“Style is National”: Defining Englishness in the Music of the Second Generation of the English Musical Renaissance

by

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Bachelor of Arts (Honours), Lakehead University, 2016
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Abstract

Members of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance have long been associated with a break from the Teutonic influence of their predecessors to create a musical idiom that is quintessentially English. Scholarship has long looked at these composers, who include those born between Vaughan Williams and Moeran, in isolation from the artistic movements and political and social issues of Europe, when in fact they were part of them. This thesis places these composers within these currents by discussing them as part of England's Lost Generation and within the historical contexts of Europe in the early twentieth century. Though the Lost Generation is often associated with the post-war period, I propose that the phenomenon existed prior to World War I by focussing on England's aesthetic lostness in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras. The Lost Generation of composers inherited a musical culture that had been aesthetically lost for two hundred years and rebelled against it to define a musical idiom that was quintessentially English.

After placing the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance within its historical contexts, I call into question previous discussions on English music that define it according to single definitions largely associated with the Pastoral School or the Folk School. Instead, I propose that the music of this generation was stylistically diverse while simultaneously a manifestation of common cultural influences, ultimately rooted in the goal of creating a sense of community. To support this claim, I discuss the various stylistic techniques of individual composers within their collective cultural influences, including the music of England's past, the landscape, and English literature. Furthermore, I explore the role of musical community, both as a central goal in the creation of a

national idiom and as a source of compositional inspiration. By examining the influences and compositional styles of these composers, I conclude that the music of this generation broke from Continental influences by developing a national idiom that was both stylistically unique to the individual composer and tied to common cultural influences that were rooted in the goal of creating a musical community within England.

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Dedication

To my parents, who encouraged both my music and my inquisitive mind

Introduction

From the time of Henry Purcell to the beginning of the twentieth century, England was viewed both at home and abroad as "the land without music."[1] While English writers, poets, and painters experienced wide spread recognition and success, the country failed to produce any composers of note in the two hundred years following the death of Purcell in 1695.[2] Gustav Holst referred to this era as the "bleakest period in English music" during which music "became a foreign language" as Continental (most often German) composers dominated the musical culture.[3] This era of musical darkness ended at the turn of the twentieth century with the start of the movement that is now referred to as the English Musical Renaissance.[4] As its name suggests, the English Musical Renaissance was a time of rebirth in English musical culture. England was brought out of its musical sterility as numerous composers began writing music, eventually freeing

[1] The German jibe of England being "*das Land ohne Musik*" is used by several authors in setting up their research on the English Musical Renaissance. For examples, see Michael Trend, *The Music Makers: Heirs and Rebels of the English Musical Renaissance, Edward Elgar to Benjamin Britten* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1985), 2; Tim Rayborn, *A New English Music: Composers and Folk Traditions in England's Musical Renaissance from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2016), 13; and Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance* (New York: Stein and Day, 1966), 19. For a history of the term as used in German writings, see M.J. Walker, "The Land Without Music: Some Reflections on Anglo-German Cultural Relations," Music Web International, 2008, accessed March 13, 2019, http://www.musicweb-international.com/dasland.htm.

[2] The obvious exception to this statement is Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), who was a prolific English composer best known for his fourteen operettas in collaboration with W.S. Gilbert (1836-1911).

[3] Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst, *Heirs and Rebels: Letters Written to Each Other and Occasional Writings on Music*, ed. Ursula Vaughan Williams and Imogen Holst (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 50.

[4] The English Musical Renaissance is defined as beginning in 1880, with the premier of Hubert Parry's *Prometheus Unbound*, and ending with the close of WWII in 1945. It covers the span of composers from Parry to Benjamin Britten (1913-1976). This is not to be confused with the Renaissance period, which defines Europe from 1400-1600.

England from the Teutonic control that had plagued English music for nearly two centuries and allowing for the creation of a national idiom.[5]

The English Musical Renaissance consists of three generations of composers, each of which had a unique role in shaping the national musical idiom. However, it was the second generation that made the distinctive break with Continental influences and established the musical foundation that defines English music of this period. The second generation of the English Musical Renaissance begins with Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958) and ends with E.J. Moeran (1894-1950). These composers started their compositional studies before World War I under either Sir Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) [6] at the Royal College of Music, or Frederick Corder (1852-1932)[7] at the Royal Academy of Music, and most had only started to compose their mature works by the start of the war.[8] Though modern audiences have generally forgotten these composers, they were instrumental in the development of English music in the first half of the twentieth century. English musicologist and critic Peter J. Pirie described this generation as the "Lost Generation," both referring to their "forgotten" place in history

[5] For a critical study of the circumstances that allowed for the English Musical Renaissance to occur, see Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Creating a National Music*, 2nd ed, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). For a brief summary of these circumstances, see Rayborn "English Music from the Later 19th Century: A Renaissance and a Revival," in *A New English Music*, 11-38.

[6] For scholarship on Stanford, see Harry Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: E. Arnold & co, 1935) and Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[7] Corder is best known for his role as a teacher at the Royal Academy of Music. Scholarly work on Corder as a composer has yet to be completed.

[8] Peter J. Pirie, "The Lost Generation," *The Musical Times* 96, no. 1346 (April 1955): 194, accessed February 9, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/937743.

and their relation to the historical idea of England's "Lost Generation" that was a response to World War I.[9]

Composition in England exploded with the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance, resulting in the production of more significant composers than at any other point in English history.[10] These composers strove to break with the Teutonic influence that was prevalent in the compositional idiom of the prior generation, which included Edward Elgar (1857-1934),[11] Hubert Parry (1848-1918),[12] Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935),[13] and Stanford. Their music, though English in flavour, was ultimately "cast in the harmonic idiom of international Europe."[14] The members of the Lost Generation inherited the musical tradition of these predecessors—music that was heavily influenced by continental practice and, as a result, aesthetically lost. Thus, the Lost Generation rebelled against their teachers to establish a musical idiom that demonstrated a "decisive break with continental training,"[15] creating a musical sound

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[9] Ibid.

[10] In his introductory article for his series on modern British composers in 1919, English music critic Edwin Evans states that "after a prolonged period of relative sterility…[England] possesses a larger number than at any time in her history of composers whose works are at least of sufficient strength to stand the sea-voyage to other countries." See Edwin Evans, "Modern British Composers: Introductory Article," *The Musical Times* 60, no. 911 (January 1, 1919): 10, accessed February 27, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3701798.

[11] Extensive scholarship has been completed on Edward Elgar and his music. For a biographical account, see Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar,* 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[12] For scholarship on Parry, see Charles L. Graves, *Hubert Parry, His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1926) and Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry, His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[13] Mackenzie has not been the subject of extensive research but is rather typically limited to being part of the narrative of the English Musical Renaissance. For writings on Mackenzie, see J. Percy Baker, "Sir Alexander Mackenzie: And His Work at the Royal Academy of Music, London," *The Musical Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (January, 1927): 14-28, accessed February 9, 2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/738553 and Duncan James Barker, "The Music of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935): A Critical Study" (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1999), accessed February 9, 2019, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/301584795?accountid=14846.

[14] Howes, *English Musical Renaissance,* 22.

[15] Ibid.

that was different from the music of both their predecessors and contemporary composers on the Continent.[16]

Though most the composers of this second generation were seeking to establish a national musical language, each did so with a unique compositional voice. Hence, contrary to most scholarship on the English Musical Renaissance, the generation is bound not by a common style, but by a unified idea that music should sound "national" and reflect what it means to be English.[17] As such, even though each composer had a unique compositional style, they cannot be looked at in isolation, as each one contributed to a sense of national identity in English music. In establishing a national idiom, many composers looked to similar sources of cultural inspiration that they then integrated into their music in unique and personal ways. The most predominant of these influences included: 1) the music of England's past, which composers associated with the idealized historical England that had prey to Industrialism; 2) their sense of place and the landscapes that surrounded them, which was tied to twentieth-century nostalgia for rural lifestyles; and 3) English literature, which had been England's leading art form since the time of Chaucer.

At the centre of the Lost Generation's search for an English musical sound was the desire to write music that resonated deeply with its audiences. The English Musical Renaissance is defined not only by its search for a national sound and a resurgence in

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[16] Trend, *Music Makers,* 1.

[17] Such scholarship tends to label these composers as "Pastoralists" and includes books such as Rayborn's *A New English Music.* Though Rayborn does note that this is "not a simple categorization," his book continues the ongoing discussion of this generation as the "Pastoral" school of composers. As another example, Elizabeth Lutyens famously referred to these composers as the "cow pat" school in a lecture at the Darlintong summer School of Music in the 1950s, see The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music, 5th ed., s.v. "cowpat music," accessed April 8, 2019, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199203833.001.0001/acref-9780199203833-e-2242.

native composition but also by the connection composers were trying to foster between themselves and their audience. Composers strove to write music aimed not at the musical elite but rather the common listener, music that would, as Parry instructed, "befit an Englishman and a democrat."[18] Community was essential for these composers precisely because they felt that music was only national if it was written for the English people.[19]

Even so, English music of the Lost Generation was also a response to what was happening across Europe socially, politically, and artistically. The English were not alone in searching for a national musical idiom, as nationalism had been an essential element of music in Continental countries since the early nineteenth century. Nor were the English alone in looking to music of the past: there was a general feeling of nostalgia across Europe in the twentieth century, especially in response to World War I. Thus, what made England unique was how the composers approached their national idiom, not the resources they used. While other countries were using musical nationalism as a political tool, England's search for a national sound grew out of its cultural roots.[20] English composers primarily searched for sources of inspiration that were critical to England's sense of culture and integrated them into their music stylistically. Thus, English music, as defined by this generation, was cultural, based on ideas and feelings associated with historical England known to contribute to a sense of community in England's musical culture.

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[18] Hubert Parry, quoted in Trend, *Music Makers,* 13.

[19] See Ralph Vaughan Williams, "Should Music be National?" in *National Music and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1-12.

[20] For a summary of the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth-century, see Peter J Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music,* 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 663-664 and 687-689. See also *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Nationalism," accessed March 17, 2019, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000050846.

In what follows, I deviate from traditional scholarship by integrating the composers of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance into the discourse of England's "Lost Generation" and establish them as part of a larger artistic movement that was a result of various historical developments within England and abroad. Often, these composers are considered in isolation from the artistic developments and social issues that were happening across Europe, but the latter are essential in defining the music of this generation. After setting these composers within the historical developments of Europe in the early twentieth century, I describe how their diverse musical styles nonetheless contributed to a unified idea of English music composed in a national idiom by the people, for the people. The second generation's collected sources of cultural inspiration provided its composers with the tools to create their own national styles that ultimately allowed them to break with the German idiom of their predecessors. To support this claim, I discuss the various stylistic techniques of individual composers within their collective cultural influences, including the music the England's past, the landscape, and English literature. Furthermore, I explore the role of musical community, both as a central goal of the creation of a national idiom and as a source of compositional inspiration. Unlike previous scholarship that tends to define the English Musical Renaissance according to a single definition or musical style, I conclude that English music of this generation was stylistically diverse while simultaneously a manifestation of common cultural influences, ultimately rooted in the goal of creating a sense of musical community.

Part I: Defining English Music

The Dual Meaning of the Lost Generation

For modern readers, the Lost Generation evokes a variety of images, most relating to young men marching to war and not returning or of pleasure-seeking youth who were defiant and desperate (or both). It is a generation that includes writers such as F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940), Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961), Siegfried Sassoon (1886-1967), and Robert Graves (1895-1985). Today, the Lost Generation is the war generation: one populated by troublemakers and great literary figures, many of whom died young. As a generation, it "hovers strangely, like the shades of dead soldiers" one that, though it brings up many images, lacks definition.[21] However, among the British population of the early and mid-twentieth century, the idea of a Lost Generation was very real and well defined, holding dual meanings, both of which were loaded responses to the carnage of World War I.

That said, the terminology has also been applied to certain composers. Writing in 1955, Pirie was perhaps the first to formalize an association between the "Lost Generation" and music, using this term to describe the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance.[22] Pirie called this generation "lost" for a number of reasons. First, apart from Vaughan Williams and John Ireland, most of the composers of this generation were dead by 1955, having lived relatively short lives. Second, and perhaps more importantly to Pirie, these composers were in danger of being lost to history, as only the

[21] Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 18-19.

[22] See Pirie, Lost Generation, 194.

generation that fought in the war remembered them.[23] Third, to combine these two ideas, the composers of this generation either did not reach maturity, having not lived long enough to do so, or else had their mature music "blotted out by the war years."[24] Finally, by calling the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance the "Lost Generation," Pirie is appealing to readers to keep the former's music alive, lest it be forgotten. Beyond Pirie, a further notion of the "Lost Generation" exists for readers, and it is one that guides the rest of this paper: the idea of a "Lost Generation" was more than a description of a group of composers that were in danger of being lost to history - it was a cultural phenomenon for the English people who emerged out of the Great War.

The first definition of the Lost Generation denotes a group of young men who were lost physically when they died in the trenches on the Western Front. According to this definition, a generation of young thinkers, most studying at Oxford and Cambridge, immediately signed up for war service at the outbreak of World War I. Historian Robert Wohl states that the English people viewed this generation as a group of "young men of unusual abilities. Strong, brave, and beautiful, they combined great athletic prowess with deep classical learning. Poets at heart, they loved the things of the mind for their own sake."[25] They were thought to be the next generation of politicians, artists, and writers: the academic and cultural future of England. According to English lore, most of these young men were killed on the battlefields of France, and those who were not killed were left mutilated, both physically and mentally. The "best men…the purest and noblest, the

[23] Pirie, "Lost Generation," 194.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Wohl, *Generation of 1914*, 85.

strongest and most cultivated"[26] died, leaving behind only the weak and less educated.[27] As such, English civilization was "dealt a fatal blow," falling under the "tyranny of foreign models."[28]

Under the second definition of the Lost Generation, the young men were not lost physically, but figuratively, being disoriented and lacking direction. This generation of artists had reached maturity during the war years and consequently struggled to reintegrate themselves into the mainstream artistic currents that emerged after the war.[29] According to author Samuel Hynes, these artists were "drugged by war at the moment when they might have been learning the experimental gestures of their time, and so they never learned, but went off in their own eccentric directions, no two alike and none a canonical Modernist."[30] The artists of the Lost Generation were not only lost emotionally and spiritually due to the disillusionment that followed the war but also aesthetically, some never finding their voice.[31]

Pirie's notion of a "Lost Generation" coincides well with these additional cultural associations. By discussing the war, he integrated the cultural connotations of a "Lost Generation" with the group of composers he saw becoming lost to time. Undoubtedly, the

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[26] Ibid., 113.

[27] While this is clearly an exaggeration, there is some amount of truth to this claim. Middle- and upper-class young men were more likely to die in battle due to their role as officers rather than soldiers. For a statistical analysis of the relationship between social class and casualty rates, see J.M. Winter, "Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War," *Population Studies* 31, no 3 (November 1977): 449-466, accessed February 9, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2173368. For further discussion, see Wohl, "England: Lost Legions of Youth" in *The Generation of 1914*, 85-121.

[28] Wohl, 85.

[29] Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined*: *The First World War and English Culture* (London: The Bodley Head, 1990), 386.

[30] Ibid.

[31] As an example, composer Ivor Gurney is better known as a war poet and continued to write war poems until his death in an asylum in 1937. For further examples, see Hynes, *War Imagined*, 387. For information on Gurney as a composer, see Trevor Hold, "Ivor Gurney" in *From Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002): 266-295.

second generation of the English Musical Renaissance had connections to both definitions. It had its share of composers who died in the trenches of France or who returned home physically mutilated and mentally disoriented. World War I claimed the lives of several young, promising composers, such as Ernest Farrar (1885-1918),[32] Cecil Coles (1888-1918),[33] and George Butterworth (1885-1916).[34] Butterworth was a notable loss for the British public, as he was an active folk song collector and songwriter. Many of his works have remained in the canon of English art song, including his well-known song cycle based on A. E. Housman's collection of poems, *A Shropshire Lad.*[35]

Despite these losses, it is the second definition of "lost" - that of a wandering, directionless generation – that more strongly relates to the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance. Though Pirie states that the war is vital in defining these composers as lost,[36] I argue that they were lost long before the call to arms. These composers were part of a country whose musical identity was invariably shaped by a Germanic tradition taught to them by their teachers in the early twentieth century. While England was a world leader in the other arts, most notably in literature, there was no inherently British musical tradition for these composers to follow. Thus, these composers were left searching for a way to create one, making the generation aesthetically lost. As

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[32] Farrar wrote a large body of works for voice, orchestra, and organ, including *Heroic Elegy*, the *Celtic Suite*, and his song cycle *Vegabond Songs*. Today, Farrar is best known as the teacher of Gerald Finzi (1901-1956). Very little academic work has been done on Farrar as a composer; however, Eric Saylor discusses some of his compositions is his book *English Pastoral Music: From Arcadia to Utopia, 1900-1955* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017).

[33] Coles was a promising Scottish composer, who wrote works for piano, orchestra, and voice. For a recording of his works, see John Purser, *Cecil Coles: Music from behind the Lines*, BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, directed by Martyn Brabbins, Hyperion CDA67293, 2002.

[34] For a biography, see Michael Barlow, *Whom the Gods Love: The Life and Music of George Butterworth* (London: Toccata Press, 1997).

[35] For a study of Butterworth as a songwriter see Hold, "George Butterworth" in *From Parry to Finzi*, 234-343.

[36] Pirie, Lost Generation, 194.

such, it is important to shift the discourse of the Lost Generation from a war phenomenon to one that existed prior to World War I.

The Lost Generation Prior to the Great War

The concept of a Lost Generation existing before the Great War is not a new one. Hynes describes the generation as a "confrontational avant-garde" that appeared in the Edwardian Era, which resulted in "a sharp opposition of old against young…the established conservative elders against a younger generation."[37] Further, in their book *Generations*, William Strauss and Neil Howe describe the Lost Generation prior to the war as a disoriented and rebellious generation, stating that "well before World War I, the first signs of alienation surfaced."[38] The war did not create the "Lost Generation" but instead reinforced and exasperated the feelings of disillusionment and lack of direction that people of this generation were already experiencing.

This concept of the Lost Generation is consistent with the feelings of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance. As part of this sense of lostness, the composers of this generation rebelled against the conservative composers who came before them in order to create a quintessentially English musical idiom. Any music written by the older generation, though English in flavour, was heavily influenced by leading German composers of the late Romantic era, including Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), Richard Wagner (1813-1883), and Franz Liszt (1811-1886).[39] In order to shake the Teutonic influence that plagued English music, the composers of the Lost Generation

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[37] Hynes, *War Imagined*, 383.

[38] William Strauss and Neil Howe, *Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1990), 255.

[39] Peter J. Pirie, "Bantock and His Generation," *The Musical Times* 109, no. 1506 (August 1968): 715-717, accessed May 7, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/951273.

intentionally rebelled against their teachers.[40] Vaughan Williams and Holst often referred to British scholar Gilbert Murray (1866-1957) when discussing their outlook on composition. Murray stated that "every man who counts is a child of a tradition and a rebel from it."[41] Thus, Vaughan Williams and Holst referred to themselves and their colleagues as heirs and rebels - heirs to a musically lost country with no established musical tradition and rebels against the Germanic teachings of their instructors.

Historical Contexts: Nationalism and Industrialism

The historical contexts of the early twentieth century in Europe highlight how nationalistic interests and industrialization both bound and distinguished England to and from her neighbours. The early twentieth century was a time of rapid innovation and change across Europe. Musically, it was an era of incredible diversity, as composers in explored new avenues of composition to respond to the cultural, aesthetic, and political attitudes of the era. Despite the incredible diversity of music, many composers were part of an overarching movement of musical nationalism that was prevalent across Europe. Nationalism was part of the Romantic heritage, having become a potent force in culture, the arts, and politics during the nineteenth century.[42] Though a remnant of Romanticism, musical nationalism was furthered in the twentieth century, due to both the cultural

[40] While many composers would rebel against the established Germanic musical tradition of England after their education, some composers did it while they were students. For example, when Vaughan Williams was studying at the Royal College of Music, Stanford asked him to write a waltz. In response, Vaughan Williams turned in a modal waltz, rather than a tonal one. Vaughan Williams and Stanford often butted heads in their lessons, as Vaughan Williams was consistently trying to break from the Germanic influence of his teacher. For a full account, see "A Musical Bibliography" in *National Music*, 177-195 and "Charles Villiers Stanford" in *National Music,* 195-198.

[41] Gilbert Murray, quoted in Vaughan Williams and Holst, 71. For further references to Gilbert Murray, see Vaughan Williams, *National Music.*

[42] Burkholder et al., *History of Western Music,* 785.

expectations surrounding music and the political climate in Europe at the turn of the century.[43]

While composers in several countries, such as Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865-1957), used music as a political tool, English musical nationalism was cultural. According to English musical critic Frank Howes, "there was no political motive to drive musicians on to nationalistic courses," as England was an independent nation with an existing sense of national pride.[44] Rather, the search for a national sound was a way to compose music that would appeal to the general public. Vaughan Williams outlined this notion in his essay "Should Music be National?," where he stated that

> It is not reasonable to suppose that those who share our life, our history, our customs…should have some secret to impart to us which the foreign composer…is not able to give us…Art for art's sake has never flourished among the English-speaking nations…The composer must not shut himself up and think about art; he must live with his fellows and make his art an expression of the whole life of the community.[45]

Beyond nationalism, English composers of the Lost Generation were influenced by the rapid developments happening both in England and across Europe. The early part of the twentieth century was an era of rapid technological and social growth, prompting both an optimistic feeling of progress and a sense of nostalgia for a simpler past.[46] One of the most significant areas of growth was in industrialization. As industry became increasingly prosperous, people migrated from rural communities to larger, industrial cities. As a result of rapid industrialization, there was a general sense of nostalgia for the

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[43] Burkholder et al., 785-786.

[44] Howes, *English Musical Renaissance,* 72.

[45] Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 9.

[46] Burkholder et al., 772.

countryside, which composers such as Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) expressed in their music.[47] This was especially potent in England, where the "green and pleasant land" was an integral part of national identity.[48] As the "dark, satanic mills"[49] of industrialization continued to threaten the Southern countryside that was so important to English identity, composers found themselves being consistently inspired by the natural beauty of rural England.[50]

Ultimately, one of the common themes of early twentieth-century composition, both in England and on the Continent, was that of creating a national identity in music. Composers across Europe were trying to find ways to create music that was both unique to and indicative of their country or people. Furthermore, many were finding inspiration in the landscapes that surrounded them. If the expression of nationalism and the influence of the countryside was important to composers across Europe and unique to no one, it then begs the question: what is English music?

Defining English Music

"What is English music" has been a burning question for commentators since the Lost Generation started working towards a quintessentially English sound. Pirie, at the end of the English Musical Renaissance, stated that "a singular singing sweetness is the

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[47] Burkholder et al., *History of Western Music*, 773.

[48] William Blake, "Jerusalem ["And did those feet in ancient time"]", Poetry Foundation, 2019, accessed March 17, 2019, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/54684/jerusalem-and-did-those-feet-in-ancient-time.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Industrialization in the North of England had begun in the late eighteenth century but the rural areas of the South were largely untouched until the early twentieth century. See Encyclopedia Britannica, s.c. "Economy" in "England," accessed May 23, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/place/England/Economy. Em Marshall traces the influence of the English countryside through the music of nearly every composer of the English Musical Renaissance in her book *Music in the Landscape: How the British Countryside Inspired Our Greatest Composers* (London: Robert Hale, 2011).

hallmark of the English composer," pointing to the importance of melody in the works of the era.[51] For British author Em Marshall, English music is identifiable through its "beauty of sound" that "celebrates the natural world around [the composers]" and keeps "in tune with the music of their illustrious predecessors."[52] She continues, stating that "one of the most wonderful features of English music is the way in which it is instantly recognizable as 'English.' Despite many attempts to analyse national characteristics in music, this still remains something of a mystery."[53] Indeed, as these commentators confirm, previous scholarship on the Lost Generation has yet to find a consistent or satisfactory definition of what makes English music sound English.

One of the reasons it has been so difficult for authors to define a set of compositional attributes that define Englishness in the music of the Lost Generation is that its members were stylistically diverse. Rather than attempting to define English music by one single source or definition, I propose that the question of "what is English music" is best answered through an acknowledgement that though the composers shared a common nationalistic goal and shared cultural influences, their individual styles remained diverse. At the root of the compositional ideologies of these composers was the notion that English music was a product of its environment. Holst argued that Englishness in music lay in "trying to learn to honour and appreciate our forefathers."[54] According to Vaughan Williams, Parry's inaugural address to the Folk Society of England stated that "True Style comes not from the individual but from the products of crowds of fellow-workers who sift and try and try again till they have found the thing that

[51] Pirie, *Lost Generation*, 194.

[52] Marshall, *Music in the Landscape,* 14.

[53] Ibid., 17.

[54] Vaughan Williams and Holst, *Heirs and Rebels*, 52.

suits their native taste…Style is ultimately national."[55] Vaughan Williams then continues to state that music *must* be national, and that "the composer who tries to be cosmopolitan from the outset will fail."[56] He then argues that music should first and foremost be bred from the composer's surroundings, asking "is it not reasonable to suppose that those who share our life, our history, our customs, our climate, even our food, should have some secret to impart to us?"[57] Here, Vaughan Williams's statements reinforce his specific construction of a national sound based on landscape, history, and the culture of the people.

The emphasis on the cultural and geographical environment of England reintroduces the shared influences of these composers in creating their individual styles. These influences included: looking to England's musical history and taking inspiration from folk music and the composers of the Tudor era; looking to the disappearing rural landscapes of England and finding inspiration in their sense of place and associations with the sea; and taking inspiration from English cultural traditions, including English legend, literature, poetry, and the Anglican liturgy. In examining these influences, it would be easy to label all these composers as merely "Pastoralists" and lump them into a common musical school given their affinity for the English landscape and historical England. However, to do so would be a mistake. Ultimately, these composers shared a group of common influences thought to be quintessentially English but incorporated them according to individual stylistic preferences. This led to individual voices that were both national in nature and unique to the composer.

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[55] Hubert Parry, quoted by Vaughan Williams in *National Music and Other Essays*, 2.

[56] Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays*, 2.

[57] Ibid., 9.

Another element that tied the individual, nationalist goals of English composers to a broader, unifying idea was the shared importance they placed on having their music resonate with the English people.[58] The gap between the composer and the public was widening as the twentieth century progressed, but the Lost Generation strove to write music that was accessible to and enjoyable for the general public rather than looking for the approval of academics.[59] As part of writing music for the community, these composers wrote both art music and utilitarian music, incorporating aspects of one tradition into the other and creating a musical culture wherein music was always accessible to the common listener.

In examining the writings of some critics and composers of the Lost Generation, a definition of English music becomes much clearer. English music is primarily cultural, rooted in the history, landscapes, and cultural traditions of England. Composers of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance looked to their own country for inspiration, finding it in folk music, music of the Tudor era, Purcell, and their sense of place. They were inspired by their sister arts that were already considered unquestionably English, including English legend, literature, and poetry. Finally, they looked to English tradition, finding sources of inspiration in Anglican liturgy and ritual, regardless of the composer's own religious beliefs. However, it was not enough to theorize Englishness. Sources of national identity need to manifest stylistically in the composers' compositional output, lest it resemble the music of their predecessors. While each composer did this slightly differently, each was able to take aspects and characteristics of their source inspiration and transcribe it into a unique musical language.

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[58] Saylor, *English Pastoral Music*, 5.

[59] Burkholder et al., 798.

Part II: Cultural Influences and Stylistic Manifestations

In the following section, I outline how various cultural influences were used collectively by the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance to create individual but yet quintessentially English styles. First, I discuss the music of England's past, including folk song, dance and historical art music. Next, I highlight the role of place for these composers. I continue by discussing the influence of English literature, including English legend, poetry, and the Anglican Liturgy. Finally, I focus on the role of community, both as an influence and as an ultimate goal. Together, these various influences all contribute to a collective sense of national identity while simultaneously they help to articulate each composer's individual approach to creating a national musical idiom.

A Look to the Past: English Folk Music

Perhaps the most important influence on the music of the Lost Generation was the rediscovery of the music of England's past, particularly its folk music and the compositions of Tudor composers, as well as those of Purcell. Superficially, the turn to past music appears to have stemmed from a yearning for a simpler time and rural life that had been devastated by the Industrial Revolution and the complicated social and political issues of the early twentieth century. For the composers of this generation, however, folk music and Tudor compositions provided a new musical language for them to draw upon, rather than an ideological narrative of nostalgia to follow.

While the revival of folk music in England is largely associated with Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) at the turn of the twentieth century, collecting folk music in Britain was not

a new idea.[60] Interest in folk music collection can be traced to the eighteenth century, especially in Scotland and Ireland. In 1843, John Broadwood (1798-1865) published a small collection of Surrey and Sussex songs, entitled *Old English Song*. Later, his niece, Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929), took up his work, publishing *English Country Songs* (1893) with John Alexander Fuller Maitland (1856-1936). Further, England's Folk Song Society was established on 16 June 1898, with Parry, Mackenzie and Stanford serving as vice-presidents, although none of them were folk song collectors or used folk music in their compositions. At the turn of the twentieth century, several notable collectors were actice, including Sharp, Australian composer Percy Grainger (1882-1961), and English composers Vaughan Williams, Butterworth, and Moeran.[61] This led to a dual tradition of folk music in the Edwardian period. The first was a written tradition based on the published music collected during the nineteenth century, while the second was based on the folk music of England's rural and untouched communities that was being collected in the twentieth century.

Sharp collected folk music for two reasons. First, as an educator, he was frustrated with the standard practice of musical instruction based on the study of German techniques and felt that there should be instruction in traditional British music. Second, by this time, there was a growing concern that time was running out to collect the folk music in untouched rural areas of England due to the continuing spread of

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[60] For a biography of Cecil Sharp by his associate and fellow folk song collector, Maud Karpeles, see Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). For a summary of Sharp's work with folk song, see Vic Gammon, "Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music" in *Still Growing: Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection*, edited by Steve Roud, Eddie Upton, and Malcolm Taylor (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 2003), 2-23.

[61] Grainger was notable for his use of recording equipment when collecting folk music, in contrast with the other collectors who typically notated the songs in a notebook. For a concise chapter on Grainger's interactions with folk music, see Rayborn, "Percy Grainger (1882-1961)" in *A New English Music*, 190-216. For a comprehensive biography, see John Bird, *Percy Grainger* (London: Faber & Faber, 1982).

industrialization and urbanization. Sharp observed that only the elderly singers remembered the songs and concluded that the oral tradition of folk music was at risk of dying. As a result of Sharp's work, there was a huge surge in folk music collection between 1903 and 1912.

One important aspect of folk music for the Lost Generation was its connection to communal activity and the common listener. Folk music was traditionally transmitted orally over generations, making it a communal product and therefore a truly national music.[62] This sense of community was reflected in Sharp's desire to collect these songs for use in education. The first generation of the English Musical Renaissance also understood the importance of folk music in musical education. Stanford saw it both as a way to instill a sense of heritage in the listeners and as the foundation of musical taste, calling it "the germ from which great composers have come."[63] Parry also discussed the importance of folk song in the musical community, calling it an example of "love and well-thinking of our fellow-creatures."[64]

Further, to artists and composers of the era, folk music was, due to its ingrained history, "in touch with the authentic soul of the nation" that "could thus serve as a source of genuine inspiration and renewal for England."[65] According to Parry, folk songs were "characteristic of the race…and as a faithful reflection of ourselves, we needs must cherish it."[66] For Vaughan Williams, folk music was important as it was not written by educated, art music composers but rather was the natural outflowing of music from the

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[62] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 48.

[63] Stanford, quoted in Rayborn, *A New English Music*, 19.

[64] Hubert Parry, "Inaugural Address," *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1, no. 1 (1899): 1, accessed February 17, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4433848.

[65] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 40.

[66] Parry, *Inaugural Address,* 3.

general populace and thus was "music that must be representative of our race as no other music can."[67] For composers of the Lost Generation, folk music was both a source of musical inspiration and an important aspect of English musical culture that was free of foreign influence.[68]

The Lost Generation used folk music in a variety of ways. Sometimes, composers directly quoted folk music in their works, such as in Holst's popular *Second Suite in F for Military Band,* op. 28, no. 2 (1911). The *Second Suite in F*, which remains a staple of wind band repertoire, is a four-movement suite that integrates seven traditional folk tunes. The first movement, "March", is based on a morris-dance tune, "Glorishears," heard in the opening theme; "Swansea Town" appears in the piece's famous euphonium solo; and "Claudy Banks" is the basis of the trio. The second movement, "Song Without Words: "I'll Love My Love"," is based on the folk song "I'll Love My Love," while the third movement, "Song of the Blacksmith," features the song "A Blacksmith Courted Me." The final movement, "Fantasia on the Dargason," is based on the folk dance entitled "Dargason." After several variations of the tune, Holst then weaves the final folk tune, "Greensleeves" into the piece, having half of the band play the Dargason theme in 6/8, whilst the other half plays "Greensleeves" in 3/4.

More often, however, composers went beyond mere quotation to imitate the musical qualities of folk music. Firstly, folk music exemplified how the English language should be set to music, as the music and words grew together and were inseparable. In collecting folk music, Vaughan Williams discovered that the words were of utmost importance to folk singers, writing that "the country singer is unable to dissociate the

[67] Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 40.

[68] Ibid., 41.

words and tune."[69] Folk songs, therefore, were "the obvious means of giving a pattern to [the singer's] words."[70] This was especially evident in the rhythm of the tune, which Vaughan Williams argued was "entirely governed by the words."[71] As a result of the importance of text, folk music was not confined to common metrical structures; often, musical "bars" would be five or seven beats to accommodate the syllables of the words. This influence can be seen in the music of several composers who often turned to 5/4 and 7/4 time signatures when setting English texts, such as in Holst's *Ode to Death* (1919).

Another important aspect of folk music was its reliance on melody and tunefulness as stated by Vaughan Williams, who wrote that "all genuine folk-music is purely melodic."[72] This influence is evident in the tuneful music of the Lost Generation, which features memorable melodies. Tunefulness was especially important for Vaughan Williams. He taught students that the lyrical quality of English music was what made it so successful, as the music is based on "phrases such as any Englishman knows by instinct to be of indigenous growth,"[73] instructing them that "if a tune *should* occur to you, my boy, don't hesitate to write it down."[74]

Lastly, composers took inspiration from the modal structure of folk music, which Vaughan Williams stated was a result of the emphasis on melody, rather than harmony.[75]

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[69] Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 21.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., 22.

[72] Ibid., 23.

[73] Evans, "Introductory Article," 10.

[74] Trend, 103.

[75] According to Vaughan Williams, the harmonic implications of cadences, leading tones, and points of departure in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music made harmonically based music that relied heavily on major and minor tonality. In contrast, melody-based music was much freer to explore other modes. See Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 24.

Although some English folk music was tonally based, many songs and dances were based on the Dorian, Mixolydian, and Ionian modes and the pentatonic scale.[76] As a result of the influence of folk music on these composers, the use of modality became one of the characteristic aspects of English music at the turn of the twentieth century.

Five composers stand out as examples of how these broader idioms of folk music were incorporated into the unique compositional styles of the Lost Generation. Composers most notable for their indebtedness to folk music include Vaughan Williams, Holst, Butterworth, Ernest John Moeran (1894-1950), and Rutland Boughton (1878-1960), each of whom will be discussed in turn.

For Vaughan Williams, folk music was a continuous thread throughout his life, displaying its influence from his earliest pieces to his last. An example of an early work inspired by folk music is *On Wenlock Edge* (1909), a song cycle written for tenor, piano, and string quartet comprised of six poems from A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* (1896). The most notable influence of folk music is in the fourth song, which sounds like a rollicking folk tune. In this song cycle, Vaughan Williams displays his ability to create music that sounded like folk song without using existing tunes. Vaughan Williams also incorporated folk idioms into his orchestral music, such as his famous work *The Lark Ascending* (1921). In it, melody reigns supreme and various instruments receive solo phrases that are reminiscent of folk tunes. Folk music remained important to Vaughan Williams throughout his life, with its influence being evident in works as late as the Ninth Symphony.[77]

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[76] Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 24.

[77] For a thorough discussion of the connection between folk music and Vaughan Williams's compositional style, see Elsie Payne, "Vaughan Williams and Folk-song: The Relation Between Folk-song and Other Elements in his Comprehensive Style," *Music Review* 15, no. 1 (1954): 103-126.

Folk music was less central to Holst's compositional voice, but its influence is still evident in his music. In the early part of the twentieth century, Holst worked both on arranging folk tunes and composing music that integrated them into the work such as in the *Second Suite in F*.[78] In many of his other works, however, the influence of folk music is much more obscure. While Vaughan Williams and others aimed to emulate the musical qualities of folk music, Holst internalized several aspects of the folk idiom that then became a part of his compositional style. As an example, Holst, like Vaughan Williams, was a tuneful composer and his melodies are known for being concise and simple. His daughter, Imogen, claimed that this was a direct result of his interactions with folk music, writing that "the tunes had a simplicity and economy that he felt to be essential in any great art."[79] She further emphasized the importance of folk music in Holst's compositional development by stating that it freed him from the chains of Wagnerian composition.[80] More important to Holst, however, was finding a musical idiom that allowed for natural settings of the English language, and he found that the 5/4 and 7/4 time signatures of folk music fit it best. These time signatures became characteristic of Holst's output, and many of his pieces use these time signatures, whether vocal works or not.[81]

Butterworth's music was also heavily indebted to the folk music revival. Folk music was a very important part of Butterworth's life, as he was a collector of both folk

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[78] Another notable example is his *Somerset Rhapsody* (1907), which incorporated "Sheep Shearing Song," "High Germany," "The True Lover's Farewell," and "The Cuckoo."

[79] Trend, *Music Makers,* 110.

[80] Holst's biographer Michael Short echoed this sentiment, writing that "his love affair with Romantic megalomania was over; he had simplified his musical style as a result of his contact with English folk-song." See Michael Short, *Gustav Holst: The Man and His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 73.

[81] Perhaps Holst's most famous use of 5/4 time is in "Mars" from *The Planets*.

songs and dances and a talented Morris dancer. Although his existing compositional output is small, his contribution to folk music collection is notable, as collected several hundred songs and dances.[82] Butterworth is best known for his song cycle *Six Songs from "A Shropshire Lad"* (1911). The melodic motives of the song cycle evoke the sound of the folk song, even though they are not based on any specific melody. However, in his four orchestral works, Butterworth's close relationship to folk music really shines. Three of the four works, *Two English Idylls* (1911) and *The Banks of Green Willow* (1913), quote folk songs. The first *Idyll* incorporates "Dabbling in the dew", "Just as the tide was flowing," and "Henry Martin," whilst the second makes use of musical material from the song "Pheobe and her dark-eyed sailor."[83] *The Banks of Green Willow* incorporates two folk songs, "The Banks of Green Willow" and "Green Bushes," with original musical material to create a "musical illustration" of the story of "The Banks of Green Willow."[84] His fourth orchestral work, considered his greatest, is a rhapsody entitled *A Shropshire Lad* (1911). While he does not make use of any existing folk tunes, its melodic material is reminiscent of the folk songs he collected.

Moeran's interactions with folk music were of a very personal nature, as he often turned to the music of his home, Norfolk.[85] Due to his knowledge of the area, he was able to collect about 150 songs from the local people. For Moeran, folk music was a connection to the countryside where he grew up and it held sentimental value for him.

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[82] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 113. Butterworth destroyed most of his music written prior to the war before he went to France.

[83] Butterworth himself collected "Just as the tide was flowing," "Henry Martin," and "Pheobe" in 1907.

[84] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 128.

[85] Published works on Moeran are few. For a discussion of Moeran and his works, see Geoffrey Self, *The Music of E.J. Moeran* (London: Toccata Press, 1986). For a resource on Moeran as a song-writer, see Hold, "E. J. Moeran" in *From Parry to Finzi*, 373-395.

Later, he would include Irish folk music idioms in his compositional style, as Ireland was a place of solace for him. Like many of the composers discussed, his music is notable for its use of folk-like melodies. Beyond the melody, Moeran often turned to folk music for its structural qualities, as exemplified in his first orchestral work *In the Mountain Country* (1921). The folk music idiom became the foundation of Moeran's compositional style. While other composers would abandon the intentional folk idiom later in their careers, Moeran's folk-based compositional techniques remained with him throughout his life.[86]

Like many of his contemporaries, Boughton was freed from the chains of "Wagnerian bawlings" by folk music.[87] Boughton was primarily an opera composer, who aimed to create a distinctive English operatic tradition. To advance this goal, he wrote a book entitled *Music Drama of the Future* in which he outlined what he envisioned English opera to be. For Boughton, English opera was a blend of Wagnerian music drama and Handelian oratorio that focussed heavily on the chorus. He even went so far as to state that drama was choral in origin and called his vision of English opera "choral drama."[88] He had strong ideas on what English opera should be, but his first opera, *The Birth of Arthur* (1909), is completely Wagnerian, and failed to be a musical success. However, in his next opera, *The Immortal Hour* (1912-13), Boughton began to incorporate elements of Hebridean folk-song.[89] Although slight chromaticism remains in Boughton's harmonic vocabulary, the opera is notable for its folk-like melodies – many

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[86] Rayborn, *A New English Music*, 139.

[87] Boughton's music, though quite popular in his lifetime, quickly fell to the wayside after his death. As such, very little scholarly work has been completed on him and his music. For a biography, see Michael Hurd, *Immoral Hour: The Life and Period of Rutland Boughton* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962). "Wagnerian bawlings" was a descriptor used by Holst in regards to Wagner's influence on his own music. See Imogen Holst, *Gustav Holst: A Biography*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 31.

[88] Michael Hurd, "Rutland Boughton, 1878-1960," *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1619 (January 1978): 32, accessed February 19, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/958621.

[89] Trend, *Music Makers*, 70. The Hebrides are an archipelago off the west coast of mainland Scotland.

of which are pentatonic – and its short, poignant leitmotifs. *The Immortal Hour* would be Boughton's greatest success and was performed hundreds of times throughout his lifetime. The operas that follow *The Immortal Hour* are composed in a similar manner, with memorable, folk-like melodies and simple harmonic textures that were undoubtedly inspired by folk music.

Tudor Influence and Purcell

Beyond folk music, English composers of the Lost Generation also found musical inspiration in other historical genres, such as the music of the Tudor era and of Purcell. At the turn of the century, there was a resurgence in the popularity of these composers, as various societies began to publish and perform these works. As a result, composers began to incorporate the compositional idioms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into their music to create a fundamentally English sound.

A re-awakening of interest in the music of Tudor England dates back to the 1840s. A nineteen-volume series of Tudor music was published by the Musical Antiquarian Society between 1840-1847.[90] In 1895, *Dido and Aeneas* had its revival premiere, nearly 200 years after its last performance, bringing Purcell's music back into the general repertoire. Likewise, several other societies were created to publish and perform the works of various Renaissance composers and Purcell throughout the nineteenth century, including the Purcell Society and the Bristol Madrigal Society.[91] Publication of this music continued into the twentieth century, as many Tudor music

[90] Howes, *English Musical Renaissance,* 85.

[91] For a summary of the Tudor Revival during Victorian and Edwardian England, see "The Tudor Revival" in Howes, *English Musical Renaissance,* 85-110.

scholars, including Fuller-Maitland and Philip Heseltine (1894-1930) continued to compile and edit English music from the Renaissance.

Amongst the Lost Generation, the general consensus was that the Tudor composers and Purcell were the last great English composers and that there was something to be learned from these composers who the Lost Generation felt had written in a decidedly English idiom with no Teutonic influence. Some composers were inspired by the polyphonic nature of Tudor era music. For others, it was their first exposure to modal writing, as folk music was for several others. Lastly, composers turned to Purcell as an example of how to set English texts, which are notoriously difficult to put to music.[92] In the section that follows, I discuss how the music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries influenced Vaughan Williams, Holst, Philip Heseltine, and Herbert Howells (1892-1983) in turn.

Vaughan Williams felt strongly that the path to a truly English musical idiom was through the music of the past. From 1895 onwards, Vaughan Williams became increasingly interested in the modal music of Tudor England and the music of Purcell. In fact, Vaughan William's teacher at the time, Stanford, found that the former was "obsessed with the modes" and that his music was "damnably ugly."[93] Vaughan Williams was not to be deterred, and on being assigned to write a waltz, wrote a modal one.[94] His love of modes would be an important aspect of his compositional voice throughout his life and was a point of overlap between his incorporation of Tudor sources and English folk music.

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[92] Peter J. Pirie, *The English Musical Renaissance* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 62.

[93] Vaughan Williams, *National Music*, 197.

[94] Ibid.

The Tudor influence is evident in several of Vaughan Williams's most beloved pieces and is most notable in his well-known composition *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* (1910). This one-movement work is written for string orchestra and string quartet and is a fantasia on the psalm tune "Why fumeth in fight?" written by Tallis (c. 1505-1585) for the Anglican psalter of 1567. Further Tudor influence is found in his *Mass in G minor* (1921). Unlike the orchestral masses that had dominated art music for centuries, *Mass in G minor* is a setting of the five texts of the Ordinary, written for unaccompanied double choir and soloists.[95] The vast majority of the work is written in a polyphonic style and there is a freedom and independence of phrase that leads to a lack of consistent metrical division, requiring frequent changes in time signature. Lastly, as was common to the composers of the Tudor era, the Mass was composed as functional music for the church rather than written for the concert hall. As a final example, Vaughan Williams was also interested in instrumental Renaissance music, as demonstrated in his *Phantasy Quintet* (1912), which was modelled on the popular Elizabethan "fantasy" of the later sixteenth century.[96]

As with his use of folk music, Holst incorporated Tudor music and Purcell quite differently from Vaughan Williams. Holst not only had an interest in Elizabethan music but also in text settings of the medieval period. For Holst, medieval music was indicative of "a style that was serene and pure, deceptively simple but rich and fascinating."[97] The influence of medieval melodies can be heard in his setting of *Psalm 86* (1912) and in *The*

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[95] Vaughan Williams provides an organ accompaniment that doubles the voices to be used "if the choir loses pitch."

[96] Tim Rayborn, "Ralph Vaughan Williams, The Tudor Composers and Bach," *Early Music America* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2017): 34, accessed May 21, 2018, http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1892609182?accountid=14846.

[97] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 99.

Hymn of Jesus (1917). In addition to the formal medieval repertoire, Holst was fond of Elizabethan madrigals and lute songs. Rather than taking musical inspiration from these sources, however, Holst was more interested in mirroring the Elizabethan practise of wide-spread amateur music-making, which he felt was an important part of society.[98]

Of all the music mentioned above, Holst was particularly devoted to the music of Purcell. In 1911, he staged the first performance of *The Fairy Queen* with his students at Morley College, a piece that had been lost since Purcell's death in 1695 and had been found in the Royal Academy of Music's library in 1901. In particular, it was Purcell's facility in setting English text that was important to Holst. In 1917, he wrote to his friend William Whittaker saying

> I find that *unconsciously* I have been drawn for years towards discovering the (or *a*) musical idiom of the English language…songs always meant to me a peg of words on which to hang a tune. The great awakening came on hearing the recits in Purcell's *Dido*.[99]

According to Imogen, hearing *Dido and Aeneas* taught Holst to "listen to the way Purcell imitated the idea of the words in the sound of the music."[100] Purcell had been known by his contemporaries for having gone further than any English composer in exploring "the very great affinity betwixt Language and Music" and they marvelled at his "genius for expressing the energy of the English language."[101] Upon listening to *Dido and Aeneas*, Holst was able to recognize the compositional techniques that made Purcell so effective at setting the English language and thus "never again wrote a song that sounded as if the

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[98] Short, *Gustav Holst*, 69. Holst wrote a number of pieces for amateur groups, including *St. Paul's Suite* (1912-13) and *Playground Song* (1911).

[99] Holst, quoted by Imogen Holst in *The Music of Gustav Holst and Holst's Music Reconsidered*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 136.

[100] Holst, *The Music*, 136.

[101] Ibid.

tune had been hung onto 'a peg of words.' For the rest of his life his tunes were 'at one with the words.'"[102]

In contrast to Holst, Philip Heseltine, who composed under the *nom de plume* Peter Warlock, was a miniaturist composer writing mostly vocal works and a key player in the publication of Elizabethan music.[103] During the war, Heseltine started musicological work at the British Museum, studying Elizabethan manuscripts. In his lifetime, he was considered a leading authority on Tudor music, and he earned his place in history as a pioneer in Elizabethan music studies.[104] In this work, Heseltine transcribed original scores and worked with Philip Watson to publish six volumes of *English Ayres, Elizabeth and Jacobean.* This was a task to which he returned throughout his life, especially when moods prevented him from composing.[105] As a result of his research, music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a noticeable effect on his music after 1918.

Heseltine was inspired by many of the same aspects of Elizabethan music as his contemporaries, including melodic sequence, form, cadential structure, and the use of mode. More importantly, he learned to "free his music from the tyranny of the bar-line…contributing to the rhythmic vigour and sprightliness which was to characterise his mature songs."[106] According to Trevor Hold, the Tudor influence is most evident in

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[102] With the exception of some "rare" examples, as outlined in Holst, *The Music,* 137.

[103] A number of studies have been completed on Peter Warlock. For a definitive biography, see Barry Smith, *Peter Warlock: The Life of Philip Heseltine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). For a comprehensive study of his works, see I. A. Copley, *The Music of Peter Warlock: A Critical Study* (London: Dobson, 1979). A list of books about Warlock and compilations of some of his occasional writings can be found on the Peter Warlock Society Website at http://peterwarlock.org/PWBOOKS.htm, accessed February 19, 2019.

[104] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 156.

[105] It has been speculated that Heseltine suffered from Bipolar Disorder, given his drastic mood swings from euphoric to suicidal. See Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 156.

[106] Trend, *Music Makers,* 333.

Heseltine's song *Sleep* (1922), which Hold states "could be the transcription of a Jacobean consort-song,"[107] as the melodic line is reminiscent of John Dowland (1563-1626).[108] Another example of Elizabethan influence on Heseltine's music is found in his collection of five songs entitled *Lilygay* (1922). In this collection, he employs a variation form common to Elizabethan music wherein the theme "remains unchanged throughout while every possible device of harmonic decoration and enrichment is expended on it."[109] In *Lilygay*, the vocal line sings the same modal melody while the piano accompaniment changes in each verse.

Of all the composers inspired by Tudor music, Howells is perhaps the most overtly indebted to it.[110] Throughout his life, Howells emphasized the importance of Tudor music in the development of his compositional technique, stating that "all through my life I have had this strange feeling that I somehow belong to the Tudor period" and that he was "a Tudor composer working in the 20th century."[111] Indeed, many aspects of Howells's compositional language can be traced to the Tudor tradition, including its modal-pentatonic structure, polyphonic writing, phraseology, figuration, texture, and a sonority conceived for highly resonant cathedrals.[112] Howells's approach to his Tudor influences was unique amongst English composers of the Lost Generation, as he blended

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[107] Hold, *Parry to Finzi*, 348.

[108] Gerald Cockshott, "Notes on the Songs of Peter Warlock," *Music & Letters* 21, no. 3 (July 1940): 250, accessed February 19, 2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/728361.

[109] Ibid.

[110] For resources on Howells, see Christopher Palmer, *Herbert Howells: A Study* (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1978) and Paul Spicer, *Herbert Howells* (Bridgend: Seren, 1999).

[111] Howells to Christopher Palmer, quoted in Bernard Benoliel, "Herbert Howells (1892-1983)," *Tempo*, New Series, No. 145 (June 1983): 11, accessed February 17, 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/945033.

[112] Christopher Palmer, "Herbert Howells at 80: A Retrospect," *The Musical Times* 113, no. 1556 (October 1972):968, accessed May 21, 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/955239.

it with aspects of Continental Modernism and American jazz.[113] An example of Howells's fusion of Tudor writing with dissonant harmonies is in his work *Master Tallis' Testament* (1940) for organ. The fusion of Tudor compositional practises with his eclectic modern influences are the backbone of Howells's style, justifying his feelings of being a Tudor composer composing in the twentieth century.

A Sense of Place

Perhaps more than any other influence, the composers of the Lost Generation are tied together by their expression of the landscapes around them and their unique sense of place, though each integrated it into their music in unique ways.[114] Ties with landscapes and places are often associated with the musical trope of the pastoral.[115] This musical idiom seemed well suited to the central goal of English music at this time, as it "retained the principles of pitch centricity while crafting new and unfamiliar dialects in which it could speak, thus providing harmonic and melodic novelty without alienating less adventurous listeners," and indeed, nearly all of these composers dabbled in musical pastoralism at some point.[116] However, to label the entire generation as Pastoralists would

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[113] Robert W. Lehman, "The Choral Idiom of Herbert Howells," *The Choral Journal* 33, no. 3 (October 1992): 12, accessed February 19, 2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23548819.

[114] For a comprehensive study on the influence of landscape on English composers, see Em Marshall, *Music in the Landscape.*

[115] It is necessary here to define the parameters of Pastoralism for this paper, which treats the term Pastoral as a stylistic indicator that has been applied to Western music as a whole. For a list of characteristics that are often indicative of the Pastoral as a stylistic indicator, see Robert Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 97-99 and Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 229-250. Recent scholarship by authors such as Kate Kennedy and Eric Saylor have attempted to shift the discourse of pastoralism from a stylistic indicator to an indicator of influence that is not dependant on a compositional idiom. See Saylor, *English Pastoral Music.*

[116] Saylor, *English Pastoral Music,* 5.

be disingenuous, as many composers quickly abandoned the musical trope and expressed their sense of place through their own musical language outside of the pastoral idiom.[117]

Of all the composers of the Lost Generation, Vaughan Williams is perhaps the most closely associated with the musical trope of the pastoral. Vaughan Williams had a deep love for the rural landscapes of England and spent much of his time walking throughout the countryside; he also associated folk music with England's natural landscapes. Much of his music contains qualities strongly associated with the musical pastoral, including the use of modes and pentatonic scales; the avoidance of chromaticism and predominance of diatonic and consonant harmony; the use of thematic fragmentation and repetition over traditional thematic development; the use of rhapsodic passages, free phrase structures, relatively slow tempos, quiet dynamics, and light transparent textures; and the dominant use of the strings and woodwinds, especially double reeds.[118] The most obvious example of Vaughan Williams's use of the pastoral idiom is in his work *The Lark Ascending*, which "for many…represents *the* quintessential example of pastoral music."[119] Ideologically, the work seems to be yearning for the quiet, rural England that was long gone, a theme that was especially poignant at its premiere in 1921. Musically, the work is laden with pastoral imagery, such as the violin that represents the flight of the lark, and the series of solos in other instruments that resemble folk song motifs. Further, the piece incorporates "lilting compound meters," evoking the

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[117] Saylor reinforces this point by saying that the musical language of the period "ran the gamut from straightforward harmonisations of folk songs to complex post-Wagnerian chromaticism. In short, there was no particular ideology, aesthetic, or musical idiom unifying the works of this period. Rather, they reflected individual composers' idiosyncratic styles and creative outlooks." See Saylor, *English Pastoral Music,* 5.

[118] These examples are taken from Saylor's list of qualities associated with the stylistic English pastoral. For the full list, see Saylor, *English Pastoral Music,* 19-20.

[119] Ibid., 114.

sound of folk dance.[120] Vaughan Williams uses modal melodies throughout the piece, but masks which mode he is using. The violin solos are highly rhapsodic and are often unbarred, creating a freedom of line. The overall effect is that of tranquility and calm, regardless of the technical prowess required of the instrumentalist.[121]

In contrast to Vaughan Williams's use of characteristic pastoral techniques, Holst evoked England's landscapes in a voice that was completely his own. Though some of his works are highly pastoral in nature, such as the *Somerset Rhapsody* (1907), his later landscape-inspired work, *Egdon Heath* (1927), evokes the English countryside using different musical idioms. The piece depicts Hardy's fictional "Egdon Heath," which was inspired by a desolate area near Dorchester known as Wareham Heath—a geography Holst himself knew.[122] Holst opens the piece with a disjunct, chromatic, descending melody in the basses, creating a dark and sparse sound to evoke the desolate nature of Egdon Heath. These melodies are evident throughout the piece, a far-cry from the diatonic and consonant melodies that are indicative of the pastoral. Further, Holst uses increasing tempos with fast moving notes and a wide range of dynamics, creating an agitated, dramatic character rather than a calm and serene one. He incorporates polyphonic textures in several places, contrasting the sections of homophonic writing. Further, rather than focussing on triadic harmonies and consecutive thirds, Holst utilizes parallel fourths, obscuring the piece's harmonic scheme.[123] The overall effect of Holst's

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[120] Ibid., 115.

[121] A further example of Vaughan Williams's pastoral writing can be heard in his *Pastoral Symphony* (1922). This piece, however, is not inspired by the English countryside, but rather the French countryside in wartime.

[122] Egdon Heath is from Hardy's novel *The Return of the Native* (1878).

[123] Saylor, *English Pastoral Music,* 143.

compositional decisions is that of sublimity and austere grandeur that perfectly evokes Egdon Heath without utilizing the traditional pastoral idiom. [124]

For Arnold Bax (1883-1953), the rugged landscapes of Ireland shaped his music and contributed to his mature style.[125] According to the composer, Ireland was "the magic mountain whence I was to dig all that may be of value in my own art."[126] The landscapes of Ireland gave Bax direction in his music, freeing him from the influence of Wagner and Strauss and providing a foundation for his own distinctive style. Bax worked hard to learn the language, culture, folk lore, and traditions of the Irish people, and these influences found their way into his music, though in a much less purposeful way than what was characteristic amongst the folk music enthusiasts. Regardless, the modal inflections of Irish folk music, such as the flattened seventh and the intervals of the pentatonic scale, found their way into his music, such as in his first String Quartet (1902), his third Violin Sonata (1927), and the *Fantasy Sonata* (1927). The influence of the Irish landscape is perhaps best heard in his numerous tone poems, of which the most famous is *November Woods* (1917). In this piece, Bax evokes the dark and stormy nature of the woods in late autumn, which he connected with a particularly tumultuous experience he was going through at the time. The strongest evocation is that of a strong wind, depicted with harp glissandi and runs in the upper woodwinds.

Another key aspect of Bax's sense of place was his love for the sea, which manifests itself in his symphonies. This is most evident in his Fourth Symphony (1931),

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Lewis Foreman, *Bax: A Composer and his Times*, 3rd ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 39. Several books have been written on Bax. For his autobiography, see Arnold Bax, *Farewell, My Youth* (London: Longmans, 1943).

[126] Bax, *Farewell My Youth*, 47.

which he described as "a reflection of the sea at flood-tide on a breezy and sunny day."[127] He opens the symphony with a joyous melody that is later joined by the trumpet, evoking the blustery feeling of the sea. His symphonic poems *The Garden of Fand* (1913) and *Tintagel* (1917) are also notable for their depiction of the ocean, though theirs is within a programmatic setting. In both, the sea is a formidable force, drowning sailors in *Fand* and growing ever tumultuous in *Tintagel.*

Another composer who wrote music tied to his sense of place was John Ireland (1879-1962).[128] He was a frequent visitor to Kent, Sussex, and the Channel Islands. The Islands were an especially fertile source of inspiration for Ireland, and several pieces, including *Phantasie Trio* (1906), *The Island Spell* (from his set of three piano pieces called *Decorations,* 1912-13), *The Forgotten Rite* (1913), and *Sarnia: An Island Sequence* (1940) were all products of his visits there. In depicting the landscapes of England, Ireland created his own style, which has largely been referred to as "English Impressionism." Like the Impressionists on the Continent, he was largely a miniaturist, and his music reflected the harmonic language of his early contemporaries in Russia and France. His language is made English by the intense emotion imbued into the music and the sense of nostalgia for the quiet, uninhabited places of England. Ireland's brand of "English Impressionism" can be especially heard in *Island Spell,* wherein a sparse melody is played over arpeggiated chords that span several registers. The effect of the music is the evocation of a calm, sparkling sea, gently lapping the shores of the island.

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[127] Quoted in Marshall, *Music in the Landscape,* 171.

[128] For resources on Ireland, see Muriel V. Searle, *John Ireland, the Man and His Music* (Turnbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1979) and Lewis Forman, ed. *The John Ireland Companion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011).

In studying the music of the early twentieth century in England, many other individual composers' sense of place and their connections with the landscape shine through in their music. Boughton took inspiration from the woods in his opera *The Immortal Hour*, pouring into the opera what he had seen, heard, and felt on his walks through his woodland surroundings.[129] Howells evoked his home of Gloucestershire in many of his works, including his String Quartet No. 3 (initially called *In Gloucestershire*), the *Missa Sabrinensis* (1954), and in his Piano Quartet in A Minor, op. 21 (1916), which was dedicated "To the hill at Chosen and Ivor Gurney who knows it."[130] Howells's sense of place often connected him with the people who lived there, and he often hiked up Chosen Hill with Gurney in his youth.[131] Like Bax, Moeran found inspiration in the landscape of Ireland, his father's home country, and depicted it in his *Three Pieces for Piano,* which were individually titled *The Lake Island, Autumn Woods* and *At the Horse Fair.* In the music of nearly every composer of this generation, one can find evocations of England's "green and pleasant land."

The Influence of English Legend, Literature and Liturgy

For the composers of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance, English legend, literature, and liturgy were significant sources of inspiration that were undoubtedly national. Though this pool of inspiration was typically used in writing vocal works, several composers wrote instrumental pieces inspired by stories and poetry. Em Marshall argues that the inspiration of English word and story is part of what makes English music sound "English," stating that "English syntax and grammar are major

[129] Marshall, *Music in the Landscape,* 121.

[130] Saylor, *English Pastoral Music,* 103.

[131] At the time of Howell's writing of his String Quartet no. 3, Gurney was serving in France.

factors in the recognizably English sound of our music."[132] Further, in 1925, E.J. Dent, professor of Music at Cambridge, stated that "the technique of song-writing is for the modern English composer one of the most important foundations of his whole art – perhaps the most important of all," believing that it was English poetry that created a national musical idiom.[133] Wilfrid Mellers stated that "the deepest root of the [English] musical language is the verbal one."[134] In the section that follows, I outline how the use of English texts served both as a source of thematic inspiration and as "the very roots of a musical idiom" by examining the use of English legend, literature, and liturgy by the Lost Generation.[135]

English legend offered composers the opportunity to connect with "merrie olde England," life before the Industrial Revolution, and English identity. While Celtic legends and fairy tales and Robin Hood were popular amongst composers, none matched the popularity of Arthurian legend, which was a significant influence on Boughton and Bax. Over the course of thirty-five years, Boughton wrote a complete series of operas, or choral-dramas, based Arthurian Legend: *The Birth of Arthur* (1909), *The Round Table* (1915-1916), *The Lily Maid* (1933-1934), *Galahad* (1943-44), and *Avalon* (1944-45). Outside of his Arthurian series, Boughton wrote, *The Queen of Cornwall* (1923-24), a setting of Thomas Hardy's play about Tristram and Iseult. Boughton's remaining two operas were based on Celtic legend. The first, *The Immortal Hour* (1912-13), Boughton's most famous work, is based on the play of the same name by Fiona MacLeod, which

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[132] Marshall, *Music in the Landscape,* 17.

[133] Edward J. Dent, "On the Composition of English Songs," *Music & Letters* 6, no. 3 (July 1925): 224, accessed February 20, 2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/726685.

[134] Quoted in Trend, *Music Makers,* 7.

[135] Trend, *Music Makers,* 7.

depicts the story of a fairyland princess who falls in love with King Eochaidh.[136] His remaining opera, *The Ever Young* (1928-1929), was also Celtic in origin, telling the story of Aengus, the Celtic god of love, who falls in love with a mortal girl named Caer. Of all of Boughton's operas, only two were not based on British legend: *Alkestis* (1920-22) and *Bethlehem* (1915).

Arthurian legend played an important role in one of Bax's most famous pieces, *Tintagel* (1917). The piece is a symphonic poem that evokes Tintagel Castle and the myths and legends that accompany it, namely those of King Arthur, King Mark and Tristram and Iseult. One of the ways he evokes these legends is by quoting a theme from Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*, an opera based on the same Arthurian Legend. Another example of Bax's use of legend is in his tone poem *The Garden of Fand* (1916), which is inspired by Fand, the daughter of the Irish lord of the ocean.

English literature was a source of inspiration for many composers attempting to create an English operatic idiom. Many of the composers turned to Shakespeare, who has long been considered England's greatest writer and the world's best playwright. Several composers wrote dramas based on Shakespeare's plays, including Holst's *At the Boar's Head* (1925), based on *Henry IV, Part 1* and *Henry IV, Part 2*; Boughton's *Agincourt* (1918), based on *Henry V*; and Vaughan Williams's *Sir John in Love* (1929), based on *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Shakespeare was not the only literary inspiration for composers of the Lost Generation. For example, Bax turned to Herbert Farjeon's (1887-1945) story *The Happy*

[136] Fiona MacLeod was the pen name of William Sharp (1855-1905).

Forest in writing his symphonic poem by the same name (1922).[137] Vaughan Williams, too, looked to a number of British literary figures in writing his compositions. *Riders of the Sea* (1927) was based on the play by J.M. Synge (1871-1909), and *On Christmas Night* (1926) was loosely based on Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol.*[138] Perhaps one of the most influential English writers for Vaughan Williams was John Bunyan. *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) was a beloved novel in English society, and Vaughan Williams held a lifelong belief that it would make an excellent opera. Over the course of forty-five years, Vaughan Williams composed four large-scale works and several minor works based on the novel before finally finishing his opera *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1951.

English composers also turned to several British poets for both their song settings and as inspiration for their instrumental works, but none were more popular than A. E. Housman, who was "almost an obligation" for the composers of the era.[139] His popularity amongst British composers was like that of Heinrich Heine to German song composers.[140] By the 1940s, over fifty of Housman's works had been used in more than one hundred song settings.[141] According to Tim Rayborn, Housman's poetry evoked a "mythic, idealized, rural England," appealing to composers who both loved the English countryside and longed for the simplicity of the rural way of life.[142] Thematically, Housman's poetry was about a "deep awareness of the passing of time, the fleeting nature

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[137] Farjeon was a major figure in English theatre from 1910-1945.

[138] Synge was an Irish playwright, travel writer, prose writer, and collector of folklore.

[139] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 139.

[140] John Quinlan, "A. E. Housman and British Composers," *The Musical Times* 100, no. 1393 (March1959): 137, accessed February 20, 2018, https://www.jstor.org/stable/937395.

[141] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 222.

[142] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 221.

of youth, of death, and the extinguishing of young lives in tragic circumstances, especially war."[143] All of these themes were especially poignant to English composers, and became more so in the aftermath of World War I. Beyond his thematic material, Housman's poetic structures appealed to English composers due to "the brevity of line, their essential Englishness…their rhythm,"[144] and the "short structure that makes them ideal for adaptation for voice and piano (among other possibilities)."[145] Several composers wrote settings and pieces inspired by Housman's poetry, including Vaughan Williams's *On Wenlock Edge* (1909); Butterworth's *Six Songs from "A Shropshire Lad"* (1911), *Bredon Hill and Other Songs* (1912), and his instrumental rhapsody *A Shropshire Lad* (1911); Moeran's *Four Songs from "A Shropshire Lad"* (1916) and *Ludlow Town* (1920); Ireland's *We'll to the Woods No More* (1928), Bax in his *Three Songs* (1920); and Gurney's *Ludlow and Teme* (1923) and *The Western Playland* (1926).

Lastly, the Lost Generation found the writings of the Anglican Church to be a rich source of inspiration, as it was a tradition that was fundamentally English. As a result of its cultural significance, many composers incorporated aspects of the Anglican liturgy, the Book of Common Prayer, the King James Bible, and Anglican church music into their compositions. For example, Vaughan Williams wrote a ballet based on the story of *Job* (1930), as well as several motets of Psalms, two Masses (1899 and 1922), *Sancta Civitas* (the Holy City) (1923-25), an oratorio with text mainly from the Book of Revelation (1923-25), two settings of the *Te Deum* (1928 and 1937), and a setting of the *Magnificat*

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[143] Ibid., 222.

[144] Quinlan, 137.

[145] Rayborn, *A New English Music*, 222.

(1932).[146] He also incorporated Biblical texts into other pieces, such as his anti-war cantata *Dona nobis pacem* (1936), which incorporated texts from the Mass, the Bible, political speeches, and poetry by Walt Whitman.[147] Holst, too, incorporated Biblical texts into some of his songs and choral pieces, most notably, his large-scale work *The Hymn of Jesus*, with text chosen from the Apocryphal Acts of St. John. As a further example, Bax also wrote settings of various Anglican liturgical texts, such as *Mater, ora Filium* (1921), *Gloria* (1945), *Nunc Dimittis* (1945), *Te Deum* (1945), and the *Magnificat* (1948).

While many of the composers of this generation wrote music based on religious texts, Howells and Ireland were especially prolific and are often remembered for their contributions to the Anglican Church repertoire. Howells "established himself as the foremost British composer of church music of his day, greatly enriching the repertoire of cathedrals, collegiate chapels, and parish churches."[148] After the death of his son in 1935, Howells devoted himself almost exclusively to church and organ music and, as a result, remains a popular composer for Anglican church choirs. Like Howells, Ireland is often included in Anglican services, having written several settings of the Evening Service, two settings of both the *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* and the Communion Service, a setting of the *Benedictus* and *Te Deum*, as well as an anthem, motet, and the famous hymn tune *Love Unknown*.

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[146] This is far from a comprehensive list of Vaughan Williams's use of Anglican and religious text in his music but serves as an example of how important these texts were to his output.

[147] For a discussion on the use of Walt Whitman in English war music, see Jack Sullivan, "New World Songs: The Legacy," American Composers Orchestra, 1999, accessed October 14, 2018, http://www.americancomposers.org/whitman1.htm.

[148] David Wilcocks, quoted in Lehmon, "The Choral Idiom of Herbert Howells," 11.

Sense of Community

Many of the stylistic influences that helped shape the Lost Generation's creation of the English sound were used to establish a musical sense of community: folk music was a community-based idiom; the Tudor composers encouraged amateur music making; the evocation of landscape was familiar to the communities that lived in those areas; and composers used literature that was popular in English culture. Creating a musical community within English cultural life was as important to the creation of the national sound as the influences examined above. Many composers of the Lost Generation were teachers, conductors, and church organists and wrote not only art music but utilitarian music. For instance, Holst's *St. Paul's Suite* (1913) was one of many pieces written for his students at St. Paul's Girls' School, whereas composers such as Ireland and Howells wrote church music to be used in services.

Perhaps the most notable compilation of practical music specifically designed for the English musical community was *The English Hymnal* (1906), edited by Vaughan Williams. The *Hymnal* offered Vaughan Williams the opportunity to expose the general public, who might never step foot into a concert hall or opera house, to quality English music. Further, it provided Vaughan Williams with a means to perpetuate England's musical culture, connecting the worshippers to England's past, as he argued "why should we not enter into our inheritance in the church as well as the concert room?"[149] To accomplish this, Vaughan Williams had his friends write hymn melodies, used well-known hymns from *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, set hymns to folk-tunes, and wrote new tunes himself. In some instances, he found tunes that were well suited to be hymns but

[149] Vaughan Williams and Holst, *Heirs and Rebels*, 38.

that did not have words, so he had his clerical friends write lyrics.[150] He also added hymns written by Tudor era composers, such as Thomas Tallis and Orlando Gibbons and Gregorian chant tunes, ultimately creating a hymnal that was intrinsically tied to English culture.

At the very centre the Lost Generation's goal in creating an English sound was the desire to write music in an idiom that the general musical public could understand, to foster an intimate relationship between the composer and his audience. Composers of the era were consistently writing for the community at large and they tended to blend elements of practical music with art music. As a result, they did not develop the esoteric style that was characteristic of many composers on the Continent. For example, Moeran's vocal version of *Lonely Waters* (1931), based on a Norfolk song that was often sung in certain inns and pubs, indicates that it does not need to be sung by a classically trained singer, but simply a singer with a "good, clear voice."[151]

The sense of community fostered by these composers extended to their interactions with each other. Many of these composers had deep, personal connections with their peers. This led to the composers showing influences of other composers in their music, sometimes even unconsciously "cribbing" each other's musical ideas.[152] This is most evident in the friendship between Heseltine and Moeran and that of Vaughan Williams and Holst. Though Heseltine was not particularly interested in English folk music, especially not to the extent of his contemporaries, folk influences appear in some of his music, likely due to the importance of folk music for Moeran. Conversely, Moeran

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[150] Simon Heffer, *Vaughan Williams* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 28.

[151] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 141.

[152] Vaughan Williams often described the unconscious borrowing of other people's ideas into his music as cribbing.

had no particular interest in the music of the Tudor era, and yet elements of its influence can be found in his music as well.

There was, perhaps, no more famous productive friendship than that between Holst and Vaughan Williams. The two would spend days listening to and critiquing each other's in-progress compositions, something they called their "field days." They would also push each other to compose when both were feeling a sense of writer's block. They wrote to each other consistently and shared ideas on what they thought English music was. In fact, Vaughan Williams stated that, among all of the influences listed above, his greatest influence was actually Holst's music.[153] Holst's influence can be seen in the *Pastoral Symphony* (1922), the Fourth Symphony (1935), and the Sixth Symphony (1948), which is reminiscent of *Neptune*.[154] The Fourth Symphony was written one year after Holst's death and utilizes several of Holst's characteristic compositional techniques, including his use of tritone relationships, parallel fourths, and extensive dissonance. These were not isolated incidents, as emphasized by English historian Simon Heffer, who wrote that after Holst's death, his "radicalism was taken up by his friend and admirer, and placed into the mainstream of the English choral tradition."[155]

Ultimately, the close relationship between the composers of this generation was just as much an influence as the others listed above, as exemplified in the music of Arthur Bliss (1891-1975).[156] Musically, Bliss fits in with the rest of his generation; though his

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[153] Rayborn, *A New English Music,* 75.

[154] Short, *Gustav Holst,* 336.

[155] Heffer, *Vaughan Williams,* 88.

[156] For resources on Bliss, see Christopher Palmer, *Bliss* (London: Novello, 1976) and Bliss's autobiography *As I Remember* (London: Faber & Faber, 1970).

early music was quite experimental, the vast majority of his music sounds just as English as that of his contemporaries. However, when examining his musical influences, Bliss does not quite fit in with his peers. He was not particularly interested in music from the past and did not write music that evoked the many landscapes around him, nor was he especially interested in English literature. Ultimately, Bliss's music is stylistically English because he was so eager to learn from the new musical traditions of the era. Bliss was proud of the music coming out of England and was a strong supporter of his fellow composers. He found influence in their musical styles, stating that, though they were not part of an organized school like *Les Six* in Paris, they were all working towards a "new state of simplicity and were attempting a far more direct mode of expression."[157] He cited Vaughan Williams as a strong influence and took his own music to Holst for advice. As a result of his interactions with his fellow composers and his championing of English music, Bliss gained a deep understanding of what made English music sound national and forged for himself a style that was at once completely his own but also quintessentially English.

[157] Trend, *Music Makers*, 159.

Conclusion

Scholarship on the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance has long focussed on the generation's break with Teutonic influences to create a national idiom; however, it has largely failed to find a satisfactory definition of this national idiom. Often, these composers are discussed in isolation from the artistic developments and social issues of both England and the Continent when, in fact, they were part of them. The second generation of the English Musical Renaissance can be better understood when examined within the historical contexts of Europe in the early twentieth century and as part of England's Lost Generation. Though the Lost Generation is often associated with the post-war period, it was rather a phenomenon that existed prior to the war, as the composers rebelled against the musical idiom of their predecessors. This generation inherited an English musical culture that had been aesthetically lost for nearly two hundred years and rebelled against it, defining the foundation for the music of this period.

In attempting to define what the foundation of the music of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance is, many writers turn to singular or vague definitions. In reality, the music of this generation is best defined as being stylistically diverse but stemming from common goals and influences. The search for a national musical idiom was not based on chauvinistic or political goals but was rather cultural and aimed to create a musical community wherein English music was loved. To do this, the composers of the second generation of the English Musical Renaissance looked to influences that were culturally important to the English people, including music of England's past, their sense of place, and English texts and incorporated them into their music in stylistically unique ways. Ultimately, the composers of the second generation of the English Musical

Renaissance defined England's music, creating a national idiom that was both individual and tied to common cultural influences to create a musical community within England.

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