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'A Protean Spirit'

William Wallace:

Artist, Composer and Catalyst

Valerie Carson

Master of Arts, University of Durham 1999

Abstract

It is the author's aim to explore the ways in which the composer William Wallace (1860-1940), 'served his day and generation by multifarious activities' (Orsmond Anderton, 'A Protean Spirit', *Musical Opinion* 1920) and to demonstrate how those activities related to his musical work. As a musician, he was not solely composer but also critic, conductor, musicologist, historian, biographer, campaigner, translator, and innovator in British music at the turn of the century. These are among the issues to be discussed, primarily with a view to their influence on Wallace's composition, within the course of this document.

Distinguishing between Wallace's activities is not an easy task. Many links and overlaps exist between diverse accomplishments and, in allowing different interests to influence each other, he created difficulties in determining the headings under which to categorise his work. For example, an interest in Wagner was to enrich the literary arts of biography and critical review as well as to enhance Wallace's own musical style. For ease, the categories into which Wallace's work has finally been divided here are the Visual arts, Literary arts, Performing arts and Campaigns for the promotion of British music.

The contents of the supplementary **Appendix II** consist of a catalogue of Wallace's works, both musical and literary. Again, his musical works conform to four main categories namely Orchestral, Vocal, Theatrical and Chamber Music, while his Literary Works are subdivided into books, articles, academic papers or lectures, published letters and translations. Although not claiming to be definitive, this catalogue is the most comprehensive known guide to Wallace's works so far compiled and, to the author's knowledge, no previous detailed research into Wallace's work in general has been carried out since his death. This circumstance is here remedied through the collation of information essentially from primary material.

'A Protean Spirit'

William Wallace: Artist, Composer and Catalyst

by

Valerie E Carson

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Master of Arts, 1999

University of Durham, Music Department

- 2 NOV 1999

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'Whatever Mr Wallace writes about he manages to invest with interest. His style is delightfully keen.' (*Music and Letters* 1927, VIII: iii, 370)

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'Wallace's work, whether musical or literary, all bears the hall-mark of his vivid personality.' (Stanford and Forsyth, *A History of Music*, 318)

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'Fortunately, Wallace was not only a fine composer but was possessed of a clear-cut sense of reality, a logical faculty of unerring accuracy, and a grim determination to pursue to its end any cause in the rightness of which he was convinced.' (Sir John B McEwan, 'In Memoriam', 1940)

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Part 1: **Introduction**

Biography

In the ninth of *Musical Opinion's* series of 'Cameo Portraits', Howard Orsmond Anderton (1861-1934) wrote under the heading of 'A Protean Spirit' in 1920:

> We have a man of varied powers, wide views, creative clairvoyance in art, and of eminent scientific attainments, serving his day and generation by multifarious activities. May we not fairly take him as an illustration of the value of that protean adaptability of the human spirit whose energies, like a subtle fire, are ready to turn and bend with every change, to find every outlet, and apply its power wherever needed?...Healthy all-round growth is better than the lop-sided specimens, - the distorted cases of specialism, with which we so often meet among highly "successful" men: and of this many-sided life we have a striking instance in William Wallace.

William Frances Stuart Wallace was born in the Scottish coastal town of Greenock on 3 July 1860. He was the firstborn son of a prominent local doctor and gave every impression of following in his father's footsteps until, in his late twenties, he completed his doctorate in ophthalmology and abandoned medicine for music. Meanwhile, the Renaissance of British music had recently generated new interest in the art and there were opportunities at last to specialise in music within this country, whereas earlier musicians had had to train abroad and, more often than not, had to seek work abroad. However, by the late nineteenth century, the future of British music looked increasingly hopeful, and, although it progressed with the caution characteristic of this nation, there was progress, and it was towards its continued development that Wallace was to contribute to the country's musical life.

Although Wallace had benefited from two terms at the Royal Academy of Music after the completion of his medical training, and although he was to return there as Professor of Harmony and Composition between the two World Wars (1924-39), Wallace did not associate his own compositional style with that of any school of composition. He belonged to no group or clique of composers and for most of his musical career he was independent of any musical establishment or society, whether educational or orchestral. Having said that, he was apparently on the committee of Management for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music at one stage and Honorary Secretary of the Royal Philharmonic Society for two years before becoming a Trustee in about 1913, coinciding with the end of his term as Secretary of the

Society of British Composers. Apart from which, during his decade on the RAM teaching staff he was also Professorial Chief of their library and editor of their Club Magazine (Oct 1926-Dec 1936).[1]

However, his alliance with these organisations had no bearing on his composition and it would even appear that having accepted these commitments he now had little time for composition. In fact his musical output had been minimal ever since his participation in the First World War, in which he started out as an eye specialist in Colchester's Military Hospital in 1915 and retired as a Captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1919. In the meantime he had been promoted to head of the Ophthalmic Department in London's Second General Hospital and spent five months as an Inspector of Ophthalmic Centres in the Eastern Command. Apart from the distraction of the war, the mellowing effects of married life may also have led to Wallace's taking refuge in the musical associations and boards mentioned in the last paragraph, rather than continue in the anti-establishment vein of his younger days.

It would appear that Wallace (1860-1940) met Ottilie Helen McLaren (1875-1947) on holiday in Hilders, Switzerland during the year of 1895 and that, despite their age gap of sixteen years the couple fell in love. She was the daughter of John, Lord McLaren (1831-1910), Judge of the Court of Sessions, Member of Parliament and Lord Advocate, while William was the son of Dr James Wallace (1826-1904), General Practitioner in Greenock. At twenty years old Ottilie was living with her family in Edinburgh's New Town, not far from where the author Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94) had been brought up, and she worked in a sculptor's studio in the city under the instruction of James Pittendrigh MacGillivray (1856-1938). MacGillivray's own output included a statue of Burns in Irvine, Gladstone's Monument in St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh and a statue of John Knox in St Giles' Cathedral, also in Edinburgh.

Ottilie began her studies with MacGillivray at about the same time as she began writing to Wallace and continued working with the sculptor until 1897 when she succeeded in persuading her parents to let her study in Paris. She was based in Paris from 1897 until 1901 and for the latter half of that time was a student of Auguste

[1] Details of employment are compiled from obituaries and biographical articles listed in **Bibliography**.

Rodin. At the Great Exhibition of 1900, Ottilie did a lot to help Rodin prepare for the exhibition of his work in the 'Pavillon Rodin'. During her period of studentship as a sculptress Wallace was living and working in London, where Ottilie was not to join him until 1904. Following the completion of his training in medicine, for which he had been awarded MB and MCh from Glasgow University in 1886 and MD (Hons) in 1888, Wallace had gone to London and was to remain there for most of his life. Initially his purpose there was to study composition at the Royal Academy of Music, with F W Davenport and A C Mackenzie, but after two terms of tuition he was forced to abandon his studies, apparently due to the non-continuation of payment by his father.[2]

When William had first revealed his plans to begin a musical career his father had made his disapproval quite clear. James Wallace had encouraged his heir to pursue a medical career and as a student William had shown great promise. After sending his 15 year old son to Fettes College, Edinburgh, James' ambitions had gradually been fulfilled as William found himself following in his father's footsteps. However after his degree, followed by further training in Paris and Vienna, William returned to Scotland determined to pursue a different course to the one set out by his father, although his decision to become a professional musician instead was very unpopular. His father's sense of betrayal is evident in the surviving family letters at the National Library of Scotland, and it would appear that his outlet for these feelings was in the form of rage and verbal abuse. Their differences of opinion were a recurring cause of contention between the two men, in spite of the son's redeeming claim that he had saved his father's life after an operation where he lost a finger, in about 1891.[3]

In turn Wallace's choice of career also became a cause of concern to Lord McLaren, when it became clear that he had reached an understanding with McLaren's daughter. From the Judge's point of view, the problem lay not with the fact that Wallace aspired to be a professional musician in itself, but that the size of his income was inadequate. McLaren expected his daughter to live on no less than £600 per year.[4] In a letter to Wallace, of 17 Dec 1897 Ottilie quoted her father as having said,

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[2] NLS MS 21514, 24. Manuscript references will be explained within the next page or so.

[3] NLS MS 21504, c12 and MS 21505, c53

[4] NLS MS 21536

'I have a very good opinion of Mr Wallace's talent and industry, and it is only the fact of his having taken up a rather unremunerative profession that makes the difficulty.'[5] This was enough to prolong their engagement for nine years though, and the couple were finally married on 11 April 1905 in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

Background and Methodology

From London, Wallace had begun writing to Ottilie at her sculptor's studio in Edinburgh, in 1896, where she was surrounded by the casts of Greek and Roman gods.[6] The couple had become regular correspondents and eventually Wallace was writing to Ottilie practically every day, despite her parents' stipulated ration of one letter per month,[7] and each letter covered several pages. In the affectionate letters which they exchanged Wallace and Ottilie described their work, shared their latest ideas, bemoaned their failures, discussed various creative processes, and exchanged views on a wide range of contemporary issues. After a year or so of writing to one another, Wallace began to bind these letters into a series of small books, each the size of a short paperback novel, which he covered with white vellum and fastened with coloured ribbon. It is in this format that hundreds of their letters, written between 1896 and 1901 have been preserved and are now held in the National Library of Scotland's Manuscript Collection in Edinburgh.

Throughout this thesis where a reference number is preceded simply by the letters 'MS', unless otherwise stated it should be assumed that the reference is to pages either from these letters or from those within the same collection which family members or friends sent to Wallace. A table of NLS MS numbers and their corresponding dates can be found in **Appendix I**. However, due to the ignorance of the author when starting to compile an indexing system for these letters, the conventional terms *recto* and *verso* have not been used in page references within the thesis text. Instead, where a page number is given after the MS number, this applies to both the numbered sheet itself and the one which faces it when the bound volume of letters lies open.

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[5] NLS MS 21535
[6] NLS MS 21521, 17
[7] NLS MS 21529

The information which these volumes contain about the lives of Wallace and Ottilie, their relationship and the social climate in which they both worked is invaluable to the study of both correspondents and their creative output. In Wallace's case, they provide an insight into the 'multifarious activities' he took part in[8] during what appears to have been his most productive period as a composer, and the following thesis will provide links between these activities and his music. Most of the following information is, therefore, based around events which took place during that period between 1896 and 1901 although their details are supplemented by those from many other sources listed in the bibliography. For example, there are the quotations which head each of the following chapters, confirming Anderton's description of Wallace as 'A Protean Spirit'. These are taken from the writings of Wallace's musical contemporaries whose respect he earned on a number of counts.

On the whole very little has been written about Wallace. Apart from half a dozen obituaries, introductions to the composer on CD notes and a couple of articles about his work, for example in the different editions of *Grove*, nothing yet has been written about him in the way of biography. As for surveys of Wallace's work, although these are included in the entries of occasional biographical dictionaries or in books about British music at the turn of the century, few of these amount to much more than an abridged list of his orchestral compositions. Contemporary reviews have been more useful in referring to specific works, as have surviving programme notes from performances which took place during Wallace's lifetime.

Sadly there have not been many performances since Wallace's death. Apart from Neville Cardus' attempts to revive three or four of Wallace's best known works, in his 'Missing Music' series in 1972, it would appear that few attempts have otherwise been made to perform Wallace's music.[9] Apart that is, from the admirable contributions of the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra with Martyn Brabbins, whose two recently produced CD's are wholly devoted to Wallace's music. The first was recorded by Hyperion in 1995 and the second one and a half years later, receiving an equally enthusiastic welcome from *Gramophone* critic Andrew Achenbach as, 'Another Hyperion Winner'.[10] To those successes it is hoped that further recordings

[8] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 629

[9] For a number of recent performances see **Discography**.

[10] Achenbach, *Gramophone*, 60

might be added before very long. There is certainly a wide range of repertoire for Hyperion to choose from as the accompanying **Appendix II** will testify.

Since no comprehensive catalogue has yet been made of Wallace's music, the inclusion of a list of works with their details, is considered an important part of this thesis. The information which this catalogue contains about Wallace's music and literary works has been collected from many different sources including library catalogues and scores as well as the books, articles and concert programmes already mentioned. Rather than name the source of each detail beside its entry within the catalogue, the resources freely consulted during its compilation have been listed together in the **Bibliography**. Wallace's own literary contributions, on the other hand, are named separately in **Appendix II:C** under the heading of 'Literary Works'.

Acknowledgements

It would be appropriate at this point to name some additional sources of information, help and inspiration which have contributed towards the production of this thesis and to express thanks to specific individuals who, in their own way, have assisted the author. In this respect thanks must go primarily to Dr Jeremy Dibble, Chair of Music at Durham University, for his untiring enthusiasm in supervising this project. His dedication to British music since its nineteenth-century Musical Renaissance must surely equal Wallace's own, and his knowledge of the wider issues facing Wallace at the turn of the century has provided a valuable insight into the times. Particular thanks are also due to him for his kindly patience and reassurance over early attempts to put ideas onto paper.

Both Dr Dibble and Dr John Purser, author of the unequalled reference book *Scotland's Music*, have shown a great deal of interest in the development of this thesis since its embryonic stages and both have continued to assist its development through their welcome guidance and advice. Dr Purser's generous supply of material from his own library provided the inexperienced researcher with an ideal starter-pack, guaranteed to inspire further interest in the fascinating work and personality of William Wallace, and it is only regretted that time did not permit the expansion on more of his ~~his suggestions in the later stages~~ of this thesis. To Dr Purser the author is also indebted for the awesome opportunity to attend the recording of Hyperion's

second Wallace CD. The BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra and Martyn Brabbins are to be commended for both their CDs of Wallace's orchestral works and for subsequent live performances of his music.

Primary sources for the thesis have been supplied by various libraries around the country, since Wallace's lack of immediate descendants has denied the existence of a specialist archive collection, and for details of manuscripts held in Reading University Library and Leeds University Library reference should be made to the **Bibliography**. However, the manuscript department of the National Library of Scotland holds the largest known collection of Wallace's surviving letters, the details of which can be found in **Appendix I**. Although the original letters themselves have been inaccessible during the library's year-long closure, which coincided exactly with the length of the author's MA course, the hundreds if not thousands of photocopies made from them during summer 1997 have provided a firm foundation for the author's work. Therefore, for his influence over the letters' destiny and for providing subsequent information about Wallace's surviving family, gratitude goes to Mr William Thompson. Thanks is also due to staff at the NLS whose help during the long hours spent there in the months preceding the library's closure has been much appreciated. In particular Sheila Mackenzie should be mentioned for her kind contribution of a copy of her McLaren family tree, as should Mrs O M Geddes, for her prompt response to various postal queries. In connection with the letter collection, Professor Siân Reynolds of Stirling University has also helped by providing supplementary information about Ottilie and her work.

Secondary sources have similarly been dispersed among different libraries and special collections and the pursuit of obscure journals in particular has resulted in visits to Newcastle City Library and Birmingham's amazing Central Library. At the latter the author's sister, Lesley Carson, who works in the library, was particularly helpful and has saved her a great deal of time by tracking down specific sources and making enquiries within the library's various departments prior to the author's research trip. Here thanks are due not only for the curtailment of coffee and lunch breaks in order to retrieve information but also for the insight into the running of a library and into the purpose of librarians, and in this way helping to maximise the use of other library services.

Other libraries visited during the course of research include the British Library in London, Edinburgh's Central Library, Edinburgh University's Reid Music Library, the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Stirling University Library and of course Durham's own University Libraries, where various librarians have been equally patient in assisting searches and answering queries. Bridget Palmer of the Royal Academy of Music's Library must also receive recognition for supplying information about the manuscripts of Wallace's music within the library and for allowing access to copies of the *RAM Club Magazine*. For authorising a photocopy of Wallace's *Spanish Improvisations*, no longer in print, Stainer and Bell should be mentioned and for making access possible to the music held in the James Watt Library, Greenock, so should Mrs Cooper-White of the local history department.

However, a substantial debt is also owed to staff at the Scottish Music Information Centre, Glasgow. Their amazing reference library reflects the centre's commitment to Scottish music and provides readers with a wealth of scores and recordings of music by Scottish composers. At the same time the help and advice of members of staff, among whom the author had the privilege of working for a few months, were crucial during the early stages of her interest in Wallace.

More recently, the author has also benefited from an association with the Granville Bantock Society and, in particular, from the information rendered by their Patron Dr Cuillin Bantock, the Chairman Ronald Bleach and the editor of *The Bantock Society Journal* Vincent Budd. Apart from their enthusiastic welcome, the provision of material about Bantock, and updates on current Bantock research, the society has also encouraged Wallace's researcher by their reassurance of present interest in Wallace and his contemporaries. Information about Wallace's encounter with Delius was brought to the author's attention by Ron Bleach, while material relating to performances of Wallace's music at New Brighton and his Manifesto for the Queen's Hall Concert of British Music, is due to Vince Budd who kindly loaned his own copy of the concert programme.

The funding of this project has come from three main sources. Firstly, from Durham University itself who generously contributed a sum of money towards the cost of the course. Secondly, the Musica Britannica Trust, who made a donation to help reimburse the small fortune spent on photocopying, through their Louise Dyer

Award. For these two sources of funding the author is extremely grateful, as much for the financial assistance as for the trusts' endorsement of the scheme's merit. However, those who have invested most in the past year's research - in capital, support, encouragement, reassurance, and enthusiasm - are the author's parents, who have stoically followed and picked up a trail of bills in the wake of the researcher's adventures, and who have simultaneously continued to top up the 'fighting fund' along the way. Without their much-valued support this research would certainly never have taken place.

At the same time a number of friends have contributed towards the author's well-being over the past year. For the support of fellow students, the manifold kindness of supporters living locally in Durham, Newcastle and Sunderland, the hospitality of friends visited and the welcome distraction of friends' returned visits, and for the ideal atmosphere for living and working in the Rectory, the author is eternally grateful and hopes that all who have contributed so much might be aware of her appreciation.

Chapter 1: Visual Art and a Composer of Programme Music

> 'I sought the assistance of William Wallace, whose easy familiarity with nearly every known art and craft had long marked him out as one of the most versatile characters of the day.' (Sir Thomas Beecham, *A Mingled Chime*, 104)

As far as the visual arts are concerned Wallace took part in life-drawing classes,[1] he painted, sketched and drew, he helped Ottilie with her sculpture by running errands for her and offering her advice, and he helped other friends who were sculptors or painters in practical ways such as viewing studios with them. Likewise Wallace employed himself in various crafts such as bookbinding, as we saw in the case of the NLS love-letters, and interior design, in which he considered setting up a business in South Africa in 1898.[2] His interest in art was to last a lifetime and out-with the span of his letters to Ottilie, Wallace's artistic output included the painting 'Waterloo Drum', exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1928, and a series of water-colours based on the eye injuries and disorders he had encountered as a surgeon during World War One.[3] Some of these activities will be discussed further over the next few pages, tracing the relationship between Wallace's philosophies about the visual arts and about the composition of music.

It can be assumed that Wallace already had some previous interest in, and knowledge of, sculpture before he met Ottilie. However, she provided him with an incentive to find out more about that particular art when he might otherwise have gravitated towards other artistic disciplines. During their long correspondence Wallace showed great interest in Ottilie's work and learnt from her about the processes and techniques involved in sculpting, some of which he even attempted for himself. For example he made a bust of Ottilie which he cast in plastique and wax.[4] Both his practical experience of sculpting and his observation of fellow artists at work, helped Wallace to appreciate the concentration, judgement, delicate touch, imagination and perseverance which Ottilie's art required of her, and they led him to seek parallels between sculpture and composition.

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[1] MS 21514, 32

[2] MS 21514, 67-68 and 83-84

[3] Forsyth, *RAM Club Magazine*, 5-6

[4] MS 21514, 54

In his letters to Ottilie, Wallace often described music in terms of sculpting or painting. Ottilie apparently knew little about music and so Wallace discussed his composition, which she had few opportunities to hear for herself, in imagery to which she could relate. The most notable instance of this artistic language is in one of Wallace's earliest letters of January 1896, written soon after he began work on his symphony *The Creation* [See **Appendix II:A5**].[5] After describing the aims of his music and the idea which each movement was meant to illustrate, Wallace wrote that:

> You won't perhaps realize the musical idea, but translate it into your own work, and it will be clear as day...everyone can translate into his own tongue the work of others, absorb it till pictures appear as symphonies, and symphonies as sculpture.[6]

In this way Wallace 'translated' the order of cosmos into sound in his symphony. Other examples of Wallace's translation of artistic ideas into music can be found in his programmatic orchestral works, although in practice there was less direct input from the visual arts than from the literary arts in his choice of programmes.

Returning to Wallace's use of the language of sculpture, in referring to his symphony he also told Ottilie that the theme of creation reminded him of her work: 'When I think of it I seem to see your patient fingers making Kosmos [sic] out of the Chaotic clay.'[7] Knowing the limits of her musical knowledge, Wallace tended to focus on the programmes he used, rather than his musical techniques, in descriptive letters. However he did venture to broach the subject of musical form with her, in the symphony, namely by telling her that each movement of *The Creation* was to function as the first or second subject, episodes and recapitulation of a work in sonata form.[8] The detail of this description was quite unusual for the letters though, and Wallace assured Ottilie elsewhere that her ignorance of music need not hinder her appreciation of the art. 'After all music is an emotion, and it only "needs a heart" to be quite clearly understood.'[9]

To describe the literary programme which had inspired him was one thing, but to put into words the emotions which he meant to express through music was a

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[5] Hereafter, when a work by Wallace is referred to for the first time within this text, a similar catalogue number will follow it in **bold**. This directs the reader to **Appendix II**, which provides further details about the work.

[6] MS 21502, 12-13

[7] MS 21502,12

[8] MS 21513, 40 (Winter 1897)

[9] MS 21505, 14

different matter. All that he could hope was that by drawing on the similarities between their experiences as artists, Ottilie would be able to sympathise with his creative aims and processes. In a sense, while she was a sculptress of tangible materials Wallace was a sculptor of sound and just as she shaped and reshaped clay with her hands, so Wallace worked with sound by moulding and refining it into music. Once a piece of music emerged and was manifest on paper, he explained to Ottilie that, 'The full score is like pointing in marble or casting in bronze. Alterations are not easily made.'[10] Through parallels such as these, Ottilie could begin to perceive how Wallace composed, despite the fact that she could not understand music to the same extent as a trained musician.

However Wallace's assurance that the appreciation of technique was not necessary to enjoy the sound of music, nor to be moved by the emotions which it stirs up, emphasised the relative importance of the spirit behind a piece of music over the composer's technical competence. This demonstrates a certain consistency with Expressionist ideals of the time, of which more later. In the following passage Wallace encouraged Ottilie by deriding the experienced musical critics who misunderstood a composer's intentions when distracted by technique:

> People make a great mistake about music when they say they can't understand it. The most complex piece of music that was ever written is clear to anyone who works at art in any shape or form. The mistake lies in the fact that they are trying to get at the difficult part which is the technique, instead of leaving that alone, and allowing their minds to drift into sound. The sound carries them into their own thoughts, and lets them understand clearly what they dreamed vaguely...When I write music I don't want people to follow me about all over the pages and scrutinize the twists and turnings that I have made of the sounds. I only want them to feel that the music *strikes* them in a peculiar way.[11]

Having said that, Wallace enjoyed the opportunities he had to study the scores of music by other composers, for example Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*,[12] and as a musical reviewer he was also required to criticise music. For his own part, Wallace said that he valued Ottilie's opinion above anyone else's, as she was the chief inspiration for his music.[13] Paradoxically, he even went as far as to say, on more than one occasion, that he was learning from her how to compose:

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[10] MS 21512, 42
[11] MS 21504, 25-26
[12] MS 21502, 25-26 (Feb 1896)
[13] MS 21512, 41

I know that thou art heart and soul with me, in the fullest understanding - else how couldst thou teach me to write what I do!...Somehow thou art always near me when music is in the air - thou art so much music to me.[14]

As his inspiration, Ottilie came closer than anyone to understanding his music, so he told her. Even fellow musicians who were more familiar with the musical techniques he used did not necessarily capture the spirit or purpose of his music as she did, which he claimed was of greater importance. Equally, few people were aware of his attachment to Ottilie, which they kept quiet until their engagement was acknowledged by both their families, and so outsiders could not be expected to understand his creative motivation.

Although Ottilie was Wallace's main contact with the art of sculpture, he did have other friends within that discipline. The most prominent of these was a sculptor called John Tweed (1869-1933), whose commissioners included Cecil Rhodes, Prime Minister for South Africa.[15] A London-based artist, Tweed met often with Wallace, and the latter called on him and his wife at home as well as seeing him at regular life-drawing classes, which began in March 1898.[16] Along with three other friends Hirst, Douglas and Blow,[17] the men also composed a group of artists who dined together periodically to discuss aesthetic issues and artistic philosophies. Calling themselves the Anonymous Academicians, the group aimed to invite one guest whom they all admired, for example the painter Theodore Roussel for whom Wallace modelled in academic dress for his 'Portrait of William Wallace Esq',[18] sculptor Alfred E Gilbert, poet William E Henley and conductor August Manns, to each meeting. Their guest's main qualification was that his views of art must be as wide-ranging as his hosts. 'Gentlemen who have no ideas beyond their own subject are ineligible,' Wallace explained.[19] Although the Academy lasted only a month or two as a recognisable

[14] MS 21512, 41
[15] MS 21509, 27
[16] MS 21514, 73
[17] Wallace's letter references to these gentlemen do not include very much biographical information but they are most likely to have been:

- Norman Hirst, the mezzotinter
- Edwin James (1848-1914), John (1867-1936), Sholto Johnstone (1871-1958) or James (1858-1911) Douglas, who were all practising artists during this period
- Detmar Jellings Blow (1867-1939)

[18] Portrait Painters Exhibition 1897: MS 21512, 30 and 21513 10, 24
[19] MS 21514, 13

group, Wallace's friendship with its various members was to last much longer, especially that with Tweed.

Throughout Wallace's correspondence with Ottilie there are stories of encounters with Tweed and bulletins about his work as a sculptor, in which Wallace took an active interest. He helped Tweed in his work with techniques such as waxing,[20] went studio hunting for him[21] and modelled for his bust *The Rebel Son* which was exhibited in the Glasgow Institute in 1897.[22] From discussions with Tweed, Ottilie and other artists, and through his own reading and efforts, Wallace became increasingly familiar with sculpting materials, processes and terminology. However, despite his growing knowledge of the art Wallace conceded that he could never see Ottilie's work quite in the same light as she did:

> All the thumb marks and ridges of wax that your dear hands make mean to you far more than they mean to anyone else. But when we look at your work we get our own feeling of it - it is only the man who is madly in love with you that longs to see with your eyes and feel with your fingers.[23]

Yet he assured her that all artists must suffer from isolation to some extent.[24] It seems somewhat incongruous that the man described by Anderton in *Musical Opinion*, a man whose diverse interests and talents, including sculpture and painting, brought him into contact with a great many different people, should have suffered feelings of isolation. Yet a number of factors contributed to Wallace's loneliness. Firstly, the sculptress with whom he was in love, lived some distance away, only moving to London one year before they were married. Secondly, her parents attempted to monitor her contact with Wallace and so many of their meetings, as well as their letters, were conducted in secret and could not even be discussed with friends.

As for Wallace's own family, apart from the difficulties of their living so far away, like Ottilie, there were several quarrels between father and son regarding the younger man's career decisions which divided the family periodically. Wallace's mother wrote to him after one particularly stormy incident, which took place during a visit home from university: 'It wrung my heart to see you go last night in such a state and with such cruel words ringing in your ears and mine...I am only too familiar with

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[20] MS 21514, 13
[21] MS 21511, 20
[22] MS 21508, 49 and MS 21509, 28
[23] MS 21504, 30-31
[24] MS 21502, 75

these words, having heard them applied to myself for the past 25 years,'[25] hinting at a deeper loneliness than her elder son was ever to experience while he had the assurance that at least his love for Ottilie was requited.

As far as friendship and companionship were concerned, Wallace also found cause for complaint. Two of his closest friends, his ex-house-mate Langdon Mitchell and Ottilie's brother Ludie, were both living abroad during the 1890's, in America and South Africa respectively. At the same time Wallace was antagonistic about friends remaining in London. In musical circles, insecurity about his deficient training contributed towards his resentment against colleagues who worked for London's musical establishments, and competitiveness put him on his guard against fellow composers who worked freelance. His somewhat stormy friendship with Granville Bantock (1868-1946), for example, seemed to come under most strain when rivalry and the guarded jealousy of Wallace over his work arose. This moved the younger man to write sulkily in 1900 that, 'I have no wish to penetrate the mystery with which you continually appear to cloak yourself...and have shrunk from entrusting me with your friendly confidence.'[26] Over the years the two composers embarked on a number of musical ventures together for the promotion of British music which will be discussed later. However at one point Wallace suspected his friend of copying his musical ideas[27] and at others criticised his lack of discernment as a composer.[28] Bantock was certainly more prolific than Wallace, judging from the volume of his published works, although Wallace's own output was larger than articles hitherto written about him would suggest. [See **Appendix II**]

Yet in his work, Wallace complained that he lacked the sympathy of friends whose judgement he could depend upon in musical matters. Despite the advantages of having friends from different artistic disciplines, for example in the prevention of narrow-mindedness, Wallace found that those artists often lacked understanding and showed little interest in his music. He reasoned against their specialism that, 'It is all very well to say that the man who works at one art and shuts out all the others will do well,' but, 'for a man to boast of his humanity and yet to be devoid of the most human

[25] MS 21549, 92 (May 1882)
[26] MS 21550, 130
[27] MS 21509, 25
[28] MS 21517, 21

quality, sympathy or the desire to appreciate is balderdash!'[29] To Wallace the fine arts, equally valid as outlets of expression, should be received by artists of different disciplines with equal enthusiasm. He certainly expected painters and sculptors to appreciate music, just as he valued their work, writing to Ottilie that, 'the true artist - is at home in all arts alike.'[30] In reality, Wallace's own friends were so pre-occupied with their own arts, or at least with related visual arts, that he was left to compose without their interest or encouragement, or so his letters imply.

During his correspondence with Ottilie during the 1890's, some of the twenty-five young, rebellious, avant-garde painters known for a while as the Glasgow Boys were included among Wallace's friends. For example there was James Guthrie (1859-1930), a leading figure in this School who was born in Wallace's home town of Greenock. The painter shared Wallace's experience of virtually teaching himself in his specialised art-form and it is quite likely that Guthrie and Wallace knew each other from an early age, there being only a few months between them in age, so that when they were both in their thirties they met socially in London. Another of their mutual friends was the Irish incomer to the Glasgow School, John Lavery (1856-1941). It is to him that Wallace's book of short stories *The Lighter Life* **[E.1(b)]** is dedicated, one of the stories, 'Summer's Kiss', being based on an episode from Lavery's own life.[31]

The significance of the Glasgow Boys' collective label is uncertain, although it would seem that the principal figures each had some connection with Glasgow. As a school, they were most productive between 1880 and 1895, although individually most of them continued to be fruitful as painters after the group had fragmented. Wallace's connection with the group dated back to his Scottish upbringing[32] although during the 1890's it was with those who gravitated towards London that Wallace had most contact. While based in Scotland the group had originally formed in protest against the artistic establishments there, especially the Academy in Edinburgh, Glasgow's rival city, and as rebels within their genre they shared some of Wallace's anti-establishment views. He had sympathy for their antagonism towards the institutions who rejected their work, and for the instinctive approach to art which they

[29] MS 21515, 14
[30] MS 21513, 47
[31] MS 21503, 63
[32] MS 21502, 62

had in common: 'I simply wrote music as they painted pictures, feeling that my method was absolutely correct.'[33] Yet because of their apparent lack of sympathy for his work as a composer, Wallace felt isolated even within these friendships.

The main problem with Wallace's painter and sculptor friends seemed to lie with the fact that while they could appreciate the beauty of visual art, they failed to grasp the value of music. In other words, in contrast to Wallace who frequently participated in arts other than music, his friends were examples of the 'lop-sided specimens of specialism' condemned by Anderton in 'A Protean Spirit'. A brief summary of some of Wallace's painting exploits should indicate just how varied were his contributions to the visual arts. These ran concurrently with his musical activities and throughout the stages of his composition, from the conception of a poetic idea to the public performance of his music, he frequently digressed into projects belonging to these arts. As a medical student at Glasgow University he sketched a number of eye conditions[34] and during the First World War he produced the larger series of water-colours of eye injuries mentioned earlier, which would constitute the largest known collection of his paintings. These were allegedly donated to the Royal Army Medical Corps Eye Museum following his unsuccessful attempt to have them published by Macmillan in 1920.[35] However, the fact that a painting of his was exhibited at the Royal Academy later in that decade indicates that he was an accomplished painter, and that of all reasons it was not his lack of talent which prompted Macmillan's rejection. His painting 'Waterloo Drum' apparently depicted part of his house in London, and was submitted to the RA when Ottilie, who was by this time his wife, was unable to make her usual contribution to the exhibition.

More directly relevant to Wallace's music are the title pages and covers which he designed for several publications, some of which may have been taken from publicity posters for performances of his music. Disappointingly, it would seem that his article for the music journal *The Musician*, 'Posters in Music' [**E.2 (d)**] was never published, although it may have discussed the purpose of his designs. His contribution to sheet music covers includes designs for two of his song cycles, *Lords of the Sea* [**B.18**, published in 1901] and *Freebooter Songs* [**B.10**, published in 1909,

[33] Ibid

[34] MS 21506, 32

[35] Letter to the publisher, 30 Jan 1920, Macmillan Archives, Reading, 72/45

thirteen years after they were begun]. Both designs are silhouettes: the first of a tall ship and the second of a freebooter on horseback, summing up the themes which unite the songs in each cycle. His designs also include the butterfly motif on the cover of *The Lighter Life* and the portrait of a student in academic dress, *The Red Gown*, for Glasgow University's hymn *Carmen Glasguense* [**B.3**, composed during Dec 1898 – Jan 1899], for which he used Japanese printing techniques.[36] In this last design, although the student is wearing academic dress owned by Wallace, there is no hint in his detailed letters of the time that this was a self-portrait. On the contrary, during its initial stages he remarked to Ottilie that, '...I need a model',[37] although he did admit later that the student's hand had been his own, since 'No one could give me a hand as I wanted it.'[38]

Despite the links and parallels between music and the visual arts, towards which he constantly drew Ottilie's attention, it would appear that Wallace's association with painters also increased his awareness of the differences between their arts. Apart from the techniques of ordering and developing musical themes into the main structure of a piece of music, for which Wallace found no equivalents in the visual arts, the composer faced additional difficulties in keeping a large musical work in perspective during its composition. It was simpler for painters to assess the effect of a specific detail on canvass than for the composer to imagine how his effect would sound within the overall context of a piece of music.

As a composer Wallace also had to contend with the many obstacles to having his music performed. Admittedly, just as he submitted his work for performance, his artist friends submitted theirs for exhibition, although once an exhibitor had been found the painter or sculptor had little more to do. On the other hand, a completed orchestral score was merely the starting point as far as musical performance was concerned. Having gained the support of a conductor who was willing to perform the piece, Wallace had to produce the necessary orchestral parts, negotiate with conductors and performers, and sometimes conduct rehearsals or performances himself. At the same time a piece of music generally had only one chance to succeed. If it was unpopular at its premiere it was unlikely to be performed again, and the

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[36] MS 21518, 10-11
[37] MS 21517, 108 (Dec 1898)
[38] Ibid, 116

audience would have no opportunity to revise their first impression as they could with a painting which they could 'study ...at their leisure'.[39] Music needed a certain measure of instant appeal in order to survive, although neither Wallace's songs nor his orchestral works were in the lighter styles most popular among the concert-going public of the time. However Wallace considered his music to be beyond public taste. 'My critics of *today* are my fellow composers, 'he told Ottilie. '*Tomorrow* the public may waken up possibly!'[40] Comments made by a representative from the publishers Schott, who were reluctant to publish either his music or that of other unknown composers to whom their customers' response was unpredictable, seemingly endorsed Wallace's belief that he was ahead of his time.[41]

Despite Wallace's constant efforts to promote his own music, he estimated in 1896 that only 5% of his music had been published or performed. While he was equally aware that it was not always easy for a painter to have his work acknowledged, it seemed that he at least had a greater number of opportunities to exhibit his work than the composer had to have his music performed. Wallace's campaigns to remedy the situation in favour of British composers, are discussed in the final chapter. However in his lonely position as a composer, and in some respects almost an exile among family and friends for the sake of music, Wallace did not give up hope of recognition as a composer. He discovered in his isolation that work was as good a friend as any, which is perhaps why the period between his first meeting Ottilie and their marriage, over long periods of separation, yielded such a high proportion of his music. His references to Ottilie as his inspiration, and the dedication of his music to her would certainly endorse the idea of composition consoling him while they were apart.

It seems appropriate here to draw attention briefly to a few specific pieces of music which Wallace dedicated to Ottilie. His pet-name for her, 'Shelomith', crops up time and again in his music and cannot be ignored. The affectionate term came from Wallace's mystery play *The Divine Surrender* [**E.1(a)**, published in 1895], being the name of a main character, a Jewish girl who, as Wallace explained in the prefatory note, represented the transition between faiths:

[39] MS 21516, 161
[40] MS 21502, 20
[41] MS 21502, 26

SHELOMITH represents the spirit of the Law; she looks for a more human interpretation, and her sympathies lie less towards outward observance. She is the type of the new Christian, desiring something more than sacrifices and burnt offerings.[42]

What Ottilie's own religious beliefs were is unclear, although her family was apparently Protestant with some Jewish ancestry. However Wallace saw in his own 'Shelomith' the essence of what he understood to be Christian, in goodness and beauty.

In Hebrew characters the first letter of the name, שׁ, became a motto for the couple although it could easily be mistaken as a decorative W for Wallace. For example he explained how the monogram came to feature on the poster, or cover, of Glasgow University's hymn *Carmen Glasguense*:

> Where the שׁ is dearie I had put the Glasgow College arms, but rubbed them out because at best I could only make a very conventional affair of them, as they don't work into strict heraldry. But the space was there, and I thought it would balance the space under the dividing line. Then Hirst said 'Why not use your monogram? I said which? He said, the 'Shin' - ie thy letter!!! He thinks it is a sort of *W* dearie! Isn't that amusing! When he called it *my* monogram I had no idea that he meant *thine*, but *thine* is down now in the pencil copy, and it shall stay there. Seeing it is on everything that I do it was perhaps natural for an unimaginative man to connect it with me; tho' he might have known better than that![43]

The monogram appeared as an acknowledgement to Ottilie in many of Wallace's musical scores, either substituting his signature at the end of a work, eg in his suite *Pélléas et Mélisande* [**A.13**] and third symphonic poem *Sister Helen* [**A.17**, both begun in 1897] as a dedication at the start of a piece, eg heading the score of his fourth symphonic poem *Greeting to the New Century* [**A.9**, premiered in 1901], or on the cover of a printed work such as the aforementioned university hymn. In connection with their secret symbol, Wallace wrote to Ottilie in the summer of 1898:

> Here and there I see thy sweet sign שׁ as a little prayer to the dear one who rules all my thoughts and thou art so much with me, I am so much part of thee that I can't conceive of the most ordinary event taking place without the thought in my mind of thee somehow concerned in it.[44]

To illustrate Ottilie's input Wallace also left blank bars in the full score of his symphony *The Creation* [**A.5**, premiered in 1899] and of *Sister Helen* for her to complete during one of their rare moments together.[45] Another piece of music which he dedicated to Ottilie was *A Suite in Olden Style* [**A.19**, premiered in 1897]. On the

[42] Wallace, *The Divine Surrender*, 73
[43] MS 21517, 111
[44] MS 21515, 115-16

title page of the piano version the Latin inscription 'Ad Ottiliam' appeared instead of the Ø monogram, and Wallace was delighted when Bantock mistook it as a quotation from Horace.[46]

With Ottilie as his leading inspiration, with other artists around him and through his own experience of their arts, Wallace was very well aware of contemporary philosophies and practices within the visual arts. Some of these were, in turn, to have an effect not only on the range of visual arts in which he participated but also on his work as a composer. Like his contemporaries in France, Delius and Debussy, Wallace was affected by the thoughts of artists among whom he lived, as his preference for programmatic to absolute music reflects. His preoccupation with other arts attracted him to musical genres which related music to other art forms, song being one other notable example.

Programme music was a genre in which music could cross-fertilise with visual and literary arts, suiting a composer of Wallace's varied interests. The genre might depict, for example, pictorial images such as a painting or a sculpture, or a text such as a play or a poem. The programme may function purely as a stimulus to the composer's creative instincts, for example by suggesting a musical structure to the composer. Or, on the other hand, it may be that a programme provides the audience with a narrative to follow while they listen to the music, as was Berlioz's initial intention in his *Symphonie fantastique*. These different options provided ideal opportunities for Wallace to demonstrate his knowledge of other arts and to reinterpret the work of other artists through music. However he was anxious to avoid the literal translation of a programme into music:

> The great difficulty when translating an idea which can be put into words into music to be played only, is that one may miss all the 'inwardness' and try to catch the externals only. It seems quite impossible to explain how one piece of music succeeds in catching the idea and another fails.[47]

The *New Harvard* definition of programme music lists three categories into which the genre may be divided: 'expressive', 'depictive' and 'narrative' music[48]. These three categories correspond closely to those which Wallace described in his paper, *The Scope of Programme Music* [**E.3(b)**, 9th May 1899], although his

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[45] MS 21515, 115
[46] MS 21510, 48
[47] MS 21502, 25
[48] Randel, 'Programme music', 656-9

definitions also highlight the difficulty of distinguishing between these types in practice. The labels he used were 'subjective', 'pictorial' and 'literal', the latter two coming under the broader heading of 'objective', and he tried to distinguish between these entities by emphasising their differences. The 'subjective' he considered the highest form of programme music, since it directly expressed the composer's emotions, while the 'objective' types were secondary, and depicted external ideas: usually either pictures or stories.

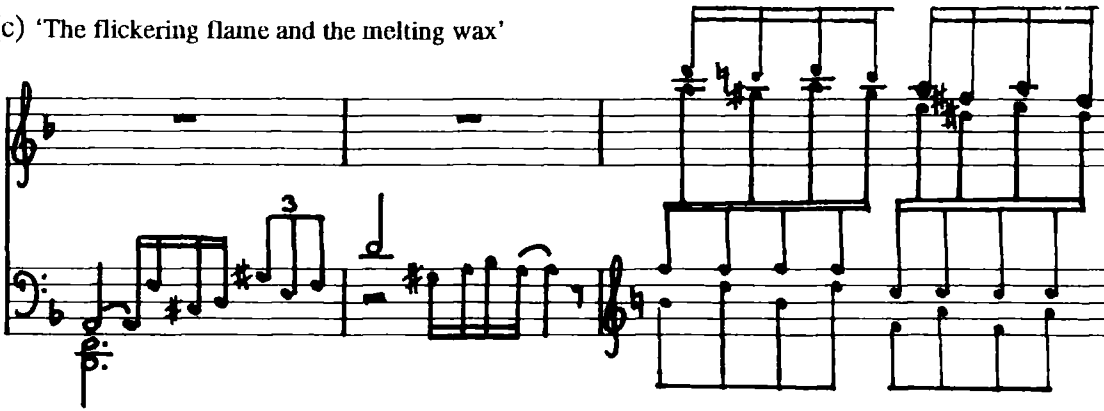
However, in practice these boundaries overlapped somewhat and in his music Wallace included elements of all three types of programme music, sometimes even within a single work. For example in *Sister Helen* he tried to capture the sinister atmosphere and the emotions of the characters in Rossetti's ballad while following its plot and imitating the movement of galloping horses and dripping wax. In Charles A Barry's programme note for the symphonic poem's premiere in 1899, the audience was guided chronologically through the piece following Rossetti's order of events and the various musical motives which represented a particular mood, action or object were quoted [See **Example 1**]. So despite favouring one type of programme music above the others, in theory, Wallace strayed into the other types in practice as well.

Example 1: *Sister Helen*

(a) 'She thinks of her old passionate love'

(b) 'The "ride" motive'

(c) 'The flickering flame and the melting wax'



He considered a programme in some shape or form to be an indispensable component of music. A composer might choose not to reveal details of his programme, or he might find it impossible to articulate verbally what he could express through music, but Wallace did not accept that his musical creativity could exist independently of poetic ideas. Composers of 'absolute music', he believed, merely denied the source of their inspiration. 'To affirm that [the composer's] conception never at any time came within the range of verbal interpretation in his own mind,' he told the Musical Association (MA) sarcastically in his speech on the subject, 'is to endow him with faculties far beyond the most consummate intellect that ever existed.'[49] He went on to elaborate:

> It is inconceivable that a composer, even though he lack the gift of clear verbal expression, should go to work without feeling his emotion so stirred that he must give utterance to his thoughts. There are emotions intangible just as there are others tangible, and their depths and intensity, tangible though they might have been at one moment, are able to elevate them beyond the range of articulate expression. But primarily it is scarcely possible and most improbable that they were conceived without some articulate idea asserting itself at the beginning or during the progress of the work.[50]

However, a further complaint against absolute music was the tendency of the composer to become pre-occupied with his own musical techniques. Meanwhile, at the other extreme, a narrative programme could result in banality, demonstrating that both practices could easily deviate from the priority of expression. Wallace's compromise, in order to avoid both abstract expression on the one hand and the literal interpretation of a programme on the other, was to compose what he called 'subjective' music. Under this heading he communicated his own feelings and reactions to a literary work through music, and in this way personalised the programme which he adopted. Wallace did defend composers of so-called absolute

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[49] Wallace, 'The Scope of Programme Music', **[E.3(b)]** 152

[50] Ibid, 151-52

music in his paper though, by saying that their finished work ought to be judged on its own merits rather than on their composer's approach.

By claiming that programme music represented an advanced stage within the evolution of music, Wallace also justified preference for the genre, which is endorsed through the adoption of descriptive titles for his compositions. He told his audience at the MA that the evolution of their art necessitated the use of faculties other than the aural sense:

> Today we find the craft of music in a highly organised state. The composer sets to work with the technical side simplified, and with the precepts of the classical masters to guide him, with forms conventionalised and fitted to his purpose, he finds himself driven to seek for something more than abstract structural beauty. Resting secure in his conviction that the various musical forms have reached their highest technical developments, he strives to impart to his work some new, some modern quality, and this he discovers by giving to his composition a definite poetic significance.[51]

Through the integration of different faculties such as the visual or the literary, and music, eg in Wagner's music dramas, the composer engaged a larger portion of the audience's intellect than in absolute music, and due to the brain's physiological development it was now able to organise the signals from these senses simultaneously. Wallace's theories regarding the brain's capacity for composition are discussed at length in his books *The Threshold of Music* [**E.1(f)**, published 1908] and *The Musical Faculty* [**E.1(d)**, published 1914], reflecting the Darwinist and Spencerian climate in which they were written, and these will be discussed further in the chapter about Wallace's literature.

However Wallace's views about programme music were influenced as much by contemporary art movements as by the scientific theories of evolution. His association with the aforementioned Glasgow Boys, for example, exposed him to various schools of thought about painting which had their parallel movements in music. Not that Wallace believed that what was most important or most effective in the visual arts necessarily corresponded to the composer's priorities in music. On the contrary, his compositional theories and techniques often contradicted those which he praised most highly in visual art. Nonetheless, an awareness of the discussions taking place in one art invariably raised issues relating to another, and so through the contemplation of work by his friends Wallace became increasingly conscious of the problems of his own art, and perhaps saw more clearly how they might be solved.

[51] Wallace, 'Scope' 149

One of the current movements taking place in French art around the turn of the century was Impressionism. Dating back to a Parisian exhibition in the 1870's, this style of painting was probably first encountered by Wallace in the following decade, during his ophthalmic training in that city. Although the term 'Impressionism' was not one commonly used by Wallace in his letters, books or articles, it can be seen from Oscar Thomson's definition of the word, that Wallace had a great deal of sympathy for impressionist ideology:

> In literature, in painting, in music, the aim of these kindred artists was to suggest rather than depict; to mirror not the object itself, but the emotional reaction to the object; to interpret a 'fugitive expression' rather than to seize upon and fix the permanent reality.[52]

In *The Scope of Programme Music*, Wallace made clear that his aim as a composer was to express his reaction to a story, scene or person in accordance with the definition of Impressionism, rather than to describe any of these things literally through music. The following examples of Wallace's orchestral music illustrate the three types of programme in practice: his symphony *The Creation*, depicting the composer's reaction to a series of unfolding events, his symphonic prelude to *The Eumenides of Æschylus* [A.7, premiered 1893], based on the atmosphere of a Greek tragedy, and his symphonic poem *Sir William Wallace AD 1305-1905* [A.21, premiered 1905], representing a historical character.

In the programme note for *The Creation*, Wallace wrote that, 'Since the aeons into which the Work of Creation was divided cannot be interpreted into a strictly literal sense, the music aims at depicting the emotion which the contemplation of the theme in its poetic and symbolic meaning is able to awaken.'[53] The programme does however follow the chronology of events which take place in the Biblical story of Creation. Its basic plot provided a structure for Wallace's musical ideas, as the quotations which head each movement clearly show, by suggesting a theme for each movement, although the work really celebrates the different components of Creation rather than re-telling the story through music. The literary structure of episodes from Creation and the quotation and development of musical themes from one movement to the next, contribute together to the symphony's coherence.

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[52] Thomson, *Debussy - Man and Artist*, 1937

[53] Programme note for premiere in New Brighton, 30 July 1899

On the other hand *Eumenides*, a single-movement work, follows no such literary structure. In the overture Wallace aimed to encapsulate a less specific scene, representative of Greek tragedy but independent of the play's plot. Charles A Barry wrote that, 'Mr Wallace has not attempted to illustrate musically any particular scenes of the drama. Still, as the Greek idea of Fate or Retribution is the motive of the play, the subject...may be regarded as the *idée fixe* of the music.'[54] This piece represents the second category into which Wallace's programmes fall. Through it he attempted to recreate the atmosphere of a single scene, rather than a series of events such as in *The Creation* or in works which had originated as incidental music. His first symphonic poem *The Passing of Beatrice* [**A.12**, premiered 1892] also depicts a single episode, taken in this case from Dante's *Paradiso*, in one movement, whereas his fifth and sixth symphonic poems are more akin to musical character sketches and as such they form the third category of programme used by Wallace.

As his fifth symphonic poem, *Wallace* embodies the nationalistic fervour of the composer's namesake and was written to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the patriot's martyrdom. Wallace wrote that for this piece, 'There is no descriptive or verbal programme: the music is designed to suggest local atmosphere, energy, lyrical feeling, and manliness and action.'[55] His musical treatment of this historical character also demonstrates his sympathy for painters. Quoting one of the Glasgow Boys, John Lavery, Wallace wrote that in portraiture, 'You make a person the occasion of a picture. You don't take the person and paint a portrait of him.'[56] For example in *The Hind's Daughter* by Sir James Guthrie, 1883, the artist observes and comments on the girl through her rural surroundings as much as describing what she herself looks like.[57] Likewise Sir William Wallace is represented within his natural context in the fifth symphonic poem. His character is upheld by the use of musical themes derived from the Scottish folk-song best known by Burns' lyrics as 'Scots wha' ha'e'. However, each movement represents a different aspect of nationalism, from nostalgia to ambition.

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[54] Programme note for the Greenock premiere, 8 Jan 1894
[55] Programme for Queen's Hall performance, 11 Feb 1915
[56] MS 21506, 58
[57] This painting is in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

In the early 1900's Wallace also made Françoys Villon the 'occasion' of a symphonic poem [**A.20**]. This series of short symphonic character sketches reflect the different sides of Villon's character against a variety of settings, in medieval Paris. In the symphonic poem, although the Parisian venues in which Villon is observed are represented as backdrops to the drama, it is the general atmosphere and Villon's reactions to each which are the main focus of the music. Nostalgia, mischievousness, prayerfulness and riotousness are all evident through Wallace's orchestral writing.

On the one hand, while Wallace's musical treatment of literary subjects relates to the impressionistic practice of 'suggesting' or 'mirroring' a particular image[58] some of his philosophies reveal an empathy with Expressionistic art. The term 'Expressionism' had been used as early as the 1850's to describe the inclinations of certain authors and painters and it may have been from their philosophies that Wallace formed his own ideas about expression in music. Certainly the theories he perpetuated about musical matters in his books and articles correspond with *New Grove*'s definition of Expressionism, in which the expressionist's compulsion to create music, irrespective of musical convention or traditions is described, in order to convey directly his thoughts and feelings. Wallace went further in *Threshold*, claiming that:

> [The serious composer] writes music because he must; he encounters the world under conditions which are at every step adverse and inimical to himself; the ease and comfort which might have been his had he indentured himself to any of the conventional forms of slavery, he is willing to forgo, provided that he is free to express the thing that he hears with the 'ear of his mind'...Music to him is his necessity, and he will not barter it for a mess of pottage.[59]

Elsewhere in the same book he continued to explore the composer's struggle to express subconscious thoughts and emotions through music,[60] in what was to him an almost involuntary act.

Wallace's priority of expression in art was also reflected in his letters to Ottilie, although the term 'Expressionism' was not one which he used directly either. He wrote that, 'To me there is only one art and that is expression - all "arts" so called are simply branches of the single art.'[61] Under the umbrella of all art as 'expression', Wallace discovered that the similarities between music and sculpture included a

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[58] See Thomson's definition of Impressionism
[59] *Threshold*, 1908, 12-13
[60] Eg page 262

common aim of the artists. As he wrote to Ottilie, 'Both of us want to fashion beautiful things. We strive for expression, and desire to impress others with our own sense of what we feel.'[62]

However, although the word 'expression' recurs time and again in Wallace's writing about art, he did not advocate the abstract musical styles now associated with Expressionism. The period during which he wrote to Ottilie about communicating their emotions through art, predates the height of atonality and the Second Viennese School by a couple of decades but neither then nor in the following years did Wallace try to emulate those styles. He preferred to express his music through more traditional means which had their foundation in the Romantic era, making use of chromatic or dissonant, rather than atonal, harmony.

Likewise, although the idea of direct, personal expression through the arts would appear to favour absolute to programme music, as pure emotion without pictorial distractions, it was to the latter that Wallace was drawn. How he reconciled the contrasting ideologies of Expressionism with the practice of Impressionism in his music is not altogether clear. Equally sympathetic towards the aims of both, he did not seem to realise the paradox of using a literary programme while also claiming that his music expressed himself. On the other hand, the source of Wallace's programme, for example a play, ballad or poem, may have functioned as a stimulus to the emotions which then prompted musical expression: overlapping Impressionism with Expressionism.

It should perhaps also be acknowledged that Wallace's literary works included their equivalent to a musical programme. In the introduction to his books Wallace published the background to his work and any other information which he considered expedient to the reader in the Preface. These books will each be considered in turn in the following chapter, although one example will be named here: *The Divine Surrender* [E.1(a)]. In its prefatory note Wallace outlined the play's history as a piece of literature and explained the different stages which it had gone through before reaching its final format, ie starting as a music drama but rewritten as a festival play with incidental music. The Preface also provides a résumé of New Testament times,

[61] MS 21509, 31
[62] MS 21504, 30

in which the drama is set, and out-with the main boldly of his text, Wallace includes other details relating to costumes and stage directions.

Within Wallace's orchestral scores he also included the occasional technical suggestion about how to achieve some of the effects he wanted. For example in the orchestral suite *Pélléas et Mélisande*, he clarified that, 'It will be sufficient if a handkerchief is laid on the drum at the *far side*,' when a muffled effect is required[63] and the conductor is reminded to 'observe the nuances' in a passage where the melody is divided between various wind instruments.[64] Wallace also wrote a few pages earlier that, 'everything except the bass clarinet should be almost inaudible,' when it has the melody at the start of the third movement, 'The Love of Pélléas for Mélisande'. This is easily accomplished with the lightly scored accompaniment for cor anglais, clarinet, bassoon, and horns. These directions are reminiscent of Berlioz's orchestral writing which also included verbal instructions, for example in *Symphonie fantastique*, where he specifically requested the use of sponge-headed drumsticks. However, in Wallace's orchestral score for *Villon* he included a greater amount of text, this time in the form of medieval poetry which the French poet had written himself. In this way the lines of poetry which Wallace selected provided him with a coherent programme around which to structure his music. Although the insertion of poetry above different sections of his music occurs only in this piece, the example does illustrate the extent to which Wallace went in order to translate literature into music.

[63] *Pélléas*, orchestral score, page 91
[64] Ibid, 51

Chapter 2: Author and Song-writer

> 'Whatever Mr Wallace writes about he manages to invest with interest. His style is delightfully keen.' (*Music and Letters* 1927, VIII: iii, 370)

As an author, Wallace's published work included the book of short stories and mystery play which have already been mentioned. However, being first and foremost a musician, he wrote at least four books on specifically musical topics which will be discussed in the course of this chapter. In addition to these, he wrote a large number of articles for musical journals of his day such as the short-lived *The Musician* [**E.2(d)**, May to Nov 1897], *New Quarterly Musical Review* [**E.2(e)**, May 1893 to Feb 1896] and the *Royal Academy of Music Club Magazine* [**E.2(g)**, founded in 1900], and for periodicals of general interest such as the *National Review* (published between 1883 and 1950). He also submitted articles and sent letters to newspapers such as *The Glasgow Herald* [**E.4(a)**] and *The Times* [**E.4(b)**], and wrote entries for the third edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* under 'Orchestra' and 'Orchestration' [**E.2(a)**, published 1927-28].

Obviously Wallace had to write these articles in a variety of different styles, depending on what kind of publication he was contributing towards and even within his small collection of published books his tone depended on the readership and subject. The occasional turn of phrase which he used in his books about Wagner and Liszt, such as those cited later in this chapter, illustrate his imaginative style and love for language, although with slightly greater restraint than in his book of short stories, *The Lighter Life*. These two composer books provided an intermediary style within the broad spectrum of Wallace's writing between scientific material and fiction.

Also at the more serious end of the scale is the paper Wallace read to the Musical Association, 'The Scope of Programme Music', which has already been mentioned. Subsequently published by the society, the paper is clearly intended to engage its audience of professional musicians through intellectual arguments. A number of reasons for Wallace's serious style in the paper may exist, apart from the specialism of his audience. One is that as an outsider to the country's main musical establishments, he felt he had to prove his knowledge to other musicians. Another is

that through the use of logical arguments he had the chance to defend his work as a programmatic composer before some of his fiercest critics.

All the same, his published writing is more objective than his personal letters, although all these sources complement each other on a range of issues. Returning to the letters which he wrote to Ottilie, these he wrote as an artist, highlighting their common experiences as musician and sculptress. At the same time, they discussed topical issues, ranging from the intricacies of contemporary politics to their views on friendship and love. In contrast to the letters, in which Wallace expressed himself using artistic imagery, his books on musical philosophy are full of comparisons between science or nature and music. He adopted a number of metaphors in *The Musical Faculty* (1914) and *The Threshold of Music* (1908) which scientists could appreciate, just as his parallels between the visual arts and music helped Ottilie to understand his work. For example, Wallace likened music to a biological product of the brain in *Faculty*. In other words music was only manifest in a form tangible to others through the efforts of the composer to realise his mental energy.

Natural phenomena such as giving birth, and the efficiency of an ecosystem were also used as metaphors in *Faculty*. Although Wallace had no children himself, he explained the composer's protective instincts over his work through paternal imagery:

> Like a minute organism the composer sets apart something of himself: tends it: endows it with the life that is his own: nourishes it with all his strength: watches the budding of new faculties, new gifts: then when the hour is come he wounds himself to set it free, and lets it go forth to justify its existence.[1]

In this passage Wallace demonstrated characteristic sympathy for another creature: the parent whose love allowed his child's independence, despite the pain which this caused. This poignant observation on Wallace's behalf admitted, in retrospect, that he could understand the protectiveness of his own father who had died in 1904, before the book was published. In Wallace's own experience, rebellion against parental influence had been necessary in order to 'justify his existence' as a musician rather than as the doctor his father wanted him to be. However, he would evidently have preferred his independence to have been granted more willingly.

[1] Wallace, *Faculty*, 203

Wallace's published books on musical subjects can be divided into two main categories according to their scope, style and subject matter. In the first category the aforementioned *Threshold* and *Faculty* reconcile popular evolutionary philosophy of the times with scientific information about man and music, and are primarily aimed at scientists. Meanwhile, his other two books *Richard Wagner as He Lived* [E.1(e), published 1925] and *Liszt, Wagner and the Princess* [E.1(c), published 1927] discuss those musical personalities in a general way, and are aimed at a wider audience. However, before discussing these four books within the context of contemporary literature and exploring what they reveal about Wallace as a composer, another book ought to be mentioned. This fifth musical book is named by Kegan and Paul on the title page of Wallace's *Richard Wagner*, as *The Conductor and his Forerunners*, of which it names Wallace as the author. This mysterious book does not appear in the catalogues of Britain's main libraries nor is it listed in published articles about Wallace's work. However, there is another reference to the book in a letter which Wallace sent to his wife during her temporary absence from their London home in 1925.[2] There he referred to the work he had been carrying out on a conducting book while Ottilie had been recuperating in Scotland.

Subsequent letters refer to other articles he had been typing up simultaneously, presumably those he contributed to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* which was published in the following year, and to a book of his due to be published by Kegan and Paul within a matter of weeks. Although this title-less publication might have been *The Conductor*, it is more likely that Wallace was referring to his Wagner book instead which was certainly published in 1925. This being the case, the fate of *The Conductor*, on which Wallace was working during the same year, remains unsolved. However it may be safe to assume that it was never published, despite premature publicity from his publisher. What may, in fact, have happened, is that Kegan and Paul had decided to publish two books by Wallace during that year: *Richard Wagner* and *The Conductor*. Then, after reconsideration they may have dropped the later, although by then it would have been too late to erase its advertisement from the previously printed Wagner book. This explanation would account for the absence of any later references to the conducting book but it still

[2] MS 21549, 26

reveals nothing about either the contents of the book or about the reasons for its removal from publication. Only one solution will be suggested here. That is that during the upsurge of both scholarly and populist writing about music, which began with the British Musical Renaissance of the late-nineteenth century, other authors may already have exhausted the aspects of conducting about which Wallace had written by the time his book was due to be published.

Returning to his published books, however, the two about evolutionary science's relationship to music reflect another popular trend in non-fiction of the time. By the end of the nineteenth century evolutionary theory had pervaded virtually every branch of philosophy in the Western world and was even infiltrating the arts. Science and art alike were explained in evolutionary terms. Musicians perpetuated the theories of Darwin and Spencer in a number of books, from *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (1896) by Parry to *The Effects of Music* (1927) edited by Max Schoen, which were both published by Kegan and Paul. The former is a volume from 'The International Scientific' series and the latter from the 'International Library of Psychology Philosophy and Scientific Method'. However, despite Kegan and Paul's publication of Wallace's composer books, it was Macmillan who published his scientific ones and in those books he was to complement existing evolutionary theories and books with his own ideas.

On the first page of *Threshold*, he stated that his aim was 'to trace the development of the Art of Music [sic], and show its direct bearing upon the evolution of a human faculty'.[3] He did this by tracing the history of music from primitive times to the year in which his book was published, with reference to Darwinist theories about the evolution of man and emphasis on what Wallace called the 'musical faculty'. Darwin's *The Descent of Man* was first published in 1871 while Wallace was still at school, and consequently as a boy his science lessons, and later his university lectures, would have been dominated by the theories of its author. Growing up within this climate, it was natural for Wallace to appeal to Darwin's theories as he sought scientific solutions to the questions he had about music. The origins and the development of musical ability are two of the main problems for which Wallace

[3] Wallace used capitalisation in 'Art of Music': a widely used phrase following the publication of Parry's book. John B McEwen also talked of the Art of Music in the introduction to his book *The Foundations of Musical Aesthetics*, published after 1916.

sought solutions in his book, which he did by applying medical knowledge to explain man's ability to compose.

In an unpublished letter to his publisher, of 18 Sept 1907, Wallace urged Macmillan to publish his enclosed manuscript of *Threshold*. By clarifying how evolution had effected the development of music, he wrote that '[*Threshold*] deals with an aspect of music, which as far as I can ascertain, has not been considered at all, and I believe I am breaking new ground.' He continued:

> In the Preface and first chapter I attempt an explanation why scientists have left the question alone, and I may add here that the chief objection to all books on the psychological side of music is that they are written by men who have neither a knowledge of the anatomical and pathological conditions of the brain, nor a practical experience of the cerebral effort of creating music.[4]

Clearly he believed that the issues connecting music and evolution were worth some attention and that in his position as both scientist and composer he was well qualified to carry out the research. Unfortunately, neither *Faculty* nor *Threshold* include a bibliography and so it is unclear whose the 'psychological' books were, to which he referred.

Nevertheless, as one who had a claim to either discipline Wallace took on the role of mediator between the scientist and the artist in *Threshold* and *Faculty*. Meanwhile, other writers, such as Parry, had been exploring the place of music within the context of social evolution. For example, in the aforementioned book by Parry and in his *Style in Musical Art* (1911) he concentrated on social theories about music within the development of culture, race and national style. Wallace on the other hand traced the development of music alongside man's anatomical evolution, irrespective of nationality but related to natural selection. One example where Wallace's theories are related to those of Darwin is where he considered the origin and early development of music, which Darwin claimed were the results of 'sexual selection'.[5] Darwin believed that like birds, man sang to attract a mate and presumably the more elaborate the song, the more likely they were to succeed. However, if musical development had originally been necessary to propagation, Wallace questioned why an art-form which was seemingly no longer necessary to existence should have continued to develop.

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[4] Macmillan Archives 57/252, Reading University

[5] Wallace, *Threshold*, 6-7

His own belief was that the musical faculty had been latent for thousands of years before its evolution proper began, during the second half of this millennium. The reason which he suggested for the faculty being only recently stimulated, in relation to the long history of man, was that it may have emerged to compensate for another, obsolete sense.[6] This undefined sense, which might once have been necessary to the survival of man, ceased to function and left room for man's musical faculty to develop in its place. Wallace's explanation for the continued development of music since the awakening of this new faculty was that for some reason the composer's musical sense had continued to evolve and increase in its capacity to create complex musical ideas and structures.

During its evolution music had gradually been freed from its traditional, functional roles eg within the context of church, court and theatre and was increasingly performed independently in concerts. However by the late-nineteenth century it was reunited with other creative faculties in the romantics' attempts to achieve the highest form of art or *Gesamkunstwerk*. Wagner believed that the way to accomplish this was through his music dramas, while Wallace seemed to believe that music could evolve further through programme music. On the whole his music engaged his listeners' imagination and emotions without visual aids despite a few attempts at theatrical music. In his tone poems he implied a scene, plot or atmosphere without the help of a backdrop or props, allowing his audience to use their own imagination as they reflected on the music and its programme. Their subjective involvement in his music, has already been explored in the context of programme music, and presumably he believed that its success as an intellectual and emotional stimulus exemplified the maturity of the composer's musical faculty.

With evolutionary theories in mind, Wallace also suggested in *Threshold* that in some men, such as himself, the composition of music had become a necessity or compulsion, as we saw in his ideas about expression. He wrote that the natural composer was compelled to express aloud the music he felt or heard in his mind's ear and that this necessity had become increasingly common throughout history as the musical faculty developed in a larger number of people. Evidence suggested however that musical ability was not passed genetically from parent to offspring.

[6] Wallace, *Threshold*, 3 and 22-24

To what extent Wallace's theories about the evolution of man's musical faculty actually affected his composition would be difficult to say. However, his belief that natural selection favoured composers, for whatever reason would almost certainly have given him moral courage to compose in the styles he preferred while he pursued his musical career. It was as if evolution justified his existence as a composer. His need for justification in a career which generally received little respect in Britain, might also be traced to his father's opposition to his being a professional musician instead of a doctor. That being so, in the evolutionary books Wallace applied his medical knowledge in order to defend the composer's position, consequently turning the situation around in his own favour. By applying the scientific theories with which he was familiar, Wallace could answer his own questions about the mysterious ability he had to compose: one of many 'scientific attainments'.[7]

However, apart from affecting Wallace's philosophical outlook, Evolution may also have influenced his approach to composition. The underlying themes of development and progress were already fundamental to musical form by the late-nineteenth century, for example through the Development section of a work in sonata form, but Wallace took these ideas further in works such as his symphony *The Creation*. The following extract is taken from a letter in which he explained to Ottilie that in *The Creation* he intended to represent man's cosmic evolution through the continuous perfection of musical themes: 'I am simply working out a series of themes which find their perfect form in this last movement, while from them I get less perfect themes for the other movements.'[8] *The Creation* and the symphonic poem *The Passing of Beatrice* both illustrate evolving programmes, through music which is based on sonata form. Although the Biblical account of Creation seems an unlikely subject to be related to Evolution in music, Wallace explained in the programme notes that:

> Regarded in its poetic significance as a Liturgical Hymn, and not as a record of events, the first chapter of the book of Genesis presents a theme suggestive of symphonic treatment. Since the aeons into which the Work of Creation was divided cannot be interpreted in a strictly literal sense, the music aims at depicting the emotion which the contemplation of the theme in its poetic and symbolic meaning is able to awaken.[9]

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[7] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 629

[8] MS 21509, 27

[9] *Creation*, 30 July 1899

As Wallace imagined the world evolving into its present state through the poetic picture described in *Genesis*, and so his music celebrated the different elements emerging out of Chaos.

Originally intended as a five-movement work, Wallace explained to Ottilie that, 'Being a practical man...and as I have my own way of doing things I see a way of doing the job [ie the work of Creation] in 5 days, and having Saturday and Sunday free. Hence the symphony.' 'After all,' he wrote, 'When you come to read that first chapter of Genesis you see what an awful muddle the creator must have been in!'[10] However, Wallace further reduced his five-day plan to four days at a later stage: contrasting the sea and dry land within a single movement, rather than dealing with them individually, and making no special reference to the creatures over whom man was to rule. Wallace's programme notes confirm that at the symphony's premiere in New Brighton only four movements of the symphony were performed. Each headed by a quotation from Genesis:

Movement	**Quotation**
First	The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep...And God said, "let there be light."
Second	God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night. He made the stars also.
Third	God said, "let the waters be gathered unto one place and let the dry land appear."
Last	Man.

Wallace did not refer to the final movement as the 'fourth' but always as the 'last', and elsewhere in his letters as *Overtura Appassionata* **[A.11]**, a movement which he considered equally suitable for independent concert performance. This left open the option of inserting another movement before the final one, which may have been Wallace's original intention, since some of the orchestral parts used by the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra during their CD recording do include an eighty bar Interlude between the third and last movements.

[10] MS 21509, 28 (Feb 1897)

As far as the evolution or development of musical ideas is concerned, the symphony's principal themes all relate to, or grow out of, one another. Each created element, being or matter, has its own motif carefully constructed so as to fit the other motifs with which it is played. For example in the last movement, motives unite to represent the culmination of God's work through the creation of mankind. This movement was composed as a recapitulation of the entire symphony (the first was supposed to function as the first subject, the second as the second subject and the third containing episodic material),[11] and as such, the quotation of earlier themes is only to be expected. The symphony's principal themes, are named in Wallace's programme note, and their relationships can be found in the following examples [For corresponding musical quotations see **Example 2** on the subsequent page]:

Movement and theme	**Related themes**	**Common Features**
I 'Void'	'Man'	(a) falling minor 3rd and rising tone
	'Moon'	(b) 2 consecutive rising semitones
II 'Stars'	Opening 'Sea' figures, 'Sea-song' (intervals inverted), 'Pastoral' melody	(c) descending 4th and 5th
'Moon'	2nd subject of 'Man', 'Pastoral' melody	(d) descending scale, derived from (c)
'Sun'	1st subject of 'Man', 'Moon'	descending minor 3rd and interval of a 4th
III Recurring figure	'Sea' figure, 'Sea-song', 'Pastoral' melody,	dotted rhythm

This idea of thematic evolution or transformation is perhaps more evident in *The Passing of Beatrice*, where all of Wallace's melodies are derived from one of two subjects. In the explanatory note of Schott's orchestral score, Wallace explained that, 'The music is designed to illustrate the passing, or transition, of Beatrice from earthly to immortal form,' which is achieved through thematic development. As in *Creation*, there is no one theme whose refinement can be traced from beginning to end of the piece along one single thread, but note patterns and rhythmic motives from the

[11] MS 21513, 40 (Nov 1897)

Example 2: ***The Creation***

'Void' Doublebasses, bassoons and bass tuba, page 5

(b)

(a)

'Man' i Brass, page 153

3

(a)

'Moon' Bassoons and violins, page 66

(d)

(b)

'Sun' Celeste and Violas, page 77

3

'Stars' Woodwind and strings, page 53

(c)

'Sea' Woodwind and strings, page 98

'Sea-song' Brass, page 112

'Pastoral' Flute and violins, page 118

(d)

'Man' ii Tutti, page 157

(d)

Example 3: ***The Passing of Beatrice***

Violins, bar 1

Horn, bar 79

Trumpet, bar 88

Clarinet, bar 98

Flute, bar 110

Violin, bar 126

3

opening melody are used in later melodies. For examples of four-note cells and rhythms taken from the opening three bars see **Example 3**, on the previous page. Wallace adapts the original theme, using features characteristic of the instruments who play the different melodies, for example the fluttering of the flute in bar 110 and the rising fourth of the horn call in bar 79.

Returning to the contents of Wallace's books about Evolution in his questioning of Darwin's theories, he drew attention to contradictions between the development of the musical faculty and the idea of a species adapting to its environment. The paradox was that many great composers had to survive in unfavourable conditions without conforming to the trends in popular culture. Instead of conforming to his environment, the composer created a new climate for his art, by introducing new innovations or styles. In many respects Wallace saw himself as such a composer, whose advanced musical style contributed towards his isolation from the more traditional musical establishments. As a member of the younger generation of British composers, he saw himself as a rebel against the musical establishments of London. However, this will be explored further under Wallace's campaigns for the promotion of British music.

Before leaving Wallace's writing about evolution, attention must be drawn to an article which he wrote for the third edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [**E.2(a)**]. In 'Orchestration (or Instrumentation)', he focused on another aspect of evolution in music, concerned less with the changes in the composer's state of mind, than with the development of the orchestra. During the course of western musical history, certain composers had written music out-with the capabilities of standard instruments, he told his readers, and so individual instruments were constantly being re-designed in order to accommodate the composers' demands. Not that the composer was necessarily being deliberately obtuse, in writing music which pushed the instruments beyond their limits, but perhaps due to ignorance of these particular instruments, he obeyed his musical sense irrespective of practicality. The result, as Wallace put it, was that, 'the ear began to decide which instruments were to survive as fittest.'[12]

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[12] Wallace, 'Orchestration', 727

However as the orchestra evolved, and the balance of sound and the tone quality of different instruments changed, the composer would, to a certain extent, be dictated to by these changes and his music would be moulded by the development of the instruments more often than the other way round. In Wallace's case the orchestra for which he wrote symphonic works is very much like that already established by Wagner in his music dramas. Wallace evidently approved of the balance within Wagner's orchestra and rarely explored beyond the limits of Wagner's or Liszt's orchestral forces through the addition of more exotic instruments. Exceptions do occur from time to time though, for example in *The Forty-five* [**A.8**], although the orchestral work might never have been completed, there was supposed to be a part for off-stage bagpipes, in order to set the programme's scene of the arrival of Bonnie Prince Charlie in Scotland.[13] In practice, the inclusion of bagpipes in orchestral music has only really become popular in the latter half of the twentieth century, for example in the ballet suite *Donald of the Burthens* by Ian Whyte (1901-46) and *An Orkney Wedding, with Sunrise* by Sir Peter Maxwell Davies, possibly due to their problems in tuning to other instruments. All of Wallace's works which are based on a Scottish programme include characteristics common to folk music and reflect the growing Romantic obsession with the development of national styles.

Wallace's Wagnerian inheritance is discussed in other sections of this thesis, but here the relationship between the two composers will be considered within the context of the second category of Wallace's published music books. *Richard Wagner as He Lived*, and *Liszt, Wagner and the Princess* display literary styles which are quite different from Wallace's books on a scientific slant. In the composer books he dealt with the musical personalities in an interesting and imaginative way which could be read fairly easily by anyone of limited musical knowledge. During the early decades of the century a large number of books about musical subjects were being published in Britain in similarly approachable styles, contrasting with the simultaneous increase of scholarly or specialist writing about music. For example *The Concert-Goer's Library of Descriptive Notes* by Rosa Newmarch (1929) includes a page about Wallace's symphonic poem *Villon*, and has the duel purpose of publicising certain pieces of music while helping the listener to understand what he hears in the

[13] MS 21516, 119 (July 1898)

concert hall. Meanwhile other musical biographies written at that time included J Cuthbert Hadden's *Modern Musicians* and Sydney Grew's *Favourite Musical Performers* which were both published in 1923. Although similar in style and aim to Wallace's own books, ie making music accessible to the general public, these particular examples actually contain a collection of individual biographies whereas Wallace's follow one continuous plot, like Howard Orsmond Anderton's biography *Granville Bantock* (1915) from the 'Living Masters of Music' series.

Wallace's approachable and anecdotal style is combined in both composer books with his desire to discern the truth about Liszt, Carolyne Sayne-Wittgenstein and Wagner, and to dispel current myths about them. Wallace's thorough knowledge of these personalities and their relationships with one another came from the study of contemporary literature in various languages. In his own books he analysed the information he had gathered and although he did refer to specific works by Wagner and Liszt, he avoided technical discussion of their music. In-depth analysis appears to be absent from most of Wallace's writing. Of course, specialised technical language would have alienated many readers both of his populist books and of the journals of general interest to which he contributed, but other factors may also have deterred him from writing detailed analyses of music by other composers. For example, from his dismissal of technical knowledge as a means to understanding a composer's work in letters to Ottilie, and from his claims of alienation from the establishment after he was forced to leave the RAM, one might suspect him of insecurity and an awareness of being under-qualified to write about music in such a technical manner. It may have been a fear of demonstrating his ignorance of analytical language, as much as lack of demand in the publisher's market which deterred him from tackling more technical aspects of musicology.

As a result, Wallace's books tell us very little about his own views of either Liszt's or Wagner's music, and reveal more about his opinion of them as men. In fact he is disappointingly reticent about such an important aspect of their lives as their composition. The closest that he came to stating his opinion of Wagner as a composer in *Richard Wagner as He Lived* was in the compliment that, 'In music he was the greatest that ever lived.' However, although Wallace's music testified to the admiration he had for Wagner as a composer he was very much aware of his

predecessor's failings and, not least, his outspokenness: 'would that he had held his tongue and that his ink had run dry!'[14]

While *Wagner* does not include lengthy musical discussion, it does 'record [Wagner] in his surroundings, in his difficulties and flights of imagination,' as Wallace wrote within the main body of his text.[15] The book contributed towards an upsurge of literature about the composer arising from his abridged autobiography *Mein Leben*, published in 1911, and a number of these were acknowledged by Wallace in his bibliography. *Mein Leben* revealed a lot of new information about Wagner's views and private life, and various authors responded to it by discussing and challenging its contents in books of their own. Seemingly, there was still a gap in the market though, which Wallace sought to fill with his books about Wagner's character and his relationships with others, especially Liszt. An obituary in the *Glasgow Herald* stated that, 'Wallace was ...recognised as one of the few authorities in Great Britain on Wagner, and his books on the composer remain important contributions to the varied and sometimes inadequate Wagneriana'.[16] Any overlaps between the books by Wallace and the literature by other authors, were evidently compensated for by passages which demonstrated original ideas or insights on Wallace's part.

In both of Wallace's composer books his fascination with human character comes to the fore and Wagner's demanding character certainly arrested his attention. The particular aspects of Wagner's character which Wallace considered, were generally from the point of view of those among whom he lived most intimately. Wallace's defence of Wagner's first wife Minna for example is particularly notable, considering the lack of sympathy which contemporary authors had shown towards her. In contrast to highlighting her privilege of being married to a genius, as some others did, Wallace considered the trials with which she had to live on a daily basis from her point of view. On the other hand, reflecting on Wagner's reaction towards musicians, Wallace wrote with typically wry Scottish humour that, 'Wagner's attitude towards other composers was singular. He was partial to those who were dead. Those who had the misfortune to be alive, to be committing the unpardonable sin of

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[14] Wallace, *Wagner*, 90

[15] Ibid, 96

[16] Quoted in *Fettesian*, March 1941

writing music, were handled none too gently.'[17] Wagner's relationship with Liszt, who became his father-in-law is discussed to a greater extent in *Liszt, Wagner and the Princess*, and it is evident in that book with whom the author's own sympathy lay. Evidently Wallace pitied anyone who knew, and was consequently abused by Wagner, although he had a great deal of respect for the music which the man wrote.

Wallace's interest in Franz Liszt was not confined to his association with Wagner though. To Liszt is largely attributed the founding and early development of the symphonic tone poem, and it is to this genre that Wallace owes one of his greatest claims, as the first composer to write a symphonic poem in Britain, *The Passing of Beatrice* [**A.12**, premiered in 1892]. It is understood that this claim has been disputed by a number of scholars, and it is true that many concert overtures and programmatic preludes had previously been composed by British composers. However it is not clear whether any of these earlier works were composed specifically as 'symphonic poems', since they do not appear to have been named as such by their composers. In the American publication *Fanfare*, David Johnson is clearly mistaken in his assertion that Bantock's first three orchestral tone poems, *Thalaba the Destroyer* (composed c1900), *Dante* (c1901) and *Fifine at the Fair* (1901), 'all predate Wallace's first symphonic poem...by several years.'[18] To this genre Wallace was to subscribe for the production of at least six orchestral works.

As was mentioned earlier, occasionally Wallace's creative instincts dominated his prose style. Indeed, he drew attention to some seemingly insignificant details in his books, simply because of their poetic potential. In *Wagner*, for example, there is the unlikely nautical metaphor which he used to describe the library which the Kappellmeister had access to in Dresden:

> The Royal Library...was a kind of haven of refuge into which the tides of centuries had flung upon its pebbles the flotsam and jetsam of Romantic and Myth, of Legend and tangled Story, all too waterlogged and splintered to provide more than a flicker for the beachcomber's hearth.[19]

References to the sea and wreckage continued in this vein for a couple of paragraphs before Wallace returned to the more factual style of biography, from which he strayed. When they occur, picturesque passages like these hold the readers' attention and

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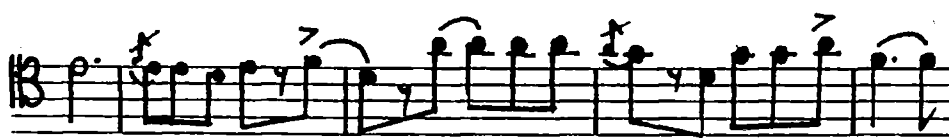
[17] Wallace, *Wagner*, 83
[18] Johnson, *Fanfare* 1997
[19] Wallace, *Wagner*, 150

provide some relief. Whether it was a deliberate ploy of Wallace's to contrast prose styles as he contrasted moods within a single piece of music is unclear, although the link is there. An obvious musical example is in his sixth symphonic poem, *Villon*, a continuous single-movement work which passes through a variety of tempi, time signatures and moods to create a musical collage based on episodes from the medieval poet's life. The French poetry which heads each section of music, denotes the particular anecdote or atmosphere which Wallace was aiming to recreate through his music. These headings and the musical themes which they accompany are clearly set out in the programme notes written by 'WHD', for an early performance of the work in Edinburgh's Usher Hall. Two of these are cited here. Firstly, Parisian night-life is recalled in 'Où s'en va tout? Or escoutez; Tout aux tavernes et aux filles -'

Example 4: *Villon*

Bassoon, page 13



Here Wallace's faltering, slurred melody, imitating drunkenness, is characteristically assigned to the bassoon. In contrast to that is the meditative section, which Wallace headed with 'Ballade que Villon feit à la requeste de sa mère pour prier Nostre Dame', although this section will be discussed in greater detail in its later format as a song.

In song, Wallace discovered another medium through which he could unite his interests in the literary arts and music. Like Berlioz, Wallace often used the term 'poet' to refer to an artist within any of art's disciplines and the word was more-or-less interchangeable with the word 'artist'. However, in the following pages Wallace's work as a poet in its traditional sense will be discussed. As a song-writer, he often wrote his own texts and music, but occasionally he set the words of another poet to music, as the catalogue of his works shows. For example the libretto of his vocal scena *Lord of Darkness*, which brought him his public debut as a composer at a student concert given by the RAM in 1890, was written by a close friend, Langdon Mitchell. His *Three Songs of Blake* (1910) also number among the minority of poems he set by other poets.

Once, when Wallace's sculptor friend Tweed recommended a writer who could supply him with an opera libretto, he indignantly retorted, 'And why don't you get someone to make the sketches of your panels?'[20] The same objection seemed to apply to individual songs, where he preferred to supply his own texts, since they provided the basis of his song. The benefits to writing his own texts included saving the expense of paying a poet and avoiding conflicts, misinterpretation and interference from the poet if he wanted to adapt the text. As a composer of incidental music Wallace had already met with some of the problems of working with other artists and so by writing songs completely on his own, he could avoid similar problems recurring and enjoy a greater amount of freedom in his composition. Individual songs for which he wrote both words and music include 'I seek thee in my dreams' [**B.13**, published 1904], while his song cycles include *The Freebooters*.

As a general rule, Wallace wrote the texts for his songs and then set them to music, in that order. However, some of the songs he wrote for the opera *Brassolis* [**C.1**] are exceptions to this rule. He told Ottilie that in one particular song he had been, 'doing that rather difficult thing, that is, putting words to music already set, and preserving the rhythmic figure of the notes'.[21] Even within the context of *Brassolis* this appears to have been unusual though, because during the opera's early stages he sent instalments of the libretto to Ottilie to read without descriptions of the accompanying music.

Impressed by the unity of text and music in Wagner's vocal composition, Wallace suggested in *Threshold* that contrary to his own experience, Wagner may have created both of these elements simultaneously. He wrote that this 'dual faculty' which enabled Wagner to conceive words and music at the same time, demonstrated his advanced evolutionary stage, which 'was in marked contrast with the limited literary attainments or judgement possessed by the older composers. It demonstrated the combination of the literary with the musical faculty, a command of two modes of vigorous expression, it demonstrated, further, an intimate fusion of the verbal thought with the musical idea.'[22] Wallace, on the other hand, found it difficult to switch from the creation of one art form to another, such as poetry or literature to music. After

[20] MS 21513, 22

[21] MS 21505, 14 (July 1896)

[22] Wallace, *Threshold*, 188

exercising one particular creative faculty, he found that his concentration was reluctant to switch to another. 'The other day I spent hours in getting three word lines, simply because I was full up with music,' he wrote with frustration at one point.[23]

Apart from the confusion of alternating between literature and music during composition, the merger of words and music written by the same person can have its disadvantages. Often when a composer brings his interpretation to a poem by someone else, he can find something new in the work, which his musical setting enhances. For example, a number of composers of the next generation in Britain set the ambiguous poetry of A E Housman, whose hidden depths they explored in a variety of ways, as different settings of the same poetry illustrate. These later song-writers often experimented or tampered with the poem's original format in order to extract or imply the poet's meaning, as they understood it. Lines of poetry were fragmented, or they overlapped each other, and the rhythm and inflection of the voice were imitated in both voice and piano parts.

However, when the composer and poet are one, no such explanatory rendition seems necessary in the musical setting. In other words, it might not have occurred to Wallace to demonstrate his meaning through accompanying music, while the meaning of his poetry appeared self-explanatory to himself. His accompaniments are generally quite simple, and there is less interplay between the voice and accompanying piano or orchestra than in songs by later composers. In Wallace's song settings, his poetry and his music do relate closely to one another though. His poetic structure in the song cycle *Lords of the Sea* **[B.18]**, for example, is closely adhered to in its musical setting. Each melodic phrase corresponds to the length of one line of poetry, and his rhyming scheme remains undisguised by the music.

Wallace's traditional style of setting poetry to music in this way reflects his position as intermediary between the establishment of art song in Britain by the late-nineteenth century and the development of established styles into the twentieth. Works such as *Lords of the Sea* are valuable in marking this turning point. By the late-eighteen hundreds, British composers were contesting earlier assumptions that the English language was not suited to serious art song, and they gradually established

[23] MS 21505, 14

vocal styles or genres which the language did suit. Then, as the twentieth century progressed, they experimented increasingly, to develop the art of song yet further.

Not only does Wallace's setting of *Lords of the Sea* reflect the musical climate in which he composed, but the subject of his text also reflects the political climate in which he lived. Dedicated to 'the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Navy' when they were published in 1901,[24] the songs are imperialistic in attitude and in this way correspond with Britain's nationalistic pride at the time. The romance of military life, and of sailors' adventures in particular, was a popular theme among composers, and Stanford also wrote a song cycle about life at sea in his *Songs of the Sea* Op 91. Also published by Boosey & Co, but not until 1904, the texts which Stanford set to music were by Henry Newbolt, and like Wallace's make reference to the sixteenth-century Spanish Armada. The first song in Wallace's cycle, 'The Adventurers', in fact bears 'The Armada' as its subtitle, followed by the date 1588.

The relevance of the Armada to Britain at the turn of the century, was the sentiment of imperialism shared by both eras. However, poems based on historical events provided song-writers with a more romantic setting than contemporary battles, contrasting the more explicit poems written a few years later by soldiers during the First World War. As the first song in *Lords of the Sea*, 'The Adventurers' is particularly pompous in its nationalistic pride, and Britain's supremacy at sea is boasted of in march-like style. This opening march also conforms to a sonata form structure and as such, it functions in much the same way as the opening movement to a symphony. Following a lengthy introduction, the first stanza and its postlude comprise the Exposition, and stanza two repeats part of this, just as early sonata form included a repeat of the Exposition. Its own postlude reintroduces ideas from the piano introduction, and the third stanza proceeds to develop some of these musical themes. Material from the first stanza is recapitulated in the fourth and the song ends with a short piano coda.

The theme of invincibility is upheld in the following song, 'Sea-Hawkes', although it evolves in a slightly less brash manner. The singer observes some birds flying over his ship while they are out at sea, and the creatures become metaphors for fellow sailors in the British fleet, for example in their battles and in their perseverance

[24] Dedication printed on cover, Boosey & Co

against the elements. However, the sailor's contemplation of the birds' survival does not allow for their frailty, and he focuses purely on their victory. Likewise the other songs in Wallace's cycle omit the risks and dangers of life at sea. However the third, 'Nest thee, my Bird', provides a surprising contrast to the boastful claims of patriotism in numbers one, two and four. Here the singer depicts the sailor's gentler side, as a family man who has left his child at home while he seeks adventures abroad. As night closes in upon his ship, the father sings this beautiful cradle song, which is the most sensitive setting of the group. Using the traditional genre of lullaby, Wallace composed in strophic form and also demonstrated a greater deal of interplay between the voice and piano part than in any of the other songs in this cycle. For example, motives are passed from one part to the other when the pianist's left hand imitates the voice's melody in bar eight [See **Example 5** overleaf]. Also, in exploring the boundaries of strophic form, Wallace collated fragments of the song's melody and material from the piano introduction into brief piano interludes between each verse, maintaining a feeling of continuity between different sections.

Concerning continuity between the cycle's different songs, the overall pattern roughly follows the same progression of contrasting movements as those within a symphony. As has already been shown, the opening song bears more than a passing resemblance to the symphony's first movement, and thereafter the next three songs are also suggestive of symphonic movements in style or mood, ending with 'The Swordsman' as its rousing finale, which is marked *Con brio*. However, there does not appear to be any relationship between the musical material of these different songs, their principle themes being quite independent. However the parallels between the structure of Wallace's song cycle and the structure of the symphony, further demonstrate his overlapping of the arts in his approach to composition. Where his programme music might unite genres from different artistic disciplines, such as a play and an orchestral prelude, and song united music and poetry, his song cycle brought together different practices from within the art of music.

Likewise, in his song 'Françoys Villon's Prayer to Nostre-Dame'[**B.27**], the genres of symphonic poem and song met, when Wallace set words to twenty-four bars of his sixth symphonic poem *Villon*. Like 'Nest thee, my Bird', Villon's prayer is in a contemplative mood and in it Wallace again shows sympathy for the character he

Example 5:

Nº 3.
Nest thee, my Bird.
(Cradle Song)

Words and Music by
WILLIAM WALLACE.

Copyright 1901 by Boosey & Cº

portrays in music. In his prayer the French poet keeps his mother's dying request to pray to Mary and receive forgiveness for his reckless past. Obviously uncomfortable praying, Villon's words demonstrate his familiarity with Catholic liturgy, although he does not know it fluently enough to quote accurately. Instead he strings together fragments of liturgical phrases, which he may have learnt in childhood, and regurgitates them falteringly. Occasionally the piano part urges him on, or encourages him to try again, by returning to its opening theme. This relationship between the voice and piano parts demonstrates the growing independence of the two parts in twentieth-century British song, although at the same time they relate more closely to each other thematically, for example in bar sixteen, where the voice resumes the recurring piano figure [See **Example 6** overleaf].

In the introduction to this song, Wallace immediately established his medieval scene by quoting features of plainchant eg through the piano's rocking motif on parallel fourths and through the rhapsodic rhythms created by five beats to a bar. The time signature suits both the idea of medieval liturgical chants, which Villon would have heard in the background as he prayed in church, and the irregularity of his hesitant speech. References to musical disciplines out-with the classical tradition were also being made by Debussy in his composition at around the same time. His first book of piano preludes for example, which was published in the same year as Villon's prayer, is said to mark a turning point in the history of western music for this reason. The tenth prelude, 'La Cathédral engloutie', is also based on a medieval scene and employs some of the same techniques as Villon's prayer. The religious atmosphere of the times is again created through the use of parallel fourths, fifths and octaves, imitating the sound of organum, as well as through the resurrection of old church modes. In Wallace's song, the note of D is central to both the melody and harmony, although the functional leading note of C# appears only occasionally establishing, instead of the key of D major or B minor, the Aeolian mode, which was one of the church's most commonly used modes during the Middle Ages. Another piece in which Wallace used the techniques of Medieval plainsong to recreate an atmosphere of the times, was in his symphonic poem *Sister Helen*.

In his songs Wallace also experimented with the genre of German *Lieder*, although his texts were in English. In the early stages of the nineteenth century's

Example 6:

'Françoys Villon's Prayer to Nostre-Dame', from bar 16 to the end.

16

Sov'-reign thou of Earth and Heav - en, make in - ter - ces - sion for me,

18

un - - - - - to thy Son, in whose

20

faith I live and

22

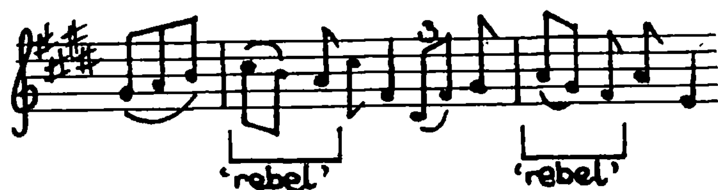
die.

British Musical Renaissance, writers of English song often looked to Europe for their inspiration, and *Lieder* was among the styles various composers tried to emulate through their own music. 'Minnie Song', for example, from Wallace's *Freebooter* song cycle is especially Schubertian in style and is reminiscent of the German's 'first masterpiece'[25] ie the song 'Gretchen am Spinnrade' published in 1821. A repeated figure in the piano accompaniment of both songs represents the hum of a spinning wheel, which also in both cases comes to an untimely end. Wallace demonstrated in 'Minnie Song' that the English language could be just as dramatic as German, and need not sound banal, providing a suitable topic and text were chosen.

All four of Wallace's *Freebooter Songs* depict scenes from the life of a fictional rebel and outlaw and the texts were inspired by Scottish border ballads. As the first of the cycle, 'Minnie Song' tells of the vagabond's childhood, his parents and his mother's expectations. Although the music is through-composed during the unfolding of this short biography, Wallace quoted his melodic and rhythmic motives throughout the song so that his material would cohere. These recurring fragments of melody are shared by piano and voice, the most notable example being the 'rebel' motif in bars 21-22, which occurs each time the voice sings, or the text implies, the word 'rebel'.

Example 7: No 1 'Minnie Song'

Voice, bars 21-22



'The Rebel' is also, in fact, the title of the second *Freebooter* song. In it Wallace did relate musical motives to material from 'Minnie Song', without drawing attention to the word 'rebel', or any other word for that matter, in the same way. However the 'rebel' theme does appear in fragmented form in 'The Rebel' and is sung instead to words such as 'pinion' and 'betters'.

[25] 'Schubert', *New Grove*

The second song bears other resemblances to the first, for example at the beginning when the pianist starts playing an introduction which starts on the first beat of the bar, in the piano's lower register. After a wide leap to the middle of the keyboard, the left hand is then joined by the right, for a chord which establishes the key of the following song, just as in 'Minnie Song'.

Example 8: No 1 'Minnie Song'

No 2 'The Rebel

In the introduction to each song from the cycle Wallace quoted motives such as this, taken from a previous song, in order to modulate into the key of the next. Further examples of material which the first two songs share, include the falling semitone in the first bar of 'The Rebel' (right hand) to the same rhythm as the opening bar of 'Minnie Song'.

The third song in the *Freebooter* cycle, like the third in *Lords of the Sea*, is a cradle song. In it the outlaw sings to his baby son about their shared lifestyle, in which they are exiled from society and forced to live in the open countryside. His plans for the boy's future are reminiscent of those his Minnie had for him when he was younger, and which he carried out by avenging his family once he was old enough to do so. This cradle song, described by Bantock as 'the gem of the set',[26] is also in strophic form, although the accompaniment undergoes a series of variations. As with the previous song, its melody is derived from earlier material, for example where the 'rebel' motif is incorporated into the eighth bar. Like much of his song-writing, the rhythm of Wallace's text determines the shape of his melody. Consisting of five lines to each stanza (rhyming *aabbb*) a refrain of 'Son of Mine' follows the first, second and fifth lines, and from it the song gains its title. In each verse (a) conforms to a masculine rhyme and (b) to a feminine one, to the same rhythmic patterns. ~~The lasting popularity of this particular song is emphasised in Purser's notes~~

[26] MS 21550, 22 (Dec 1896)

which accompany Hyperion's CD of Wallace's symphonic poems, where Neville Cardus is quoted as claiming in the 1960s that he, 'sang ['Son of Mine'] myself on smoky Saturday nights for a guinea a time'.[27] The setting is mainly monosyllabic, although slurs and anacruses provide some variation. Like the previous songs, the fourth and final *Freebooter*, 'Up in the Saddle!' is also strophic, and again the prominence of falling semitones, eg in the tenth bar, resembles earlier songs.

Meanwhile the crafting of language into poetry, which he then set as song, was demonstrated in another of Wallace's songs 'The Rhapsody of Mary Magdelene' [**B.28**, premiered 1896], the text of which was taken from his mystery play. Here the unity of language and music contributes to the hushed, mystical atmosphere of the Garden of Gethsemane on Easter Day: the text beginning with a series of soft consonants, 'Soft as the breezes that blow from the south', while the melody sustained vowels on long notes which rose and fell gently.

Before drawing to a close this section about Wallace as a literary man, reference must be made to the attention he paid to language in general, as well as within the context of his poetry. His poetic awareness of language and its aesthetic potential, was reflected in remarks he made about the play *Péllèas et Mèlisande*, for example. During the course of his work on incidental music for the play, he read a number of different editions and in different languages although his work as translator will be discussed in further detail later on. Wallace drew Ottilie's attention to the sound of the original text:

> Thou wilt notice if thou dost read the lines aloud how fond Maeterlinck is of long vowels. The French company that did the play here a couple of years ago was trained by Maeterlinck and they pulled out the vowels very much.[28]

However, this extract from his letters also illustrates Wallace's use of poetic language when writing to Ottilie, to whom he always referred directly through the terms 'thee', 'thou', 'thy', and 'thine'. Romantic imagery was also a prominent feature of the letters, for example during the earliest days of their correspondence, when he wrote that:

[27] Purser, CDA66848, 5
[28] MS 21510, 17

Our souls are like violins, some violins are strung with steel wires, others with home-spun. Yours must be strung with the clear golden strings which give out no 'wolf' notes, but rich full tones with all their delicate subtle harmonies - so sensitive that you only need to blow a breath across them and they sound.[29]

On the whole, the literary genres to which Wallace contributed, ranging from articles in periodicals which specialised in music to those concerned with scientific matters;[30] from books about famous composers, aimed at the populace, to books on evolutionary themes, appealing to scientists; from a monograph about Greek ligatures to his book of short stories - they all bear witness to a 'protean spirit'.[31] Yet Wallace's gift for writing engagingly about any topic he chose, and for any type of publication he chose, was matched by the diversity of musical styles and genres which he exploited as a composer. At the same time, the wealth of topics he covered in song texts, musical programmes and opera libretto also complement the wide range of genres towards which he contributed by uniting literature and music.

[29] MS 21502, 8

[30] He apparently also wrote articles about ophthalmology, as his area of medical expertise.

[31] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit, 629

Chapter 3: Contributor to the Theatrical Arts

'Wallace's work, whether musical or literary, all bears the hall-mark of his vivid personality.' (Stanford and Forsyth, *A History of Music*, 318)

In the accompanying **Appendix II:C** there is also a short list of music which Wallace composed for the theatre, although none of it was performed during his lifetime: at least not in its original form. Like many composers, he re-worked some of his incidental music for independent performance, for example as a symphonic poem or orchestral suite, as will later be shown. Since there would be no fear of overwhelming recited text in a concert version of the music, his ensemble could be as large and the music as dramatic as he wanted. So, on more than one occasion, Wallace took the musical themes from his incidental music, condensed them into set movements and filled out the band parts to employ the resources of a symphony orchestra.

However, Wallace's participation in the performing arts went further than the composition of incidental music. He was also a playwright, critic, magic lantern operator,[1] librettist and translator of theatrical works, each experience enhancing the 'healthy all-round growth' which Anderton admired.[2] To opera, as one of the most obvious outlets of musical expression in the theatre, Wallace also contributed in the 1890's. In a letter dating from June 1896, Wallace mentioned his work on *Brassolis* to Ottilie for the first time[3] and within three months he had completed the libretto, he had set it to music and was now promoting the idea of its performance. Fuller Maitland had written him a complimentary letter of introduction to Ganz, musical advisor to Carl Rosa,[4] and a panel of directors was to discuss the possibility of producing *Brassolis*.[5] However, neither this nor Bantock's offer to produce the lyric tragedy at New Brighton came to anything.[6] One-act operas were apparently unpopular at the time, and so the work was shelved and subsequently never performed.

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[1] Wood, *A Mingled Chime*, 104-7
[2] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 629
[3] MS 21504, 42
[4] MS 21506, 58-59
[5] MS 21506, 61
[6] MS 21516, 139

All the same, in *Brassolis*, Wallace found ample opportunity to exercise his 'varied powers' within a single work.[7] For example, an early description of the opera to Ottilie included not only quotations from his libretto, but also sketches of scenery, stage directions and details of lighting effects, which complemented his aspirations as a visual artist. Meanwhile, the creation of a poetic libretto which would be compatible with the opera's subject matter, yet also suitable for musical setting, required the use of his literary skills and judgement. The unification of these creative faculties in a single theatrical work, hints again at the influence of Wagner who sought to do much the same thing in his *Gesamkunstwerk*. As an admirer of Wagner's musical work, it is hardly surprising that Wallace wrote a music drama of his own, and perhaps he would have been encouraged to write more, had the musical climate in Britain been favourable. As it was, Wallace secured performances only of those compositions which he wrote for concert performance and apart from his incidental music, he was not to pursue the composition of music for theatre any further.

However, concerning the stage effects which he specified, should the opera ever be performed, he wrote to Ottilie that, 'I am taking advantage of everything that will give the affair picturesqueness'.[8] His plan was that the passage of time should be demonstrated through the changing quality of light on stage, demonstrating a preoccupation with visual effects which may relate to his specialism in ophthalmology, as well as his involvement in the art of painting. 'I should say that the lighting is managed thus,' he told Ottilie. 'The play begins in afternoon, deepening into night, with sunset. It is torchlight in the drinking song, moonlight in the love scene, and sunrise at the death.'[9] Incidentally his interest in lighting effects was also evident in the instructions which he wrote for the performance of *Song of The Knives*. Although the scena did not require enactment during its concert performance, Wallace was aware of the song's potential if complemented by the visual effects of atmospheric lighting. He told Ottilie that it, 'should be sung on a

[7] Anderton, 'Protean', 629
[8] MS 21504, 57 (June 1896)
[9] Ibid

dark stage, with a reddish glare on the singer's face, and a concealed orchestra to play the music and make you shudder!'[10]

After that brief description of the opera's technical details, it may be useful to include a synopsis of the plot, in order to clarify those instructions within their context, as well as to explain Wallace's choice of musical style. However, in the absence of an operatic score, this and all other information about the opera, is entirely dependent on details which Wallace sent to Ottilie while working on *Brassolis*. Although Wallace did not write out his entire libretto in these letters, he did include details of the plot and quotations from song texts, all of which give some idea of the opera's content. Set on the Isle of Skye during the third century, the opera was due to open with warriors returning home from a battle in which their leader had been killed. The leader's daughter Brassolis would now inherit the leadership, but in order to do so, and as a female chief, she had to accept the condition that she remain chaste. Shortly after she made this promise and was installed as the community's new leader, a suitor arrived from Orkney and the couple fell in love, but to their disappointment he had arrived too late, and so the tragedy ends with the suicides of both hero and heroine that they might die together. The plot is condensed into twenty-four hours, as Wallace's lighting plan suggests.

Another consideration which was to affect Wallace's composition of *Brassolis* may also have been related to his medical training. By applying a little knowledge of psychology to the structure of his opera, he wrote that, 'I don't turn on music and passion till [the audience] are satisfied with all the lower emotions gratified by eye. When I get their eye tired, I turn on something for them to listen to!'[11] By consciously alternating between that which would appeal to his audience visually and that which would appeal aurally, Wallace hoped to pace their concentration and maintain their interest throughout the opera's performance. From a musical point of view, the composition of battle music, drinking songs, a funeral march and love music provided contrasting styles which would also help to maintain the interest of his audience.

Although Wallace intended to unite the effects of sight and sound in order to intensify the dramatic effect of his opera, he was also aware that when more than one

[10] MS 21502, 20
[11] MS 21505, 14

sense is engaged they have the power to detract from one another. Of this danger he was particularly cautious when writing incidental music, since the music could not be allowed either to detract from the action on stage nor from the text which was being recited or sung. After all, as he explained to Ottilie, 'While you can listen to an accompaniment and words sung together you can't listen to accompaniment and *spoken* words for the 2 timbres don't go together.'[12] As for his own policy over incidental music for plays, 'If music is employed it should be so vague that it is imperceptible and not distracting.'[13] Believing his sensitive treatment of the spoken voice to be lacking in the incidental music of other composers, he went on to boast that, 'I am very glad I...see the matter in an original light, for of course the dullards have got it into their heads that there's only one way of doing this kind of stuff and they have yet to hear *my* way!'[14]

One opportunity to demonstrate 'his' way arose when Fuller Maitland requested that he compose incidental music for a recitation of Rossetti's ballad *Sister Helen* in 1897 [C.5]. Having been at a recent performance of a similar work, where poetry was recited over music composed by Hawley, Wallace noted some of the pitfalls into which composers might fall and tried to avoid making the same mistakes himself. For example, in *Sister Helen* he wrote that, 'My idea is not to do as [Hawley] does...IE when the speaker comes to a climax the music does ditto and there's a crash in which the words are swamped.'[15] Instead, he calculated where the music could afford to become more prominent without obscuring Rossetti's poetry, and kept volume and intensity to a minimum when the actress, Miss Robins, was to recite. The music would only illustrate the text dramatically between passages of recitation. Musical obtrusion was also to be avoided through Wallace's choice of a small instrumental ensemble which played off-stage while the characters of Helen, her younger brother and a monk or nun recited and sang on stage. The ensemble consisted of a harp, string quintet, reed organ and three bells, to echo the atmosphere of medieval religion and superstition.

[12] MS 21508, 40 (Jan 1897)
[13] Ibid
[14] Ibid
[15] Ibid

Wallace evidently believed that by respecting the atmosphere and the audibility of Rossetti's text, his music for *Sister Helen* would be a positive model for other composers to follow in their own incidental music. Certainly, British composers were to continue to produce music for recitations and plays during the early decades of this century, with Bantock, Walton, Bridge, Ireland, Britten and Bax among those who were to experiment further with the combination of spoken text and music. However, the influence of Wallace's interpretation of *Sister Helen* could only have been minimal, since the ballad's performance, scheduled for the summer of 1897, never did materialise. However, by September of that year, Wallace was working on a concert version of the music he had written for the ballad, which resulted in his third symphonic poem.

The term 'symphonic poem' was first used in connection with *Sister Helen* after Wallace played through his incidental music on the piano to Fuller Maitland. His advisor's response was encouraging, and Wallace proudly recorded in a letter to Ottilie the compliment he had been paid: 'You've written a masterpiece,' Maitland had told him. 'It is far beyond what I expected. I feared the words would break it up too much but *this* is a tremendous symphonic poem.'[16] Exactly what Maitland meant through his use of the term 'symphonic poem' is unclear, since the ensemble for which Wallace originally wrote was far from symphonic. He may, of course, have meant that the music was a great 'tone' poem, in which case his praise may be assigned to the descriptive and illustrative merits of Wallace's music. Whatever it was Maitland's intention to convey through the compliment, his words undoubtedly drew Wallace's attention to the symphonic potential of his music and may have inspired him with the idea of arranging the music into a symphonic poem.

Likewise, *A Suite in Olden Style* began its existence as incidental music [C.4], and was rewritten as an orchestral suite [A.19], instead of as a symphonic poem. In the spring of 1896, still reeling from his newly discovered love for Ottilie, Wallace agreed to provide music for a production of Shakespeare's romantic tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*. To match the language of the text and the historical setting of the play, Wallace composed in a quaint, old-fashioned style, which is quite unlike his other music. Later, music from the play's dances and duels was arranged into a series of

[16] MS 21510, 13 (March 1897)

movements which conform to the structure of a classical suite. The use of classical structures was so uncharacteristic of Wallace, who saw himself as a musical revolutionary, that it may be assumed the play's producer had specified the format his music was to take, influencing the music's later arrangement for orchestra or piano. The movements are simple in style and feature rhythms typical of the Contredanse, Minuet, Pavane and Gigue from which they gained their titles.

Another orchestral suite by Wallace, *Pélléas et Mélisande*, arose out of similar circumstances. He had been asked by the acclaimed actress Mrs Patrick Campbell to provide music for her production of the play by the Belgian writer Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949). After accepting the commission, as with *Sister Helen*, Wallace's completed music was never performed in the theatre. Nevertheless, Wallace would not allow his efforts to be wasted and so the musical ideas inspired by Maeterlinck's play provided the basis of an orchestral suite. It is interesting to note that Wallace may also be credited with the existence of a second orchestral suite of the name *Pélléas et Mélisande*: that by his French contemporary Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924). Although there is no record of the two having met prior to the composition of their respective suites, the connection between their music ought to become clear through the play's following abridged musical history.

Pélléas et Mélisande is a title primarily associated by most music-lovers, with the opera which brought Debussy's international recognition as a composer in the early 1900's. Admittedly, he appears to have been the first composer to set Maeterlinck's play to music (between 1893 and 1895) but he was by no means the only one to realise its musical potential. Wallace composed incidental music for the play in 1897, Fauré's was premiered in 1898 and Sibelius' in 1905, at a production in Finland. Other musical works which the play inspired include a symphonic poem by Schoenberg (Op 5, 1902-3) and an overture by Scott (c1912). However it was not through Debussy's opera that Wallace first encountered *Pélléas et Mélisande*, but in the play's original format, and in the original French. During a tour by Lugné Poe's company in 1895, the play was performed in the Prince of Wales' Theatre, London, where it can be assumed Wallace saw the production he referred to a couple of years later in a letter to Ottilie.[17] On that occasion he also confessed to Ottilie that he had

[17] MS 21510, 5

wanted to write music for the play ever since, and that at last (March 1897) he had the opportunity to do so. The version of the play which Wallace's music was to accompany was the English translation which J W Mackail had made specifically for Mrs Pat.[18]

Surprisingly, it was this English translation which Fauré was also to set in 1898, rather than in his native French. During a visit to London in the spring of that year, he had met Mrs Pat for the first time, and she had asked him to provide incidental music for the Mackail text, all previous attempts to procure accompanying music having failed. Apparently Debussy had already declined the task,[19] as had both Grieg and Humperdinck.[20] Wallace, on the other hand, had spent six months on the incidental music before abandoning it, and it is due to the fact that he did resign that Mrs Pat then turned to Fauré. During the time that they worked together, Mrs Pat and Wallace had been in constant conflict over their respective interpretations of the play, their musical preferences and the terms and conditions under which Wallace was expected to work. While writing his own play, *The Divine Surrender*, Wallace had enjoyed unlimited artistic freedom, but as composer of incidental music he had the frustration of being dictated to by other artists.

In the case of *Pélléas et Mélisande*, he was very much at the mercy of Mrs Pat whose restraints and interference he resented deeply. His chief complaints against her were that although she admitted knowing little about music, she insisted on cutting and tampering with his music, she offered him little money for his work and would secure no guarantee of the play's performance with his music.[21] On the completion of most of his music for *Pélléas*, Wallace sent details of Mrs Pat's terms to Ottilie:

> For a piano score she offered me £20!!! And *if* the music was produced £50 for an orchestral score. Now the orchestration alone would cost her £70 irrespective of the composition and rehearsals. If I was not satisfied with this she was to give me £10 for the time I had spent and consider the matter ended. The sum was practically an insult, or rather as much as to say "If you are associated with me it is worth at least £100 to you". The offer was very mean seeing that she is getting £100 a week just now.[22]

[18] Nectoux, *Fauré* 149.
Wallace's abbreviation of Mrs Patrick Campbell to 'Mrs Pat' will be used hereafter.
[19] Nectoux, *Fauré*, 149-50
[20] MS 21513, 9 (Oct 1897)
[21] MS 21513, 4-5
[22] Ibid, 27

However, Wallace presumably accepted the minimal fee of £10 when he excused himself from a scheme which he had found so restrictive. Recording the circumstances of his resignation, Wallace claimed that he had, 'said quietly', to Mrs Pat:

> I fear I shall not be able to go on with this music, for even if I were to finish it in my own way I should not be satisfied with my work if I felt that you were not satisfied. And unless you consider my judgement to be worth something in the matter it is idle to try to carry out the scheme.[23]

Following his emancipation from this partnership Wallace was no longer concerned with appeasing anyone else, and he took advantage of this newly-found creative freedom by composing an orchestral suite based on the incidental music. All the same, he had been reluctant to give up the scheme, having worked so hard on the incidental music, and the resultant sense of loss which he felt, before embarking on the orchestral suite, can be felt in the words which he wrote to Ottilie. 'I feel queer with all thoughts of *Pélléas* off my mind, he told her. 'It is like going back into an empty room that one had only known as furnished. And to tell the truth I feel just a bit thrown off my balance by the removal of the strain.'[24] However, had he persisted with Mrs Pat's original scheme, in spite of their personality clashes, it is unlikely that Fauré would have composed his incidental music for the play, let alone an orchestral suite. It would appear that the play's previous performance in London, the one which Wallace had attended, had included some music. This was probably 'Mélisande's Song', in the version set by Fauré for the play's Parisian performance on 17 May 1893. However, evidence would suggest that at this stage his music amounted to no more than this one song, and although Wallace learnt from Mrs Pat that 'some Frenchman had done music for it,' she had reassured him that, 'that would not interfere with this scheme'.[25]

Evidently, when it came to Mrs Pat's production, Fauré was more prepared to tolerate her demands than Wallace had been, for within a month of accepting his commission, the musical sketches were complete and they were being orchestrated by his pupil Koechlin.[26] The result was that Fauré's incidental music was premiered on 21 June 1898, instead of Wallace's, with J Forbes Robertson and Mrs Pat playing the

[23] Ibid
[24] MS 21513, 29
[25] MS 21510, 13 (March 1897)
[26] Nectoux, *Fauré*, 150-51

main roles. Over the next couple of years Fauré also arranged his music into an orchestral suite (Op 81) which was first performed in 1901. By then, Wallace had already compiled a concert version of his music for *Pélléas* and had been offered the chance to conduct its premiere in New Brighton on 19 Aug 1900. His suite's movements, described in the programme note of its London premiere as 'a series of orchestral miniatures,'[27] bear titles from the following scenes or themes of the play: 1.The Lost Mélisande, 2.The King's March, 3.The Love of Pélléas, 4.Spinning-Song, and 5.The Death of Mélisande.

It is difficult to tell from the format of Wallace's orchestral suite to what extent his incidental music conformed to the stipulations made by Mrs Pat. After all, once his music was freed from the original structure of Maeterlinck's play it may have changed a great deal. There are however a few similarities between Wallace's and Fauré's suites which may be traced back to their common origin. For example, there is their five-movement structure which follows Mrs Pat's prerequisite for five principle items of music. However, the two composers gave these movements different titles in their orchestral suites. Those which Mrs Pat specified in her later appeal to Fauré were a 'Prélude', 'Sicilienne', 'Fileuse', 'Chanson de Mélisande' and 'Mort de Mélisande'. Even so, only the prelude, spinning song and final *Molto Adagio* appeared in the earliest version of his suite. Obviously their music bears other resemblances though, as the text it was meant to accompany would suggest.

Paradoxically, when Hyperion's recording of Wallace's *Pélléas* suite was released on CD, *The Gramophone*'s reviewer Andrew Achenbach drew attention to its relationship to Fauré's suite, by writing that in Wallace's, 'Certain features in ['The death of Mélisande']...suggests a more-than-passing acquaintance with Fauré's sublime incidental music of 1898'.[28] Of course the reverse is always possible, that Fauré may have encountered Wallace's music between composing his incidental music in 1898 and arranging the orchestral suite for its premiere three years later[29] but there is really little evidence from the funeral music alone to suggest that the music of either suite was influenced by the other. Naturally in both suites the funeral music is of sombre mood, but there the similarity ends. While Wallace composed a march-like

[27] EFJ, Queen's Hall, 8 Sept 1903
[28] Feb 1998, 60
[29] Wallace's suite was premiered in 1900 and Fauré's the following year.

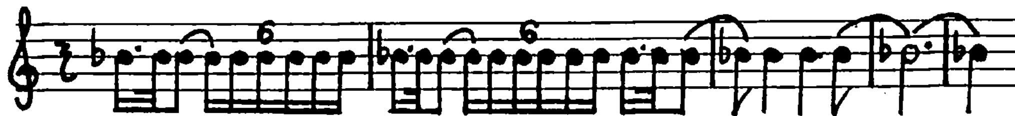
threnody, reminiscent of the classical model through its rhythmic ritornello on trumpets and timpani, [See **Example** 9 (a)], Fauré's *Molto Adagio* is a more sensitive movement in 3/4. In the latter, Fauré also made a feature of repeated rhythms (b) but his double dotting provides an almost continuous ostinato which contrasts Wallace's intermittent figure. However a similar figure to Wallace's can be found in the first movement of Fauré's suite (c), and it is perhaps to this that Achenbach alluded in his review.

Example 9: *Pélléas*

(a) Trumpets and timpani, final bars of 'The death of Mélisande' (Wallace)

(b) Flutes, figure 2 (Fauré)

(c) Horns in 'Prélude', leading up to figure 9



Despite the repeated frustration of Wallace's attempts to have incidental music performed in the theatre, his hard work did have a number of positive results. Apart from the consequence of orchestral music emerging from incidental music, the discipline of working under imposed schedules and the contact he made with the theatre, were both to his advantage, on the first count by giving his work some structure and on the second by placing him in a better position to judge the work of others as a professional critic. As critic of theatrical works Wallace wrote intermittently for different journals, including *The National Review*, *The Outlook* and *The Musician*. At their request he attended specific performances and submitted the articles they had commissioned, although like his incidental music, few of these articles were actually published.

As one of the chief offenders for rejecting or ignoring articles which they had commissioned, *The Musician* had apparently antagonised a number of their contributors, although it later transpired to be through no fault of the editors. Apparently a dishonest clerk and office boy were to blame for intercepting mail to and from the office, and helping themselves to money due to journalists and reviewers for their work. Although Wallace was one of those who was to lose out financially because of this incident, he did benefit from further commissions by *The Musician* as a result. Since he had responded sympathetically to their difficulty, in contrast to other writers who had apparently become more irate under the misconception that the editors were with-holding payment, they asked him to supply further articles for publication. One of these additional articles was about the melodrama *Königskinder* by Engelbert Humperdinck [**E.2(d)**].[30]

However, a rather more controversial piece of writing which Wallace wrote for the same journal was his review of *The Marriage of Figaro* in the June issue of 1897. His criticism of the singer who played Suzanna prompted her to object in a letter of complaint to the editors, which caused them some embarrassment. Their response, however, was not to publish Mrs Eames' letter,[31] after her husband, who was equally embarrassed, intervened but to urge an apology from Wallace for finding fault with her acting. This he did although still unrepentant, and when a criticism of his original review was published in the journal's following issue he retaliated with an equally indignant letter. Finally the matter was resolved and a short explanation of the saga published, but another *faux pas* had arisen between Wallace and the theatrical world.[32]

One final review to be discussed here is of a production of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, the play by Edmond Rostand. Wallace wrote the review for *The Idler* [**E.2(b)**] after attending a performance in Paris where he had secretly been visiting Ottilie, and it was due to be published along with black and white photographs from the company's publicity material. In preparation for the article, Wallace also acquired a copy of the play's script which, as he wrote to Ottilie, 'reads beautifully'. He

[30] MS 21513, 3 and 10
[31] Her first name is unknown
[32] Wallace's account of these events can be found in MS 21512, 9-21.

continued that, 'I wish that I had run thro' [the play] before I saw it – [but] I am wildly enthusiastic about it and it will make a good article.'[33]

No survey of Wallace's work for the theatre would be complete without a discussion of his mystery play *The Divine Surrender*, which has already been mentioned in other contexts. Originally conceived as a music drama [C.3], based on the biblical story of Christ's resurrection, this was the closest Wallace came to emulating Wagner's preferred artistic genre, discounting his one-act lyric drama *Brassolis*, although two years after he had begun the libretto Wallace changed his conception of the work to a play with incidental music.[34] The play was completed in 1893 and consists of three parts, each providing an unconventional perspective of the historical events surrounding the Easter weekend. These different angles are explored through the eyes of fictional Jews, Pilate's wife, and various friends of 'the Master', ie Christ. The author told Ottilie that this was a work, 'which I wrote in pain, feeling it all and putting into it all my secret beliefs,'[35] although to the reader his personal creed is not immediately obvious. Wallace explored the implications of Christ's cult following his trial and the alleged sightings after his death within the contexts of both Roman and Jewish cultures which co-existed in Jerusalem at that time. Again his insight into human nature is evident in the portrayal of different characters, their emotions and predicaments, and his thorough knowledge of the times is seen in the attention which he paid to historical detail.

Today, although the play survives, the only evidence of its accompanying music is the vocal scena *The Rhapsody of Mary Magdelene* [**B.28**], which comes from the third scene of the play. The text for this is from Mary's soliloquy in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the music may have come from Wallace's incidental score, although it is not known how far he eventually proceeded with the plan to write accompanying incidental music. Anyhow, in the event of a performance without singer Wallace indicated in his orchestral score which instruments were to play out in the rhapsody, since they doubled the voice's melody. At the same time, Wallace's free development of the melody provided an appropriate setting for his text, which is in blank verse, and

[33] MS 21514, 45
[34] Wallace includes a history of his libretto/text in the play's preface.
[35] MS 21502, 50 (March 1896)

complementary musical and literary skills combined to recreate the rhapsodic and mystical atmosphere of Wallace's subject.

He had also planned to compose an orchestral suite based on the play's incidental music, beginning with a *Prelude to the Mystery*, which was followed by two further symphonic poems, *Pilate's Wife's Dream* and *March to Calvary*. Each piece was to introduce and expound the literary ideas of a particular scene from the play, accounting for each of the three movements, but in Feb 1897 Wallace revealed to Ottilie how cross he had been with Bantock for adopting what he had jealously regarded as his own idea. Bantock had apparently been aware of Wallace's play since 1893 and had even heard and complimented him on some of its accompanying music, calling it 'great work'.[36] Bantock had even gone on to predict that Wallace's orchestral work would be, 'the one whereby you become famous'.[37] However, some time after Bantock heard his friend's music he too decided to write an orchestral work about Easter: his choral symphony *Christus* and it would appear that upon learning of this rival project Wallace relinquished his own symphonic idea. He withdrew his confidence from Bantock and became more guarded when discussing his work with other composers, writing sulkily to Ottilie that:

> [Bantock] heard *my* music 2 years ago, and indeed knew that the Rhapsody of Mary Magdelene was part of it. Moreover he said when sitting at the piano "This is my march to Calvary but it is quite unlike yours"...I have no copyright in the idea, for it is history and anyone can use the notion that cares to, only it seems so unoriginal of Bantock to cover my ground in this way, for there are heaps of subjects open to'm.[38]

Clearly any difference in musical style between *Christus* and his own work, was not enough to appease Wallace. Further overlaps between the two men's programmes are also evident in later works, such as Bantock's first tone poem *Dante* composed c1901 after Wallace's *Beatrice* was premiered in 1892, and his choral symphony *Vanity of Vanities* published 1913, 15 years after Wallace began his own choral symphony based on *Ecclesiastes* [A.6]. During his visits to New Brighton in 1898, Wallace would almost certainly have alluded to his programme for *Ecclesiastes* in conversation with Bantock, and so even if the work was unfinished, Bantock would have been aware of the older composer's intentions. Wallace's summer visits are discussed further in the following chapter.

[36] MS 21550, 20 Sept 1893, ii
[37] Ibid

To conclude, although the stage would appear to have offered ideal opportunities for the culmination of Wallace's wide-ranging interests, even the projects which had originated in the theatre resulted ultimately in either programme music or song instead. As a theatre composer Wallace had not been successful whether in setting his own libretti or in providing incidental music for others, and these failures brought him no closer to the prospect of marrying Ottilie. However, they faithfully continued their correspondence and provided further records of their creative work, whether successful or otherwise.

[38] MS 21509, 31

Chapter 4: Campaigner for British Music

> 'Fortunately, Wallace was not only a fine composer but was possessed of a clear-cut sense of reality, a logical faculty of unerring accuracy, and a grim determination to pursue to its end any cause in the rightness of which he was convinced.' (Sir John B McEwen, 'In Memoriam', 1940)

As Anderton wrote, Wallace's was a 'great spirit whose energies, like a subtle fire, [were] ready to turn and bend with every change, to find every outlet, and apply its power wherever needed',[1] and the area in which Wallace saw the greatest need for his efforts and attention was in the advancement of British music. This he made quite clear through the number of related activities in which he participated. In composition he aided the development of British music through his introduction of the symphonic poem to the British composer's repertoire, and also through his use of Wagnerian musical language in preference to classical ideals. However throughout his life Wallace was involved in practical projects and campaigns whose common purpose was the promotion of contemporary British music in general, and although self-interest may have been his initial incentive, these activities were also to benefit other composers.

Many of the projects for which Wallace campaigned during the 1890's were in partnership with Granville Bantock, and despite occasional conflicts the pair achieved a great deal for the cause of British music. They had known each other since they were students at the RAM and although their mutual respect was mixed with a certain amount of rivalry, they continued to support and encourage each other over a number of years. For example, Wallace entrusted Bantock with scores of his *Freebooter Songs*[2] and *Sister Helen*,[3] for comments and advice before going to work on their final versions. Apart from their musical education at the RAM, they shared a musical inheritance from Liszt and Wagner who, as their friend Anderton wrote in his biography of Bantock were, 'symbols of all that was daring and revolutionary in art'[4] during the 1880's. However, in addition to their musical background, Wallace and

[1] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 629
[2] MS 21550, 21-24
[3] MS 21512, 42
[4] Anderton, *Granville Bantock*, 17

Bantock also shared a common family background, both being sons of eminent Scottish doctors.

They had apparently been friendly since their days at the RAM together and after the birth of his first son in 1898, Bantock claimed Wallace as the child's closest equivalent to a godfather. When Bantock left the RAM in 1892, he gained experience as a theatre conductor, before accepting the post of musical director of the New Brighton Tower Gardens Orchestra in August 1897. There he extended the military band's repertoire to include arrangements of Wagner's music, during his first year and established a symphony orchestra by his second. In the summer of 1898, the orchestra performed, not only full orchestral versions of Wagner's overtures, but also music by Tchaikovsky, Berlioz and Dvořák. That year the orchestra's programme also featured works by British composers and Wallace was among those who had an entire programme devoted to his music. Others whose music Bantock introduced to their repertoire were Cowen, Stanford, Parry, Elgar, Corder and Mackenzie.[5]

As musical director, with his own orchestra, Bantock was in a better position to promote the performance of British music than Wallace was, and his novelty concerts soon attracted the attention of critics throughout the country. Not only could he give British composers the much sought after opportunity of hearing their music performed, but he also invited them to New Brighton to conduct their own work. Under this pretext Wallace paid Bantock two visits in 1898, although his duties during that summer involved more than rehearsing and conducting his own music. While he was there Bantock also invited him to attend and observe his rehearsals, so that he could learn from Bantock's rehearsal techniques and gain familiarity with the orchestral repertoire.

Wallace had opportunities to extend his own repertoire as a conductor too, when he was asked by Bantock to take rehearsals by day and conduct dance or popular music in the evenings. By the end of the summer Wallace could boast that, 'I find I have conducted 'tween 70 and 80 pieces at New Brighton'.[6] Considering neither of Wallace's visits that year lasted longer than ten days at a time, the first stretch at the beginning of August and the second in mid-September, the rehearsal

[5] See Lloyd's informative article, 'Bantock and New Brighton'

[6] MS 21516, 148

schedule must have been very rigorous. As a general rule, during the summer season, mornings and early afternoons were spent in rehearsal, then from 3 to 5 pm concerts were given, and from 8 to 10 pm dances were held in the ballroom. With such a tiring daily schedule, in addition to the general organisation and administration required of him, it must have been of some relief to Bantock to have a friend present to share these responsibilities for a couple of weeks at a time.

Meanwhile Wallace benefited as a conductor at New Brighton by adding to his skills in general musicianship. He wrote to Ottilie in August 1898 that, 'I've learnt from Bantock more in the last fortnight than I have learnt in years. For by knowing the feeling of having a band under me I am better able to write things that are possible.'[7] However, his conducting career in itself was never to take off. Although Bantock kept him informed about conducting posts throughout their correspondence of 1893-1900, and even after his orchestral encounters at New Brighton, the insurmountable objection of any prospective employer appeared to be Wallace's lack of experience. For example, when Mackenzie wanted a conductor in London for a thirteen-week season during summer 1899,[8] and when a post had become vacant at Buxton earlier that year,[9] Bantock's recommendation of Wallace was over-ruled both times. Likewise his suggestion that Wallace apply for a post at the Winter Gardens in Blackpool amounted to nothing.[10] Not that Wallace was incapable as a conductor. On the contrary the *Musical Standard* was very complimentary about his style, after the 'Wallace Concert' at New Brighton on 7 Aug 1898:

> Mr Wallace conducted his own works and there is no doubt that not only as a composer but as a conductor he will rise to eminence. His beat is clear and clean and he does not go in for any swaying of the body or gesticulations, but with a quiet and decisive beat gets the effect he wants.[11]

However, had Wallace 'risen to eminence' as a conductor, his other activities would most certainly have suffered. The stress and exhaustion of which he complained after less than a fortnight as assistant conductor at New Brighton would inevitably have prevented him from composing and from taking part in other activities for the promotion of British music.

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[7] MS 21516, 81
[8] Ibid, 51
[9] MS 21518, 5
[10] MS 21550, 107
[11] JJM, 107-9

Although Wallace's conducting endeavours did not result in a more permanent post, the hard work which he experienced at New Brighton was evidently worthwhile in a number of ways. For a start, his exposure to the orchestra's varied musical repertoire must have benefited the development of his own musical style. It gave him the opportunity to study other composers' orchestral scores and hear their music simultaneously so that he could see and hear which effects were most successful, for example in their choice of instrumental combinations or in idiomatic writing for solo instruments. In one of the pieces he rehearsed for Bantock, Tchaikovsky's 'Pathétique' Symphony (premiered just before the composer's death in 1893), the last movement features the strike of a tam-tam which is not unlike that near the end of Wallace's own symphony *The Creation*. Since Wallace was by that stage just finishing off his symphony, it is conceivable that the percussive effect was inspired by Tchaikovsky.

In fact Wallace had already heard the 'Pathétique' two years earlier, at a concert which also saw the premiere of Wallace's symphonic poem *Amboss oder Hammer*. Afterwards he admitted that Tchaikovsky's symphony had left a lasting impression on him.[12] By that stage Wallace had only recently started to compose *The Creation*, and there are other characteristics in the work which may have been suggested to him by Tchaikovsky's music. For example, the 'Pathétique' begins with indistinct rumblings from among the orchestra's lower stringed instruments, with double basses divisi in their accompaniment of the bassoon melody, while Wallace's representation of chaos in the slow introduction to 'The Creation' is also dominated by lower strings, and the opening melody is played on bass tuba.

The appearance of a celeste in Wallace's second movement is also associated with Tchaikovsky's orchestral writing for 'The Dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy' from his orchestral suite *The Nutcracker*. However, there is no evidence to suggest from the letters Wallace wrote during the composition of his symphony that he knew that particular suite. He was certainly familiar with Tchaikovsky's other works though, and writing to Ottilie from a rehearsal which Bantock was conducting at New Brighton in Sept 1898, he declared that, 'this Romeo and Juliet thing of his is

[12] MS 21506, 18 (Oct 1896)

amazing!'[13] This music he apparently also found inspiring, since the same letter continued that, 'As I listen to Tchaikovsky I am wild to get back [to London] and write'. Wallace became increasingly restless to resume his composition during prolonged visits to New Brighton, especially after Bantock became ill with the flu and detained him there to carry out the duties of doctor or nurse-maid as well as understudy.

All the same, the revelation of conducting different kinds of music, not least works by other British composers, was an education for Wallace. It helped to keep him up to date with what his contemporaries were writing and enabled him to learn from the strengths of their music as well as the weaknesses. Among the pieces he conducted at New Brighton were Edward German's *Gypsy Suite* and *Henry VIII Suite*, A C Mackenzie's *Benedictus* and *Little Minister Suite*, and Frederick Cowen's *Old English Dances.*[14] Often Wallace had to conduct at sight, or from incomplete orchestral or piano scores, or even from a single violin part, which as a relatively inexperienced conductor he found a challenging task. Unfortunately Wallace's rushed letters to Ottilie from this period record little more than the titles of the pieces he had to conduct, since the tight rehearsal schedule did not permit enough time to expand on what he thought of the music itself. However, as champion for the cause of contemporary British music, he presumably considered the works worth their performance.

During the relentless timetable of rehearsals, performances and the completion or correction of orchestral parts, Bantock and Wallace did manage to make time for heated discussions about the plight of music in Britain and how conditions might be improved for the composer. They shared ideas about composition and organised future events together, their main scheme during 1898 being the revival of the *New Quarterly Musical Review*. The first series of their journal had previously run from May 1893 until Feb 1896 with Bantock as its editor and Erskine Allon, H Orsmond Anderton and Wallace as his assistants.[15] However while Bantock was on tour in America, Wallace wrote that, 'I did all his work on the NQM Review for 18 months

[13] MS 21516, 114
[14] This information is compiled from MS 21516
[15] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 628

and never asked a penny, nor received one'.[16] Nor, for that matter, did any of the other contributors to, or editors of, the journal as Anderton was to point out in his biography of Bantock.

In addition to any editorial notes, only one article during the journal's three-year existence bears the name of Wallace as its author. 'Music and Pessimism' (May 1893) is just one of Wallace's literary contributions to the defence of 'modern' music, although his two examples of 'modern' composers, Berlioz and Wagner, had both been dead for some years by then. Apparently, unfavourable music critics had dismissed the increasing use of dissonance in modern music as immoral or depraved, views which Wallace reproved in his article. 'The art of to-day has arrived at its present stage by no hap-hazard route,' he argued. 'Its evolution has come about in a natural sequence as logical as that of its great analogue.'[17] Here again he used evolutionary arguments to justify the development of modern composition in Britain, especially the developments which perpetuated Wagnerian ideas.

The music of Wagner obviously had its influence on Wallace during the establishment of Britain's own musical traditions during the late-nineteenth century. Apart from providing him with a subject for biography, Wagner had become something of a role model to Wallace as a composer. In Wallace's regular reports to Ottilie during the 1890's he outlined performances and reviews of Wagner's music as they arose, and there are recurring references to the articles he wrote for *The Idler* about Wagner's *Nibelungen Ring* during the summer of 1898. While attending performances and writing up these articles he was concurrently arranging a concert version of his incidental music for *Sister Helen* and in due course he sent off a piano score of the symphonic poem to Bantock for his advice before writing up the full orchestral score. On the whole Bantock's response was very encouraging, although he drew Wallace's attention to a certain similarity between the piece and Wagner's music. 'The theme of the old lover's agony bears a marked resemblance to the entrance theme in *Tristan*,' he warned.[18] The theme which first appeared at figure 5 was developed by sequence at figure 28:

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[16] MS 21517, 96
[17] *NQMR*, 216
[18] MS 21550, 46-47

Example 10: *Sister Helen*

(a) Clarinet, and viola with cello, figure 5

(b) Violin, figure 28

Although the orchestral version which has survived may be an amended version of that which Bantock saw in 1897, similarities remain between the two themes. For example the intervals in Wallace's clarinet motif [**10** (a)] correspond with those in Tristan's melody [See **Example 11** (a) below], except when Wallace's theme descends by a tone instead of a semitone. Again, when the viola and cello parts continue unison in *Sister Helen*, their motif shares its principal notes with the opening bars of *Tristan* [11 (b)].

Example 11: *Tristan*

(a) Cello, bar 17

(b) Cello, bar 1

Although Bantock was to emphasise in his letter to Wallace the similarities between those particular passages, other themes in *Sister Helen* bear a resemblance to *Tristan*, for example at figure 2 where the cellos resume the motif in an unresolving rising sequence and where Helen, 'thinks of her old passionate love,' as the programme puts it [Refer back to **Example 1** (a) from Chapter 1]. The first three notes descending by semitone are the melody's most prominent feature and occur

several times within a few bars, just as they do in the opening cello sequence of *Tristan*, although Bantock omitted to point out this similarity. It was suggested earlier that Wallace's orchestral score may have been amended any number of times after Bantock wrote his criticism, but one place in which Wallace can be seen to have acted specifically on his friend's advice is at the end of the work. He had suggested one final, clinching *sforzando* chord to end the music, and in this way, 'You will complete your eight bars, and so satisfy the feeling in one's ear for the necessary rhythm.'[19]

Bernard Shaw also detected a relationship between Wallace's and Wagner's music in his review of *The Passing of Beatrice*. He wrote patronizingly that, 'The prelude to *Lohengrin* [was] an instance of the successful accomplishment of what Mr Wallace tries to do in his poem, which, if cut down by nine-tenths, and well worked over, would make a pretty *entr'acte*.'[20] An equally scathing observation by Shaw insisted that both *Beatrice* and Wallace's prelude to the *Eumenides of Æschylus*, 'shewed that Mr Wallace knows how to use every instrument except the scissors'.[21] However, unfair those criticisms may be, and despite Wallace's claim that, 'When I hear a single piece of music it suggests to me an idea of quite a different sort, and the result is quite the opposite of the music which gave me the germ,'[22] Shaw did have grounds for his comparison of *Beatrice* and *Lohengrin*. The two works are similar in orchestral texture, atmosphere and even figuration in some bars. The string passages at the beginning and more noticeably at the end of both works, establish and maintain their ethereal sound through slow, sustained chords played high in the violin's register. The violins are muted and divided into four parts by Wallace but into twice as many by Wagner. However, by the final bars in both pieces the orchestration is thinned out once again to a similar ensemble, which is left lingering on its tonic chord until the music fades away completely. Shaw may also have been reminded of *Lohengrin* by melodic patterns in *Beatrice* such as the brass melody just before Wallace states his chorale (the contrasting second subject) in the tonic key [see **Example 12** (a)]. Unison trumpet and horns play a melody which alternates between the triplets and dotted rhythms previously played by unison flute, clarinet and violin

[19] MS 21550, 47
[20] Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94*, 203
[21] Ibid, 73
[22] MS 21503, 71 (May 1896)

(bar 170), and is reminiscent of Wagner's trumpet part at the climax of *Lohengrin* [12 (b)].

Example 12:

(a) *Beatrice*, Trumpets and Horns bar 202

(b) *Lohengrin*, Trumpet bar 54

Returning to Shaw's criticism of *Beatrice*, he is also correct in suggesting that the symphonic poem is longer than Wagner's overture to *Lohengrin*: there are in fact over four times as many bars in the former. The works did perform different functions though and their structures are also dissimilar. Wagner's prelude is only 75 bars long, and in it he establishes the opera's opening mood and motives which will be quoted and developed throughout the opera. His opening melody is repeated and varied a few times in the prelude, but developed little at this stage, since he has the rest of his opera during which to do so. Wallace's *Beatrice*, on the other hand, is musically self-contained within a single movement, 13 minutes long according to his orchestral score. Obviously Shaw failed to appreciate the composer's skill in developing his themes and sustaining his musical ideas within this larger musical structure based on sonata form.

One final comment on the relationship between *Lohengrin* and *Beatrice*, must be made about their orchestration. Wagner's theatre orchestra is the larger of the two, with the omission of a flute, cor anglais, bass clarinet, bassoon, trumpet and tuba from the ensemble chosen by Wallace. Wallace's later and longer work, written for concert hall performance, might be expected to employ the larger forces, but it is probable that Wallace had to consider the practical points of expense, the availability of players, and the problems of writing for a large orchestra, during the early stages of his composing career. Wagner, on the other hand was known for excessiveness, and was unlikely to let these considerations affect his music. The only instrument included in

Wallace's score, but not in Wagner's was the harp, which helped to enhance the orchestral texture during slow-moving passages such as at the beginning and end of the piece. However, this digression from Wallace's musical campaigns for the promotion of British music serves only to show where his own musical preferences lay, and how he aided the infiltration of Wagnerian style into British music.

Two years after the *NQMR*'s demise, it looked as if the journal was about to be revived, since Wallace and Bantock had drawn up plans for a second series, costed the idea, made a list of possible contributors and discussed who to contact as potential subscribers.[23] For the benefit of those who might subscribe, they drew up and sent out copies of their 'Preliminary Prospectus' and awaited a response. The aims of the quarterly, set out in this prospectus were, 'to secure the greatest independence of thought and individuality of opinion in the contributors,'[24]through music and book reviews, and through the discussion of contemporary musical issues. Having designed the prospectus, Wallace was the one to whom interested parties should respond, 'on behalf of Granville Bantock and Robin Legge, with whom he will co-operate in the management of the New Series'.[25] However, their attempts to re-establish the NQMR were aborted before the first issue was published, presumably due to lack of support.

Likewise, Bantock and Wallace's short-lived idea of establishing a less serious paper, which they were to call *The Leading Note: an occasional musical journal*, amounted to nothing. This time they got as far as drawing up a list of contents for the first issue, a copy of which Wallace sent to Ottilie with explanatory notes, before abandoning the idea. The first article in particular would have made Wallace's views clearly felt, as a revolutionary and outsider to the musical Establishment. The following table contains the titles and descriptions of articles, quoted directly from his letter to Ottilie:[26]

[23] MS 21550, 76-79
[24] Wallace, 'Preliminary Prospectus', i
[25] Ibid, ii and MS 21550, 221-22
[26] MS 21516, 83-84

Heading	Explanation
1. The Leading Note. An ideal academy of music	Is a veiled attack on teaching methods in England - not attacking directly, but simply saying how teaching should be carried on...
2. The alphabetical university	Is a skit on the dozens of musical degrees, scholarships etc with a wildly absurd exam. paper.
3. The function of the critic	A skit on criticism.
4. Grace notes	Ordinary musical notes.
5. Correspondence	Letters which we will write.
6. Answers to Correspondence (in no. 1!!!)	Will be funny - for as this is no. 1 there can be no correspondence regarding previous numbers - but the answers will all have a significance.
7. Advertisements	The adverts will be skits - bogus things.

Wallace's antagonism towards London's musical establishments was a recurring theme throughout his lifetime, despite the fact that he was later to join the staff at the RAM as Professor of Harmony and Composition (1924-39). In generalisations about the style and approach of these institutions towards composition, Wallace had often used the term 'academic' disparagingly, although it is not altogether clear what he meant by the term. It apparently had certain connotations for musicians at the time though, and in an anonymous article written for the *Musical Standard* an attempt was made to define the term.[27] The 'academics', as 'R Peggio' explained, were those whose creativity as composers had inevitably been suppressed by their work environment in London's musical institutions. Teaching, the writer claimed, had turned some of the country's inspired composers into cautious imitators, compromising their individuality for the sake of their profession. As a result, these teachers could not instil their students with the enthusiasm or inspiration necessary at such a crucial point in the development of British music.

By contrast Wallace saw himself as a 'freelance' composer during the 1890's, who had no obligations to a particular musical institution.[28] Others in a similar position included Bantock and Sir Edward Elgar who were similarly isolated from

[27] R Peggio, 'Rambling Reflections', 69-70
[28] MS 21517, 9

London's musical institutions. Surprisingly, Wallace did not appear to have much contact with the latter composer during this period, although he worked closely with the former on specific projects which have already been mentioned. Against the classical traditions which were popular among other British composers, and seemingly encouraged in the formal education offered by their teachers, Bantock and Wallace both rebelled. Rather than conforming to a Brahmsian inheritance, they adopted the harmonic language, orchestral resources and musical forms of Berlioz, Liszt and Wagner.

As far as Wallace was concerned there were only these two options open to composers who wished to develop art music in Britain. Both practices were inherited from nineteenth-century Germany but generally speaking Wallace's Wagnerian line tended to favour the composition of programme music, while the Brahmsian 'academics' favoured absolute music. The first category has already been discussed in relation to Wallace's involvement in the visual arts, while the other has so far been ignored since Wallace wrote only a couple of pieces which lack programmatic titles. Even so, there is reason to believe from his paper, 'The Scope of Programme Music', that these too would have had some poetic significance.

After two terms as a student at the RAM Wallace took away with him a resentfulness against their formal musical training. A number of possible explanations include a dislike for his teachers, and the uncomfortable awareness of being primarily a medic and a mature student among younger, ambitious musicians. Wallace's lack of formal musical training also meant that his attitude towards composition tended to be more intuitive than would be compatible with the RAM's teaching methods. However, it was not due to any of these conflicting opinions that he left the Academy. Rather, he wrote regretfully to Ottilie that he had been forced to abandon his studies following his father's withdrawal of financial backing.[29] Nevertheless, rather than be discouraged by obstacles such as the lack of support or training, Wallace let adversity fuel his rebelliousness, and he became all the more determined to succeed as a composer. Rebelliousness within the family, against his father's career aspirations, meant that Wallace was also inclined to rebel against the

[29] MS 21514, 24

authorities he encountered at the RAM, especially when as an outsider he felt he had to prove his worth to the rest of the musical world.

However, it would appear that Bantock also shared some of Wallace's anti-establishment resentment, once he had completed his own course at the RAM. His letters to Wallace, and the response recorded in Wallace's letters to Ottilie,[30] revealed a number of views which the rebels shared. They frequently used the word 'rebel' themselves to describe their position in relation to the previous generation of British composers of whom Mackenzie, who was president of the RAM while they were students, was the most frequently named. For example, Bantock wrote in a rousing letter to Wallace in 1897 that, 'I liken your position and mine to that of 2 generals. We have started a revolution, and we have a following behind us...I agree for the present that we can well do without Parry, Stanford and Mackenzie.'[31] This was written within the context of planning concerts of British music, although Bantock did succumb later to the inclusion of music by these composers in his New Brighton concerts.

Judging from the references which Wallace made to Mackenzie, Parry and Stanford himself his objections were not aimed at them personally but against approaches to composition which conflicted with his own. It appeared to the younger composer that the three men came from the 'academic' background which he so detested and, in the case of the latter two, they were rooted in the conservative, classical traditions of Brahms, Schumann and Mendelssohn. As a follower of Berlioz, Wagner and Liszt, Wallace regarded himself as a progressivist, although Mackenzie before him had also shown an interest in programmatic genres and in the music of both Liszt and Wagner. Curiously, Purser reflects Wallace's objection to Mackenzie, that, 'he allowed himself to become an establishment figure not just as principle of the RAM, but as a composer too,' and although Mackenzie, 'admired Wagner immensely...there is always a lightness and dash about him on the one hand, or a kindly sentiment on the other, which he wisely left uncoloured by Wagner's powerful and more adventurous style.'[32] Yet this is perhaps where Wallace imagined himself as a pioneer: as one who integrated Wagner's musical style into British musical style.

[30] The whereabouts of Wallace's letters to Bantock are unknown.
[31] MS 21550, 4 Jan 1897
[32] Purser, *Scotland's Music*, 221

Although not taken as a general rule, the 'academic' approaches seemed to favour absolute music, classical forms and fairly conservative harmony, whereas Wallace preferred to write programme music, develop newer musical genres such as the symphonic poem, and explore the boundaries of Romantic harmony. Concerning the older generation, whom he labelled indiscriminately as 'academic', Wallace told Ottilie that:

> While we respect them, those in England as least for what they've done, we have secretly a grand contempt for all their devices, and glance at their shoes thinking of the time when we shall stand in them, or rather in new pairs which we shall have made for ourselves! We don't stand being patronised. We are 'the younger generation knocking at the door,' as Ibsen says in one of his plays, and we, the 4 or 5 of us have adopted this as our motto. For my own part I mean to be one of the younger generation all my life.[33]

Although Wallace seemed to imply the existence of a group or clique of composers in this passage, he may simply have been referring to the others whose work was to be performed in the concert of British orchestral music to be given later that year in Queen's Hall. Meanwhile in characteristically dramatic language, Bantock confidently predicted that in time, 'Our masters shall become our pupils. Such shall be our crusade. The British Conservatoire shall stand on the ruins of the Academy.'[34] Yet for all their talk of a new movement whose aim was to replace and surpass existing musical establishments, Wallace and Bantock were generally on good terms with those they intended to oust. Wallace claimed that Parry had pledged his support for their plans to establish a British orchestra and had given them advice about concert programmes,[35] while Mackenzie was visited by Wallace a number of times during his wife's prolonged fatal illness.[36]

In another attempt to promote British music, Wallace and Bantock conferred with the sculptor Alfred E Gilbert over his idea of establishing a British orchestra, possibly to be based at the Imperial Institute.[37] Presumably the project was meant to follow on from the previous year's concert of British music at the Queen's Hall, of which there will be more in a moment. Again, the orchestra was to perform British music, conducted by the composers themselves or by either Bantock or Wallace when this was impractical. However a number of obstacles prevented them from putting

[33] MS 21502, 43 (Feb 1896)
[34] MS 21550, 25 Dec 1896, iv
[35] MS 21509, 45 and MS 21519, 46
[36] MS 21549, letters to Ottilie recall these visits during 1925
[37] Details are interspersed among MS 21510-11

this idea into practice. Firstly, Wallace claimed that their programme would have overlapped with that of Stanford's whose series of Victorian concerts with the Leeds' Choir was also scheduled for that year.[38] Secondly 1897 was the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee and as part of the celebrations a number of concerts had been planned, presumably to include British music, which would again impose on their scheme and so when Bantock accepted his post as musical director of New Brighton Tower their idea of an all-British orchestra was finally abandoned.

The Queen's Hall concert of British music which took place on 15 Dec 1896, hosted by Bantock with Wallace as organiser, did materialise though and with apparent success. At least as far as Wallace was concerned the concert had been successful, despite reviewers who stated the contrary. 'R Peggio' of the *Musical Standard*, for example, reported otherwise in his regular column 'Rambling Reflections'. He wrote that the audience had been negligible and the music uninspiring, excepting Steggall's *Elaine*. 'Here,' wrote the rambler, 'we had a man not only with a poetic conception of his subject, no finer, perhaps, than Mr Bantock or Mr Wallace would have had, but with the technical, the inspired technical twist of being able to realise it.'[39] Although, on this occasion, Bantock and Wallace attracted little praise for their composition ('R Peggio' was marginally more complimentary about the latter's efforts) they did at least attract attention, which was what they sought primarily.

The novelty of the concert programme was that each item was by a British composer and not only that, but each of the composers had coincidentally been students at the RAM. Each piece was to be conducted by its composer:

Granville Bantock	Overture:	*Eugene Aram*
William Wallace	Vocal Scena:	*The Rhapsody of Mary Magdelene*
Arthur Hinton	Fantasia:	*The Triumph of Caesar*
Stanley Hawley	Recitation:	*The Legend Beautiful*
Granville Bantock	Song Cycle:	*Songs of Arabia*
Granville Bantock	Symphonia:	*The Curse of Kehama Part 1,* 'The Funeral'
Reginald Steggall	Vocal Scena:	*Elaine*
Erskine Allon	Overture:	*The Maid of Colonsay*

[38] MS 21511, 9 and 11
[39] 'R Peggio', 51: 379

However the composers' manifesto denied that they were part of an exclusive clique or school, despite their shared ambition and 'predominant desire...to advance the cause of British Music' in ventures such as this orchestral concert. Printed in the first page of their programme, the manifesto which Wallace wrote provoked, 'a storm of discussion', as the editor of *The Musical Standard* announced the following week.[40] As far as attracting attention went, concert and manifesto were both successful and attention to the plight and ambitions of British composers became a focal point.

Wallace seemed to think that their efforts had made an impact, even on the musical establishments, for he later boasted that, 'That concert of ours has borne fruit for now Mackenzie, Parry and the rest of them are all talking of British composers and conductors and bands'.[41] The composers he named here had both played an important role in the early stages of the British Musical Renaissance, although Wallace and Bantock now considered the development of British music as their own inheritance through which they were to prepare the way for further generations of composers. Concerning this next generation, Wallace had written in his manifesto that:

> Those whose privilege it is to go before, to form as it were the mere stepping-stones for the god who is to follow, have their little share in their lifetime, even though they may be forgotten hereafter; they will continue to work in hope as long as earnestness brings no disgrace, and enthusiasm casts no slur.

The ominous prediction of their being out-shone by eminent talent was soon fulfilled through the emergence of Edward Elgar (1857-1934), in the early 1900s, and of Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958) and Benjamin Britten (1913-76), among others, as the century progressed.

It would be difficult to determine, on the one hand, how much this particular concert at the Queen's Hall simply reflected a revival of interest in British art music at the time and, on the other, to what extent it actually affected future performances of British music. The orchestral venture did however have one direct positive result, in that it encouraged Bantock to arrange a subsequent concert of British music for the following Spring, this time featuring chamber music.[42] Wallace was less involved in the organisation of this concert, than the previous one, though and on the day itself he observed the proceedings from a seat among the audience. However, his music was

[40] Vol 51, 393
[41] MS 21516, 51
[42] Steinway Hall, 11 May 1897, details from *GB Society*, 2:1, 7

represented in the programme by the *Shelley Trio*, which brought the lengthy concert to its conclusion.

The triumphant feeling of success which he had experienced after the orchestral concert was not, however, to be repeated this time. Instead, he felt afterwards that it had been a, 'dreary affair'. His reasons for this were that, 'The majority of the things on the programme were too long, and the waits between each seemed interminable.'[43] As for his own work, by the time the *Shelley Trio* was to be performed, the concert had over-run and many of the audience had left. Those who remained, including the performers, were probably quite restless by now and Wallace was unimpressed with the actual performance: 'Pierpoint left out a great hunk of his part and came in at the wrong place, also the piano and violin were apathetic and tired.'[44]

In addition to the performances and other schemes on which Wallace worked alongside Bantock, he gave a couple of addresses independently to musical conferences. The paper which Wallace delivered to the Musical Association has been discussed already in the section about his views on programme music, but at the Incorporated Society of Musicians' annual conference in 1913, he spoke on a different topic. This time his subject was the responsibility of British musicians towards their profession, and in the speech he urged his listeners to dispel apathy, and defend each other's rights in legal and ethical matters. Individuals and musical organisations such as the ISM were urged alike to apply their influence constructively in order to improve conditions for Britain's musicians.

One of the areas in which he saw the composer's need for support was in defence against music publishers in the controversial issues of copyright. In his speech he elaborated on his own involvement in amending the Copyright Bill of 1911, which Anderton later endorsed in 'A Protean Spirit'. Anderton wrote that, 'During the progress of the Copyright Bill [Wallace] almost lived in the House of Commons for months, and had to stand a pretty severe cross-examination before the Board of Trade Committee.'[45] The necessity for amending the bill had arisen out of the invention of recording apparatus, which could transmit or reproduce music, since

[43] MS 21511, 40
[44] Ibid
[45] Anderton, 'Protean Spirit', 629

previous laws had not allowed for this development in technology. As the law stood, a composer had no control over either the recording nor the transmission of his music, and was at the mercy of his publishers or of gramophone manufacturers for any kind of remuneration. However the interests of these various parties were in conflict and so when the matter arose in parliament, Wallace voluntarily came forward to represent the composer before the Departmental Committee on Copyright. Professional musicians were not, apparently, represented in any other way, either on the panel or as advisors to the committee, and Wallace told the ISM that this lack of response from his colleagues from within the musical profession had surprised him. The committee was after all to make important decisions regarding the composer's income from what were to become two of his greatest sources: printed music and commercial recordings.

Having said that, Wallace was not completely on his own in his battle for the composer's rights, since it would appear that Stanford also had some input into the copyright discussions. Despite earlier meetings which had been held by composers in protest against the previous Copyright Act of 1906, told of by Coover in his book *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, Wallace claimed that Stanford and he had been the only composers to intervene in this later bill. The earlier group, meeting as the Musical Defence League, had included a number of prominent composers, such as Elgar, Parry, Cowen and German, who for some reason failed to show an interest in the later bill. Stanford's response to the apparent complaisance of his English contemporaries was recalled by Wallace in his speech of two years later. 'The Englishman makes a muddle, and the Irishman and Scotsman have to come along and get him out of it,' the Irishman had observed.[46]

Sir John Blackwood McEwen (1868-1948)[47] was also to pay homage to Wallace's input to the legal debate in the obituary he wrote for the *RAM Club Magazine*, 'In Memoriam'. Recognising Wallace's sense of justice and acknowledging his time-consuming efforts to represent the composer's case fairly, McEwen wrote that, 'His evidence, interpolations and representations were not without effect, although he strove practically single-handed for his special object - the rights of the composer. The eventual effect was that these rights were definitely

[46] Wallace, ISM, 12
[47] Principle of the RAM 1924-36

recognised and defined.'[48] The knowledge which Wallace gained of copyright as composer and writer had equipped him to defend the composer's legal status throughout the bill's preparation for the House of Commons and it is quite likely that during that time he had consulted his younger brother George Williamson Wallace (1862-1952), a barrister who was also living in London, about the issues which arose from it.

Many composers were to benefit as a result of Wallace's efforts to achieve justice through the Copyright Bill. However one composer who consulted Wallace personally and therefore profited directly from his knowledge of copyright was Frederick Delius. Delius had spent much of Spring 1909 fighting against his publishers Harmonie Verlag over the translation and performing rights of *A Mass of Life*, whereupon the conductor Thomas Beecham had directed him to Wallace for advice.[49] To be specific, Harmonie had engaged a German called Bernhoff to translate Delius' mass into English, although the result was disastrous according to Beecham, who refused to perform the work unless a second translation had been made. For this task he recommended Wallace [**E.5(e)**], whose successful translation of Richard Strauss' opera *Feuersnot* he commissioned at about the same time [**E.5(d)**]. During the course of their correspondence, some of which is quoted in Beecham's biography *Frederick Delius*, Wallace explained the copyright rules which would apply to his new translation as well as agreeing to undertake the translation. It is also understood that while examining past transactions between Delius and Harmonie, Wallace discovered further discrepancies on the publisher's part and that Wallace persuaded him to take legal action against them.

The following discourse into Wallace's activities as translator deviates a little from his promotion of British music, but at the same time it should show how the progress of British music was to benefit from his work. As a linguist, Wallace helped to expose British composers to music by their foreign counterparts by making foreign opera and song more accessible to them. In their English translation these works were more likely to receive support in the concert hall or theatre, and from their performance British composers might learn new ideas and techniques which would

[48] McEwen, 'In Memoriam', 17
[49] Beecham, *Delius*, 161-3

benefit their own composition. The diversity of British musical style owes more to the adoption of characteristics from abroad, than to the exclusiveness of indigenous music.

Wallace's fluency in French and German was largely due to the ophthalmic training he received during his time in Paris and Vienna, after graduating from Glasgow University in 1885. There he would have encountered the languages within many different contexts such as in lectures, in the hospitals where he worked, and in daily conversation. However, in later years he applied his language skills to the foreign literature he encountered as a musician, books such as those listed in his bibliography for *Liszt, Wagner and the Princess*. The list includes more French literature than either German or English, and as the adoption of Villon's poetry into a symphonic poem illustrates, Wallace was also able to appreciate medieval poetry in that language. In his book of short stories, however, the trivial verse he discovered in Trilby for the title page was in modern French:

La vie est brève
Un peu d'amour,
Un peu de rêve,
Et puis - bonjour![50]

While searching for some kind of motto for the book, he explained to Ottilie that on the whole it was, 'a frivolous book, not serious - a skit - cynical and all that - and does not represent any true ideas at all.'[51] The verse was intended to reflect this mood, although it later transpired that the stories did have their serious element, such as the biographical reference to John Lavery in 'Summer's Kiss'.

Equally fluent in German however, Wallace was also familiar with literature in that language, and in one of his early letters to Ottilie he recommended that she read poetry by Goethe. The particular poem to which he drew her attention was the one which began 'Geh! gehorche meinen brinken', the final words of which later became the title of his second symphonic poem *Amboss oder Hammer* [A.1][52]. As he was to explain to Ottilie, in his search for an appropriate title, 'I wanted to find something that would express the music, in which there's a good deal of the hammer and tongs nature of W.W. - awfully personal in its emotion, driving and slashing away at

[50] Wallace, *The Lighter Life*, i
[51] MS 21502, 68 (March 1896)

everything, and rejoicing in a very savage undercurrent.'[53] To demonstrate the suitability of his German title Wallace continued by describing the music itself, which he wrote, 'goes on for the last seven of eight pages in a series of mighty crashes and smashes and chords getting up and up and up till it ends in a glorious blaze of trumpets!'[54]

Having said all that, the main reason for mentioning Wallace's language skills was to discuss the musical works which he translated into English. His translation of Delius' *A Mass of Life* **[E.5(e)]** has already been discussed in this section, but of the works which he translated from French, the British National Library lists Berlioz's *The Damnation of Faust* **[E.5(c)]**, Jean Richepin's lyric drama *Le Chemineau* **[E.5(b)]**, and an *opéra comique*, *Muguette* **[E.5(f)]**, by Carré and Hartman. Meanwhile, those which he translated from German include Rudolf Baumbach's song, 'Das begrabene Lied' **[E.5(a)]**, and Richard Strauss' *Feuersnot* **[E.5(d)]**. Sir Thomas Beecham in his abridged autobiography *A Mingled Chime* recalled how Wallace met the task of translating the text of *Feuersnot*, which he admitted, 'bristled with thorny problems'.[55] Having commissioned, 'the assistance of my scholarly and resourceful friend,' ie Wallace, Beecham later reported with satisfaction that he had, 'produced a version that was a model of wit and scholarship.'[56]

However, as well as being conversant in the modern languages of French and German, Wallace was also familiar with the ancient languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. At least, he was able to transcribe the name of 'Shelomith' in Hebrew lettering and was evidently familiar with the language's numerological systems. In *Gramophone*'s review of *The Creation* on CD Achenbach explained that, '[Wallace's] 47-minute work...boasts a highly complex numerological scheme, the full, rather tortuous details of which are set out in John Purser's characteristically enthusiastic and scholarly booklet-note.'[57] For further details of this application of Hebrew numerology attention is directed towards the aforesaid CD notes. However, an example of Wallace's expertise in Greek, was united with his knowledge of

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[52] From Goethe's *Kophtisches Lied*
[53] MS 21502, 54
[54] MS 21502, 54
[55] Beecham, *Mingled Chime*, 132
[56] Ibid
[57] Achenbach, *Gramophone*, 58

typography in the monograph, 'An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions' [**E.2(c)**]. Originally written for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the essay was also published independently at a later stage. In it Wallace listed variants of Greek letters which had been found in ancient documents and subsequently transferred into different type-faces for modern publications. He compared, for example, seemingly different characters which actually represented the same letter in different documents.

Needless to say, Wallace's interest in the Greeks was not limited to their language. In *Threshold*, he discussed their culture and art at length as the context within which their stagnant musical activities existed. Nevertheless, in spite of his dismissal of simplistic Greek music, whose existence appeared to be dependent on other art forms, Wallace contributed towards the late-nineteenth century genre of vocal *scena* which was similar in many ways to the Greek partnership of musical narrative and drama. *Scena* began with concert performances of individual scenes extracted from operas, although composers such as Wallace began to write similarly dramatic songs specifically for the concert hall. *The Outlaw* [**B.26**], *The Rhapsody of Mary Magdelene* [**B.28**] and *Lord of Darkness* [**B.16**] were all described by Wallace as *scenas* and in each the singer represents a certain character from the drama, telling the story from their own point of view. *Lord of Darkness*, for example, 'was a weird sort of affair,' as Wallace admitted to Ottilie on the sixth anniversary of its premiere. It was , 'an appeal to the Almighty telling him that better things were expected of him,' based on the biblical book and character of Job.[58] Likewise, his original conception of *Sister Helen* which was to involve the two characters of Helen and her brother conversing on stage, resembles the *scena*, although the inclusion of scenery and costumes bears an even more striking resemblance to a Greek drama.

Wallace's knowledge of Latin, on the other hand, was demonstrated in a lighter-hearted way in some of the poems he wrote to amuse himself and his friends. One of these he claimed to have sent to Bernard Shaw whom he had clearly forgiven by this time for earlier, uncomplimentary musical reviews.[59] His musical settings of Latin texts, on the other hand, include the hymn he wrote for Glasgow University *Carmen Glasguenese* [**B.3**] and the *Missa brevis* [**B.21**]. Although Wallace set the

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[58] MS 21505, 35-36
[59] MS 21505, 34

latter religious text to music, it is not to be assumed that he condoned Roman Catholicism. On the contrary, as opportunities to make his feelings known about that branch of Christianity arose in his letters, Wallace made his intolerance of the Catholic Church and their hierarchy quite clear. His denial of their authority was consistent with his rebellious personality, and he paid no more interest in the Christian church in general than did other members of his family. A brief summary of his family's religious background, which he sent to Ottilie, partially reflected his own outlook: 'My father - who never entered a church in his life - suddenly became a sturdy Protestant at the idea of my brother marrying an R.C. but that lasted 24 hours...My brother is nothing in his beliefs - he's a good deal worse than I am!'[60] It can only be assumed that aesthetics prompted Wallace to set the Mass.

To return to the matter of musical campaigns a more open debate, than the copyright question, to which Wallace contributed publicly was stimulated by the first distributions from the Patron's Fund in 1904. The fund had been established in the previous year for 'the selection and performance of works by British composers, the assistance of British performers, the provision of travelling scholarships and helping with the publication of works,' as Lewis Foreman paraphrased in his book of historic musical letters.[61] Ernest Palmer, the founder, had donated £20,000 to the Royal College of Music to distribute for these purposes but Wallace protested against their choice of winning candidates in his letter to *The Times*. What concerned him was that the College, whose musical preferences generally differed from his own, now had the power to promote or dismiss the music of certain British composers on a national level under the auspices of this new fund, since applicants from any part of the country were eligible to apply.

Moreover, Wallace wrote that considering the College's reputation for being circumspect in its views, the panel of judges was unlikely to assist the progress of music in this country by its choice. To *The Times* he wrote that, 'No musician can close his eyes to the fact that the Royal College of Music is associated with a certain phase of thought which is academically antagonistic, if not openly inimical, to every modern tendency.'[62] Evidently, he had not received any more encouragement for his

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[60] MS 21515, 30 (April 1898)
[61] Foreman, *From Parry to Britten,* editorial note after Wallace's letter to *The Times*, 28
[62] Ibid

composition from that institution than from the one at which he had received his brief musical training. Not that Wallace was eligible to apply to Palmer's fund himself, as he carefully pointed out in an unpublished letter to *The Yorkshire Post.*[63] His objections to the awards were on matters of principle rather than for his own benefit. In the letter to *The Times* he also made his plea that the fund should be either truly national, under impartial judges who had no association with any particular musical establishments, or else that it should be exclusively for RCM students, without making any pretext of being open to all.

In fairness, Foreman tells us that Parry sent out letters to music colleges throughout the country inviting them to submit their students' compositions to the competition, and that the winning entries, despite showing a preference for London-based composers, were by no means exclusive to students of the RCM. The successful candidates whose winning pieces were performed at the concert in St James' Hall, 20 May 1904, were Bridge, Hurlstone and Holst from the RCM, and Carse, Bowen and Paul Corder from the RAM, the only independent winner being Henry Geehl. Presumably Wallace had hoped that the fund would yield a higher proportion of winners from among independent composers, who otherwise had few opportunities for recognition.

Apart from the distribution of prizes, Wallace made another suggestion in his letter to *The Times* about how to deal with the Patron's Fund and this suggestion was to reconsider the format by which music by successful candidates was rehearsed or performed. According to Foreman, the original plan for the fund was to finance two concerts of British music in the course of a year: one in the summer and the other in winter. The first was of orchestral music while the second was of chamber music, selected from the leading entries. However, Wallace argued that a series of trial rehearsal sessions of new music would be more beneficial to the young composers, by providing more than half a dozen winners with the opportunity of having their music played. After all, as he wrote in a second letter to the *Yorkshire Post*, 'I don't think any composer will be convinced of the iniquities that he commits in sound until he hears them'.[64] According to Foreman's book, the original scheme was altered after

[63] Leeds University Library, MS 361/312/1
[64] Leeds, MS 361/313

the First World War to accommodate candidates in the way suggested by Wallace, although to what extent this was due to Wallace's intervention is uncertain.

The Patron's Fund had once more aroused Wallace's active interest in the progress of indigenous music in Britain which was again consistent with his belief in the evolution of art. However, by European standards, British progressivists such as Wallace were already behind the times. For example in Germany the way was being prepared for the Second Viennese School, led by Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), as was mentioned in the context of expressionist art during Wallace's lifetime. Wallace's relative conservatism was reflected in occasional comments made to Ottilie, such as in the discussion of music by Richard Strauss, whose tone poems he heard in 1897. *Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche* (1894-5), he told Ottilie was 'an awful waste of brains,'[65] and as for *Tod und Verklärung* (1888-9):

> There did not seem to me any attempt at composition - the evident aim was eccentricity and I was surprised at the applause of many people round me who went off into raptures and evidently didn't know more than anyone else what it was all about. There wasn't a 'subject' or a phrase that one could grasp: there was no judgement nor restraint nor proportion nor perspective - and the emotion was not dignified, and I could not hear anything sublime. So far music has been free from this kind of work, but if this is to be the next phase everyone will go mad![66]

Although the two men were contemporaries (Strauss 1864-1949), Wallace found the German's harmonic language utterly incomprehensible. He did, however, consent to translate the libretto of Strauss' opera *Feuersnot* into English a few years later, which may reflect a slight warming to Strauss' music.[67] Even so, Wallace's interests undoubtedly lay in the progress of British music and on the whole he showed little interest in the new directions which expressionism in music was taking simultaneously on the Continent.

In retrospect Wallace was able to praise Beethoven though, whom he admired for his fight to improve the musician's working conditions during the eighteenth century. In his address to the ISM Wallace pointed out that, 'Beethoven...acted towards his Art as the good citizen does towards the environment in which he is placed; he tries to better and improve that environment'.[68] Within his own environment, that was precisely what Wallace was aiming to do: improve conditions

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[65] MS 21513. 57 (Dec 1897)
[66] Ibid, 4
[67] The translation was commissioned by Beecham for a performance in 1910.
[68] Wallace. ISM, 5

and create new opportunities for British composers. In his address to the ISM he urged his audience to do likewise, having calculated that during 1898, scarcely one in thirty musical works performed in London was by a British composer.[69] The wide variety of musical projects Wallace worked towards, including those discussed in this chapter, were chiefly to the end of promoting British contemporary music, and he hoped that through his written campaigns and through the organisation of performances he might help to create new opportunities for their performance.

Conclusion

In drawing **Part 1** to its conclusion, attention is once more drawn to Anderton's definition of Wallace as a 'Protean Spirit', which heads the **Introduction**. This final chapter has illustrated how Wallace '[served] his day and generation by multifarious activities' in his efforts to prosper British music, whereas previous chapters explored the relationship between his composition and involvement in the other arts. In **Part 2**, these compositions are listed separately, with details drawn together from a wide range of sources, but their historical and musical context within the life and career of William Wallace should now be clearer, in the light of events discussed in **Part 1**. Unfortunately the lack of time, space and access to scores has prevented further exploration of many of these works individually. However, the examples cited in the preceding chapters should provide some insight into the conditions under which Wallace laboured to produce similar, or related, works.

A number of other matters arising from the content of this thesis, which have sadly had to be discarded, due to the restrictions of time and space, include a closer examination and comparison of the music Wallace composed on Scottish programmes, although this might have provided an interesting study into the influence of nationality on his work. Curiosity also leads one to wonder who Wallace's students might have been during his employment at the RAM, what his influence on them might have been, and how his guidance of the younger generation might have directed the future of British music. Obviously a lot of scope remains for continued research into Wallace's work, and the Ottilie - Wallace correspondence alone contains a great deal of additional material. So far the author has only been able to catalogue

[69] MS 21517, 52

and index half the letters in the NLS which Wallace wrote to Ottilie, although the other half, and Ottilie's replies, may contain equally important and enlightening material about Wallace's life and work. The library's large file of family letters also deserves attention, preferably of someone practised in deciphering handwriting, while the location of missing scores would also be useful to future Wallace research. Therefore, the present author is consciously aware that this thesis, although it be the first of its kind to be devoted to Wallace's work, should be only a starting point for further, necessary research into the work of that 'Protean Spirit'.

Part 2: **Appendix I**

Wallace Letters in the National Library of Scotland

(a) Wallace to Ottilie: Sent from 75 Chelsea Gardens, London

The approximate dating is due, in some places, to the absence of pages which have been removed or to passages which have been blacked out.

Year of Correspondence	*Manuscript Number*	*Inclusive Dates*	*Other Details*
1896	21502	12 Jan - April	Fastened with green ribbon
	21503	13 April - May	Pink ribbon
	21504	20 May - June	Red ribbon, bound Feb 1897. Includes visit from Ottilie on her way to Norway.
	21505	30 June - Sept	Yellow ribbon. Includes Wallace's visit to Greenock in Sept.
	21506	28 Sept - Nov	White ribbon
	21507	3 - 26 Dec	White ribbon. Includes Wallace's trip to Greenock for Christmas.
1897	21508	15 - 23 Jan	Blue ribbon
	21509	1 Feb - March	Brown ribbon
	21510	7 March - April	No ribbon
	21511	1 - 20 May	Green ribbon hereafter
	21512	31 May - Oct	Ottilie's summer in London, working with sculptor Tweed at King's Langley (22 May - 22 July) followed by holiday in Arisaig, Aug and Sept.
	21513	13 Oct - Dec	Ottilie goes to Paris mid-Oct returning to Edinburgh for Christmas while Wallace in London

1898	21514	1 Jan - April	Marbled pink and grey-blue inside cover. Includes Wallace's trip to Greenock early Jan, and trips to Paris *c*12-17 Feb, and 8-14 April.
	21515	14 April - June	Ottilie visits London 26 June en route to Edinburgh in early July.
	21516	5 July - Sept	Ottilie to Glennaig 7 July. Wallace in New Brighton 22 July-8 Aug, Greenock via Edinburgh 8-15 Aug, Glennaig 15-23 Aug, Greenock *c*7 Sept and New Brighton until 16 Sept.
	21517	2 Oct - Dec	Ottilie returns to Edinburgh 17 Oct and back to Glennaig 31 Oct.
1899	21518	1 Jan - April	Ottilie in Paris from mid-Jan
	21519	16 April - July	
	21520	25 July - Sept	
	21521	13 Oct - Dec	Inscribed: 'After [15 Dec] O. was at Glennaig and I at Greenock'.
1900	21522	13 Jan - April	Wallace visits Ottilie in Paris 6-14 April.
	21523	14 April - June	
	21524	2 July - Sept	No cover on bound letters.
	21525	6 Oct - Dec	As above
1901	21526	9 Jan - April	As above

(b) Ottilie to Wallace: Early letters sent from 46 Moray Place, Edinburgh

The author is indebted to Dr John Purser for the breakdown of the 1896-8 letters into the following chronology. Unfortunately the NLS's temporary closure has made the completion of this catalogue impossible.

1896	21527	Jan - April
	21528	April - May
	21529	May - June
	21530	July - Sept
	21531	Sept - Dec
1896-7	21532	Dec - March
	21533	March - May
	21534	May - Oct
	21535	Oct - Dec
1898	21536	April - June
1898 - 1901	21537 - 48	

(c) Miscellaneous letters: MS 21549-50

Correspondent	*Year*	*Other Details*
Wallace to Ottilie	1925-6	Alias Frances to Tilla or Shelomith. Written during Ottilie's recuperation in Scotland.
Family members to Wallace	1880 onward	Written while Wallace was a medical student
Various friends to Wallace	1880 - 1900	
Granville Bantock to Wallace	1893 - 1900	

Appendix II:

Catalogue of Works

As the introduction to the preceding thesis has already pointed out, no comprehensive catalogue of Wallace's works has previously been compiled. During the past year the necessity of doing so has become increasingly apparent and so here the fragments of information about Wallace's work are gathered together from scattered sources into a single volume. This catalogue supplements the thesis with specific details about Wallace's music and writing which, as an introduction to his work, are kept fairly simple. As an initial resource to Wallace research, the catalogue has been designed for easy reference and so for the sake of clarity his music has been divided into four main categories: **A. Orchestral Music, B. Vocal Music, C. Theatre Music** and **D. Chamber Music** while a fifth section, **E,** lists some of his **Literary Works.** Although most of Wallace's music falls within the first two categories of vocal and orchestral, it is also significant that he attempted the other genres, however nominally. Within the first four categories Wallace's works are arranged into alphabetical order rather than subdivided into specific genres. This is because the genres frequently overlap and because Wallace himself was often vague in his use of musical terminology, for example referring to *Amboss oder Hammer* as either a symphonic poem or an orchestral prelude. His literary works are, however, divided into genres depending on the type of publication he was contributing towards.

As has previously been mentioned, the information contained in this catalogue has been compiled from a wide range of sources including, in some cases, copies of the scores themselves. Where this has been the case, or where it is known that a library holds a copy of the score, its location has been included under 'Other details of interest,' and within this context the following abbreviations have been used:

BBC - BBC Music Library, London

DLS - Devon Library Services

ECL - Edinburgh Central Library

IPL - Ipswich Public Library

LBL - British National Library, London (now the British Library)

LPL - Liverpool Public Library

MLG - Mitchell Library, Glasgow

NCL - Newcastle Central Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

NLS - National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

RAM - Royal Academy of Music Library, London

Reid - Reid Music Library, University of Edinburgh

RUL - Reading University Library

SMIC - Scottish Music Information Centre, Glasgow

Watt - Watt Library, Greenock

Other abbreviations used in the catalogue include:

Journals: *MT - Musical Times*

M Stan - Musical Standard

People: CAB - Charles A Barry

GB - Granville Bantock

WW - William Wallace

Orchestras:

LPS – London Philharmonic Society

LSEO – London Stock Exchange Orchestra

NSO – New Symphony Orchestra

However, where the contributors to programme notes have signed their work with initials only, and their full name is not known, the initials appear in inverted commas eg 'EFJ'.

Performance Venues: C Pal - Crystal Palace, London

New B - New Brighton Tower

Q Hall - Queen's Hall, London

An asterisk * next to performance dates indicates the existence of programme notes, to which the author has had access. Where * appears under orchestration, this indicates the inclusion of additional instruments such as piccolo, cor anglais or bass clarinet.

The following catalogue is by no means definitive, as a glance at one or two individual, incomplete entries will show. For example, gaps exist where library catalogues or biographical articles omit certain details or where Wallace himself named a piece of music in his letters without describing it fully. Works which are

merely referred to in his letters, or on the Performing Rights Society's register, or in other articles, with few details other than their title, include the following:

Ballad of Ten Million Christs
Black Roses
Cauld Sweat
Jesafel (song)
Koheleth (choral symphony whose composition was interrupted by WW1)
Moidart (orchestral suite)
Morning Glory, The (song with piano accompaniment)
Should a Woman Tell
Song of Klepht (vocal scena)
Tryst

Since Wallace's music is no longer in print and copies of his music have become scarce, it has also been difficult to check many existing details, although it has been possible to make a number of corrections. For example, Wallace is sometimes confused in library catalogues with his predecessor William Vincent Wallace, and as a more specific example of error, Grove (1928) incorrectly named Wallace's symphonic poem *Greeting to the New Century* as *To the New Country*. Additional difficulties in arranging this catalogue have arisen where sources have been ambiguous or contradictory and where Wallace changed the title or format of a work without making clear that he had done so. However, despite its short-comings this is the most complete catalogue to-date of Wallace's work and provides a starting point for future research.

Catalogue Contents:

A. Orchestral Music page 100
B. Vocal Music page 111
C. Theatre Music page 125
D. Chamber Music page 127
E. Literary Works page 129

Orchestral Music

A. 1

Title:	***Amboss oder Hammer***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 2 'Praelude für grosses Orchester symphonische bearbeit nach Goethes gedicht von William Wallace' [sic]
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	Goethe's poem Kophtisches Lied, first line 'Geh! gehorche meinen brinken'
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: C Pal Sat Concert, 17 Oct 1896, conducted by Manns, following trial performance at week-day concert 17 July 1896
Subsequent known performances:	New B 'Wallace Concert', Sun 7 Aug 1899 billed as 'Fantasia in G Minor', conducted by WW
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Dedicated to to 'O.T.' and Manns Analytical programme notes by CAB Reviews in *MT* 645: 37, 738 *Times* 19 Oct 1896 *M Stan* 51, 254-5 and 55, 107-9

A. 2

Title:	***American Rhapsody, An***
Genre:	Orchestral rhapsody
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	1111 4(+ 2 cornets)231 timps, perc, strs, organ
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed in 1891
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph of full score in RAM Copy in SMIC

A. 3

Title:	***Asperges***
Genre:	Symphonic poem or prelude
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed in April 1898
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Possibly incorporated into symphony **A. 5** *The Creation* as third movement. Mentioned only in NLS letters.

A. 4

Title:	***Covenanters, The***
Genre:	Symphonic poem
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	First mentioned to Ottilie July 1898 and performance possibilities discussed with Bantock winter 1898-9
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Described by Wallace in letters as Scottish in character and incorporating psalm tune 'Martyrs'

A. 5

Title:	***Creation, The***
Genre:	Symphony in C# minor
Movement headings:	**I** 'The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep...And God said, "let there be light".' **II** 'God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night. He made the stars also.' **III** 'God said, "let the waters be gathered unto one place and let the dry land appear".' [**IV** Interlude] **Last** 'Man.'
Source of programme:	Old Testament book of *Genesis*
Orchestration:	2*222 4231 timps, perc, hp and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	*30 July 1899, WW concert, New B, conducted by WW [programme notes by WW]
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. See Discography. MT review (Sept 1899) 621. Each movement concludes with [illegible]. Last movement originated as **A. 11** *Overtura Appassionata*.

A. 6

Title:	***Ecclesiastes***
Genre:	Choral symphony
Movement headings:	I The hopelessness of anything II The rebellious spirit III The spirit of reconciliation (from MS 21517, 11) Later revised as: I Immutability of destiny II Revolt against destiny III Acquiescence in destiny (from MS 21517, 14)
Source of programme:	Old Testament book of *Ecclesiastes*, text adapted from Wycliffe translation and Authorised Version
Orchestration:	3 orchestral movements interspersed by declamation from baritone and interjections from Greek-style chorus
Year of composition or details of premiere:	First mentioned to Ottilie 29 July 1898 and under way by Oct
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Originally conceived as English Requiem for solo baritone, chorus and orch

A. 7

Title:	***Eumenides of Æschylus, Prelude to the***
Genre:	Symphonic prelude
Movement headings:	Single movement headed in Greek with: 'It profiteth a man to gain wisdom through trouble.'
Source of programme:	Greek drama, 'The Eumenides': last of the Agamemnon triad
Orchestration:	2*222 4231 timps and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere 21 Oct 1893, C Pal Sat Concert, conducted by Manns
Subsequent known performances:	21 Dec 1893, Edinburgh Music Hall 26 Dec 1893, St Andrew's Hall, Glasgow *8 Jan 1894, Greenock Town Hall All conducted by Manns, programme notes by CAB Also 11-14 July, 13 Sept 1898, New B
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	CD recording, see **Discography**. Holograph of full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC.

A. 8

Title:	***Forty-five, The***
Genre:	Orchestral work
Movement headings:	Provisionally: Miss Ottilie McLaren's Salute Miss Ottilie McLaren's Strathspey The Toast of Glennig MacWallace's Farewell to Lochailort
Source of programme:	The landing of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the '45 Rebellion.
Orchestration:	Symphony orchestra with off-stage bagpipes
Year of composition or details of premiere:	First discussed with Ottilie 11 Sept 1898
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Aimed to complete by Christmas. To inc battle music, funeral march and boat song. Described in NLS letters during progress. The spelling of Glennig or Glennaig varies in WW's letters.

A. 9

Title:	***Greeting to the New Century***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 4
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	3*2*32 42(+2 cornets)31 timps, perc, hp, strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: LPS, 1901
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Commissioned by LPS Holograph full score, and orch pts, RAM. Copy in SMIC. Wrongly named 'To the New Country' in Grove (1928).

A. 10

Title:	***Lady from the Sea, The***
Genre:	Orchestral suite
Movement headings:	4 movements
Source of programme:	Play by Ibsen
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: LSEO, 1892
Subsequent known performances:	'Missing Music' series by Neville Cardus, July 1972
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM

A. 11

Title:	***Overtura Appassionata***
Genre:	Concert overture
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composition in progress Jan 1897
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Adopted into symphony A. 5 *The Creation* as last movement

A. 12

Title:	***Passing of Beatrice, The***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 1
Movement headings:	Single movement
Source of programme:	Dante's 'Paradiso' from *The Divine Comedy*, canto xxxi
Orchestration:	2222 4230 timps, hp and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 26 Nov 1892, C Pal Sat Concert, conducted by Manns
Subsequent known performances:	Mr Farley Sinkin's Prom Concert, Covent Garden Theatre. *Paterson Orchestral Concert Series, Usher Hall, Edinburgh 7 Dec 1892 [Programme notes by CAB]. WW Concert, New B, 30 July 1899. Antwerp concert, conducted by GB 21 Feb 1900. Midlands Institute, conducted by GB May 1912. 'Missing Music' series by Neville Cardus, 1972.
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1911)
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copies in LBL and SMIC. See **Discography**.

A. 13

Title:	***Pélléas et Mélisande***	
Genre:	Orchestral suite	
Movement headings:	1. The Lost Mélisande 2. The King's March 3. The Love of Pélléas	4. Spinning-Song 5. The Death of Mélisande
Source of programme:	Play by Maeterlinck	
Orchestration:	11*21 2200 timps, perc, hp and strs (hp and strs may be doubled)	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composition began 1897, as incidental music. Premiere: 19 Aug 1900, New B Sun Concert.	
Subsequent known performances:	*8 Sept 1903, Q Hall, conducted by Wood [programme notes by 'EFJ']	
Publisher:		
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. See **Discography** and incidental music **C. 2**.	

A. 14

Title:	***Pontius Pilate***
Genre:	Symphonic Overture
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	Scene from WW's play The Divine Surrender
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composition in progress during Feb 1899, GB hoped to perform in WW Concert that summer, but cancelled.
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	For related works see *The Divine Surrender* E. 1. Named by GB in NLS letters.

A. 15

Title:	***Praise of Scottis Poesie, In***
Genre:	Concert overture
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	17 Nov 1894, C Pal, conducted by Manns
Subsequent known performances:	24 July 1898, New B, conducted by WW (rehearsals during previous week)
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score, and orch pts in RAM. Review in *MT* (Dec 1894) 816.

A. 16

Title:	***Scots Fantasy, A***
Genre:	Orchestral fantasy
Movement headings:	Quotes themes or melodies from folksongs: 1. Kelvingrove 2. Annie Laurie 3. Last may a braw wooer 4. Up in the mornin' early
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	2222 2221 timps and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	2-4 Aug 1898 New B (?)
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. Rejected for performance by LSEO.

A. 17

Title:	***Sister Helen***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 3
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	Ballad by Rossetti
Orchestration:	1*222 4231 timps, perc hp and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed 1897 (finished by end of Oct). *Premiere: 25 Feb 1899, C Pal 7th Sat Concert [programme notes 280-5]
Subsequent known performances:	30 July 1899, WW Concert, New B. 2 Dec 1899, 2nd Ladies Concert, Liverpool Philharmonic Society (conducted by GB or Rodewald)
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. See **Discography** and incidental music **C. 5**. Review in *MT* (Sept 1899) 621.

A. 18

Title:	***Suite in A Major***
Genre:	Orchestral suite
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	
Orchestration:	2222 422(1)1 timps, perc, hp and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC.

A. 19

Title:	***Suite in Olden Style***	
Genre:	Orchestral suite	
Movement headings:	1. Contredanse 2. Minuet	3. Pavan 4. Gigue
Source of programme:	Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*	
Orchestration:		
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 17 Nov 1897, Runcorn Mus Soc, Liverpool, conducted by either GB or WW	
Subsequent known performances:	No 3 performed several times in New B during summer 1898	
Publisher:	No 3 pub separately 1897	
Further details of interest:	Copy of No 3 (for 9 pt orch) in LBL. Taken from WW's incidental music **C. 4**. See also piano arr **D. 2**.	

A. 20

Title:	***Villon***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 6
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	*Grande Testament* by Françoys Villon, medieval French poet
Orchestration:	3*2*32 4331 timps, perc hp and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 10 March 1909, Q Hall, NSO.
Subsequent known performances:	14 Oct 1910, Leeds Fest Orch, conducted by WW. 9 Jan 1913, Hallé concert series, Manchester. 17 Feb 1913 Q Hall. *9 Feb 1920, Paterson Concerts, Usher Hall, Edinburgh [programme notes by 'WHD']
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1910)
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copies in LBL and SMIC. See **Discography**. Review in *MT* (March 1920) 201. See also 'Prayer to Nostre-Dame' **B. 27**.

A. 21

Title:	***William Wallace AD 1305-1905, Sir***
Genre:	Symphonic Poem No 5
Movement headings:	
Source of programme:	600th anniversary of the Scottish patriot's execution.
Orchestration:	32*32 42(+2 cornets)31 timps, perc, 2 hps and strs
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 19 Sept 1905, Q Hall Prom, conducted by Wood
Subsequent known performances:	*11 Feb 1915, Q Hall, Royal Phil Soc, conducted by Beecham [programme notes]
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score, and orch pts in RAM. Copy in SMIC. See **Discography**.

Vocal Music

B. 1

Title:	***Agincourt***
Genre:	Secular Song
Source of text:	Anglo-Saxon AD 1415
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Voice and piano
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Boosey & Co (London & New York, 1892)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and NLS

B. 2

Title:	***Amaryllis I did woo***
Genre:	Madrigal
Source of text:	Wither
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Partsong
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Strathearn Collection of Part Songs, 1885
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 3

Title:	***Carmen Glasguense***
Genre:	University hymn
Source of text:	WW trans Latin text
First line or titles of individual songs:	'Laudemus Gilmorum montem!', 10 verses with chorus
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Unison voices with piano or organ accompaniment
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed Dec 1898 - Jan 1899
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Possibly Novello or self
Further details of interest:	Cover design 'Student in trencher and red gown' by WW (details in NLS MS 21517, 108)

B. 4

Title:	***Come to me in my dreams***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	Matthew Arnold
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed early 1896
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Mentioned in early letters to Ottilie.

B. 5

Title:	***Constancy***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	P Knight
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	E Ashdown
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 6

Title:	***Entreaties***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Voice and violin (ad lib)
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Enoch & Sons, London 1901
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 7

Title:	***Fame***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Enoch & Sons, London 1901
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 8

Title:	***Festival Mass, A***
Genre:	Sacred, choral mass
Source of text:	
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	'For full orchestra and chorus' (NLS catalogue)
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed 1886-7
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Autograph copy allegedly in NLS.
	Sub-title: 'A Study in Instrumentation'

B.9

Title:	***For the Crown***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co, London 1904
Further details of interest:	Copies in Watt and LBL

B. 10

Title:	***Freebooter Songs, The***	
Genre:	Song cycle	
Source of text:	WW	
First line or titles of individual songs:	1. Minnie Song 2. The Rebel	3. Son of Mine 4. Up in the Saddle
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Baritone and orch or piano	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 30 July 1899, WW Concert, New B	
Subsequent known performances:	Mackenzie's Canadian tour. 'Missing Music' series by Neville Cardus, 1972.	
Publisher:	J B Cramer & Co (London 1899), songs also published separately	
Further details of interest:	Holograph of full score, and orch pts (dated 1929) in RAM. Copies in BBC, LBL, MLG, Reid (No 2), SMIC and Watt. Cover design by WW.	

B. 11

Title:	***Glorious Garden Green, In a***
Genre:	Madrigal
Source of text:	Adapted from Anglo-Saxon
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	SATB and piano
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Strathearn Collection of Part Songs, 1885
Further details of interest:	Copies in NLS and LBL

B. 12

Title:	***Great Britain Over-seas***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Boosey & Co (London 1910)
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 13

Title:	***I seek thee in my Dreams***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1904)
Further details of interest:	Copies in BBC and LBL

B. 14

Title:	***Jacobite Songs***
Genre:	Song cycle
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	1. The Shuttle and Loom 2. The Jacobite
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	W-wind, strs, perc and voice
Year of composition or details of premiere:	1900
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	G Ricordi & Co, 1901
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copies in BBC, LBL, and SMIC. Review in *MT* (Oct 1901) 676.

B. 15

Title:	***Knives, Song of the***
Genre:	Declamatory song
Source of text:	Carmen Sylva (Romanian)?
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Voice and orch
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composition in progress Feb 1896.
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	WW replaces text with own words, July 1898 and considers adopting into *Freebooter* cycle (alias 'Minnie Song'?) **B. 10**. Description to Ottilie includes lighting directions.

B. 16

Title:	***Lord of Darkness***
Genre:	Vocal scena
Source of text:	Adapted from Old Testament book of *Job* by Langdon Elwyn Mitchell
First line or titles of individual songs:	'Lord of Darkness, Source of Error'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Hymn for baritone and orch: 2222 2230 timps, perc, strs and organ
Year of composition or details of premiere:	WW's public debut 25 July 1890: RAM student concert, St James' Hall with Charles Phillips - baritone, Learmont Drysdale - organ, and A C Mackenzie - conductor
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. Known to GB (suggested for 1899 WW Concert).

B. 17

Title:	***Lord's Prayer, The***
Genre:	Partsong
Source of text:	J Slack's rhyming version
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	4 voices
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Augner & Co, 1905
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 18

Title:	***Lords of the Sea***
Genre:	Song cycle
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	1. The Adventurers [The Armada] 2. Sea Hawkes 3. Nest thee, my Bird (Cradle Song) 4. The Swordsman
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Voice and orch or piano
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: Bournemouth, 1902
Subsequent known performances:	Mackenzie's Canadian tour. No 4 at RAM Lady's Night 17 June 1908.
Publisher:	Boosey & Co (London and New York, 1901). Also published separately: No 3, 1903 and No 4, 1902.
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score, and orch pts (c1902), in RAM. Copies in LBL, SMIC and Watt. Cover design by WW. Dedication: 'To the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Navy'.

B. 19

Title:	***Ma Mie. Vieille chansonette français***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	E Donajowski (London 1892)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and RAM

B. 20

Title:	***Massacre of the Macpherson, The***
Genre:	Choral ballad or cantata
Source of text:	'Bon Gaultier Ballads', published by Blackwood
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Male chorus [ATTB] and piano or orch [2222 4221 timps, perc and strs]
Year of composition or details of premiere:	1st named in NLS letter Sept 1897. Premiere: Leeds Musical Union.
Subsequent known performances:	Glasgow Glee and Catch Club wanted to perform Nov 1898.
Publisher:	Bailey & Ferguson (London and Glasgow) agreed Nov 1898, due out by Christmas. Re-print or later edition c1910.
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copies in BBC, LBL, NCL and SMIC. Alias *Ta Fhairshon*. Previously offered to SEOS (Autumn 1897). Quotes Scottish themes including 'My love is but a lassie yet', 'Scots wha' ha'e' and song learnt from Dr Gillespie at Fettes. WW considered dedicated to Mackenzie.

B. 21

Title:	***Missa brevis e votiva de Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis, duabus vocibus scripta***
Genre:	Choral Mass
Source of text:	
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Sop and Alto chorus with soloists and organ
Year of composition or details of premiere:	1891
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph vocal score, in RAM. Copy in SMIC.

B. 22

Title:	***Mistress Vanity***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	2 movements?
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Elkin & Co (London 1903)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and Watt

B. 23

Title:	***My dear and only Love***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	James Graham, Marquis of Monturo (1612-50) [or Montrose?]
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1904)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and Watt

B. 24

Title:	***My liege Lady (Serenade)***
Genre:	Vocal serenade
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Boosey & Co (London and New York, 1904)
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 25

Title:	***O hie honour***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	Adapted from Gawain Douglas c1500
First line or titles of individual songs:	
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1902)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and Watt. Dedicated to 'O.H.M.'

B. 26

Title:	***Outlaw, The***
Genre:	Vocal scena
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	'Snow lies soft and the red stars are asleep'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Ballad for solo baritone, chorus of baritones and basses, and orch [1222 4321 timps, perc and strs]
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: c1908 conducted by Sidney Riordas
Subsequent known performances:	31 Dec 1913 conducted by WW, baritone Charles Knowes
Publisher:	Sidney Riorden (London 1908)
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score (dated 31 Dec 1913) in RAM. Copies of vocal score in LBL and SMIC.

B. 27

Title:	***Prayer to Nostre-Dame (Song to the Virgin), Françoys Villon's***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	WW
First line or titles of individual songs:	'Lady of Heaven I kneel before thee'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Voice and piano
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1910)
Further details of interest:	Copies in SMIC and Watt. Taken from WW's 6th symphonic poem *Villon* **A. 20.**

B. 28

Title:	***Rhapsody of Mary Magdalene***
Genre:	Vocal scena
Source of text:	WW's mystery play *The Divine Surrender*
First line or titles of individual songs:	'Soft as the breezes that blow from the south'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Sop and orch [2222 4221 timps, hp and strs]
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 15 Dec 1896, Q Hall concert of British music, singer Ella Russell
Subsequent known performances:	7 Aug 1898, New B
Publisher:	Boosey & Hawkes?
Further details of interest:	Holograph full score in RAM. Copy in SMIC. Reviews in *M Stan* 51: 378-9 and 55: 107-9. For related works see *The Divine Surrender* **E. 1(a)**.

B. 29

Title:	***Shelley Trio***
Genre:	Song
Source of text:	Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (end of Act 2)
First line or titles of individual songs:	'My soul is an enchanted boat'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Alto or baritone with piano and violin
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 1892, Q Hall, baritone Charles Phillips
Subsequent known performances:	11 May 1897, Concert of British Chamber Music
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Holograph score, and pts in RAM.

B. 30

Title:	***Songs by Blake, Three***
Genre:	Song cycle
Source of text:	William Blake
First line or titles of individual songs:	1. The Sunflower 2. Love's Secret 3. The Shepherd
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	c1910
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Stainer & Bell (London 1911)
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

B. 31

Title:	***Spacious Firmament, The***
Genre:	Creation hymn
Source of text:	Joseph Addison
First line or titles of individual songs:	'The spacious firmament on high'
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Unison voices with piano or organ
Year of composition or details of premiere:	
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott & Co (London 1904)
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and SMIC. Text inspired 2nd movement of WW's symphony *The Creation* **A. 5**.

B. 32

Title:	***Spanish Songs***	
Genre:	Song cycle	
Source of text:	WW	
First line or titles of individual songs:	1. Mi Niño 2. Serenada 3. Drinking song	4. Lamentacion 5. La Fiesta
Voice type and accompanying instruments:	Vocal quartet [SATB] and piano	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Premiere: 17 May 1893	
Subsequent known performances:		
Publisher:	Stainer & Bell (London 1911)	
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL and RAM. Review in Shaw's *Music in London*, 314. Alias *Spanish Suite* or *Spanish Improvisations*.	

Theatre Music

C. 1

Title:	***Brassolis***
Genre:	Lyric Tragedy in one act
Source of text or libretto:	WW
Instrumentation:	
Year of composition or details of proposed premiere:	Written and composed in June - Sept 1896
Related works:	
Further details of interest:	Set in 3rd Century Skye. Mentioned only in NLS letters. Details of scenery, plot and stage directions in MS 21504, 53-8. Offered to Schott for publication (Volkert sent copy to Germany) and Carl Rosa for performance (via Ganz, their Musical Advisor)

C. 2

Title:	***Pélléas et Mélisande***
Genre:	Incidental music
Source of text or libretto:	Play by Maeterlinck (1892), Eng trans by J W Mackail.
Instrumentation:	
Year of composition or details of proposed premiere:	Composed in 1897 for production that year by Mrs Patrick Campbell.
Related works:	WW's orchestral suite *Pélléas et Mélisande* **A. 13**.
Further details of interest:	Mrs Pat's requirements were continuous music for 4 Acts instead of 5, Prelude and 3 En'tractes. Grieg and Humperdinck previously rejected the commission and Fauré was subsequently employed (1898) after Wallace's resignation.

C. 3

Title:	***Resurrection, The***
Genre:	Music drama
Source of text or libretto:	WW's mystery play *The Divine Surrender*
Instrumentation:	
Year of composition or details of proposed premiere:	Composed in 1891-3, probably incomplete.
Related works:	See *The Divine Surrender* **E. 1(a)**
Further details of interest:	3 scenes: • The Paschal Eve (Jewish) • Rhythm of Gradation • Pilate's Wife (Roman)

C. 4

Title:	***Romeo and Juliet***
Genre:	Incidental music
Source of text or libretto:	Shakespeare
Instrumentation:	Ensemble of 9 instruments
Year of composition or details of proposed premiere:	Composed in cApril 1896
Related works:	See *Suite in Olden Style* **A. 19** and **D.2**
Further details of interest:	

C. 5

Title:	***Sister Helen***
Genre:	Incidental music
Source of text or libretto:	Rossetti's ballad
Instrumentation:	Off-stage ensemble of hp, str quintet, harmonium or reed organ and 3 bells
Year of composition or details of proposed premiere:	Composition began Jan 1897, but mostly written during 4 days in March, for People's Concert Society performance in May or June. Dialogue to be re-enacted with costumes and scenery by Miss Elizabeth Robins as Helen, and a boy as Helen's younger brother, with a deep contralto singing the monk or nun's refrain.
~~Related works~~:	~~See Symphonic Poem No 3 *Sister Helen*~~ **A. 17**
Further details of interest:	WW commissioned by Miss Robins after recommendation from Fuller Maitland.

Chamber Music

D. 1

Title:	***Schlusslied***
Genre:	Piano arrangement
Programme or source:	Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger*
Movement headings:	
Ensemble:	2 pianos
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Completed Feb 1896 for a concert in March
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	Schott agreed to publish
Further details of interest:	Mentioned in letter to Ottilie

D. 2

Title:	***Suite in Olden Style***	
Genre:	Piano arrangement of dance suite	
Programme or source:	Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*	
Movement headings:	1. Contredanse 2. Minuet	3. Pavan 4. Gigue
Ensemble:	Piano solo	
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed in 1896	
Subsequent known performances:		
Publisher:	Edwin Ashdown (London 1896)	
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL, SMIC and Watt. Dedication on cover 'Ad Ottiliam'. See also **A. 19** *Suite in Olden Style* for orchestra and **C. 4** *Romeo and Juliet* incidental music.	

D. 3

Title:	***Trio in A***
Genre:	Piano trio
Programme or source:	
Movement headings:	
Ensemble:	Piano, violin and cello
Year of composition or details of premiere:	Composed in 1892
Subsequent known performances:	
Publisher:	
Further details of interest:	Mentioned in *Grove* (1928)

Literary Works

E. 1 Books

(a)

Title	***Divine Surrender, The***
Description	Mystery or festival play in 3 parts: 1. The Paschal Eve 2. Pilate's Wife 3. The Resurrection
Publication details	Elliott Stock, London 1895
Further details of interest	WW composed accompanying incidental music, from which **A. 14** *Pontius Pilate*, **B. 28** *Rhapsody of Mary Magdalene* and **C. 3** *Resurrection* emerged. Copies of text in LBL and NLS.

(b)

Title	***Lighter Life, The***	
Description	Short Stories: 1. Summer's Kiss 2. Change of Idiom 3. Between the Junctions 4. In a confessional	 5. Two Aspects 6. Chez Lui 7. Green Cigar 8. Private Views
Publication details	John MacQueen, London 1896	
Further details of interest	Copies in LBL and NLS	

(c)

Title	***Liszt, Wagner and the Princess***
Description	Musical biography
Publication details	V Kegan Paul & Co, London 1927
Further details of interest	Copies in LBL, DLS and LPL

(d)

Title	***Musical Faculty, The***
Description	Musical philosophy
Publication details	Macmillan & Co, London 1914
Further details of interest	Sub-title: 'Its Origins and Processes'. Copies in ECL, LPL and MLG

(e)

Title	***Richard Wagner as he lived***
Description	Musical biography
Publication details	Kegan Paul & Co, London 1925
Further details of interest	From 'Masters of Music Series', ed Sir Landon Ronald. Copies in LBL, IPL, LPL, MLG and NCL.

(f)

Title	***Threshold of Music, The***
Description	Musical philosophy
Publication details	Macmillan & Co, London 1908
Further details of interest	Sub-title: 'An Enquiry into the Development of the Musical Sense'. Copies in ECL, LPL, MLG and Reid.

E. 2 Articles

(a)

Title of Publication	***Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians***
Title of Article	'Orchestra' and 'Orchestration'
Publication details	3rd ed, H C Colles (London 1927-8) 723 and 723-34
Further details of interest	

(b)

Title of Publication	***Idler, The***
Title of Article	'Cyrano de Bergerac' and 'Nibelungen Ring'
Publication details	13: 417 and 13: 505, 679, 828
Further details of interest	Signed WFSW. *Idler*: London 1897-1901, 10v.

(c)

Title of Publication	***Journal of Hellenic Studies***
Title of Article	'An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions'
Publication details	XLIII (1923) 183-93
Further details of interest	Copy in MLG

(d)

Title of Publication	***Musician, The***
Title of Article	'Posters in Music', 'Königskinder', 'Figaro'
Publication details	Possibly unpublished
Further details of interest	WW contributed additional articles including one about Parry. Details from NLS letters. *Musician* 1st series: 12 May-17 Nov 1897, 2v.

(e)

Title of Publication	***New Quarterly Musical Review, The***
Title of Article	'Music and Pessimism'
Publication details	I:i (May 1893) 215-20
Further details of interest	WW also contributed editorial articles. Copy in NCL. *NQMR* 1st series: May 1893-Feb 1896, 3v.

(f)

Title of Publication	***New Review, The***
Title of Article	'Music at the Oratory'
Publication details	
Further details of interest	*NR* (1889-97) alias *The Outlook* (1898-1930). WW contributed additional articles and reviews.

(g)

Title of Publication	***RAM Club Magazine, The***
Title of Article	'The Haydn Quartets', and 'The Wesley Family Concerts: 1779-85'.
Publication details	81 (June 1928) 5-8 and 84 (June 1929) 7-11
Further details of interest	Additional articles include editorials.

Additional journals towards which Wallace may, according to his NLS letters and *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, have contributed articles, include the following, although the list is somewhat incomplete due to the absence of publication details:

Academy
Athenaeum
Mind
Musical Education
Scottish Musical Review
Spectator

E. 3 Academic papers or lectures

(a)

Title	***Musician and Personal Responsibility, The***
Description	Address to the Annual Conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians
Publication details	
Further details of interest	Birmingham, 1 Jan 1913. Copy in Reid.

(b)

Title	***Scope of Programme Music, The***
Description	Paper delivered to the Musical Association
Publication details	*Proceedings of the Musical Association 25th Session*, (1898-9) 139-156
Further details of interest	9 May 1899, chaired by T L Southgate

E. 4 Published Letters

(a)

Title of Newspaper	***Glasgow Herald, The***
Subject Matter	In defence of the conductor Manns
Date	March 1895 or 1896
Further details of interest	Mentioned in letter to Ottilie

(b)

Title of Newspaper	***Times, The***
Subject Matter	'on the RCM and Palmer Fund' and 'on Gramophones and Perforated Rolls'
Date	30 May 1904 and 28 April 1911
Further details of interest	

E.5 Translations

(a)

Title:	***Begrabene Lied, Das***
Author:	
Composer:	Rudolf Baumbach
Description/Explanation:	Song translated by WW from German into English
Performance details:	
Publisher:	Breitkopf und Härtel Textbibliothek No 320, Leipzig 1907
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

(b)

Title:	***Chemineau, Le***
Author:	Jean Richepin
Composer:	Xavier Leroux
Description/Explanation:	Lyric drama in 4 acts trans by WW from French into English.
Performance details:	French premiere: Opéra-Comique 6 Nov 1907 English trans: Covent Gdn, conducted by Beecham 1910
Publisher:	Baines & Scarsbrook, London 1910
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

(c)

Title:	***Damnation of Faust, The***
Author:	G de Nerval, A Gandonnière and Berlioz, after Goethe.
Composer:	Louis Hector Berlioz (comp 1845-6)
Description/Explanation:	Dramatic legend in 4 parts trans by WW from French into English
Performance details:	
Publisher:	Breitkopf und Härtel Textbibliothek Text No 297, Leipzig 1902
Further details of interest:	Copies in LBL, NLS and RUL

(d)

Title:	***Feuersnot***
Author:	
Composer:	Richard Strauss
Description/Explanation:	One act opera trans by WW from German into English
Performance details:	Premiere 1910, conducted by Beecham
Publisher:	Berlin 1910
Further details of interest:	Translation commissioned by Beecham. Copy in LBL.

(e)

Title:	***Mass of Life, A***
Author:	
Composer:	Frederick Delius
Description/Explanation:	Choral Mass trans by WW into English, 1909
Performance details:	Premiere 7 June 1909, Q Hall, conducted by Beecham
Publisher:	Harmonie Verlag
Further details of interest:	WW recommended by Beecham after Bernhoff's unsuccessful trans attempt.

(f)

Title:	***Muguette***
Author:	Michel Carré the Younger and George Hartman
Composer:	Edmond de Missa
Description/Explanation:	Opéra comique in 4 acts trans by WW from French into English
Performance details:	1910 His Majesty's Theatre, conducted by Beecham
Publisher:	London 1910
Further details of interest:	Copy in LBL

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