



News

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CHOMBEC is based at the Department of Music, University of Bristol

An American Composer in Georgian England: John Antes in Fulneck

During the last years of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, a number of British composers and musicians immigrated to America seeking greater professional opportunities. These musicians were usually associated with the theatre, and they became musical leaders in their respective communities, adding elements of competence and professionalism to the American musical scene. The migratory current rarely flowed in the opposite direction, from America to Great Britain. A notable exception was John Antes, the American-Moravian minister, missionary, musician, instrument-maker, and composer, who spent over a quarter-century in the English towns of Fulneck (near Leeds) and Bristol.

Before discussing Antes' life and work in England, it would be well for the reader to know something of the Moravian Church. It claims status as the oldest Protestant denomination, being descended from the Czech martyr Jan Hus in the early 15th century. It broke with Rome, established its own episcopacy, and



Fulneck Moravian Community

for several hundred years served congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. It was almost destroyed in the early 17th century, during the Thirty-Years War. The church was forced underground where it survived in secret until 1722, when it emerged in Saxony under the protection of

Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. In the following

decades it expanded significantly, sending missionaries throughout the world and establishing church communities in various European countries and several American colonies. In England it founded three such towns: Fulneck near Leeds, Ockbrook near Derby, and Fairfield near Manchester, in addition to individual churches elsewhere. In these communities, residence was limited to church members and life was closely regulated by the church.

John Antes was born near the Moravian-church town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on March 24, 1740. He studied at the boys' school in Bethlehem, and joined the church in 1760. We do not know how Antes gained his musical skill, but in music-loving Bethlehem there

were ample opportunities to study and perform. In 1759, he opened a musical instrument atelier in Bethlehem, and over the next five years he made at least five violins, a viola, and a cello (one violin and a viola are still extant). In 1764, Antes travelled to Herrnhut, Saxony (the spiritual home of the Moravian Church), to prepare himself for the ministry. In 1769 he was ordained as a minister in the church and answered a call for missionary work among the Coptic Christians in Cairo, Egypt. His experiences there, particularly his confinement and torture in 1779 by henchmen of the ruler, Osman Bey, became a valued part of Moravian-Church missionary lore. After his recuperation, in 1781, he was recalled to Herrnhut, assigned as business manager to the community at Neuwied on the Rhein in 1783, and in 1785 took a similar position in Fulneck, England.

Antes' responsibilities as warder (or business manager) of the Fulneck Moravian community encompassed a wide variety of duties. He was in charge of all communal property, including its maintenance and repair. He was responsible for business relations both within the community, and between community members and people in the surrounding area. He also had the task of disciplining community members who transgressed the rules and regulations that bound the people together. (This could range from denial of Communion for a certain period to outright expulsion from the town for very serious offences.) In all of this, Antes carried out his obligations with diligence, imagination, and compassion. Although he was an ordained minister, he seldom preached or performed ministerial duties. More often he assisted others, particularly at Communion services. He frequently presided at 'Singing Hour' (an informal musical service where hymns were sung), at 'Lovefeast' (special musical services of hymns and anthems at which a simple meal was shared), and at 'Reading Hour' (where official church communications and letters were shared with the congregation). Antes retained his position as warder until he retired in 1809. Following his retirement, he and his wife, Susanna, moved to Bristol, where they were active in the Bristol Moravian Church.

Antes' musical activities began in Pennsylvania where he must have played violin in the 'Collegium Musicum Bethlehem', the town's ensemble that accompanied anthems in church services and, for recreation, played chamber and orchestral music imported from Europe. He became a very competent violinist, but he does not seem to have composed any music during this time. During his 12 years in Cairo, he played in informal chamber ensembles with other foreign residents of the city, and he seems also to have found time to try his hand at composition. By 1779, he had composed six string quartets, which he sent to Benjamin Franklin, the American *chargé d'affaires* in

Paris, along with a letter asking him to use his influence to have the quartets performed and published there. The quartets themselves are now lost, but internal evidence suggests that the Three Trios for two violins and cello, which he published in England around 1790, may be arrangements of three of the quartets.

After leaving Egypt and settling temporarily in Neuwied, Antes began composing choral and vocal music for the Neuwied church. In the archive of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, Saxony, are about 10 anthems with German text bearing his name. The anthems are scored for strings, with occasional parts for flutes and horns.

His arrival in Fulneck marked a blossoming of musical activity for Antes. He was certainly the most accomplished musician in the small English community. He led the ensemble that played for church services and occasionally entertained the community with impromptu concerts, as well as presiding at Singing Hours and Lovefeasts. He also copied vocal and instrumental parts for Fulneck and other Moravian community choirs and orchestras. The Fairfield church, near Manchester, has a large manuscript book of anthems (unfortunately only the second violin part), much of which appears in Antes' distinctive hand.

His own compositions for Fulneck consist of at least 21 anthems accompanied by strings with occasional flutes, oboes, and horns. These works show a greater fluency in melody and harmony, and finer details in orchestration than most other Moravian-church composers of Antes' day. In 1796 he sent a holograph of some of his anthems and hymn tunes to America in response to the American church's request for English-language works to sing in the increasing number of services the church held in that language. In addition, there are perhaps seven or eight works in the Fairfield manuscript book, mentioned above, that appear stylistically to be by Antes. (Since there are no composer attributions and only the second violin appears there, it is impossible to be sure.) The archive of the Moravian Church in London possesses two holograph manuscripts of original hymn tunes by Antes, containing 50 and 39 pieces, respectively. These appear to be a sketchbook (50) and a fair copy (39). The smaller collection bears the title 'A Collection of Hymn Tunes Chiefly Composed for Private Amusement by Jn^o Antes'. Nine of these hymn tunes are also found in the collection of his music that Antes sent to America in 1796.

Finally, around 1790, the London printer John Bland issued *Tre Trii, per due Violini and Violoncello* by 'Giovanni A-T-S, Dilletante Americano', who can be none other than John Antes. He was clearly uncomfortable appearing as a published composer. It was suggested above that these are arrangements of three of the six string quartets that Antes had

composed in Cairo. Antes may have lacked a violist in Fulneck with sufficient skill to play the original viola part. And, since in many early string quartets (see early Haydn) the viola often doubled the cello an octave higher, it could be omitted with little damage to the music. In any case, the Antes trios are full of lively imagination, skilled craftsmanship, and evidence of broad experience with the string ensemble.

While most of his activities were centred in Fulneck, Antes was known in London musical circles through his nephew, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, who was well thought of among London's leading musicians and intellectuals. Antes could call Johann Peter Salomon 'my friend', and in 1792 he met Joseph Haydn. Haydn refers to Antes in his first London notebook as 'a Bishop and minor composer'. The extent of Antes' activities in London, like much in his life, is uncertain and generally unrecorded.

John Antes was always modest about his musical accomplishments and, although he never again set foot on his native soil, on several occasions he called himself an 'American dilettante'. By this he meant that, while he was a passionate lover of music, he was not a professional. He did not compose for personal glory or monetary reward, but to serve his church and his community. When he died in Bristol on December 17, 1811, he left a musical legacy of beauty and craftsmanship that many professional composers of his day could not match.

Karl Kroeger
(corresponding member)

News and Events

Introduction: Justin Williams

Allow me to introduce myself – my name is Justin Williams and I just joined the Bristol University Music Department in September. The purpose of writing is three-fold: to introduce myself to the CHOMBEC community, to update on recent projects which may be of interest, and to discuss further research plans which may be of special interest to the CHOMBEC community.

Some of my research interests extend beyond the CHOMBEC banner, such as my work on American mainstream hip-hop and musical borrowing – my book *Musical Borrowing in Hip-hop* is being published by University of Michigan Press in June 2013. I am currently editing the *Cambridge Companion to Hip-hop*,

and will be contributing a chapter on UK hip-hop as one of the international case studies.

Most relevant to this readership is the chapter I wrote for the book *Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership, Performance*, eds. Jason Toynbee, Catherine Tackley and Mark Doffman, which is set to be published with Ashgate in spring 2014. The chapter is entitled 'Soweto's war: race, class and jazz hybridities' and engages with jazz and hip-hop artist Soweto Kinch from Birmingham. He is both saxophone player and rapper, and has been struggling with categorisation in the music industry for a number of years, and I discuss both the hybridity within his music as well as the extra-musical debates surrounding his generic categorisations. Other chapters in the edited volume include topics, individuals and groups such as the Caribbean roots and influences, the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, musicians from Tiger Bay (Cardiff), Reginald Foresythe, Winifred Atwell, and the Jazz Warriors.

In addition to the aforementioned editors, other contributors include Howard Rye, Mark Banks, George McKay, George Burrows and Byron Dueck. The book covers a range of eras and will be a new and exciting contribution to studies in British jazz. I have also invited Catherine Tackley to give a research seminar at the University of Bristol music department on 26 November. In addition to co-editing the *Black British Jazz* volume, she wrote *The Evolution of Jazz in Britain*, and currently leads the AHRC Atlantic Sounds research network. I hope that a number of CHOMBEC members can attend.

In terms of my future long-term endeavours, I hope to apply for grant funding to help support research on post-Windrush Afro-Caribbean musics in Bristol. The idea with The Bristol Musics of the Caribbean Diaspora Project would be to conduct interviews and consult the local records office and other sources in order to construct a clearer history of music making in Afro-Caribbean communities. I also intend to organize events with musicians and host a study day on the topic, which would include Barby Asante's documentary film on The Bamboo Club. The club, which opened in St Pauls in 1966, was the first social venue in Bristol which positively received and catered to the Afro-Caribbean community. The intention would be to produce a book that covers the 'long 1960s', and could lead the way for larger projects, research networks and funding which would extend the study to cover the 1970s and 1980s. I would be keen to hear from CHOMBEC members and others who either have experience with Bristolian (or other) musical histories, or want to do more work on such topics.

Havergal Brian Archive catalogue now available online

The Havergal Brian Archive catalogue has now been added to the University of Bristol Library's online catalogue, and can be accessed by searching for 'Havergal Brian' at:

<http://oac.lib.bris.ac.uk/Dserve/>

Some additions still need to be made, but the majority of material is now listed. The entry 'Havergal Brian Collection' (DM2537) contains an overview, as well as general information on the collection, and a biographical note.

The *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*

The *Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* will be published in October 2013. For the first time in over a century a major and up-to-date resource on Hymnology will be available for researchers in many different fields. The publication will also be the culmination of more than a decade of hard work devoted to updating John Julian's dictionary of 1897. The new work has been edited by Prof. JR Watson (Durham University) and Dr Emma Hornby (University of Bristol).

The publication will be marked by a two-day conference in Bristol on 19-20 October 2013. We are hoping that many people will come to Bristol to join us in celebrating this publication. The conference will culminate in the official launch of the dictionary followed by a celebratory reception.

The conference venues are some of Bristol's most prominent and famous historical buildings – John Wesley's Chapel (the New Room), the Victoria Rooms at the University of Bristol, and St Mary Redcliffe church – with a varied programme of talks given by some of the world's most eminent hymnologists. For further information and to register please visit the following website:

<http://www.bris.ac.uk/arts/birtha/events/hymnology/>

Please make careful note of the various registration rates available and what is covered by each. Also, space at the restaurant on the Saturday night is limited so places will be allocated on a first-come-first-served basis. We do not have a cap on attendance: the more the merrier! We really hope that you will be able to attend this event which marks an historical and momentous publication.

Conference: Georgian pleasures

An interdisciplinary conference on 'Georgian Pleasures' will be held in Bath this Autumn, on 12 September (Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institute) and 13 September (Holburne Museum). The varied programme will include several contributions on music, including:

Nicola Pink, 'The experience of domestic vocal music for young gentry women, 1790-1830'

Andrew Clarke, 'Edward James Loder'

Madeline Goad, 'A Portrait of Mrs Luther, "...a Lady of taste and of great discernment." Harpsichords, Pianoforte, and Subscription Concert Society in Georgian London'

Peter Holman, 'Politics in the Pit: directing from the keyboard [or not] in the Georgian Theatre'

Andy Lamb, 'Stealing from the French - The rise of wind harmony music'

William Summers, 'Music, naturalism and royal power struggles surrounding Hampton Court Palace, 1716-1721'

Nick Nourse, 'Controlling Georgian pleasures: music and entertainment, legislation and the law'

There will also be a number of recitals and other events. Contact historyandculture.bsu@gmail.com for more information.

Conference: Wandering minstrels – the history of travelling opera in Britain

This study day will take place at the Royal Academy of Music on Saturday, 26th October 2013. The purpose of this study day is to explore the rich history of travelling opera in Britain from the 19th Century onwards. The event will draw together a wide range of scholars, researchers, performers and enthusiasts to discuss this neglected and revealing subject. The speakers include: Professor Katherine Preston (College of William and Mary, USA), Dr Paul Rodmell (Birmingham), Dr Raymond Holden (RAM), John Ward (the Carl Rosa Trust), representatives from English Touring Opera, and Dr Steven Martin. They will talk about the repertoire, singers and conductors associated with the hundreds of companies which once toured the length and breadth of Britain and the Empire. For more information, or to book a place, please contact the organiser, Dr Steven Martin, at travellingopera1898@gmail.com. Tickets will be available online at: www.ram.ac.uk/events from Saturday 6 July, or from the Royal Academy of Music's Box Office (tel. 020 7873 7300) from Monday 9 September.

Conference: Internationalism and the arts – imagining the cosmopolis at the long fin de siècle

The Internationalism and Cultural Exchange, 1870-1920 (ICE) research network (<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/ice>) is holding a conference at the Clore Auditorium, Tate Britain, on 5-6 September 2013.

Previous events have explored different aspects of cultural internationalism at the long fin de siècle, from world exhibitions, to the global rise of the vernacular, and the idea of music as a universal language.

This conference adapts Benedict Anderson's theory of the nation as an imagined community in order to examine certain questions – about the locations, languages and citizens of an 'imagined cosmopolis' – which have been fundamental to our enquiry. In particular, it asks what alternatives to nationhood were proposed by artists working at the turn of the twentieth century. What were their sites of operation? How did they use the arts to communicate? And what real and imagined communities did they build to cross national boundaries? The conference will focus on these three themes, of place, language and cosmopolitanism, as they played out during an otherwise intense period of nation-building; and it will examine the methodological implications of cultural internationalism for research, teaching and display in the arts.

For more details, see the conference programme at:

<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/ice/events/conferenceprogramme.html>

To book a place, or for more information, please email iceresearchnetwork@gmail.com. There is no registration fee, but places must be booked in advance.

Conference Report: Expressions of Britishness

Jane Angell, Eleanor Thackrey and Ben
Wolf

On Friday 11 January, the 'Expressions of Britishness' one-day conference took place at Senate House, London. The conference was supported by CHOMBEC, the RMA and the IMR, and was inspired by the 'Music in Britain' seminars that used to take place at the Institute of Historical Research. It was felt that a platform was needed, in London, for scholars from different fields to come together to discuss their work

on music (and indeed other arts) in Britain in the 20th and 21st centuries. As abstracts began to flow in, it became clear that 'expressions of Britishness' would indeed be presented in glorious variety, from analytical and theoretical viewpoints, to social and historical contexts. As we had hoped, the idea of what constitutes was challenged and debated from every angle!

Around 50 delegates enjoyed the luxury of a wide choice of sessions to attend. These included sessions on jazz, modernism, Britain post-1979, empire, nationalism and internationalism, and cultural identity. The wide variety of topics on which speakers presented papers neatly demonstrates the multiple and diverse ways in which scholars can understand 'expressions of Britishness'. Professor Simon McVeigh delivered a most enjoyable and thought provoking keynote address, and the day was concluded with the whole conference coming together to participate in a lively discussion led by Paul Banks, Andrew Blake, Lewis Foreman and Leanne Langley. This final discussion in particular demonstrated the great energy and activity surrounding scholarly approaches to music in Britain, British music and cultural studies and the great benefits that can come from gathering together to share our ideas and our differing responses. Many thanks must go to CHOMBEC and the RMA for their generous support, and particularly to Paul Archbold and Valerie James of the IMR for supporting our ideas, and for making the day run so smoothly.

Conference Report: CHOMBEC conference on Frank Bridge

Fabian Huss

On Saturday 23 March, CHOMBEC held a one-day conference on Frank Bridge. Despite the unexpected snowfall, there was a good turnout, and attendees reacted enthusiastically to the stimulating papers exploring a wide variety of issues surrounding this complex figure.

My aim in organising the event had been to focus and further encourage the widespread academic and popular interest in Bridge that has been building over the last decade or so, with a remarkable level of postgraduate academic work, recordings and performances. This increasing interest had not led to a comparable output of published academic work, however, and I decided that the time was ripe to encourage scholars with an interest in Bridge to develop their work further. An edited volume, based on the conference, is currently in planning.

The day began with a paper by Fiona Richards, on musical connections between Bridge, Britten and Boyd

Neel. Papers on the relationships between Bridge and his two most important patrons in later years, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and the BBC, were delivered by Mark Amos and Lewis Foreman.

After lunch, Ben Earle and Fabian Huss attempted to get to grips with some of the theoretical challenges arising from dealing with Bridge's music, in papers on 'Genre, style and expression in Bridge's music' and 'Reification and modernism in late Bridge'. The day was concluded by a captivating lecture recital by Jessica Chan, 'Interpreting *Phantasm* - Bridge's ill-fated Rhapsody for piano and orchestra'.

Many thanks to all who attended and contributed to the discussion. CHOMBEC is grateful for the generous support of BIRTHA (Bristol Institute for Research in the Humanities and Arts).

Research Reports

The Empire's forgotten orchestra

Nic Fogg

The BBC Empire Orchestra existed for just five years in the middle-to-late 1930s. It was a relatively small outfit, performing in empty studios at all hours of day and night. It has since been largely forgotten, eliciting little information from web searches and warranting scant mention in broadcasting and musical histories.

However, this unpromising-sounding orchestra may have had a disproportionate impact on the development of Commonwealth music. Its primary aim was to bring the standard repertoire to every corner of an empire on which the sun still never set, and, in doing so, it became Britain's first truly global orchestra. Another major objective was to seek out and broadcast the works of composers from all areas of the Dominions and Commonwealth. The extent of its success or failure is the subject of my current research.

My interest in the orchestra is life-long, because its conductor was the composer Eric Fogg, a distant relative who was a family legend. Retirement has enabled me to commence the long process of researching its history and influence, starting in the BBC Written Archive. This article pulls together my early findings. I am hopeful that it will stimulate discussion, and that *CHOMBEC News* readers will help me flesh out the many gaps in the fascinating story of this unique ensemble and its personnel.

The orchestra was a late addition to the BBC Empire Service, which was the brainchild of the first

director-general, John Reith. He had broached the idea of using broadcasting as a means of welding together the disparate elements of the Empire not long after the Corporation's launch. The service was made possible by the discovery that short wave radio signals could travel immense distances if bounced off the ionosphere. But technical problems, and a staunch Government refusal to provide any funding, caused major delays.

Following its launch late in 1932, the Empire Service largely made do with recorded music and relays of daytime concerts, but its bulging postbag indicated a strong desire for live performance. As a result, Eric Fogg was appointed Empire Musical Director in August 1934 and the Empire Orchestra broadcast for the first time on 5 December. It was christened the 'all-night orchestra' by the press, because a considerable amount of its work had to be done in the early hours, so listeners in distant countries could hear concerts while relaxing during their evening. The Service's day was divided into five (later six) transmission periods, each aimed at a particular time zone, and each requiring a distinctive mix of programmes. Fogg's deputy, Clifton Helliwell, wrote: 'In the history of musical performance it is unlikely that an orchestra had ever been required for rehearsals and concerts at literally any hour of the twenty-four. No two successive days followed any recognisable pattern.'

As one of his first tasks, Fogg wrote to music conservatoires throughout the Commonwealth, requesting the names of local composers and copies of their work. He also invited musicians visiting Britain to contact him about the possibility of performing on air. He added: 'It may be possible, not only to build programmes of intrinsic interest, but also to encourage the growth of Empire music.'

Within weeks, the orchestra had presented its first concert of Canadian music, featuring works by Leo Smith, Hector Gratton, Healy Willan and Ernest MacMillan. However, some of those featured were unable to hear it because the Canadian Broadcasting Commission had refused to relay it. 'Their failure to do so has aroused much comment,' wrote Leo Smith. 'I hear tell that questions are to be asked in Parliament.'

Meanwhile, Fogg was in correspondence with Australian composers Georgia Evans, Alfred Hill and Edith HARRY, as well as New Zealand's JC Easton. Not long afterwards, his invitation to visiting musicians bore fruit, when the Empire Service broadcast a special recital by the Indian and Sinhalese musicians, Surya Sena and Nelun Devi.

The orchestra's initial strength was just 16. But within a month it had become apparent that this was inadequate, and funds were found to increase it to 21 or 22, which became its standard size. The orchestra could be enhanced for special events, sometimes quite considerably. Special arrangements were also made for access to a reasonably-sized choir.

The orchestra's chief aim was to introduce the main classical repertoire to people throughout the Dominions and colonies, some of whom had rarely, if ever, had access to it. This endeavour was not universally popular – indeed, criticism came from within the service, as well as from some listeners. The Empire Service's first director, Cecil Graves, told the *Daily Telegraph* that 'military bands and cheerful, hearty music are more universally popular than Beethoven and Bach.' The magazine *Crown Colonist* proclaimed that 'The BBC's preference for good music ignores the deficiencies of short-wave radio at 8,000 miles, which transmits light music better than symphony concerts.' But the 'insiders' magazine, *Wireless World*, described the orchestra as 'a very effective combination, in contrast to the service's other output, which was largely bricks without straw.'

The orchestra certainly provided its fair share of lighter music. This included a large-scale production of the musical comedy, *The Rebel Maid*, drawing criticism on expense grounds from the finance department, which queried why it required no less than five rehearsals! But Fogg was not to be deflected from his main task of taking serious music to distant parts of the Empire.

A more dangerous charge was levelled by Adrian Boult, then the BBC's Director of Music – that the orchestra was trying to punch above its weight. He instanced performances on the national network of Beethoven's *Leonora* No. 3 Overture, Debussy's *Prelude a l'apres-midi d'un faune*, and Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet* Overture, saying 'I do think that, until such time as you have a much bigger orchestra at your disposal for these programmes, it is not advisable to include such works.'

The service's programme director, JCS Macgregor, immediately praised the orchestra's 'astonishing versatility' and said it was able to cover a wide variety of works with limited augmentation. 'Haydn and Mozart do not offer an inexhaustible mine,' he added. 'The average standard of reception is now high enough to justify us pressing for a more adequate orchestra.' Agreeing, the new Empire Service director, John Beresford-Clark, stated that there should be no restriction on repertoire beyond the point of 'absolute necessity.' Eventually, Fogg appeared before the Music Panel and undertook not to attempt works requiring much larger forces. The Panel, for its part, said it regarded the orchestra as a special case, and called for its enlargement.

In the event, no funds were available for more permanent players, but money was found to enable several series of concerts to be mounted with a much-enlarged orchestra. The need for such 'prestige' projects to combat serious competition for audiences from the rising Fascist dictatorships had been highlighted by Reith. He shocked a Government

committee on broadcasting by revealing that the Germans were subsidising their foreign language services to the tune of £3 million – a huge sum. This money went on things like 'turning out the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in the middle of the night to play to parts of the British Empire.'



Eric Fogg

In autumn 1937, the enhanced orchestra performed the first eight Beethoven symphonies, followed by the four of Brahms. In 1938, a series of celebrity concerts featured such internationally-respected guests as Solomon and Myra Hess, performing major concerti. And in response to the propagandist efforts of the Italians, the orchestra beamed out weekly operatic concerts with guest singers to Latin America, where the BBC had just launched a service in Spanish and Portuguese. By October 1938, Fogg was able to report that the orchestra had a repertoire of 2,005 works – an astonishing average of 10 new works per week since its inception.

But the march to war brought other priorities to the fore. The Empire Service had been heavily criticised for not keeping its listeners up to date with the deepening series of international crises. After the Austrian Anschluss, one North American broadcasting official complained bitterly: 'News and information – that is what every Canadian wanted from London, and you went on with your quartettes [sic].'

As 1939 dawned, a sub-committee on wartime programmes recommended that the BBC would need an overall increase of 75% in news, coupled with a 36% cut in the hours dedicated to music. The world had changed. When war was finally declared, the Empire Orchestra was suspended immediately. Its musicians joined the dole-queues and Eric Fogg was sent back to his native Manchester as a staff conductor. The Empire Service became the BBC's overseas service shortly afterwards, with numerous new foreign language programmes. Despite a major campaign by senior managers, the Empire Orchestra was never revived. Saddest of all, before the year's end, Eric Fogg was dead. He was just 36, with, according to Neville Cardus, his best work still ahead of him. I hope to explore his brief but tragic life in more detail in a future article

The author wishes to thank the BBC Written Archives Centre at Caversham for granting permission to quote from its internal documents. Anyone wishing to contact him may do so by e-mailing him at: nic.fogg@talktalk.net.

Rediscovering Sturge violins

Matthew Thomas

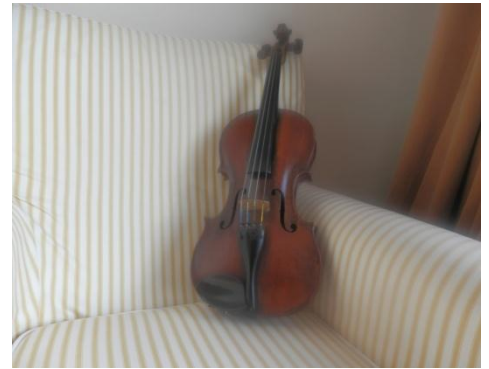
Musical instrument manufacture in Bristol dates back to the sixteenth century, if not earlier, as the city's apprentice register shows.¹ *Sketchley's Bristol Directory* lists four instrument makers in 1775, including the noted organ and harpsichord maker Elizabeth Chew, and *Mathews'* directory fifty years later lists many more. Moreover, Georgian Bristol boasted a surprising number of goldsmiths, tinsmiths, wood and ivory turners, clockmakers and other artisans, perhaps a legacy of the arrival some years earlier of the Huguenots,² who had skills useful in and transferable to instrument manufacture generally: Josiah Springer of Clare Street, for example, is listed in *Sketchley's* as a manufacturer of mathematical, ophthalmic and astronomical as well as musical instruments. Many of these craftsmen had premises close to the medieval crossroads overlooked by the Dutch House, one of the glories of old Bristol, which was destroyed in the blitz of November 1940.

The violin maker Henry Sturge (1807-67) was a member of the prominent Quaker family's 'musical branch', which was active in Bristol for many years. The musical Sturges, whose choice of occupation may have been frowned upon by their distant and ascetic relatives, included the music professor William Sturge, and his sister, Josephena, a piano teacher, as well as their father Joseph, who had a music warehouse and publishing shop on Park Street: Evans lists two other 'music-warehouses' in Clare Street.³ These emporiums seem to have embraced a multitude of musical functions: William Attwood's entry in *Sketchley's*, 'music master, music seller and stationer', reflects the contemporary tendency for the different spheres of musical and indeed other activity to overlap.

Sturge was the son and possibly the grandson of violin makers: we may conjecture that his grandfather, Henry Sturge (1742-84), a musician, did a little instrument making, although his main occupation, which he carried on at 6 Marlborough Street, is given as that of a cabinet maker. We know that he was also a member of the city band, which is recorded as having played the *Dead March* from Handel's *Saul* at his funeral.⁴ His son, Henry (1778-1831), had shops in the Horsefair and Maudlin Street, 'the corner shop, opposite the Infirmary', according to *Mathews*, where it is recorded he made violins. In the early 1980s the Sturges enjoyed a high media profile and a *Daily Telegraph* feature on the family announced that the search for a Sturge violin and its owner was still going on:⁵ disappointingly, there was no response to this majestic summons. We shall see later how many owners of instruments from the Bristol and

Huddersfield makers' workshops have since mustered at the *Telegraph's* call

It seems likely that young Henry initially worked



in the Maudlin Street shop. But by 1820 he had his own premises in Clare Street which was obviously very popular with musicians and instrument makers: we know he was based there from his instruments' labels, although the address never appears in *Mathews'*. He and his father appear to have been working independently in the city for ten years until the latter's death in 1831, after which he moved to St Augustine's Parade. The following year he married a widow, Patience Aldridge: his son (the fourth Henry) was born in 1833 after he had moved to Gloucester, although the Bristol shop appears in *Mathews'* until 1836. While Sturge may have employed a manager, it is more likely that there was a delay of a year or two in removing his listing, not uncommon in *Mathews'*.

Soon afterwards, Henry Sturge moved north; a violin discovered in a Devon antique shop is labelled 'Huddersfield, 1842'. By 1850 he had moved to Sheffield, where another son, Alfred, was born the following year. By 1864 he had moved back to the West Country and was conducting business from a shop in Barton Street, in Bath, where the most peripatetic of the musical Sturges died three years later.⁶

I recently had the privilege of handling and playing (I use the term advisedly, for I am no violinist) the pictured Sturge violin: the owner lives in the West Country. The instrument is dated 1820 and bears the St Stephen's Avenue, Clare Street, label. The label also bears the legend: 'Instruments of every description carefully repaired, stained and varnished, on the same plan as in London', hinting at a metropolitan connection. Restrunging and two centuries have not impaired the richness of its sound. The purfling appears to be inked-in rather than inlaid, a characteristic of British instruments of the period.

Since the 1980 appeal at least three violins, including the instruments referred to, have come to light: the instruments all appear to be the work of the younger Sturge, as none bear the label of the Maudlin Street shop, so the hunt is now on for an example of his father's work. We know that Sturge's instruments were sold in the violin shop which traded on Christmas Steps before the war, and it seems likely that some at least did not stray far from their roots, and await rediscovery either in the West Country or in Yorkshire.

It is to be hoped that as time goes on and the story of old Bristol and its instrument makers is told more fully, Henry Sturge *père et fils* and their valuable legacy will receive the recognition they deserve.

My thanks go to the violin's owner, who wishes to remain anonymous; Joyce Cook, a descendant of Henry Sturge, without whose unstinting help this article would not have been written; and Phil Peart. Also to Peter Sturge MBE for his generous assistance.

1. WC Goodman, 'Musical Instruments and their makers in Bristol Apprentice Register, 1536-1643', *Galpin Society Journal* 27 (1974), 9-14.
2. Ronald Mayo, 'The Huguenots in Bristol': Local history pamphlets ed. McGrath, (Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Univ. of Bristol, 1985), 20.
3. John Evans, *A chronological outline of the streets of Bristol and the stranger's guide through the streets* (Bristol, 1825), introduction.
4. Elizabeth Sturge, *Reminiscences of My Life* (private, 1928), 157.
5. *Daily Telegraph*, 13 May 1980
6. Joyce Cook, *The Musical Branch of the Sturge family* (private, 2005).

Research Students

The ABRSM in Ceylon/Sri Lanka,
1956-1974

Emily Hopkins, McGill University

This research report explores the presence of the Associated Board of the Royal School of Music in Ceylon, by analyzing correspondence dated from September 1956 to August 1974 exchanged between the ABRSM head office in London and various local representatives (then called secretaries) in Colombo, the capital city. Ceylon became the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972, and I will refer to it as 'Ceylon' before 1972. The correspondence, which comes from the ABRSM's archive, is unfortunately incomplete: for instance, often only one side of the exchange is present, and reportedly enclosed documents are absent. In addition to such limitations, the letters are accounts written by only a few parties, all of whom were on the ABRSM's payroll. We would do well at this point to remember that:

... silences enter historical production at four crucial moments: in the making of sources, in the making of archives, in the making of narratives, and in the making of history.¹

With these caveats in mind, this paper offers an overview of the ABRSM's activities in Ceylon during a politically tumultuous time (the nation gained independence in 1948 and became the Republic of Sri Lanka in 1972). Along the way, we will touch upon the history of the ABRSM, music education and examinations in the United Kingdom and British Empire, issues of cultural difference (including colonial attitudes towards education), and political change.

David Wright's work outlines how the ABRSM came to be an international force for music education beginning in the nineteenth century.² Examinations played an especially important role in this phenomenon. Wright notes that, in Britain, the general population's 'enthusiasm for paper qualifications' in specialised technical fields led to an examination-based system for certifying musical competence, which essentially 'industrialized' the cultural process of musical achievement. With the growing availability of travel, music examinations were eventually exported Empire-wide. The ABRSM's current website indicates it was established in Ceylon by 1948; however, correspondence reveals that a Gold Medal was awarded there much earlier, in 1918.

In the letters, the ABRSM clearly saw itself as an educational, altruistic organisation. This attitude is reflected in its communications expecting a special hotel rate in Colombo:

Whatever may be the normal practise [sic] for commercial guests ... [the Manager] will continue to allow the discount for the Board's examiner who is engaged on educational work which is not conducted for profit.

(ABRSM Ceylon Correspondence [hereafter ABRSMCC], May 1966)

Though written in the 1960s, the high-handed tone seems to echo nineteenth-century attitudes, for instance found in Viscount Torrington's suggestion that Ceylonese people needed 'enlightened British leadership for the future of their own well-being.'³

Examiners sent to Ceylon were, without exception, Caucasian and male (the ABRSM began appointing women examiners in 1956). This is in clear contrast to the local teachers and candidates, overwhelmingly women of Burgher, Sinhalese, and Tamil descent. Subadra Siriwardena does not specifically address music, but her account of the limited educational opportunities available to Ceylonese women provides a possible explanation of their interest in ABRSM examinations. Most of the teachers and candidates

mentioned by name in the correspondence are female.⁴ As in Britain, the most popular instruments for this demographic were piano and violin (ABRSMCC, Apr 1964). Voice, guitar, and winds receive occasional mentions across the correspondence. Examinations were typically held in locations such as convents or hotels. The local secretary was responsible for hiring a suitable piano rather than purchasing one for the duration of the examinations, as the instrument's maintenance costs year-round were deemed prohibitive (ABRSMCC, Dec 1962).

In July 1967, an examiner suffered a heart attack during his tour in Ceylon. After receiving medical attention, he continued examining students, though from his hotel room on account of his health (ABRSMCC, Jul 1967). This arrangement apparently set a precedent. The following year, the examiner also worked in his hotel room: a piano was brought in and students reported there (ABRSMCC, Mar 1968). Certainly this arrangement lowered the ABRSM's expenses: the hotel room doubled as examination space, and examiners no longer needed transportation fees to other centres. The ABRSM's unusual practice of using hotel rooms for examinations seems to have continued in Southeast Asia.⁵

Sensitivity to local custom is an important consideration in international systems, and the case of 'Poya days' in Ceylon provides an interesting example of the ABRSM's approach. These are holidays based on the lunar calendar in Sri Lankan Buddhism.⁶ Judging by the correspondence, ABRSM authorities in London initially did not understand their significance, and even questioned Ceylon's wisdom in celebrating them:

[S]till not clear about the effect of the introduction of Puya [sic] days. Do they occur weekly and does it just mean that whereas most of the rest of the world regards Saturday and Sunday as the weekend, Ceylon now regards two other days and tries to work throughout Saturday and Sunday? If so, this must be very frustrating for anyone like yourself engaged in commerce, and can hardly be helpful to restoring the economy of the country. (ABRSMCC, Oct 1966)

The writer explained that Diploma written examinations could not be rescheduled for Poya days. However, by 1968 the ABRSM's attitude had changed. The dates of 'Pre-Puya' [sic] days were printed into ABRSM syllabuses (ABRSMCC, Jan 1968).

In contrast to the ABRSM's initial reactions to Poya days, it accommodated readily a request from a Christian group, the Seventh-Day Adventists. Written ABRSM examinations typically scheduled for Saturdays conflicted with the Adventist Sabbath. However, it was common practise for the local secretary to notify the London offices with the number of Adventist candidates, who were then provided with a Friday version of the exam (ABRSMCC, Dec 1964).

The 1960s and 70s were politically turbulent decades in Sri Lanka, due to conflicting nationalist efforts by Buddhist Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority groups.⁷ Sinhalese power was solidified in 1972 when a second constitution was established, protecting Buddhism and making Sinhalese the official language. We find evidence of such political turmoil via this report of a cancelled ABRSM examination tour in 1972:

Very little news about what is happening in Ceylon has appeared to the British press or on television or radio and your cable, therefore, came as something of a surprise. I am afraid that the connection was broken soon after I had contacted you by telephone, but I did gather from the few words that we exchanged that were [the examiner] to arrive in Ceylon it would be difficult for either the candidates to get to him or he to them. I have not yet seen [him], but it is very unlikely that he will be able to stop off in Ceylon after he has finished his work in Malaya, as he will have commitments in this country. We shall, however, try to arrange for another examiner to come to Ceylon, possibly one on his way home from examining one of the Far Eastern countries... In the meantime, if the curfew should be lifted within the next week or so and you think that the examinations could be carried out, please let me know as it still may be possible for [him] to do the bulk of the work in Ceylon before he must leave for Kuala Lumpur, leaving the rest for another man. (ABRSMCC, May 1972)

And:

I am very sorry that you are having this trouble in Ceylon; it must be very distressing for you and indeed for the vast majority of the population. (ABRSMCC, Jun 1972)

The ABRSM's operations in Ceylon depended on remitting money back to Britain. Examination fees rose on a regular basis, though after 1970, the increases were no longer published in the syllabus, probably due to the unpredictable political situation (ABRSMCC, Jun 1970). As of October 1971, the ABRSM concluded its future in Ceylon was in question, as the nation's Exchange Control made its presence less and less viable (ABRSMCC, Oct 1971). By March 1972, the ABRSM decided to withdraw after the 1973 examination year, so that students who had been studying for LRSM certification could take the examinations and possibly win scholarships (ABRSMCC, Mar 1972). Adding to the volatility of that time, the long-term local secretary in Colombo was discovered to be using ABRSM funds for his own ends and then disappeared without a trace,

necessitating a last-minute rescue and replacement for 1973, the final year (ABRSMCC, Jul 1972).

A great deal of the letters I examined contained mundane information: number of examinations, updates to syllabuses, and hotel bookings. Yet these details arguably formed the bases for various political positions. Attitudes were expressed, accommodations made (or not), and relationships between administrator, examiner, student, and teacher carefully negotiated. Music examinations are another way in which cultural influence and control can be exercised. By engaging with evidence such as ABRSM correspondence, we as historians can build a framework for understanding and evaluating present day programs, not only in terms of ideology but in terms of how it is expressed: in the quotidian administrative tasks that make up its activities.

[NB: The correspondence discussed here was made available to me by Roe-Min Kok, who photographed much of the archive's holdings in 2007 while a Visiting Fellow of the British Academy. Professor Kok was hosted by Professor Katharine Ellis at the Institute of Musical Research, University of London.]

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1. Michel-Rolph Trouillot as quoted by Clare Anderson in her *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12.
2. David C. H. Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2013), and 'The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/2 (2005), 236-282.
3. Torrington was Governor of Ceylon from 1847 to 1850. In John C Holt, ed., *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 258; see also 245 and 257 for similar attitudes from John Davy and Jonathan Forbes, other British colonials in nineteenth-century Ceylon.
4. Siriwardena, 'The Education of Girls and Women in Ceylon', *International Review of Education* 19/1 (1973), 115-120. On Burghers, see Ulbe Bosma and Renco Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920*, trans. Wendie Shaffer (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008).
5. The hotel as examination space is described by Roe-Min Kok, 'Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories', *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, eds Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 89.
6. AGS Kariyawasam, 'Buddhist Ceremonies and Rituals of Sri Lanka', *Access to Insight*, 7 June 2010,

<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/kariyawasam/wheel402.html>, accessed May 1, 2013.

7. See Kristian Stokke and Jayadeva Uyangoda, *Liberal Peace in Question: Politics of State and Market Reform in Sri Lanka* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2011).

Reviews

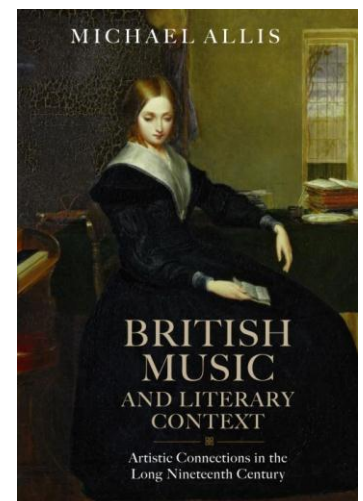
Michael Allis, *British Music and Literary Context: artistic connections in the long nineteenth century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012)

Stephen Banfield

What a refreshing book!

It was Michael Allis who about five years ago invited me to contribute a critical retrospective on the stream of Victorian musicology that had become a torrent over the previous half-decade or more. The resulting review-article, which appeared in the *Journal of Victorian Culture* in 2010, urged us all to get back to the music itself with close readings that would satisfy musicians while continuing to aspire to the interdisciplinary cultural history that has made of us something more than innocents abroad.

Allis would appear to think alike, for in *British Music and Literary Context* he has consolidated five substantial case studies into an overall model of considerable scope, expertise and sensitivity where the treatment of Victorian and post-Victorian art music are concerned. To be sure, there is nothing new in the model *per se*, and it simply delivers what one would expect to find in top-quality journal articles (such as those in *19th Century Music*): close and extended attention to specific pieces of music by reference to scores, music examples, manuscripts and sketches; equally full accounts of creative and biographical genesis and critical reception; reliance on and responsible awareness of the historical arguments (in this case accessed



primarily through consideration of Victorian literature) that are relevant to the placing of the musical study within some interdisciplinary imperative, consequently binding the musicologist to the broader intellectual community in some kind of parallel to the forces that were working (often unawares) on the composer. Although Allis writes well and never obscures his argument or fails to sustain our interest, the model does generate a certain amount of overkill—music examples that go on for pages and fail to summarise by way of short score or a table of motifs; pages swamped by the virtuosity of their footnotes (many of them compendia of article and book titles designed to make us worry about what we should have read). But never does he pursue the irrelevant: this is high-quality scholarship throughout.

Each chapter takes a poet (or genre) and a composer: Bridges and Parry, Tennyson and Stanford, Browning and Bantock, Bulwer-Lytton and Elgar, travel literature and Elgar. And each except the Stanford one has at its heart the extended scrutiny and, through that scrutiny's contextual basis, the advocacy of a particular musical work. The advocacy arises naturally from the contextual standpoint, and this is where Allis has made a real difference. Henceforward we shall reach for at least four scores and CDs with new-found sympathy, excitement and understanding: those of Parry's *Invocation to Music*, Bantock's *Fifine at the Fair*, Elgar's Piano Quintet and Elgar's *In the South*. Equally to Allis's credit, we shall do the same for the poems and novel: Bridges's own *Invocation* (which he published in its original form after Parry had ridden roughshod over it), Browning's great dramatic monologue, and Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story*. As for the travel literature, I shall never read travelogues again without smiling at authors' ploys for covering their guilt at solvent idleness (and this includes Elgar, expiating his winter indulgence with an overture).

Where we used to say 'ploy', now we say 'strategy', but luckily any tendency towards academic buzzwords in Allis's prose is at the most very slight. The book would however have benefitted from a little more theory, in the form of something holding the five chapters together. (It should be added that two of them had been published before, one in a much shorter version.) What that something might be is difficult to say, given the always focussed but different kind of argument and different kind of relationship between composer and writer developed in each chapter. Without it degenerating into a convenient catch-all, the concept of the musical topic or *topos* could probably have been explored on a variety of levels. For example, in *In the South* the topic would appear to be something almost comically approaching that erstwhile middle-class nemesis, the holiday picture show, given Allis's astute but rather polite recognition of the scenes snapped and shown, the reasons for doing so, and the

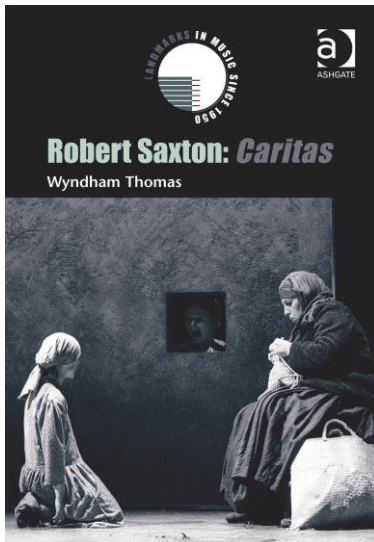
ways of getting from one to the next: a topic consisting of topics. This is to be a little too frivolous, but there is nearly always something slightly undignified in how authors and composers rub up against each other. Bulwer-Lytton's description of wild oriental melodies is so clichéd that one can see why a composer such as Elgar would have been reluctant to appear too responsive; Bridges and Parry generated plenty of mutual incomprehension and disdain; and Allis is too much of a gentleman to suggest that Stanford might have been for ever getting in on the act of Tennyson's bardic status, even long after the poet's death. In a curious sort of way, Bantock and Browning seem the best matched, and we should be grateful to Allis for making us listen carefully to *Fifine at the Fair*. Decades ago I casually trashed it, and should not have done: it is a fine piece when heard with ears tilted at the angle adjusted for us by Michael Allis.

Wyndham Thomas, *Robert Saxton: Caritas* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012)

Edward Venn

Told through a series of short scenes that collectively span some four years, Arnold Wesker's play *Caritas* (1981; rev 1990) depicts the tragic descent into madness of a fourteenth-century anchorite, Christine Carpenter, set against the background of growing civil unrest that culminates in the Peasants' Uprising. Robert Saxton's 1991 adaptation, developed with Wesker as librettist, seizes the opportunities afforded by the tensions of the play – between the sacred and the profane, between those in a position of authority and those who serve them, and between the inflexibility of dogma and personal expectations – and fashions them, as Wyndham Thomas persuasively argues in *Robert Saxton: Caritas*, into a compelling operatic statement of considerable dramatic power.

The book's undoubted value resides in its championing of Saxton's music. Notwithstanding the critical and commercial successes of his compositions – outlined by Thomas briefly in chapters 1 and 6, as part of a useful introduction to a range of pieces – Saxton's music seems to me to be long overdue serious, extended study. And this is exactly what it gets, for nearly a third of the book is given over to Chapter 4 '*Caritas: The Opera*', in which musical matters take centre stage. As both composer and specialist on medieval music, Thomas is able to approach the subject matter and its musical realisation from a position of erudite authority, interrogating closely the score and its related texts, including those historical documents upon which Wesker based the original play.



In doing so, Thomas skilfully demonstrates the means by which Saxton generates momentum across the 78-minute work by means of (amongst other things) pacing, intricate tonal structures, motivic cross-referencing, and vivid characterisation that culminate in the 20-minute Act II, dominated by a Passacaglia, and which belongs to that great

tradition of 'mad scenes'. The three chapters that are devoted to the genesis of the opera (from historical documents through to the actual music) are the core of the book, and barely a page goes past without an illuminating comment. The book is accompanied by a CD recording (the fine 1992 Collins Classic release, now re-issued on NMC).

The volume belongs to Ashgate's *Landmarks in Music since 1950* series (for which Thomas is series editor). The inclusion in this series perhaps accounts for the nature of arguments concerning the status and value of *Caritas*. Thomas gives short shrift in Chapter 5 ('*Caritas*: Performance and Reception') to negative aspects of the opera's critical reception, and his occasionally defensive tone here combines with an unequivocal advocacy of the opera elsewhere. Thus *Caritas* is a 'landmark within Saxton's *oeuvre* and a key work in the development of the genre' (xiv); 'a landmark in twentieth-century British opera' (3) and, later, it is described as 'one of the most significant musical scores of the second half of the twentieth-century' (113). These are potent value judgements, and the few pages given over to a Britten-centric account of twentieth-century opera, both British and beyond (3-10), are insufficient in and of themselves to substantiate his claims one way or the other (let alone position *Caritas* within the twentieth-century canon as a whole).

Thus one of the distinct advantages of the book's careful, detailed analysis of the opera is that it allows the reader to assess for themselves the relative merits of competing claims about its content. For instance, both Malcolm Hayes (reviewing the premiere) and Michael White (in his review of a production in the following year) allude to an element of 'playing it safe' (the title of Hayes's piece); White's specific complaint was that the shocking, physical elements of the narrative have no staged or musical counterpart. Thomas's reaction was to highlight in the first instance the difficulty in countenancing 'a risk much greater than

composing an operatic *finale* that depicts the accelerating madness of a youthful anchoress who has been denied the freedom to leave her tiny squalid cell' (106); in the latter case, he retorts that 'presumably, the sight of a young anchoress exposing her breasts and urinating on stage is not sufficiently shocking or physical nor, it would seem, is the heroine's hysterical screaming – together with a notated vocal line that alternates rapidly between barely suppressed passion, monotone prayer and paranoid expressionism' (108). How, then, might we begin to negotiate competing interpretations such as those offered on the one hand by Hayes and White and on the other by Thomas?

Let's take Thomas's claim about the dangers inherent in Act II. Clearly his risk assessment is correct: as it stands, the finale accounts for a quarter of the opera's length, is given almost entirely over to the soprano, and replaces the discrete historical snapshots of the first Act with a continuous, cumulative portrayal of increasing madness. This poses a considerable challenge to any operatic composer, let alone one embarking on their first professional opera (Saxton's only previous opera, *Cinderella*, was written when he was twelve). Contributing to the undoubted success of this finale, as Thomas meticulously shows, is the way in which Saxton's musical language responds to the specific structural, narrative and psychological demands of the libretto.

Despite this, it remains possible (and perhaps necessary) to speculate on why certain critics might have found *Caritas* to be 'playing it safe'. To take a prominent example, Thomas's analysis demonstrates the crucial structural and expressive role played by the interval of the tritone, the augmented fourth. Amongst its many functions in the opera, we might note how it is a common source of bass motion in faster moving passages that reflect 'the reservations and unresolved anxieties about the contemplative path chosen by Christine' (52) as well as providing 'harmonic tension' in contrasting 'episodes that are associated with Christine's calling' (55), it 'is prominent' in the 'concluding stages of [Christine's] madness' (63); it is the culmination of a passage of 'agitation' (67); it 'embodies Matilde's own reluctance to share Yvette's (or Christine's) self-sacrifice' (76). The list could go on, but it is clear I hope that the associative significations of the tritone are those drawn from traditional stock. None of this is to deny sophisticated and musically satisfying ways in which Saxton responds to the libretto, but to acknowledge that this response takes place within a particular expressive world – and one that, as Thomas demonstrates, sends its roots far back into operatic tradition whilst simultaneously discovering imaginative and innovative ways to manipulate this material. Yet this grounding in traditional expressive gestures provides a certain constraint for the visceral tragedy of Christine's madness: here we might

understand Hayes's reservations voiced above. Moreover, the operagoer familiar with (to limit ourselves both temporally and geographically) recent British opera might find themselves inured to such depictions anyway – the shock value of *Caritas* pales against the ritual violence of *Punch and Judy* and *The Mask of Orpheus*, the attempted rape of Flora (as Miranda) in *The Knot Garden*, the eye-gouging and incest of *Greek*, and the music theatre of *Eight Songs for a Mad King*, a work against which all excesses of modern operatic madness ought to be measured.

All of this goes some way towards qualifying the ways in which *Caritas* might be considered a 'landmark', and the more far-reaching claims of the book deserve to be given more space in which to allow their case to be argued. As it stands, if we habitually measure the significance of the opera in terms of dramatic or technical innovation, we might be forced to conclude, along with critics such as Hayes and White, that *Caritas* 'plays it safe', lacking those distinguishing features that might give it landmark status. By this token, it is perhaps difficult to make a strong case that *Caritas*, beyond the confines of Saxton's oeuvre, has carved a distinct space for itself in the canon, assumed a wider significance in twentieth-century musical history, or inspired imitators. But this, I would argue, is a reductive view of musical history that privileges novelty over musicality. What Thomas's compelling study demonstrates time and again is that *Caritas*'s value – if we have to think in such terms at all – lies in its impeccable attention to detail and craftsmanship and above all in the way that, by virtue of a deeply felt and considered response to the text, Saxton fashions anew a dramatic musical language that appeals to both the emotions and the intellect.

DRM Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Fernando Cervantes

In this elegant and intriguing study of musical production in the Philippines during a time when the archipelago formed part of the global early modern Hispanic world, DRM Irving suggestively portrays Manila as 'the first global city', a veritable melting-pot of European, Asian and American cultural traditions; various ethnic groups from all corners of the world brought their rhythms, instruments, dances and songs with them. Just as had happened throughout the Americas, music became an important tool of evangelisation in the Philippines. Christian missionaries were quick to see the advantages of autochthonous

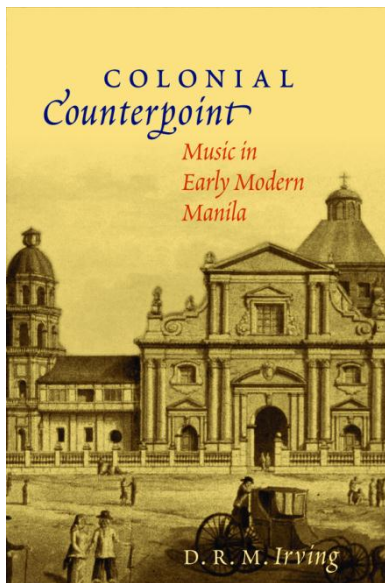
musical genres (notably the native song type called *ait*) that could be readily adapted for the purpose. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Filipino musical genres which bore any resemblance to Spanish practices were soon given Spanish names, like the *loas* (songs of praise) and the *pasyon* (poems recounting the life, especially the Passion, of Christ).

In an attempt to fathom what music was like in the Philippines in pre-Hispanic times, Irving analyses an impressive array of European missionaries, mostly mendicants and Jesuits, who carefully documented native songs, dances and instrumental performances in Luzon, the Visayas and Mindanao. His aim is to find evidence to suggest that Filipinos often found mechanisms to invert and subvert the imposed 'imperial' style, represented by counterpoint, which in turn caused the Spanish authorities to become even more determined to reinforce loyalty to the monarchy and the Roman Catholic religion through increasingly stringent legislative measures. Irving explains the process with the use of the metaphors of the circle of fifths and enharmony. 'Starting from well-established tonal centres', he explains, early modern Europeans 'moved in one direction or another around the circle of fifths and eventually entered enharmonic realms, where pitches did not match their names, nor names their pitches' (73).

Irving's hypothesis is that strict counterpoint was analogous to imperial control and enforcement. It was, in other words, a colonial device: a mechanism of power and control, signalling European superiority, to whose strict rules all other music had to be subordinated. Contrapuntal analysis, by contrast, is presented as a post-colonialist device to rescue the voices of the 'subaltern' from centuries of neglect. It can do this particularly by promoting a type of analysis that seeks 'to privilege and recover indigenous voices through subversive and contrapuntal readings of rare archival materials' (7-8).

Needless to say, Irving draws on the work of Edward Said in this. He also uses Saussure and Levi-Strauss's notion of 'opposition'. After all, he tells us, 'without opposition there can be no high pitches or low pitches, no loud notes or soft notes, no fast speeds or slow speeds'. The same is true of consonance and dissonance, major and minor, all of which can be defined 'only in relation to their antitheses'. It follows that 'many cultures can only discover their own identity through opposition or difference' (231).

Irving has done an impressive amount of archival work in the Philippines, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States, and has spent long hours in Filipino churches and convents trying to reconstruct a time when Intramuros (Manila's walled city centre) had more ground space devoted to religious buildings than perhaps any other city in Christendom. Unfortunately, the results are not quite as



persuasive as they might have been. The strong emphasis on theory leads Irving to overestimate the effectiveness of imperial 'counterpoint'. Legislative measures are taken at face value and no consideration is given to the widespread practice, characteristic of the whole of the Hispanic world well into the eighteenth century, known as *obedezco pero no cumplo* – 'I obey but I do not put into effect'. What Irving sees as indigenous subversion is in fact more helpfully explained as a process of accommodation to which the missionaries and the bulk of Europeans in the Philippines would not have in the least objected. Indeed, in many instances they will have willingly contributed to it.

So the book falls well short of its rather bold claim, announced with unashamed fanfare, to seek 'radically' to 'reconceptualize our views of what music meant for multidirectional intercultural exchanges', instead of being 'just one more monograph on yet another unsung colonial music history of the early modern Iberian world' (8). Nevertheless, this does not detract from the book's evident merits, not the least of which is to have

placed early modern Manila convincingly at the pivotal centre of the origins of a truly global cultural nexus.

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<http://www2.hull.ac.uk/fass/music/music-events/rma-study-day.aspx>

28 June 2013 No Sir, I Won't: Reconsidering the Legacy of Crass and Anarcho-punk, Oxford Brookes University
<http://www.brookes.ac.uk/about-brookes/events/no-sir,-i-won-t--reconsidering-the-legacy-of-crass-and-anarcho-punk>

5-7 July 2013 Benjamin Britten on Stage and Screen, University of Nottingham
<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/music/events/benjamin-britten-on-stage-and-screen.aspx>

1-3 August 2013 Christian Congregational Music: Local and Global Perspectives Conference, Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford
<http://www.rcc.ac.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=prospective.content&cmid=182>

4-7 September 2013 Sociocultural crossings and borders: musical microhistories, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Vilnius, Lithuania
www.lmta.lt

5-6 September 2013 Internationalism and the Arts: Imagining the Cosmopolis at the long fin de siècle, Tate Britain
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/arts/research/ice/events/2013/7.html>

9-11 September 2013 Hearing Landscape Critically: Music, Place, and the Spaces of Sound, Stellenbosch University, South Africa
<http://musiclandscapeconference.wordpress.com>

12-13 September 2013 Georgian Pleasures, Holburne Museum, Bath
 See announcement above.

12-15 September 2013 Eighth Biennial International Conference on Music Since 1900, Liverpool Hope University
<http://www.hope.ac.uk/events/conferences/musicsince1900conference>

19-21 September RMA Annual Conference 2013, Institute of Musical Research, London
<http://www.rma.ac.uk/news-and-events/html/2013-annual-conference-programme.pdf>

17-19 October 2013 Benjamin Britten: A Century of Inspiration, Texas Tech University, USA
<http://ttubritten.wordpress.com>

24-27 October 2013 Benjamin Britten at 100: An American Centenary Symposium, Illinois State University, USA
<http://finearts.illinoisstate.edu/music/britten100>

26 October 2013 Wandering Minstrels: The History of Travelling Opera in Britain, Royal Academy of Music
<http://goldenpages.jpehs.co.uk/2013/06/06/wandering-minstrels-the-history-of-travelling-opera-in-britain>

31 October - 1 November 2013 Britain and the British in World Culture: Celebrating Benjamin Britten's Centenary, Rimsky-Korsakov St. Petersburg State Conservatoire, St. Petersburg, Russia
<http://goldenpages.jpehs.co.uk/2013/04/16/britain-and-the-british-in-world-culture-celebrating-benjamin-brittens-centenary>