight to the last for music. For example, immediately after his attack on Lutyens’s character, Alwyn added that ‘she has a heart of gold and I am fond of her’.⁴⁶ In this book, I return to some reasons for her bitterness as the cause for anti-Semitic and homophobic remarks in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁴³ On anti-Semitism by remark, see *ibid.*, 363ff. In her article on Edward J. Dent’s anti-Semitism, Annegret Fauser arrives at the conclusion that Dent, while using anti-Semitic remarks in his personal correspondence, was much more cautious about public statements. See Annegret Fauser, ‘The Scholar behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876–1957) and the Politics of Music History’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139.2 (2014), 235–60, 252.

⁴⁴ Elisabeth Lutyens to William Alwyn (2 April (no year)), William Alwyn Archive, Cambridge University Library.

⁴⁵ William Alwyn to Peter Pears, cited in Adrian Wright, *The Innumerable Dance: The Life and Work of William Alwyn* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 225.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*