

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: REBECCA CLARKE, THE VIOLIST: HER CAREER AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE ON AN EMERGING SOLO INSTRUMENT IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Caroline Maxwell Castleton, Doctor of Musical Arts, 2023

Dissertation directed by: Professor Katherine Murdock, School of Music

Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979) was a violist and composer of the early twentieth century whose career spanned thirty-five years. The scholarship on Clarke tends to focus on her career in composition while neglecting her immense contributions in the field of viola performance. My written dissertation traces her performance career, including her education, influences, international travel, chamber ensembles, performance reviews, collaborators, and radio broadcasts as found in contemporaneous primary sources. The second chapter draws specific conclusions about Clarke’s playing style and performance practice based on marginalia found in works she studied and performed. A new discovery resulting from this research is a cadenza for the Casadesus Viola Concerto, written by Clarke and pasted into her sheet music. In support of this project I performed a solo recital at the University of Maryland on February 11, 2023. I selected six works representative of Clarke’s professional accomplishments and her particular style of playing: *Sussex Mummer’s Christmas Carol* by Percy Grainger; Variations on “Bonny Sweet Robin” by Ethel Smyth; *Komm’, Süßer Tod* by Johann Sebastian Bach; *Zwei Gesänge*, op. 91 by Johannes Brahms; *Dumka* by Clarke herself; and *Viola Concerto in B Minor* by Henri

Casadesus, including Clarke's cadenza. My performances of these works may be found as supplemental files to the dissertation document.

REBECCA CLARKE, THE VIOLIST: HER CAREER AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE
ON AN EMERGING SOLO INSTRUMENT IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

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Preface

When my advisor, Katherine Murdock, floated the idea of researching Rebecca Clarke for my dissertation I was excited, but dubious. Clarke was a major factor in my switch from violin to viola at age eighteen. In 2003, when I was accepted to the undergraduate violin performance program at Brigham Young University, the viola professor, Dr. Claudine Bigelow, asked me to consider joining the viola studio instead and invited me to BYU's annual Primrose Memorial Recital. That year's guest artist was Helen Callus, one of the most highly regarded violists in the world, who played Clarke's *Morpheus* in her recital program. I was stunned by Callus's playing and became instantly smitten with Rebecca Clarke. After that experience, I whole-heartedly embraced the viola as my own medium of artistic expression.

Despite my enthusiasm for her music, I was doubtful about researching Clarke. I was sure that she was the dream dissertation subject of many doctoral viola students, and the increasing attention in the past few decades towards women and minority composers convinced me that somebody had probably already written anything worth saying about her. However, as I began preliminary research I found myself asking questions, specifically about another branch of her career: viola performance. Having been raised by librarians who were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I was well schooled in the sacredness of genealogy and primary sources as vital wellsprings of information about our forebears. I began combing through contemporaneous newspaper and magazine articles mentioning Clarke. As the world shut down in 2020 due to the COVID-19 virus I became increasingly grateful for both modern technology and the librarians and archivists around the world who have devoted huge portions of their

careers to scanning and uploading billions of pages from historical journals, magazines, and newspapers, allowing me to easily pursue this line of research from home.

I was quickly astonished at the scope of Clarke's career in viola performance as my spreadsheets and notes steadily grew. It seemed strange to me that very little of this information could be found in detail in secondary sources. For example, the only place I found any mention of her involvement in the radio broadcast industry was one sentence in the Grove Music Online article on Clarke: "[She] also performed as a soloist and ensemble musician in BBC broadcasts."¹ This line of inquiry has opened further possibilities for viola research in general, and I anticipate myself and others continuing to use newspapers, magazines, diaries, music manuscripts, and other archival materials to explore the viola's trajectory towards greater recognition as a solo instrument in the early twentieth century.

I also want to highlight this project's influence in shaping my viola playing. Under Katherine Murdock's guidance, Clarke's fingerings and bowings took me out of my comfort zone into new colors and timbres. This encouraged creativity and risk-taking in place of attempts at perfection or conformity to my imagined expectations of faceless audition committees—and somehow, pursuing the old-fashioned sound of early twentieth-century masters improved my level of playing in *all* areas, organically weaving accuracy with artistry into a more cohesive whole. Rebecca Clarke, ninety-nine years my senior, has quite literally guided me to my artistic voice. I cannot overstate the importance of studying our forebears as we seek to enhance our musical expression, and I certainly hope to pass these values on to future generations of violists throughout my career, wherever it takes me.

¹ Liane Curtis, "Clarke [Friskin], Rebecca," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.44728>.

To my husband Seth, and my parents Robert and Mary Ann Maxwell. Thank you all for paving
the way, and for your support and love.

Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible without guidance and help from mentors, professional performing artists, colleagues, and friends. I would like to thank consummate violist Katherine Murdock, my advisor, for nudging me towards my subject matter, and for her constant support, encouragement, and help in both the spheres of viola playing and viola research.

Special thanks go to renowned violists Toby Appel, Paul Coletti, Daniel Foster, and Aloysia Friedmann, who each met with me virtually to talk about Rebecca Clarke and the markings she made in her music. Thanks also go to pianist Diane Walsh, who shared with me her memories of Rebecca Clarke when she boarded with her in the 1960s. I am grateful to several people who took time to answer research questions in fields less familiar to me: Pádraig Mac Aodhgáin and Lexie Boatwright for their expertise in Irish music, Dr. Robert Adelson of the Conservatoire de Nice for his helpful information about the Aeolian Players, and recording engineer Alan Wonneberger for his knowledge about early microphones.

Thank you, Dr. Rebecca Perry, for your enduring friendship and for your helpful analysis of Clarke's cadenza in the Casadesus viola concerto. I also owe thanks to the librarians at the Primrose International Viola Archive at Brigham Young University as well as those at the Jerwood Library of the Performing Arts at Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music.

Finally, Christopher Johnson, Rebecca Clarke's great-nephew by marriage, deserves unending thanks and praise for his willingness to aid me in my research. Many of my primary sources, including Rebecca Clarke's unpublished memoir, diary entries, and correspondence, come from the Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, a collection currently under Christopher Johnson's care. Johnson generously provided me with scans of all relevant materials

during the Coronavirus pandemic when in-person examination of these items would have been impossible. The collection has been donated to the Library of Congress and is currently under process as of this writing. Johnson's forthcoming biography, *Rebecca Clarke, Viola-Player and Composer: A Life*, promises to be a significant source of additional information after its publication.

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Introduction

The purpose of my dissertation project is to highlight the performance career of Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979) as a violist and to examine her contribution to elevating the viola to the status of solo instrument. The first chapter traces Clarke’s performance career, including her education, influences, international travel, chamber ensembles, collaborators, and radio broadcasts as found in Clarke’s diaries, unpublished memoir, and contemporaneous journal and newspaper articles. The second chapter draws specific conclusions about Clarke’s playing style and performance practice based on marginalia found in the works she studied and performed.

In support of this project I performed a solo recital at the University of Maryland on February 11, 2023, selecting six works that I felt best represented both her professional accomplishments and her particular style. The repertoire for the recital included the following works: *Sussex Mummer’s Christmas Carol* by Percy Grainger; Variations on “Bonny Sweet Robin” by Ethel Smyth; *Komm’, Süsßer Tod* by Johann Sebastian Bach; *Zwei Gesänge*, op. 91 by Johannes Brahms; *Dumka* by Clarke herself; and *Viola Concerto in B Minor* by Henri Casadesus, with a newly discovered cadenza written by Clarke. My goal in performing these works was to inhabit Clarke’s sound world by emulating her style within the early twentieth-century milieu. I used many of Clarke’s fingerings and bowings, though not all: no performance indications work universally for all artists, and Clarke’s six-foot frame and large hands allowed her some options that I simply cannot access in my own playing. Every viola has its idiosyncrasies as well, and it behooves every performer to find fingerings and bowings that bring out the strengths of a particular instrument. I do not claim the clairvoyance to precisely imitate Clarke’s playing. It is my hope that my recital brought together her style, history, the works themselves, and early twentieth century performance practice, all while highlighting this great

violinist's contributions as a performer to the art of viola playing, which are not yet well documented in current scholarship.

A revival of Rebecca Clarke's compositions in the late twentieth century sparked new interest in her from scholars and performers alike. Her success as a composer during the period between the two World Wars was anomalous in a world where women received little encouragement towards entering the field. Around 1945, nearing age 60, Clarke reflected on the scarcity of women composers:

Now, there's one rather curious thing about women composers: there are so few of them. There always have been few of them, compared for instance with women writers. And I've never quite been able to see why. Perhaps in the old days people used to think it wasn't quite nice for a girl to compose! Perhaps they argued that composition is next door to improvising and improvising is first cousin to serenading—and that should surely be left to the men. In any case I do know that when I was a student a female composer was about as much of a freak as the bearded lady of the circus.²

Authors of academic literature, CD liner notes, and program notes have repeatedly told the story of how Clarke's Viola Sonata and Piano Trio received first runner-up at the Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music's composition competitions 1919 and 1921, respectively.³ Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, sponsor of the Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music, commissioned another chamber work from Rebecca Clarke in 1923, the Rhapsody for Cello and Piano. All three of these works are frequently performed today. Coolidge's patronage placed Clarke squarely among the ranks of such composers as Igor Stravinsky, Ernest Bloch, Samuel Barber, and Béla Bartók,

² Rebecca Clarke, facsimile of lecture manuscript ca. 1945, in Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus* (New York: Oxford, 2002), Appendix 2.

³ Liane Curtis, "Clarke [Friskin], Rebecca," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.44728>.

who also benefited from Coolidge's commissioning of new works.⁴ Clarke composed over one hundred pieces, comprising works for instrumental chamber ensembles, voice and piano, and choral ensembles.

Most of the published literature on Rebecca Clarke focuses on her work as a composer. However, her main career focus and source of income was not in composition, but instead as a performing violist. The two branches of her career were inextricably connected and had historical precedent. Some of the most revered composers of Western European art music played the viola, including J. S. Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Dvořák. These luminaries appeared to find that playing a middle voice was useful to their craft. Clarke's composition teacher at the Royal College of Music, Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), shared this philosophy and prompted her switch from violin to viola, as she describes in her memoir:

'You must come into the orchestra,' Sir Charles had said soon after I entered College. He was the conductor. 'Change over to the viola,' he continued, 'because then you are right in the middle of the sound, and can tell how it's all done.'

And from that moment the viola became my instrument. I had felt an affinity for it ever since I was a child and first heard the two Brahms songs with viola obligato; so the switch from violin felt very natural. I have always been glad I made it.⁵

While Stanford's suggestion was clearly a practical one from a compositional standpoint, Clarke's remarks, as well as her dedication to the viola throughout her career, demonstrate an

⁴ Gustave Reese and Cyrilla Barr, "Coolidge, Elizabeth (Penn) Sprague," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06403>.

⁵ Rebecca Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, unpublished memoir, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, Music Division, Library of Congress, 158–159.

affinity for the instrument that reached far beyond a utilitarian support for her compositional aspirations.

By switching to the viola Clarke entered largely uncharted territory in comparison to other string instruments, in that technical approaches to playing the violin and cello were long established with method books, schools of technique, and increasingly demanding new repertoire. Until the early twentieth century, the viola received little attention from major composers, pedagogues, and performers due to its perceived limitations in projection as well as its reputation as an instrument for second-rate violinists. Early twentieth century violists Lionel Tertis (1876–1975), Paul Hindemith (1895–1963), and William Primrose (1904–1982) tend to receive the most credit for the emergence of the viola as a solo instrument and the expansion of the repertoire: Tertis directly influenced many composers associated with the “British Musical Renaissance” of the early twentieth century, a movement geared towards establishing an identifiable British compositional style; Primrose followed suit and commissioned numerous works for viola in order to expand his performance repertoire; Hindemith composed eleven works for viola solo, viola and piano, and viola solo with orchestra, many of which he promoted by performing them himself with major orchestras. Tertis and Primrose also advanced a technical approach to viola playing distinct from that of the violin, including more attention to the bow arm weight and alternate fingering solutions to accommodate the physical barriers of playing the larger instrument.

While viola enthusiasts appreciate Clarke’s compositional contribution to viola repertoire, her advocacy for the viola through international tours, recitals, and radio performance is often overlooked in comparison with her male contemporaries. In a time before commercial air travel and in a world complicated by World War I and its aftermath, international tours were no

small matter, and Clarke's pre-dated any such tours by Tertis or Primrose (outside of continental Europe).⁶ The organization and funding behind her tours must have been substantial, and they are a testament to her persistence in a male-dominated field. Clarke's technical prowess on the viola was indisputable. Her acceptance in 1913 to the previously all-male Queen's Hall Orchestra was based on an audition in which she sight-read the viola part to Strauss's *Don Juan*, a notoriously difficult excerpt which to this day appears on standard repertoire lists for orchestral auditions.⁷

Violist and author Michael Ponder describes Rebecca Clarke's substantial role in the early twentieth century British professional music community:

She was a good friend of W. W. Cobbett and Paul and Muriel Draper, well known for their famous chamber music evenings in Chelsea and at such occasions played viola with the biggest names of the day; Thibaud, Heifetz, Schnabel, Elman, Hubermann, Casals, Szigeti; George Szell, Pierre Monteux and Arthur Rubinstein. She knew just about all the English composers and many of the foreign ones as well. [Ernest John] Moeran dedicated a string trio to her and Walter Leigh wrote her a viola sonatina. Indeed, throughout her long life from 1886–1979 she was known and knew nearly every famous musician around.⁸

Clarke's abilities as a violist and her close association with composers and musicians surely influenced perceptions of the viola and its role. Her performances on international tours drew consistent praise and often resulted in critical reappraisal of the viola as a solo instrument. Finally, and perhaps least known, is her considerable participation in radio broadcast, exposing

⁶ Tertis's first performing tour in the Americas was not until 1923, when Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge invited him to play in the Berkshire Festival. See John White, *Lionel Tertis: The First Great Virtuoso of the viola* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2007), 68–69. Primrose was only age twelve when Clarke left on her first tour of the United States in 1916.

⁷ M. B. Stanfield, "Rebecca Clarke: Violist and Composer" *The Strad* 77 (December 1966), 297.

⁸ Michael Ponder, "Rebecca Clarke," *American Viola Society Newsletter*, 23 (November 1982), 6.

millions of listeners to solo viola playing. The following chapters will present new details about Clarke's performing career and explore her playing style, as well as extend due credit to her contributions, particularly those not yet widely known.

Chapter 1: Rebecca Clarke's Education and Performance Career

Education

We know relatively little of Clarke's early training, but her unpublished memoir, *I Had a Father Too*, reveals some details, including her youthful high regard for masterful performance. She describes her devoted concert attendance as a young woman despite her father's disapproval of a musical career for a woman:

But I was seized with music, and persisted. I went to concerts galore, constantly travelling up to London for them. In former days I had heard all the famous violinists—Sarasate, Kubelik, and my idol Ysaÿe. St James's Hall—now the site of the Piccadilly Hotel—was still standing, and there I had also listened to the Joachim Quartet. Now, on what must have been one of its last appearances in England, the quartet came to Queen's Hall, and with my heart in my mouth I heard the deaf and aging Joachim lose his place in the Brahms Clarinet Quintet, evidently because of some mix-up about whether to make the repeat in the first movement. He was out for several bars before he realized it, and it was pathetic to see his complete unconsciousness of the efforts the others were making to get together with him.⁹

Significantly, each of the violinists Clarke mentions here were also composers. She came of age at the turn of the century, a time when the popularity of the virtuoso-composer was still high. Many canonical composers of western European art music had also been great performers, and there was not yet a firm divide between these two musical roles. For example, in the early nineteenth century, Nicolo Paganini (1782–1840) began to use his compositions to expand the technical limitations of the violin far beyond what had previously been written for the instrument.¹⁰ Paganini brought new attention to virtuosity as an artistic element and influenced a

⁹ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 144–145.

¹⁰ Edward Neill, "Paganini, Nicolò," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed May 16, 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O009373>.

new generation of composer-violinists who recognized that the repertoire of earlier years did not sufficiently showcase their technical abilities. Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908), Jan Kubelik (1880–1940), Eugène Ysaÿe (1858–1931), and Joseph Joachim (1831–1907) were among the last violinists of this age. Given Clarke’s exposure to composer-performers, it’s reasonable to assume that her career ambitions would have included a similar desire to develop her skills as a whole musician, in both branches of the art form.

Clarke writes that she began violin lessons at the age of eight with “Mr. Cave,” a teacher local to Harrow, England, where she grew up. Her father, Joseph Clarke, had arranged the lessons for her brother, Hans, but had given her permission to go along:

Actually the lessons were really supposed to be for Hans. I was only a girl; but I was allowed to go with him and pick up anything I could. Mr Cave began by making us play with books under our right arm: the elbow must not be raised, the wrist must be curved and swanlike. In later life, when I took up playing seriously, I had endless trouble trying to counteract this. How we hated it all.¹¹

Placing a book under a student’s right arm was a common pedagogical tool for string teachers in the late nineteenth century; Pablo Casals also referenced the restrictive practice as a detriment to bow technique: “We were obliged to play with a stiff arm and keep a book under the armpit! What rhyme or reason is there in such an idea? I have always advocated complete freedom in the movement of the right arm, including the elbow. ... This free action makes the whole bow technique stronger and easier.”¹²

Clarke’s short description of her experience with Mr. Cave is also one of many examples from her memoir that show her father’s persistent attitude towards women, blatantly sexist by

¹¹ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 39.

¹² Pablo Casals in Josep Maria Corredor, *Conversations with Casals*, trans. André Mangeot (New York, Dutton: 1957), 25.

today's standards. In another adherence to contemporaneous gender roles, Clarke's father demanded that the family play hours of chamber music together at home, even compelling his busy and overworked wife to learn the viola in order to facilitate string quartet playing.¹³ As a result of these chamber music sessions, classical music and performance was a regular part of Clarke's home life.

Formal Training

In 1902, at the age of sixteen, Clarke enrolled at the Royal Academy of Music where she studied violin with Hans Wessely, an Austrian-born violinist who had made appearances throughout Europe before settling in London in the 1880s. In her memoir, Clarke refers to Wessely as a "stern and sometimes unkind teacher" and a "strict disciplinarian [who] demanded hours of work."¹⁴ Wessely had been teaching at the Royal Academy for over a decade when Clarke began studying with him. His treatise, *A Practical Guide to Violin Playing*, includes his stance on bow arm technique:

When explaining and showing to his pupil the forearm stroke, which must at first be taken very slowly from one end of the bow to the other, the teacher must make clear the separate functions of the arm and its use as a whole. The upper part from the shoulder to the elbow is simply moving in sympathy with the remainder of the arm, and this demonstrates that a good action of the forearm is the essential factor. Perfect freedom of the wrist from the forearm must be acquired, for it must be as independent of the forearm as is the forearm of the shoulder.¹⁵

¹³ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 68.

¹⁴ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 116.

¹⁵ Hans Wessely, *A Practical Guide to Violin Playing*, (London: Joseph Williams, 1913), 63–64.

Wessely's instructions focus on the action in the forearm and wrist, but the "sympathetic" movement he describes in the upper arm requires the freedom of movement described by Casals. This would have been a positive change for Clarke, but to her detriment, the bow did not seem to be Wessely's primary focus. Wessely's treatise devotes only twenty of its 115 pages to bowing technique, and according to Clarke, his teaching mirrored his emphasis on the left hand. In an interview with fellow violist Nancy Uscher, Clarke recounted, "He was *very* good for the left hand but he wasn't so good for bowing and I will tell you why I needed someone for bowing." She discusses the "book under the arm" teaching practice, and continues: "I mean, everybody can learn how to finger, but the *bow* is really... But anyway, it took me a long time to have a reasonably good bow-arm, and Wessely wasn't too good for that. He was also a very...rather unkind teacher—nobody liked him very much."¹⁶

Despite Clarke's difficulties with Wessely, his high expectations of her reflected a philosophy towards women violinists that must have presented a striking contrast from her father's attitude. In the introductory remarks in his treatise, Wessely gives examples of several famous women violinists to support his belief that "the violin loses none of its charms in ladies' hands ... As a rule lady violinists are very thorough and are as easily instructed as men, for they seem to fall in with the methods of their teachers in a very marked manner."¹⁷ Clarke was an example of Wessely's firsthand experience with successful "lady violinists"; she became one of six women to join the Queen's Hall orchestra in 1913, the same year Wessely's treatise was published. While it is impossible to know how much of Wessely's philosophy he explicitly

¹⁶ Rebecca Clarke, conversation between Clarke and violist Nancy Uscher, Clarke's apartment, April 11, 1978, transcr. Christopher Johnson, April 10, 2022.

¹⁷ Wessely, *Practical Guide*, 2.

shared with Clarke, his sternness with her may have been a sign that he expected no less from her than from any of his male students.

Towards the end of Clarke's second year at the Royal Academy, she received a marriage proposal from her harmony teacher, Percy Miles. This event led her father to abruptly remove her from the school. In the years that followed, Clarke visited relatives in the United States and experimented with writing art songs.¹⁸ Her father sent some of her songs to Charles Villiers Stanford, a well-known Irish composer who taught at the Royal College of Music. Stanford invited Clarke to enroll in the Royal College and study with him, which her father permitted her to do in 1908. The end result of this was not only an opportunity for intensive compositional training, but also Clarke's switch to viola.

Many sources mention that Clarke studied viola with Lionel Tertis, who probably greatly influenced the final correction of her bow arm. Tertis is often cited as the father of modern viola playing, and biographer John White calls him "a legend in his own lifetime" and "the first great virtuoso of the viola."¹⁹ Clarke makes no mention of Tertis in her diaries or memoir, but she confirms that she studied with him in her interview with Nancy Uscher.²⁰ The exact time period of their teacher-student relationship remains unclear. Tertis taught at the Royal Academy, so as a Royal College student Clarke would have had to take lessons with him privately. As a private student, she could have solicited lessons from him any time between 1908 and the early 1910s, coinciding with her first years at the Royal College. 1908–1909 would have been the most

¹⁸ Clarke, *I Had a Father, Too*, 141–152.

¹⁹ John White, *Lionel Tertis: The First Great Virtuoso of the Viola* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2007), xii.

²⁰ Clarke, conversation with Nancy Uscher, 1978.

opportune time, since in December 1909 Tertis resigned from the Royal Academy to focus more on performing after accepting the position of principal viola in the Beecham Symphony Orchestra led by Thomas Beecham.²¹

Tertis was still in the early stages of his career when Clarke would have studied with him, her senior by a mere ten years. His notoriety as a performer was already well established and his reputation as an exceptional teacher was blossoming. Tertis' hourly rate as teacher at the Royal Academy of Music was raised from five pounds to six in 1906, reflecting the value the Royal Academy placed on him as a teacher.²² He had, in fact, also studied violin under Hans Wessely when he attended the Royal Academy of Music in the mid-1890s;²³ he became a full professor at the Royal Academy and the violist in Wessely's faculty quartet in 1901, at the age of twenty-five.²⁴ Tertis, like Clarke, seems to have had a less than favorable opinion of Wessely as a teacher, though he admired his technical ability and his leadership in chamber music: "[Wessely] was dictatorial, inclined to be conceited, and as a teacher rather harsh. He taught well up to a point—only up to a point, however, for the most important tricks of the trade he jealously kept to himself."²⁵

²¹ Ronald Crichton and John Lucas, "Beecham, Sir Thomas," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02507>.

²² White, *Lionel Tertis*, 14.

²³ Maurice Riley, *The History of the Viola, Volume I* (Ann Arbor: Braum-Brumfield, 1980), 244.

²⁴ Riley, *History of the Viola*, 245.

²⁵ Lionel Tertis, *My Viola and I: A Complete Autobiography: With Beauty of Tone in String Playing and Other Essays* (Boston: Crescendo Pub, 1975), 15.

Clarke admired Tertis, and years after studying with him would praise him in an article she wrote on the viola for *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*: "In England [the viola's] present position has been greatly influenced by a very fine player, Lionel Tertis, whose mastery of this awkward and difficult instrument is without parallel, and whose enthusiasm has inspired many composers to write works ranging from viola solos to a sextet for six violas by Benjamin Dale."²⁶

Although Clarke unfortunately left us little regarding Tertis as a teacher, others wrote about their experiences with him. The composer Eric Coates studied with the famous violist from 1906 to 1909, a period that may have overlapped Clarke's studies. Coates was also principal violist of the Queen's Hall Orchestra in 1913 when Clarke was admitted to the viola section, so the two were well acquainted.²⁷ Coates describes Tertis as an encouraging but exacting teacher with the highest of expectations, who was certainly focused on the bow arm:

My master then seated himself at the piano and ... I stumbled through some Tartini. (I don't mind admitting that he played the piano a great deal better than I played the viola!). Not at all bad. An excellent bow arm but not a very good left hand. I should have to work hard at tone production first, though, and then technique later on. Could I put up with practising nothing but slow bowings for the next month or so? (sometimes 3 or 4 hours a day). I should have plenty of playing otherwise in the weekly orchestral practices. Of course I could. To please the master I would do anything.

...

At last the monotonous slow-bowings came to an end, and although it had been an exacting ordeal for me, I was glad I had stuck to it for all these weeks ... The difference in my tone was remarkable ... I sometimes wonder whether he had given me this test to see the kind of stuff I was made of. And then began the gruelling business of technique

²⁶ Rebecca Clarke, "Viola," *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, I, ed. W. W. Cobbett (London: Oxford University Press, 1929) 538.

²⁷ Jennifer R. Doctor, David C. H. Wright, and Nicholas Kenyon, eds., *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 50.

and, as facility had never been one of my strong points, I started on a period which taxed my strength and my patience to the utmost.²⁸

Tertis himself describes a similar process of slow bows in his treatise, *Beauty of Tone in String Playing*:

Practise to develop equality of tone with the bow. You must try to get as much tone from the point of the bow as you are able to do at the heel—i.e. Throughout the whole length of the bow. To achieve this, draw the bow across the string fortissimo as slowly as possible, without any suspicion of scrape or scratch, the tone being *equal throughout the whole length of the bow*. In the same manner, practise long, slow bows pianissimo. There must be no sign of dither, crescendo or diminuendo in either case. Subtleties of phrasing and expression such as crescendo, diminuendo, accented notes, etc., must also be practised. But for equal volume of tone, the long, concentrated slow bow is the method to pursue. It is most important to develop to a high state of perfection this equality of tone, so essential to smooth or legato playing.²⁹

Coates's experience and Tertis's clear emphasis on tone production suggest that Clarke probably underwent a similar long and arduous process when she studied with Tertis; it is likely that her studies with him resolved any lingering bow arm issues.

Early Performance Career

Sometime after 1911, but before Clarke had finished her studies at the Royal College, a dispute with her father led him to kick her out of the family home and cut her off financially.³⁰ Within a day, Clarke, with the help of a friend, was able to secure a room in London, and arrange a professional gig as a violist in the Royal College orchestra.³¹ "And so," she wrote, "in hardly

²⁸ Eric Coates, *Suite in Four Movements: An Autobiography* (London: Thames, 1986), 60, 73.

²⁹ Tertis, *My Viola and I*, 151.

³⁰ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 178–179.

³¹ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 178–179.

more than twenty-four hours, I had reached a watershed, and the whole course of my life had begun to run in a different direction. I was living in London, a professional musician, preparing to earn my own living. It was exhilarating and rather frightening. Actually, I was too dead tired to realise it all” (fig. 1).³²

Figure 1. Publicity photo, ca. 1911

This photo was taken close to the time Clarke left home, becoming an independent earner as a violist.

Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com, photo taken by H. Walter Barnett



There is little documentation of performances in which Clarke participated in the years preceding World War I. In January 1911, she performed in a concert played entirely by women, featuring music by the composer Ethel Smyth (1858–1944).³³ This is the earliest record showing Clarke collaborating with the violinist Marjorie Hayward (1885–1953) and the cellist May Mukle (1880–1963), both of whom would become important colleagues throughout Clarke’s

³² Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 181.

³³ Advertisement, “Women Writer’s Suffrage League at Home,” *Votes for Women*, January 20, 1911, 260.

entire performance career. The three were about the same age and Mukle and Hayward had known each other as students at the Royal Academy of music (in 1897, *The Musical Times* reported on a recital given by Royal Academy students in which they were both listed as soloists).³⁴ During her early career Clarke often performed with other women; two notices name her as part of the Solly String Quartet and the Nettleship Quartet, both all-woman groups.³⁵ She also performed with the famous Hungarian sister violinists, Jelly and Adila d'Aranyi (later Adila Fachiri), who were great-nieces of Joseph Joachim. Most importantly, Clarke joined the Norah Clench Quartet when she replaced the violist Cecilia Gates in 1910; May Mukle was also a member of this ensemble.³⁶ During this time, Clarke and her colleagues were often hired to play in private homes; she specifically mentions Walter Wilson Cobbett, a “rich chamber music enthusiast” and amateur violinist who frequently hired musicians to play quartets with him.³⁷ Clarke also frequented parties at the home of Paul and Muriel Draper, who hosted many of the leading musicians of the day. This is where she rubbed shoulders with Artur Rubenstein, Pablo

³⁴ “Royal Academy of Music,” *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 38, no. 651 (1897): 316.

³⁵ “Advertisement and Notices,” *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, October 22, 1912; “The Nettleship Quartet: String Concert at Ramsgate,” *East Kent Times and District Advertiser*, November 12, 1913, 7.

³⁶ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, handwritten notes, 11–12.

³⁷ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 13; Walter Wilson Cobbett (1847–1937), though not a professional musician, compiled, authored, and edited *Cobbett’s Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, which continues to be a useful resource for today’s researchers. Rebecca Clarke was well acquainted with Cobbett and wrote the article on the viola in the *Cyclopedic Survey*.

Casals, Jacques Thibaud, and others.³⁸ Clarke spoke fondly of the Drapers and their parties even in her later years.³⁹

Some of the earliest reviews of Clarke's solo playing appeared in 1913 after a concert at the Guildhall in Wells, Somerset, where she played an arrangement of Wagner's *Prieslied*. The two reviews were somewhat contradictory: the *Wells Journal* found that, despite Clarke's "delightful work in the quartettes," her tempo was "taken too strictly all the way through and a gradation of tone lacking," but the *Shepton Mallet Journal* extolled her "extremely attractive rendering ... the grand tone produced from the viola being splendid in its purity and depth."⁴⁰

In 1913, Clarke joined the Queen's Hall Orchestra, a job which must have offered her greater financial stability after a tumultuous time. (fig. 2, next page).

³⁸ "Muriel Draper Papers," Collection Overview, Archives at Yale, accessed March 28, 2023, <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/11/resources/1624>.

³⁹ Diane Walsh, personal communication, March 27, 2023.

⁴⁰ "Mr. A Trowbridge's Concert," *Wells Journal*, November 14, 1913, 5; "Concert at the Guildhall," *Shepton Mallet Journal*, November 14, 1913, 8.

Figure 2. The first women to be admitted to the Queen's Hall Orchestra.
Clarke is on the lower left.
Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com



The female performers in this ensemble did not perform for the Promenade season until 1916.⁴¹ It is possible that Clarke participated in the 1916 Promenade concerts, although it was also in 1916 that she joined Mukle on the first of several international tours between that year and 1924. The first documentation of this tour is a recital on September 19, 1916, in Sorosis Hall, San Francisco, in which Clarke and Mukle performed piano quartets by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Paul Juon.⁴² Advertising for the concert was mainly focused on Clarke and Mukle (fig. 3, next page).

⁴² "Chamber Music Proves Delight," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 21, 1916, 8.

Figure 3. Advertisement for Clarke and Mukle concert at Sorosis Hall in San Francisco
Source: San Francisco Examiner, September 17, 1916, 62.

MISS REBECCA CLARKE, viola player (left), and Miss May Mukle, 'cellist (right), who will be heard in concert with Alexander Saslavsky, violinist, and Miss Winifred Christie, pianist, at Sorosis Hall on Tuesday night. Saslavsky has been heard here before, and Miss Mukle has endeared herself to San Franciscans by her playing.

Portrait of Miss Mukle by Fernand.



Symphony Plans Initial Programmes

THE first number of the first concert of the San Francisco Symphony, set for Friday afternoon, October 27, at the Curt Teich, will be Brahms' First Symphony, which Alfred Heriz considers one of the most remarkable works in symphonic literature.

Mr. Heriz' power as a director was no more richly disclosed last year than in his interpretations of the Second and Third Symphonies of Brahms. This season he contemplates giving the First and Fourth. The second number of the first

It was during the 1916 tour that American newspapers began to take notice of Clarke as a soloist. In October, she shared the stage with soprano Johanna Kristoffy in a joint recital in Oakland, California, where she played viola solos with piano: Wagner's *Preislied*, Bridge's *Melodie*, one of Marais's *Old French Dances*, and Grainger's *Sussex Mummers' Christmas Carol*. The Oakland Tribune gushed, "Miss Clarke, who is a member of the Arenyi string quartet of London and has an international reputation as a soloist with symphony orchestras, plays that

rarely heard instrument—the viola.”⁴³ The account, while somewhat exaggerating Clarke’s accomplishments up to that point, is an example of the enthusiastic reception she received in America. Earlier that month, a reporter for the *San Francisco Examiner* introduced his interview with Clarke and Mukle by praising the viola, as played by Clarke:

Why do not more women devote themselves to the viola? The viola has the tones of a contralto; it suggests distinction; there is a patrician air about it which the more light-fancied violin can no more emulate than a dressy servant girl can look like a countess.

It was Miss Rebecca Clarke who stirred these thoughts in me. True, they lay dormant there, so to speak, and it only required a whisper to bring them uppermost. So Miss Clarke played the “Sussex Mummers’ Noel.” ... It has a grave, rich melody, true English in character, English of the folk, like ‘There Were Three Ravens Sat on a Tree,’ and Miss Clarke played it with fine expression.⁴⁴

In January 1917, Clarke performed the *Sussex Mummer’s* Carol as well as Brahms’s trio for viola, cello, and piano (originally written for clarinet, cello, and piano) in a recital in New York City at the Music School Settlement.⁴⁵ She and Mukle performed again in New York City in March at St. Thomas’s Church.⁴⁶

Seeking more repertoire for herself and Mukle to play, Clarke wrote several new pieces between 1917–1918: *Irish Melody*, an arrangement for viola and cello; *Morpheus* for viola and piano; *Untitled Movement* in E minor for viola and piano; *Lullaby* for violin and piano; and *Lullaby* and *Grotesque*, two duets for viola and cello. During this time Clarke also met Elizabeth

⁴³ Ray C. Brown, “Music Echos From the Realm of Tone,” *Oakland Tribune*, October 22, 1916, 29.

⁴⁴ “Why Do Not More Women Take Up the Viola?” *San Francisco Examiner*, October 15, 1916, 64.

⁴⁵ “Music School Settlement Notes,” *New York Age*, January 11, 1917, 6.

⁴⁶ Advertisement, “General News and Notes in the World of Music,” *New York Times*, 25 Mar 1917, 90.

Sprague Coolidge, whose Berkshire festivals would prompt some of Clarke's most successful compositions, and Gertrude Watson, a pianist who lived in Pittsfield and with whom Clarke and Mukle would collaborate a number of times throughout the following few years.⁴⁷ The three formed the Onata Quartet with the violinist Walter Stafford in 1917, the group's name first appearing in the *Hartford Courant* in September.⁴⁸ Clarke and Mukle's work with the Onata Quartet likely immersed them in much of the repertoire they would later play with their more famous piano quartet, the English Ensemble.

On February 13, 1918, Clarke and Mukle performed a recital in New York City's Aeolian Hall. The *New York Tribune* included a glamor shot of Clarke in its notice of the concert (fig. 4):

Figure 4. Advertisement for Clarke's New York debut in Aeolian Hall

Source: "News and Comment of Concert and Opera," *New York Tribune*, February 10, 1918, 3.



⁴⁷ Maria Foltz Baylock, "Women Musicians in Early Twentieth-Century London: The String Players in the English Ensemble," (master's thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1998), 58.

⁴⁸ "Society Women Will Hear Miss Matthison," *Hartford Courant*, September 14, 1917, 7.

This recital is the one known time that Clarke used the pseudonym “Anthony Trent” as the composer of her piece, *Morpheus*. She also played Frank Bridge’s *Allegro Appassionato* for viola and piano; Hubert Parry’s *Sarabande*, arranged for viola from his *Partita for Violin and Piano in D minor*; and Clarke’s two duets for viola and cello, *Lullaby* and *Grotesque*. The *New York Tribune* reviewed the concert, focusing almost entirely on Clarke, despite Mukle’s greater fame at the time:

Rarely heard, except in company with some sixty or eighty other orchestral instruments, the viola was the chief centre of interest at the recital given yesterday afternoon by Rebecca Clarke, violist, and May Mukle, ‘cellist, at Aeolian Hall. The beauty of the instrument, which possesses something of the flexibility of the violin with the intensity of the ‘cello, was admirably exploited by Miss Clarke, and set the audience wondering whether more could not be heard from this instrument, even if its limited repertory of music must be extended with works adapted from music written for other instruments.

Miss Clarke masters the deep ‘cello tones, as well as the song-like upper register of her instrument, and with more flexibility of bow phrasing will become an executant of real authority.⁴⁹

Clarke and Mukle spent the following summer touring New England with the Onata Quartet. Referring to one of their July concerts, the *Berkshire Eagle* reported, “Miss Rebecca Clarke has done what few men would try to do and what few have made a success of, that is, using the viola as a solo instrument. She plays with a vivid and sure technique and displays remarkable command of her instrument.”⁵⁰

Clarke and Mukle attended Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge’s first Berkshire Festival in September, then played a few concerts in California before leaving to spend an entire concert season in Hawaii, where they were engaged by the Philharmonic Society of Honolulu to play

⁴⁹ “Music: Miss Rebecca Clark Demonstrates Beauty of the Viola, Instrument Rarely Heard Alone,” *New York Tribune*, February 14, 1918, 9.

⁵⁰ “Noted Musicians to Play at the Concert Tonight,” *Berkshire Eagle*, July 22, 1918, 12.

fortnightly recitals from October 1918 to February 1919. The organizer, Max Selinsky, also recruited violinist Iola Barber Ingalls and the Australian pianist, Jessie Masson. The five musicians played solos, trios, quartets, and quintets for the concert series. It was rare for artists of such high caliber to visit Hawaii, so the concerts were heavily advertised in the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, and the group mostly played to sold-out audiences (fig. 5).

Figure 5. Photograph of Rebecca Clarke with the Selinsky Quartet in Hawaii
Source: *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 5, 1918.



The two newspapers gave the concerts rave reviews, including high praise for Clarke as a soloist:

The very warm reception accorded Miss Rebecca Clarke, violist, who was the soloist on this program, speaks well both for the musical taste of Honolulu audiences and the superb ability of the artist. Miss Clarke is truly a pioneer in the use of the viola as a solo instrument, there being but two or three others in the world who have won recognition as original interpreters on this instrument. The Romanza by Wolstenholme is perhaps better suited to the timbre of the viola than the Capriccio by Haydn. In the Romanza Miss Clarke drew out a peculiarly lovely and appealing tone of velvety smoothness and golden richness. The Capriccio was dainty and beautifully rendered. For an encore Miss Clarke played an old French air, and was smothered with flowers.⁵¹

Clarke aimed for development as a whole musician throughout her life, and her season in Hawaii doubled as an opportunity for compositional inspiration. In an article devoted exclusively to Clarke, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin reported:

Before taking up the viola Miss Clarke played the violin for many years with great success, but discovered that her true love was the viola and she has done her utmost to exploit this beautiful and little-known instrument.

In addition, she has another talent which is equally famous, that of composition, and one of her chief reasons for coming to Honolulu was to get inspiration and leisure for this work by spending a winter in the Hawaiian islands.⁵²

During this time, Clarke was working on her viola sonata which would eventually win second prize after a tie-breaking vote in Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge's Berkshire Festival competition.

Clarke used her time in Hawaii to develop her musicianship in a third way: connecting verbally with her audience. Of the five musicians engaged for the season, she was the only one to conduct series of pre-concert lectures to discuss the music performed in each concert. This way of engaging with her audience appeared to stick; years later a writer from London's *Acton*

⁵¹ "Capacity House Gives Rapturous Aloha to Artists," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 2, 5.

⁵² "Rebecca Clarke Will Be Soloist Friday Evening," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 30, 1918, 6.

Gazette and Express would remark that “the happy way she had of taking the audience into her confidence in the “little chats” by which she preluded each item was an agreeable feature of the recital.”⁵³ Even after her retirement, Clarke continued to work as a speaker on musical subjects.

After their resounding success in Hawaii, Clarke and Mukle returned to the continental United States. In September 1919, Clarke’s viola sonata won second prize at the Berkshire Festival. This achievement has been discussed so extensively in other sources that there is little need to cover it here. Clarke’s performances of her own sonata will be covered more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

For the next few years, Clarke continued her pattern of travel and touring. In January 1920, she reappeared in New York City’s Aeolian Hall for her own recital, which included her own sonata as well as a sonata by Giovanni Battista Grazioli, selections from Marin Marais’s *Old French Dances*, *Caprice Basque* by Emil Ferir, and *Lullaby* by Cyril Scott. In May she played her sonata again in a similar program in London’s Aeolian Hall. She and May Mukle returned to the U.S. to spend another summer touring Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire with the violinist Gertrude Watson, this time as a trio, with Watson’s villa in Pittsfield, Massachusetts as a home base. The *Berkshire Eagle* lists Clarke as an attendee at the 1920 Berkshire Festival, though she did not participate as performer or composer that year.

Clarke’s activities in 1921 mirrored the previous busy year, with spring performances in England, where she and Mukle joined the Music Society String Quartet with violinists André Mangeot and Kenneth Skeaping.⁵⁴ This group’s performance of Alfred Mistowski’s piano

⁵³ “Viola Recital at Ealing Green,” *Acton Gazette and Express*, November 16, 1928, 3.

⁵⁴ “The Music Society,” *Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 1921, 11.

quartet may have been Clarke's first collaboration with the pianist Kathleen Long (1896–1968), who would later found the English Ensemble with Clarke, Mukle, and Marjorie Hayward. In spring 2021, Clarke also performed her viola sonata twice, in Aeolian Hall and Wigmore Hall. She then spent another summer in New England, where she entered a brief phase of violin playing to facilitate the performance of piano trios with Mukle and Watson; their performances included works for this instrumentation by Brahms, Schumann, and Dvořák. Clarke even played solos on at least one occasion, prompting the *Berkshire Eagle* to observe, "Miss Clarke was at her best in two violin solos, 'Après un Rêve,' (Fauré) and 'Hungarian Dance' in G minor, (Brahms-Joachim). Miss Clarke who is an accomplished viola player, is proving herself a master of the violin as well and it is always a pleasure to hear her."⁵⁵

Clarke followed her New England tours by attending the Berkshire Festival, this time winning second place for her piano trio in the composition competition. The winner, incidentally, was H. Waldo Warner, also a well-known violist and member of the London String Quartet, perhaps more evidence to support the philosophy that playing the viola was helpful for composing, the belief that led Clarke's compositions teacher, Charles Villiers Stanford, to suggest her switch to the viola.

Clarke gave at least two performances in New York City again in January and February of 1922, but then spent most of that year back in England, where she again performed with the Music Society String Quartet (fig. 6, next page).

⁵⁵ "Gave Excellent Concert," *Berkshire Eagle*, September 22, 1921, 11.

Figure 6. Publicity photo, ca. 1922

Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com, photo credit: G.C. Beresford



In early 1923, Clarke, Mukle, and Gertrude Watson went on an international tour, dubbed “Pittsfield in the Orient” by the *Berkshire Eagle*, to the British Colonies and Asia, including India, Singapore, Japan, China, Indonesia, and Burma.⁵⁶ Clarke continued her stint on the violin for this tour, leaving her viola at home, though she did have the opportunity to play her sonata in Peking (Beijing), China, on a borrowed viola.⁵⁷ She was named as a violinist for the performance of Tchaikovsky’s piano trio in the tour’s concluding concert on June 28 in Hawaii.⁵⁸ Clarke and Mukle remained in Hawaii for a time while Clarke worked on her Rhapsody for cello and piano, commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge for the 1923 Berkshire Festival. Clarke also

⁵⁶ “Berkshire Artists Heard in the Orient,” *Berkshire Eagle*, June 4, 1923, 14.

⁵⁷ Clarke, diary, May 20, 1923.

⁵⁸ “Mukle Concert is Much Enjoyed by Honolulu Audience,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 29, 1923.

performed at the festival on September 28, playing Benjamin Dale's sextet for violas with Lionel Tertis, Hugo Kortschak, Edward Kreiner, Nicolas Moldavan and, of the London String Quartet, H. Waldo Warner. Mukle performed Clarke's Rhapsody for the festival on September 29.⁵⁹

Radio Broadcasting, the Aeolian Players, and the English Ensemble

1924 saw Clarke back in London, which she finally made her home base after the exhaustive touring lifestyle she had led for the previous eight years. The mid-twenties were a formative time for Clarke's career and shaped its direction for the remainder of her time in London until she relocated to America in 1939. Her performances included self-promotion of her own works. For example, in October 1925, Clarke performed in two recitals featuring only her own works, one at Wigmore Hall and the other over wireless broadcast. Her two main performing ensembles, the Aeolian Players (Joseph Slater, flute; Constance Iazard, violin; Rebecca Clarke, viola; and Gordon Bryan, piano) and the English Ensemble (Marjorie Hayward, violin; Rebecca Clarke, viola; May Mukle, cello; and Kathleen Long, piano), were also founded during this time.

Clarke's first wireless broadcast was on April 8, 1925, as published in the *Radio Times*, the BBC's weekly publication detailing the content of its wireless broadcasts for its listeners. Clarke recorded a short description of her experience in her diary: "The Most heavenly sunny day. ... Had high tea & then fetched Gordon & the others & went to Savoy Hill for our

⁵⁹ "Collection Description: Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music (1918–38)," Concert Programmes: a Database of Collections of Concert Programmes Held in European Libraries, Archives and Museums, accessed May 16, 2022, <http://www.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/4287/>.

broadcasting. First time I had done it. Felt rather nervous, but it didn't go badly. Very interesting to see the shrouded room & the microphone. Quite thrilling.”⁶⁰

The program featured the soprano Dorothy Silk as well as Clarke's ensemble, the Aeolian Players, which included flutist Joseph Slater, violinist Constance Izard, and pianist Gordon Bryan.⁶¹ The format, consisting of works for singer and piano alternating with instrumental chamber works of various sizes and combinations, was a model for most of the seventy BBC wireless broadcasts in which Rebecca Clarke would participate over the next 15 years, most of them with the Aeolian Players (later the New Aeolian Players) and her all-woman group, the English Ensemble. Clarke was featured as a soloist in some capacity in the majority of her broadcasts with the Aeolian Players. Between 1926 and 1928, she also headlined programs in which she was the sole instrumental soloist, playing full programs of repertoire for viola and piano for which the pianist was unnamed.

It is likely that Rebecca Clarke and her performing ensembles had autonomy over their programming choices; in her book, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936: Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, Jennifer Doctor writes,

Between 1922 and 1925, each week's broadcast schedule featured only a few art music programmes. These were frequently geared to enhance the audience's knowledge of standard repertory or to present music of special historical or other notable interest; more often, though, programmes adhered to the engaged performers' suggestions.⁶²

⁶⁰ Rebecca Clarke, Diary, April 8, 1925.

⁶¹ K. A. Wright, "Wireless News," *School Music Review: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to the Interest of Music in Schools* 33, no. 394 (March, 1925): 326.

⁶² Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-1936: Shaping a Nation's Tastes*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 66.

Although most of Clarke's radio broadcasts took place after the time period Doctor references, her ensembles' thoughtful and sometimes adventurous programming, particularly that of the Aeolian Players, suggests that Clarke and her colleagues maintained some autonomy over their repertoire choices throughout the remainder of Clarke's involvement with radio broadcasts in the 1920s and 30s.

While BBC Radio did not feature Rebecca Clarke as a soloist nearly as often as her male contemporaries, Lionel Tertis and William Primrose, her wireless appearances were no small matter. Clarke's involvement with the wireless broadcast industry was a testament to her talent and resourcefulness during the interwar period, a time of extraordinary upheaval for British musicians. Jennifer Doctor describes particular challenges for musicians during the interwar period, citing thousands of job losses for musicians in the silent film industry due to the advent of talking pictures, the stock market crash of 1929, and the growing competition for professional positions due to the influx of European musicians fleeing Nazi Germany. Doctor writes:

During this turbulent period, the BBC was born and rapidly gained power, resources and credibility—and, perhaps most significantly in this time of social and economic fluctuation, the BBC had money to spend. ... Within a decade of its formation, the BBC not only became the most significant music disseminator in Britain, it was the foremost employer of British musicians.⁶³

Clarke's place among these radio musicians was a significant boost to her career. Unlike commercial radio stations in the United States, the BBC did not have to compete with other entities for listeners' attention; in 1922, the "government granted it sole right to broadcast in the United Kingdom."⁶⁴ The BBC was the public's only source of radio broadcasts, transmitting

⁶³ Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 15–16.

⁶⁴ Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 18.

programming from its channel 2LO, and, during an occasional simultaneous broadcast, its channel 5XX. This meant that British musicians faced virtually no competition from other broadcasting sources when they performed on the radio.

In his 1983 book, *Broadcasting and Society: 1918–1939*, Mark Pegg discusses both the growth of the BBC and its listening public during the interwar years, explaining,

Initially, the fascination of radio was its magical quality: its marvellous ability to generate sound from an apparently lifeless box; its capacity to allow even the most isolated soul to listen to the very best music or the finest orator, without moving from the comfort of the fireside. Almost everyone seemed to have at least some enthusiasm for such a simple way of being informed or entertained. Although, inevitably, some professed to dislike the broadcast cacophony, the possession of a wireless set soon passed from being a novelty to that of a necessity. Fortunately, the growth and distribution of set ownership and hence, the audience can be judged from wireless license returns.⁶⁵

Author Andrew Crisell estimates that “by 1928 radio audiences were never less than 1 million and often as high as 15 million,”⁶⁶ confirming an impressive audience for any musician fortunate enough to be featured. Rebecca Clarke’s first wireless appearance in 1925 likely reached millions, her later broadcasts tens of millions. Her name would have been widely recognized by the listening public; a 1928 review of a solo recital by Clarke in Ealing, a district in West London, aptly referred to her as “Miss Rebecca Clarke (of wireless fame).”⁶⁷

The Aeolian Players’ name was presumably derived from London’s Aeolian Hall, where Gordon Bryan, the group’s pianist, was heavily involved with chamber music recital organization and programming. Gordon Bryan was born in 1895, lived in Bournemouth, and

⁶⁵ Mark Pegg, *Broadcasting and Society, 1918–1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 6.

⁶⁶ Andrew Crisell, *Understanding Radio* (London: Methuan, 1986), 21.

⁶⁷ “Viola Recital at Ealing Green,” *Acton Gazette and Express*, November 16, 1928, 3.

studied the piano privately under Oscar Baringer and Percy Grainger.⁶⁸ We know little about Constance Izard and Joseph Slater beyond their names appearing frequently in *The Musical Times* and *The Radio Times* as they concertized and performed wireless broadcasts.

When the group first formed, all three of Clarke's fellow Aeolian Players had more experience broadcasting than she did: Constance Izard made her first broadcast from Steinway Hall in October 1923 and had made several appearances since, performing short works for violin and piano; Gordon Bryan and Joseph Slater each made their separate wireless debuts in the summer of 1924. Gordon Bryan, incidentally, also made several broadcasts in collaboration with William Primrose in July 1925 as the latter was making strides as a young violin soloist, before his studies under Ysaÿe and subsequent switch to viola.

The Aeolian Players performed monthly broadcasts for the first six months of 1926, including a live performance at the new Chenil Galleries on May 31 in front of an audience.⁶⁹ The BBC had scheduled a series of six chamber music concerts from the galleries, the purpose of which was spelled out in the *Radio Times*:

The object of the series is two-fold. The B.B.C. has always endeavoured to provide opportunities for the performance of new or unfamiliar works of merit. ... Another purpose which we have in view in relaying the series is to take advantage of the admirable acoustic properties of the Chenil Galleries. The concerts will thus have a technical as well as musical interest. From the performers' point of view, the advantage of singing or playing to a visible audience is one which it would not be easy to over-estimate.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ "Mr. Gordon Bryan." *Times*, November 22, 1957, 15.

⁶⁹ Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 92.

⁷⁰ "B.B.C. Spring Concerts: Chamber Music at Chelsea," *Radio Times*, 11 (March 26, 1926): 4.

Only the first half of the second through sixth concert in the series was actually transmitted, including the Aeolian Players' May 31 performance; one *Musical Times* reviewer "considered this a contradiction of the Company's much-publicized cultural-expansion policy"⁷¹ since the second half of the programs featured lesser-known composers including the Aeolian Players' own Rebecca Clarke (*Chinese Puzzle*) and Gordon Bryan (*Phantom* and *The Persian Coat*) on May 31. Broadcasting these works by Clarke and Bryan would have supported the BBC's stated objective to "provide opportunities for the performance of new or unfamiliar works of merit."⁷² On the other hand, the Aeolian Players had in fact performed *Chinese Puzzle* and *The Persian Coat* just a few weeks prior in a 2LO evening broadcast on April 15.⁷³ While the April 15 broadcast was likely not as highly publicized as the Chenil Galleries series, BBC executives had certainly not deemed the two composers unworthy of broadcast. Clarke did perform in three of the works transmitted for broadcast in the first half of this concert: Padre Martini's Sonata in D Major for viola and piano; Arthur Bliss's *Two Nursery Rhymes* for soprano, clarinet or viola, and piano; and Beethoven's Serenade for flute, violin, and viola.

Sometime during the summer or fall of 1926, Constance Izard's brief membership in the Aeolian Players ended and she was replaced by the violinist Antonio Brosa. Originally from Spain, the well-known soloist had lived in London since 1914 and was already an experienced

⁷¹ Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 92.

⁷² "B.B.C. Spring Concerts: Chamber Music at Chelsea," *Radio Times*, 11 (March 26, 1926): 4.

⁷³ "London Programmes," *Radio Times* 11 (April 9, 1926), 108.

radio performer, having made his first BBC broadcast in 1920.⁷⁴ In December 1926, Clarke and Brosa were engaged on very late notice to play Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante, as Clarke recorded in her diary on December 8: "Emergency call from the B.B.C. who want me to play the Mozart Concertante with their orchestra on Sunday night. Much arrangement needed as I had promised to go to the Speyers to play with Casals."⁷⁵ She describes considerable practicing and late night rehearsals over the next few days in preparation for the December 12 broadcast.⁷⁶ Brosa was also evidently pulled in at the last minute, since the *Radio Times* had already published their programming, listing violinist Jean Pougnet and violist Harry Berly as soloists.⁷⁷

The performance must have been quite successful since the following year, 1927, Clarke and Brosa were engaged to perform the Sinfonia Concertante together at the BBC Proms, receiving glowing reviews. From *The Times*:

But the real surprise of the evening was Mozart's Symphonie Concertante for violin and viola, which was played by Mr. Antonio Brosa and Miss Rebecca Clarke. We felt that we had been raised to an altogether higher plane of thought before ten bars of it had been played, and the slow movement took us into a world of subtlety and sensibility undreamt of by Haydn.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Watson Forbes and Margaret Campbell, "Brosa, Antonio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04073>.

⁷⁵ Clarke, Diary, Dec. 8, 1926. "Speyers" refers to the home of Edward Anthony Speyer, patron of the arts who had associated with Elgar, Brahms, and Mendelssohn (see "Derby Singer Benefits Under Will of Mr. A. E. Speyer," *Derby Daily Telegraph*, March 9, 1934). Clarke's playing engagement with Casals was moved to December 12 following the broadcast.

⁷⁶ Clarke, Diary, Dec. 8–12, 1926.

⁷⁷ "Programmes for Sunday," *Radio Times* 13 (December 10, 1926), 621.

⁷⁸ "Promenade Concert," *Times*, September 21, 1927, 8.

The *Illustrated London News* review was no less favorable: “A word must be said for what was perhaps the finest piece of concerted playing of the season—namely, Miss Rebecca Clarke and Mr. Antonio Brosa's performance of the beautiful Symphony Concertante for viola, violin, and orchestra by Mozart. This was one of the most enjoyable items in the whole six weeks' programme.”⁷⁹

The Aeolian Players performed monthly recital broadcasts for the first half of 1926 and remained together over the next five years, though their appearances became less regular. It is possible that Gordon Bryan's tours abroad, described in his obituary in *The Times*, may have interfered with the interests of the group.⁸⁰ Antonio Brosa also became busy with international tours in 1930; his other ensemble, the Brosa String Quartet, made its American Debut in October at a chamber music festival sponsored by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge in Chicago.⁸¹ With these obstacles on the horizon, the Aeolian Players' last broadcast together with all members present was October 21, 1929. Clarke, Bryan, and Slater performed a broadcast without Brosa a few weeks later on November 7; their final performance under the name “Aeolian Players” was on March 3, 1930, with Samuel Kutcher on violin.

In 1934, a *Radio Times* listed a program presented by the New Aeolian Players, with violinist Jean Pougnet and pianist Angus Morrison replacing Antonio Brosa and Gordon Bryan, respectively. The New Aeolian Players continued performing together through 1939, the remainder of Rebecca Clarke's career in England. Pougnet was a rising star; his time with the

⁷⁹ W. J. Turner, “The World of Music: Reflections on the Promenade Season,” *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 1, 1927, 562.

⁸⁰ “Mr. Gordon Bryan,” *Times*, November 22, 1957, 15.

⁸¹ “Chautauqua's Summer Program,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1930, X5.

New Aeolian Players coincided with his performances as a member of the London String Trio with William Primrose and cellist Anthony Pini from 1935 to 1937, and he would later become concertmaster of the London Philharmonic Orchestra during World War II.⁸² Morrison was a highly respected pianist who had been broadcasting since 1924 and had been teaching at the Royal College of Music since 1926.⁸³ He served as pianist for several ballet companies and was known for his performance in the *Symphonic Variations*, a ballet set to César Franck's *Symphonic Variations* for piano and orchestra; he was also the dedicatee of Constant Lambert's cantata, *The Rio Grande*.⁸⁴ Soon after his initial performances with the Aeolian Players, he also joined Jean Pougnet and Anthony Pini to form the London Piano Trio.⁸⁵ His most significant public exposure was his appearance as a pianist in the 1940 film, *Gaslight*.⁸⁶

The Aeolian Players and the New Aeolian Players were committed to adventurous repertoire. Over half of the works which Clarke performed with the group were by living composers. These not only included works by well-known composers like Arnold Bax, Arthur Bliss, Benjamin Dale, Ethel Smyth, Thomas Dunhill, and Percy Grainger, but also included works by lesser-known names including Alec Rowley, Walter Leigh, Felix White, Katharine

⁸² "National Programme: Monday October 14," *Radio Times*, October 11, 1935, 30; "Obituary: Jean Pougnet," *The Musical Times* 109, no. 1508 (1968): 954.

⁸³ "Wireless Program—Tuesday (September 9th)," *Radio Times* 4 (September 5, 1924), 450; "Angus Morrison," *Times*, January 30, 1989, 14.

⁸⁴ Edward Greenfield, "Angus Morrison: An Inspiring Teacher," *Guardian*, February 1, 1989, 47.

⁸⁵ "Tuesday July 16: National Programme," *Radio Times* 48 (July 12, 1935), 32.

⁸⁶ "Angus Morrison: Biography," IMDb (Internet Movie Database), accessed May 17, 2022, <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0607070/>.

Eggar, and Phyllis James. The Aeolian Players also performed works by their own members, Gordon Bryan and, naturally, Rebecca Clarke.

Clarke's other major chamber group, the English Ensemble, was an all-woman piano quartet established in 1926 whose other members were violinist Marjorie Hayward, cellist May Mukle, and pianist Kathleen Long (fig. 7).

Figure 7. Publicity Photo of the English Ensemble
L-R: May Mukle, Rebecca Clarke, Marjorie Hayward, Kathleen Long
Source: "London Programmes," *Radio Times*, October 31, 1930, 326.



Marjorie Hayward studied with Otakar Ševčík from 1903 to 1906 and subsequently made regular appearances soloing with orchestras and in recitals throughout the British Isles; she enjoyed an exceptional career as a concert violinist until the 1920s, when her interests turned towards chamber music. Hayward performed with Clarke and Mukle as early as 1911 in a program of works by Ethel Smyth; the three also performed other repertoire together that year,

including Vaughan Williams's String Quartet in G minor and Ernest Walker's piano quartet.⁸⁷ In 1913, Hayward performed one of Schumann's string quartets together with Clarke in the Nettleship Quartet, though Hayward's involvement with this group appears to have been even more short-lived than Clarke's. Hayward also performed Rebecca Clarke's piano trio with May Mukle and Myra Hess in 1922.⁸⁸ In October 1925, the pianist Evelyn Howard-Jones joined Hayward, Clarke, and Mukle to perform Bax's *Quartet in One Movement* under the perfunctory name "The London Chamber Music Group,"⁸⁹ though this particular ensemble appears to have joined together only once for this performance.

Pianist Kathleen Long appears to have been the organizing force behind the English Ensemble. Long's obituary in *The Times* credits her with founding the group, recounting that "her delight in chamber music led her to form the English Quartet [English Ensemble], with which she worked for several years, and after its members ceased to play together she still took every opportunity of joining in ensemble works."⁹⁰

The four members of the English Ensemble gave their first wireless broadcast performance together on June 11, 1926, playing Ernest Bloch's piano quintet with the inclusion of Stella Pattenden on the second violin part.⁹¹ The three string players also joined Kathleen Long at the end of her solo piano recital in London's Aeolian Hall in a performance of Brahms's

⁸⁷ "The Dunhill Chamber Concerts," *Times*, March 13, 1911, 11.

⁸⁸ "London Concerts," *Musical Times* 63, no. 958 (1922): 874.

⁸⁹ "Music This Week," *Times*, October 5, 1925, 12.

⁹⁰ "Miss K. Long," *Times*, March 22, 1968, 12.

⁹¹ "London Programmes," *Radio Times* 11 (June 4, 1926), 391.

Piano Quartet in C Minor in February 1927.⁹² A January 1927 advertisement for the Brahms performance in the *Daily Telegraph* may have been the first time the name “English Ensemble” appeared in print.⁹³

The English Ensemble’s repertoire choices were far more conservative than those of the Aeolian Players. While the group sometimes performed the piano quartets of Arnold Bax, William Walton, Frank Bridge, and Alexander Mackenzie, their offerings were more often centered around Germanic Romantic composers such as Beethoven, Brahms, Schumann, Schubert, and Mendelssohn, as well as French Romantics such as Fauré and Chausson.

Unlike the Aeolian players, the English Ensemble rarely featured solo works on their programs. One exception to this was Rebecca Clarke’s performance of Walter Leigh’s *Sonatina* for Viola and Piano over wireless broadcast in a program by the English Ensemble on February 6, 1931.⁹⁴ Leigh wrote the sonatina especially for Clarke, and the work was unpublished for some time after his death in 1941, though it is now available. Clarke and Leigh had premiered the work together in 1929, as reported by Leigh’s daughter, Veronica Jacobs.⁹⁵

The English Ensemble sometimes included smaller works with fewer players. This was the case on August 5, 1933, when the group performed two of Henry Purcell’s three-part *Fantasias*. The *Radio Times* included program notes alongside the listing of the English

⁹² “Week-End Concerts,” *Times*, February 7, 1927, 12.

⁹³ Advertisement, *Daily Telegraph*, January 29, 1927, 1.

⁹⁴ “Friday February 6: London Programmes: London Regional,” *Radio Times* 30 (January 30, 1931), 266.

⁹⁵ Veronica Jacobs, “Walter Leigh’s Viola Sonatina, 1929,” *American Viola Society Newsletter* 16 (April 1979), 11.

Ensemble's performance, giving context to the work's recent discovery and praising its English composer:

The Fantasias of Henry Purcell, transcribed and edited by Philip Heseltine [Peter Warlock] and André Mangeot from a British Museum manuscript strangely overlooked until a few years ago, have proved to be one of the most valuable of all recent discoveries. Besides possessing a beauty remarkable even for Purcell, the polyphonic craft these fantasias display and the varied manner in which the music is presented show the great English composer to have been not only a genius, but a prophet. There are passages, it is true, which are of the age of Byrd, but that one should in listening to the fantasias (written in 1680) be idiomatically reminded of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, of others of the nineteenth century, and even of the twentieth, would seem incredible to those who have not experienced the illusion.⁹⁶

The discovery and performance of new works from England's most famous Baroque composer made sense in an era in which English composers sought an identifiably British sound. Composers of the British Musical Renaissance were also fascinated with the Fantasy as a musical form; Walter Wilson Cobbett is credited with instituting this trend as he commissioned fantasies from composers and sponsored composition competitions for new works in this idiom.⁹⁷ Purcell's Fantasias thus emerged at a time when they would have had a strong appeal to performers and audiences of the day.

By their very name, the English Ensemble showed a similar interest in promoting their national identity. Though their repertoire choices were mostly drawn from standard Western classical works, the exceptions were supportive of British composers. Since the piano quartet did not emerge as a standard ensemble configuration until the late eighteenth century, the English Ensemble did not often perform Baroque works, but when they did, they usually chose

⁹⁶ "Saturday August 5: London Regional," *Radio Times* 40 (July 28, 1933), 224.

⁹⁷ Sophie Fuller, "'Putting the BBC and T. Beecham to Shame': The Macnaghten—Lemare Concerts, 1931–7," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 2013, Vol. 138, No. 2 (2013), 384.

arrangements of works by English composers, William Boyce, John Humphries, and Henry Purcell. They also frequently performed works by their British contemporaries: Arnold Bax, Frank Bridge, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Herbert Howells, Ivor Walsworth, and William Walton. Walton's Piano Quartet in D Minor was, in fact, one of their most frequent choices. The English Ensemble's brochure includes a repertoire list; of the composers alive at the time, the majority on the list were British. In addition to the aforementioned British composers, Clarke herself is listed, as well as Roger Quilter, John Ireland, Thomas Dunhill, and William Hurlstone. Although William Hurlstone died in 1906, he was born in 1876, the same year as Lionel Tertis, and belongs among this group. The brochure page concludes, "The English Ensemble, though pre-eminently a piano quartet, has also, with the addition of wind or other instruments, a fully rehearsed repertoire of practically every form of chamber music."⁹⁸

The English Ensemble thus seemed willing to perform contemporary works, but their programming choices were likely driven by the popularity of Romantic composers among the listening public. It's likely that the English Ensemble was attempting to walk the line between popular demand for canonic composers and a responsibility to educate audiences about living composers and new works, a dilemma that caused controversy around the BBC's programming in general.⁹⁹ It is also possible that the all-woman group wanted to show their mastery of the classics in a world still largely dominated by male performers.

Clarke's Support of Fellow Women Composers

⁹⁸ Baylock, "Women Musicians in Early Twentieth-Century London," 98.

⁹⁹ Crisell, *Understanding Radio*, 24–25.

In an interview with Clarke, *The Christian Science Monitor* reported that she was “not at all enthusiastic about being classified as a ‘woman’ composer,” quoting her as saying, “Art has nothing to do with the sex of the artist. I would sooner be regarded as a sixteenth-rate composer than to be judged as if there were one kind of musical art for men and another for women.” Despite this, Clarke was quick to respond when asked about other women composers: “She at once expressed appreciation of the work she had heard of Dame Ethel Smyth and singled out as ‘charming’ a string quartet by Germain Tailleferre, a woman partner in the famous firm of the French ‘six.’”¹⁰⁰

Clarke supported fellow women composers not only by verbally promoting them, but also by performing their works on and off the radio, as well as being an active member of the Society of Women Musicians, a group that promoted the advancement of women in the musical profession. We have firm documentation that she performed the works of four women: Katharine Eggar, Phyllis James, Phyllis Tate, and Ethel Smyth.

Katharine Eggar was a founding member of the Society of Women Musicians.¹⁰¹ Clarke attended the society’s inaugural meeting and would have heard Eggar’s opening speech, which introduced the organization’s purpose and goals.¹⁰² On July 9, 1928, the *Aberdeen Journal* reported on the music performed at the meeting, including works by both Eggar and Clarke:

The Society of Women Musicians are celebrating their 16th birthday on Saturday at their headquarters, London, by a musical programme consisting entirely of new works by

¹⁰⁰ W. H. Haddon Squire, “Rebecca Clarke sees Rhythm as the Next Field of Development,” *Christian Science Monitor*, December 9, 1922, 18.

¹⁰¹ Sophie Fuller, “Society of Women Musicians,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26084>.

¹⁰² “Society of Women Musicians,” *Musical Times* 52, no. 822 (1911): 535–36.

women composers. At the request of the Council, Katherine Eggar has written specially for the occasion a rhapsody impression for violin, viola, and pianoforte sonata. There will also be Irish folk songs arranged for the voice and viola by Rebecca Clarke, pianoforte preludes by Dorothy Howell, and songs by Agnes Lambert, and Mabel Saumarez Smith.¹⁰³

While there is no firm documentation, it's likely that Clarke was the violist in the *Rhapsody Impression* performance on this occasion since she was present at the meeting and her own works were also performed. She did perform *Rhapsody Impression* via wireless broadcast with Joseph Slater and Gordon Bryan on March 4, 1930.¹⁰⁴ A few of Eggar's works are published and are available to performers; *Rhapsodie Impression* is unfortunately not among them.

In the same broadcast, the Aeolian Players also performed the Finale from *Pastoral Fantasy* by Phyllis James. We know very little about James, other than the *Radio Times* stating that she was "also a well-known singer in London and in the provinces" in a wireless performance given by the Dorothy Hogben Trio of James's Trio in One Movement.¹⁰⁵ She must have made an impression on the Aeolian Players since the March 1930 broadcast was the third time they had performed one of her works. In 1926, the group performed James's "A London Song Bird" for soprano, piano, violin, viola, and flute with the soprano Marcia van Dresser, and in 1929, they performed the *Pastoral Fantasy* in its entirety.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ "Women's Topics," *Aberdeen Journal*, (9 July 1928), 2.

¹⁰⁴ "Tuesday, March 4: 5GB Daventry Experimental," *Radio Times* 26 (February 28, 1930), 522.

¹⁰⁵ "Tuesday November 12: National Programme," *Radio Times* 49 (November 8, 1935), 44.

¹⁰⁶ "London Programmes," *Radio Times* 11 (April 9, 1926), 108; "Friday, March 29: 2LO London & 5XX Daventry," *The Radio Times* 22, (March 22, 1929), 724.

Phyllis Tate and Ethel Smyth are better known among today's listeners. Clarke performed Tate's *Three Quotations for Viola and Piano* in a small concert held by Oxford University Press on June 20, 1934. *The Musical Times* gave this short work a favorable review:

In 'Three Quotations for Viola and Pianoforte,' Phyllis Tate hit upon the happy plan of expressing several allusions to music in English poetry by three pieces for viola and pianoforte. These are simple, sincerely felt solos, and as such should be acceptable additions to the viola's scanty repertory. The first two, on quotations from Milton, are perhaps not so successful as the third, founded on Wyatt's lines:

'For when this song is sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.'

—where the music admirably reflects the poet's mood of dark melancholy; but behind all Miss Tate's pieces one detected the tenuous impulse of the musician—a spring of music welling up because it must.¹⁰⁷

While Tate did write works for viola later in life, it is unfortunate for violists that she destroyed much of her early work,¹⁰⁸ likely including the *Three Quotations*. Clarke liked the *Three Quotations* enough that she performed it at least once more: included in the Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers is a drawing of Clarke in performance, labeled "Three Quotations from Milton" and dated February 24, 1935. Most likely, the unknown artist sketched Clarke while sitting in the audience as she played Tate's piece, whether in rehearsal or performance (fig. 8, next page).

¹⁰⁷ "London Concerts," *Musical Times* 75, no. 1098 (1934): 745.

¹⁰⁸ Sophie Fuller, "Tate, Phyllis," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27549>.

Figure 8. Drawing of Clarke performing Phyllis Tate's *Three Quotations*
Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com



Clarke also performed works by Ethel Smyth on many occasions. Later in life, Clarke described Smyth as

a great character, a born fighter, a suffragette and once actually in prison for it. She felt there was a prejudice against women's compositions—I think there was, too—and she fought tooth and nail against it, [and] made herself an awful nuisance. Actually, her music was done pretty often. She had an opera put on at the Metropolitan, as well as at Covent Garden in London. But she was fighting for all the other women as well, and there's no doubt she made a big difference to my generation.¹⁰⁹

Smyth was featured in at least five of the Aeolian Players' performances, the first of which was at London's Aeolian Hall on October 26, 1927. Clarke, Joseph Slater, and Gordon Bryan performed *Two Interlinked French Folk Melodies*, an arrangement of the *Intermezzo* from

¹⁰⁹ Rebecca Clarke, facsimile of lecture manuscript ca. 1945, in Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus* (New York: Oxford, 2002), Appendix 2.

Smyth's comic opera, *Entente Cordiale*, written just a few years prior in 1923–1924. *The Times* wrote that the melodies “won respect by the sheer good workmanship of their interweaving.”¹¹⁰ The Aeolian Players performed Two Interlinked French Folk Melodies three more times via wireless broadcast, in April 1928, January 1929, and November 1929. In March 1929, the group also performed Smyth's Variations on “Bonny Sweet Robin” for the same combination of instruments. The two chamber works, above, were published in 1928 for flute, oboe, and piano, with options for violin or viola to substitute for the oboe part. In advertising the sheet music for these works, *Music and Letters* published a favorable review:

Ethel Smyth knows more about display, and can use it, though able to curb its exuberance. In ‘Two interlinked French folk-melodies’ and in ‘Variations on “Bonny Sweet Robin”’ for flute, oboe (or violin, or viola) and pianoforte (O.U.P.) there is more ease and grace than generally is the case. These works have sounded well on the concert platform. They should be attacked only by experienced players who can allow the delicate writing to have its full effect. Both scores are well written, and their admirable balance of parts ought certainly to be given full expression if the works are to sound adequate.¹¹¹

Since the Aeolian Players' first performance of Two Interlinked French Melodies was before the work's publication, it is possible that Smyth may have been influenced by Clarke's performance to include the alternate parts for violin and viola.

World War II and Retirement

Clarke continued to enjoy a distinguished performance career in the 1930s, broadcasting regularly with her two groups as well as touring the British Isles and sometimes continental Europe with the English Ensemble. In 1939, Clarke became stranded in America due to the war

¹¹⁰ “Concerts,” *Times*, October 31, 1927, 12.

¹¹¹ “Review: Solo Instruments with Pianoforte,” *Music & Letters* 9, no. 4 (1928): 397–98.

and therefore lost the regularity and stability of her career on the London performance circuit. For the first time in her life, she was obliged to take a job unrelated to music as a nanny for the summer. Even so, her years in America during the war were not without performance highlights. Clarke's compositional activity also increased during this time and she was able to premier her own works on several occasions. On March 11, 1941, Clarke performed at the Library of Congress in a memorial concert dedicated to Frank Bridge, playing the Bridge Sextet, the recording of which is available at the Library of Congress today.¹¹² That same month, she performed her own works for viola and piano, *Chinese Puzzle* and *Passacaglia* at the Temple Emanu-El in New York City.¹¹³ In August 1942, Clarke was invited to perform her *Prelude, Allegro*, and *Pastorale* for viola and clarinet in San Francisco at the Berkeley Festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music, where her piece was programmed alongside works of Hindemith, Bartók, Bloch, and Schoenberg. In 1944, she again played the *Passacaglia* at the Temple Emanu-El in New York City, along with her last composition for the viola, *I'll Bid My Heart Be Still*.¹¹⁴ During this time in America, Clarke also reconnected with her former classmate, James Friskin, a pupil who also studied with Charles Villiers Stanford alongside her. Clarke and Friskin married on September 23, 1944. Author Michael Ponder warmly describes her retirement years:

With her playing and composing careers over, she devoted the rest of her life to looking after her husband, the occasional lecture on music and an active social life. The many

¹¹² "Activities of Musicians Here and Afield: Program in Memory of Frank Bridge Planned for Washington," *New York Times*, Mar 09, 1941, X8.

¹¹³ Olin Downes, "Emanu-el Offers 3-Choir Festival: Annual Event of Congregation, Under Direction of Lazare Saminsky, is Presented," *New York Times*, Mar 29, 1941, 13.

¹¹⁴ "A Salute to England at Temple Emanu-El: Congregation Presents Second of United Nations Concerts," *New York Times*, April 1, 1944, 11.

people who remember her speak of her with an endearment that is saved only for a person with the rarest of qualities, for indeed, up to her death she retained that sharpness of mind, that caustic wit, that captivating energy and that real spark of personality: all the qualities, in fact, to be found in her music. An altogether well bred English lady from the turn of the century she was clearly young in mind and spirit and a great lover of the company of young people.¹¹⁵

Rebecca Clarke died on October 13, 1979 in New York City.

¹¹⁵ Ponder, "Rebecca Clarke," 8.

Chapter 2: Clarke's Sheet Music

The sheet music in the Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers includes Clarke's own works, as well as eighteen works by other composers. Most of those written by other composers contain her marginalia, including fingerings, bowings, and other performance markings. Some of these also contain musical alterations written on separate manuscript paper and then cut and pasted or pinned directly over the original lines of music.

There are only two known extant recordings of Clarke's playing: the Gramophone label recording of Mozart's "Kegelstatt" Trio, K. 498 with pianist Kathleen Long and clarinetist Frederick Thurston, probably recorded around 1937; and a recording of Frank Bridge's Sextet, taken at the Library of Congress in March 1941. These recordings, while revealing a consummate chamber musician, give us little idea of Clarke's soloistic playing style. We can, however, glean insights about her solo playing from the marginalia in the works she performed. She was, of course, a product of her time: her contemporaries' recordings reveal generous vibrato, portamento, freedom of tempo, rubato, warmth, and color, all values that were prioritized over our modern emphasis on clarity and precision. Early twentieth century performers also felt few constraints in altering music to suit their needs; if they thought they could improve upon a composer's original ideas, they changed them without qualms. Clarke's marginalia align with these characteristics, revealing that as a performer she was bold and courageous, devoted to creativity, and not averse to taking risks.

This chapter analyzes individual works in Clarke's collection according to her marginalia, her performance history with the piece, and any other relevant information. I have placed each work in alphabetical order by composer, except for the two works by Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka* and the viola sonata, which conclude the chapter. The only work in the collection

that is not included is Rubinstein's sonata for viola and piano, since Clarke's markings are negligible and there is no evidence that she ever performed it.

Clarke's instrument is relevant to any discussion about her playing. She used the same viola for her entire performance career, a Grancino acquired by her father at some point before she left home. Before she died, Clarke sold it to violist Toby Appel, who had the viola restored and who eventually sold it to Aloysia Friedmann, the current owner. The relatively small viola (16 ¼ inches) is physically easy to manage, but some performers have experienced challenges with the instrument. Toby Appel explains, "I never found it to be a good concert instrument for me because it didn't have enough of an edge, or power to cut through. But it's a very chocolatey, very beautiful sound, and very even."¹¹⁶ Katherine Murdock, who played the viola for a summer at the Kneisel Hall Chamber Music Festival, adds, "What I recall about the viola is it was comfortable to play. It was a little bit fat in the belly, a high arch. It was dark and beautiful both in color and in the sound," though the viola seemed to struggle in the high humidity of Blue Hill, Maine.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, Aloysia Friedmann, the viola's current owner, enjoys concertizing with the Grancino viola. She has had some work done on the instrument, and responded to some of the difficulties others mentioned:

You're absolutely right about the "chocolatey sound"—it's warm and even across the instrument. I think, to some degree, [Toby Appel's] assessment is correct, in terms of "getting power..." That being said, over the years I've had the instrument, I've had a few adjustments, and have only done a little experimentation with strings. ... At any rate, I do ask audience members I can trust in concerts, and apparently, the instrument really does project. I also try to make that projection—consciously, if that makes sense. Sometimes,

¹¹⁶ Toby Appel, personal communication, March 24, 2023.

¹¹⁷ Katherine Murdock, personal communication, March 24, 2023.

it's hard going against my instinct to "blend" more and simply just have to play FORTE!¹¹⁸

Clarke, like Friedmann, may have found the viola perfectly suited to her needs, and adjusted her playing where necessary. Since Clarke's performance career centered around smaller recitals, chamber music, and radio broadcasting, it's also possible that projection and power weren't issues for her in the same way that they might have been for a violist playing concertos with orchestras. Her fingering choices also support her performance venues, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Photographs of the Grancino viola may be found in Appendix C.

Johann Sebastian Bach, *Komm', Süsster Tod*, arr. Lionel Tertis for viola and piano

Lionel Tertis's goal to expand the viola repertoire included not only commissions from his contemporary composers, but also his own arrangements for viola and piano. Rebecca Clarke performed her former teacher's arrangements often, including works by Richard Wagner, J.S. Bach, Nicola Porpora, Gabriel Fauré, William Wolstenholme, and Willy Burmester. Clarke's personal collection contains two such Tertis arrangements: *Komm', Süsster Tod* by Bach and *Old Irish Air*. Clarke performed *Komm', Süsster Tod* on September 9, 1928 in a concert where she was featured along with the soprano Kate Winter and the Wireless Military Band, directed by B. Walton O'Donnell.¹¹⁹ The *Radio Times* did not publish the name of Clarke's pianist. While a regrettable example of disregard for the historically overlooked collaborative pianist, the omission leaves no question that Clarke was to be highlighted as a featured soloist. Clarke,

¹¹⁸ Aloysia Friedmann, personal communication, April 4, 2023.

¹¹⁹ "Sunday's Programmes cont'd (Sept. 9): 5 GB Daventry Experimental," *Radio Times* 20 (September 7, 1928), 429.

Winter, and the band alternated short sets of pieces throughout the 90-minute presentation.

Clarke played five pieces in total: *Après un Rêve* by Gabriel Fauré, arranged by Pablo Casals; *Allegretto* by William Wolstenholme, arranged by Tertis; *Komm', Süsßer Tod* by J.S. Bach, also arranged by Tertis; *Capriccio* by Franz Joseph Haydn, arranged by Willy Burmester; and *Londonderry Air*, an arrangement credited to “Marchant” in the *Radio Times*.

Komm', Süsßer Tod, for voice and basso continuo, was one of J. S. Bach's contributions to a volume of sacred songs published in Leipzig by Georg Christen Schemelli. The song was particularly popular in the early twentieth century; Lionel Tertis was among several composers and arrangers who made use of the melody, including Max Reger, Leopold Stokowski, and Ernst von Dohnányi. Tertis's arrangement raises the key from C minor to C# minor, a much warmer key on the viola, and his printed fingerings require an extravagant number of shifts, giving plenty of opportunity for portamento and high positions on the lower strings. The fingerings exploit the dark, warm colors of both the C and G strings, completely avoiding the A string until the last eight measures of the piece. Tertis's rendition brilliantly achieves his goal of highlighting the viola's strengths in order to prove its rightful place among the violin and cello as a solo instrument. Given her tutelage by Tertis and her focus on the viola as a solo instrument, it is likely that Clarke had the same objectives in mind when she chose this work for broadcast.

In his treatise, *Beauty of Tone in String Playing*, Tertis addresses the use and technique of portamento:

Portamento is another resource which, unless employed with the utmost discretion, can ruin the artistry of string playing. Incorrectly performed, or over done in the slightest degree, it can make all the difference between sentiment and that horrid word 'sentimentality', the latter in this case resulting in abominable vulgarity.

Portamento is the means of joining or linking two notes of varied distances between them, smoothly and naturally. It is *not* a discernible slide; it is an infinitesimal join. The

art of its use is to avoid break, jerk or nauseous slide. It is a most necessary adjunct to legato playing and can either enhance or mar beauty of expression.¹²⁰

Although Tertis clearly cautions against the overuse of portamento, he employs it generously—even excessively to the modern ear—in his 1925 recording of *Komm', Süsßer Tod*.¹²¹ Rebecca Clarke grew up with this style in her ears; in her memoir she recalls playing the Intermezzo from Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* on the violin: "I played it with ardour and plenty of portamento. Mr. Cave marked snail-like curls in the places where he said I might slide from note to note."¹²²

Clarke made very few markings in her copy of Tertis's arrangement, perhaps indicating that while she felt free to change fingerings according to her own preferences, she held a certain loyalty and respect for her former teacher's printed fingerings, or at the very least, she agreed with them.

The small changes Clarke did make in her copy would have altered which notes were played with portamento. In mm. 8–9, she added fingerings, shifting to second position on the second quarter note (A#) of m. 8, then to third position at the beginning of m. 9, and then back to first position in the last 8th note of bar 9, underneath a slur (fig. 9).

Figure 9. Bach *Komm', Süsßer Tod*: Clarke slightly modifies Tertis's fingerings.
Source: Johann Sebastian Bach, *Komm', Süsßer Tod*, transcribed by Lionel Tertis (New York: Schirmer, 1925), viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, mm. 7–12.



¹²⁰ Tertis, *My Viola and I*, 148–149.

¹²¹ Lionel Tertis, "Bach (arr. Tertis) Come, Sweet Death," *Lionel Tertis: The Father of Modern Viola Playing: The Complete Columbia Recordings, 1924–1933*, recorded 1925, Biddulph Recordings BDF-ED-80216–2.

¹²² Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 68.

Clarke's added fingerings generate more shifts and thus offer even more opportunities for expressive portamento than Tertis's original fingerings. The change also moves Tertis's portamento on a weak beat in m. 8 to the strong first beat of m. 9, similar to a change she makes in Tertis's *Old Irish Air*, where she also moves a shift from a weak beat to a strong first beat. While slight, the change aligns with her slight preference for portamento to occur at strong points within a phrase.

Arnold Bax, Sonata for Viola and Piano

Clarke may have performed Arnold Bax's chamber music more than that of any other contemporary composer. She and her ensembles gave multiple performances of his *Elegiac Trio*, Quartet in One Movement for string quartet, Quintet for Oboe and Strings, and Trio in One Movement for violin, viola and piano and, of course, his Sonata for Viola and Piano. In her memoir, Clarke reminisced about her admiration of Bax even as a young girl at the Royal Academy of Music:

Awestruck, I gazed at composition students whose names were already known to me. There they were in person at the Fortnightly concerts—Benjamin Dale, York Bowen..., and, grandest of all, Arnold Bax, resplendent in a pale-greenish suit with a pink carnation in his buttonhole. Pig-tailed nonentity that I was, it never crossed my mind that later on, in my professional life, I should become acquainted with these gods.¹²³

When Clarke was older, she and Bax inhabited the same social and musical circles and thus she had the opportunity to both play and hear his music frequently.

On October 11, 1924, Clarke performed the Bax Sonata at the Victoria and Albert Museum with Harriet Cohen, a highly respected concert pianist who was in a romantic

¹²³ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 116.

relationship with Bax at the time.¹²⁴ Soon after this performance, Clarke and Cohen played the sonata for Bax himself in a private setting, and Clarke describes in her diary:

Sun. Went to Harriet Cohen's in the afternoon to run through the Bax again. Played at the Howards in the evening as usual, with Kutcher & Barbirolli & then went with them to Harriet Cohen's party. Met Arnold Bennett & Rebecca West. John Drinkwater was there. After supper played the Bax Sonata. Bax seemed very pleased with it.¹²⁵

The sonata, one of several of Bax's works dedicated to Lionel Tertis, was fairly new; Bax had finished it at the end of 1921 and Tertis premiered it in 1922 with the composer at the piano.¹²⁶

Bax held a profound admiration for Tertis, gushing over him in a 1922 article published in *The Musical News and Herald*:

Were any keen student of the musical life of the past twenty years to be asked the name of the personality who (apart from composers themselves) has been responsible for the greatest amount of creative activity in music during that period, the answer would certainly be Lionel Tertis. ... Mr Tertis has extended [the viola's] possibilities until it has been proved capable of almost all the nuances of the other strings besides (among other qualities) that peculiar acrid poignancy which this great artist derives from the higher register of the A string, and which no other medium known to me can produce.

It must have been in my student days that a prominent British composer remarked to me, 'Surely Tertis's viola playing is the best performance on any instrument to be heard in the country.' Time has only justified and solidified this judgement.¹²⁷

Bax concludes, "[Tertis] has permanently ennobled an outcast [the viola] to a position among the princes of musical expression."¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Clarke, Diary, October 11, 1924.

¹²⁵ Clarke, Diary, October 19, 1924.

¹²⁶ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 61.

¹²⁷ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 62–63.

¹²⁸ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 63.

Clarke must have been keenly aware of Bax's high regard for Tertis's performance style. His influence is clear in certain lyrical passages where some of her fingerings facilitate portamento in the same places Tertis uses portamento in his 1929 recording of this work.¹²⁹ In mm. 76–77, Clarke's fingerings exactly correspond with Tertis's portamento. In m. 78, Tertis clearly moves to a high position on the D string, which Clarke also indicates in her part. In the last beat of m. 80, Clarke shifts down on her fourth finger to the last sixteenth note, a tricky maneuver that requires exceptional fourth finger strength, but which also facilitates the same portamento audible in Tertis's recording (fig. 10).

Figure 10. Bax sonata: Clarke's fingerings (top) compared with Tertis's recorded portamento (bottom). Source (top): Arnold Bax, *Molto moderato, Sonata for Viola and Piano* (London: Murdock, 1923), mm. 76–81, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, Clarke's fingerings reproduced by the author, D string indication ("II") in m. 79 is also Clarke's. Source (bottom): Lionel Tertis, "Bax Viola Sonata," recorded May 27, 1929, mm. 76–81, Tertis's portamento and D string indication ("II") reproduced as heard by the author.

The figure consists of two musical staves, labeled 76 and 76, representing measures 76 through 81 of the Bax Sonata for Viola and Piano. The top staff shows Rebecca Clarke's fingerings (1-2-3, 1-2, 2, 1-2-3-4, 2) and dynamics (p, cresc., p, crescendo, f, mf) for measures 76-81. The bottom staff shows Lionel Tertis's recorded portamento and D string indication (II) for the same measures, with identical dynamics.

Clarke's fingerings in other lyrical passages also show her independence from her former teacher and demonstrate her own creativity. In mm. 184–199 of the second movement, marked *Più Lento*, Clarke more often chooses to shift between slurs rather than within slurs, which may

¹²⁹ Lionel Tertis, "Bax Viola Sonata," *Lionel Tertis: The Father of Modern Viola Playing: The Complete Columbia Recordings, 1924–1933*, recorded with Arnold Bax on piano, May 27, 1929, Biddulph Recordings BDF-ED-80216–2.

have indicated a simpler, more childlike interpretation of Bax's pianissimo *sotto voce* direction than Tertis's (fig. 11, next page).

Figure 11. Bax sonata: Clarke's fingerings (top) compared with Tertis's recorded portamento (bottom).
Source (top): Arnold Bax, *Allegro energico ma non troppo presto*, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 184–194, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Clarke's fingerings reproduced by the author.
Source (bottom): Lionel Tertis, "Bax Viola Sonata," recorded May 27, 1929, mm. 184–194, Tertis's portamento reproduced as heard by the author.

The figure displays two musical staves for measures 184-194 of Bax's Sonata for Viola and Piano. The top staff, representing Rebecca Clarke's version, includes the tempo marking 'Più lento' and the dynamic marking 'pp sotto voce'. It shows fingerings for the viola part, with specific markings for the fourth finger. The bottom staff, representing Lionel Tertis's recorded portamento, shows a different interpretation of the same measures, with a continuous glissando effect indicated by a wavy line.

Clarke's markings in this work also show the strength and confidence she had in her fourth finger, often the least reliable finger for most string players. In m. 118 in the first movement, she extends her fourth finger to reach a D $\flat$ on the D string from an F $\sharp$ in third position on the A string and then reaches back to first finger on the G, remaining in third position (fig. 12). Clarke's use of the fourth finger in this way can be seen in other works in her collection.

Figure 12. Bax sonata: Clarke's fourth finger extension
Source: Arnold Bax, *Molto moderato*, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 117–119, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Clarke's fingerings reproduced by the author.

The figure shows a musical staff for measures 117-119 of Bax's Sonata for Viola and Piano. It highlights Clarke's use of the fourth finger for an extension, moving from F# to D-flat. The dynamic marking 'p' (piano) is present, and the instruction 'crescendo' is written below the staff.

This fingering would be quite difficult to achieve for many violists, but Clarke was aided by physiology: she was a very tall woman, at nearly six feet, with large hands and long fingers, a decided advantage in the fourth finger's reach and strength.¹³⁰ Clarke's height and large hands are visible in the following photograph of her playing the violin (fig. 13):

Figure 13. Clarke's nearly six-foot height and large hands.
Clarke playing the violin in her home, Gayton Corner, Harrow, England, ca. 1908.
Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com



Clarke makes major alterations to Bax's printed notes in two places in her copy of the sonata. In m. 137 of the first movement, she changes the first note to a dotted quarter tied to an eighth note and crosses out the second through fifth notes of Bax's original notation. The

¹³⁰ Christopher Johnson, "Rebecca Clarke: Life," rebeccaclarkecomposer.com, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://rebeccaclarkecomposer.com/life/>.

resulting elongated high G offers a more satisfying arrival for the performer, allowing the violist to “sing” through a longer, and perhaps more effective, climax on the *fortissimo* arrival before the viola moves on to the following sextuplet double stops (fig. 14).

Figure 14. Bax Sonata: Clarke’s alterations to notation (first movement).

Top: Clarke’s changes as penciled into the viola part.

Bottom: Original notation as printed in the viola part.

Source: Arnold Bax, *Molto moderato*, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 137–138, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Clarke’s note alterations reproduced by the author.



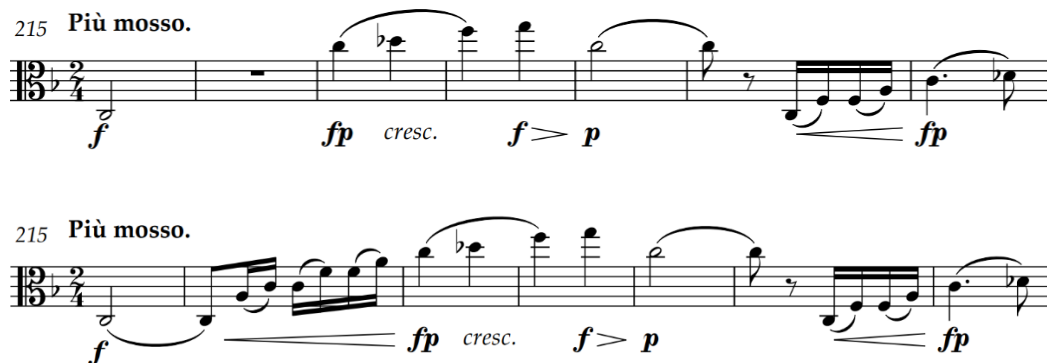
Clarke also entirely crosses out m. 216 of the second movement, leaving the pianist to cover a tempo change and a crescendo into a climactic new phrase in m. 217 where the viola resumes (fig. 15).

Figure 15. Bax Sonata: Clarke’s alternations to notation (second movement).

Top: Clarke’s notation changes as penciled into the viola part. She crosses out all notes in m. 216.

Bottom: Original notation as printed in the viola part.

Source: Arnold Bax, *Allegro energico ma non troppo presto*, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 215–221, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Clarke’s note alterations reproduced by the author.



While it was common for contemporaneous performers to make such changes to written repertoire, in this case there is evidence that Bax himself may have been involved. In his 1929 recording of the work, Tertis makes the exact changes notated by Clarke, with Bax on the piano.¹³¹ A modern listener familiar with the Bax sonata might mistakenly assume, with some amusement, that Tertis made some performance errors that early twentieth-century recording technology and expense made it difficult to correct. However, Clarke's alterations confirm that the note changes in Tertis's recording were deliberate, and must at least have been made with the composer's authorization, if not his direct input. Curiously, Primrose does not make these changes in his 1937 recording of the Bax sonata, despite, like Clarke, performing the work with Harriet Cohen.¹³² A modern performer wishing to make the same changes may therefore do so with confidence, knowing there is historical precedent for both options involving Bax himself or those close to him.

Arthur Bliss, Sonata for Viola and Piano

In his memoir, *My Viola and I*, Tertis describes his first performance of Sir Arthur Bliss's Sonata for Viola and Piano as quite a success:

In 1933 Solomon and I gave a first performance of a magnificent sonata by Arthur Bliss for viola and piano, which he had written for me. This first hearing of a most valuable addition to the viola repertory was a private one, on 9 May at the Blisses' delightful

¹³¹ Lionel Tertis, "Bax Viola Sonata," *Lionel Tertis: The Father of Modern Viola Playing: The Complete Columbia Recordings, 1924–1933*, recorded May 27, 1929, Biddulph Recordings BDF-ED-80216-2.

¹³² William Primrose (viola) and Harriet Cohen (piano), "Primrose Plays Bax: Sonata for Viola—1937 78rpm Restored," *William Primrose Collection, vol. 1*, licensed to YouTube by Naxos Digital Services US, Inc (on behalf of DOREMI); Concord Music Publishing, and 1 Music Rights Societies, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bTddlZEAIsI&t=479s>.

home—East Heath Lodge, Hapstead Heath—to a very distinguished gathering of musicians, and I recall that William Walton turned the pages for us. It was a most exciting occasion, and we subsequently played the work many times in public.¹³³

The sonata was well-received by critics and in 1934 received a five-page analysis by Hubert Foss in *Music and Letters*. Foss's article was full of praise:

The collision of Arthur Bliss and Lionel Tertis is not one isolated episode in the new history of the viola as a solo instrument, nor in instrumental history as a whole. ... I should be inclined to claim this Sonata as one of the first in importance. For it occupies a place of importance in the career of Bliss as a composer, and unless I am greatly mistaken, a rare one in the annals of modern English music.¹³⁴

Rebecca Clarke and the pianist Myers Foggin performed the sonata on January 31, 1935, a year and a half after its premier, in a recital sponsored by the Royal Academy of Music New Music Society.¹³⁵ Whether by invitation or by her own choice, Clarke performed her own sonata alongside Bliss's. Clarke, now in her late forties, was still clearly proud to promote her own music nearly sixteen years after her sonata's prize-winning appearance at the 1919 Berkshire Festival competition.

Clarke was well acquainted with Arthur Bliss and his wife, Trudy. She mentions a conversation with Arthur at the Berkshire Festival in her diary entry of September 29, 1923, after a disappointing reception of her *Rhapsody for Cello and Piano*:

My *Rhapsody* played in the morning, between Hindemith 4tet and Goossens 6tet. Very well received, but not liked by many, who thought it too long & gloomy. Large buffet lunch at Ariantje's [Gertrude Watson]. The Goossens arrived in Pittsfield just too late for his pieces! Very tired at afternoon concert. Had tea and then home to dress. Dined with my family at the Maplewood & then went to reception. Had long interesting talk about

¹³³ Tertis, *My Viola and I*, 72.

¹³⁴ Hubert J. Foss, "Classicism and Arthur Bliss: His New Viola Sonata," *Musical Times* 75, no. 1093 (1934): 216–17.

¹³⁵ "Academy and College Notes," *Musical Times* 76, no. 1105 (1935): 257.

my work with [Harold] Bauer at lunch & again in evening. Also with Bridge and Bliss. All very nice. Very depressed all night.¹³⁶

Decades later, Clarke, eight years a widow, sent condolences to Trudy Bliss after Sir Arthur Bliss's death in 1975. Lady Bliss's reply evinces a life-long regard between herself and "Dear Rebecca," saying that she and her late husband "often thought and spoke of you and were sorry not to see you more often."¹³⁷

Clarke seems to have used most of Tertis's printed editorial fingerings in her Bliss part, even enlarging them in places, perhaps with the intent to see them better in performance. She does depart from Tertis's difficult fourth finger indications in the first movement in m. 3; Tertis's indication to shift to the F# (a note that can be wolfy on some instruments and may require extra strength) may have been a little daunting despite Clarke's fourth finger prowess (fig. 16).

Figure 16. Bliss sonata: Clarke's fingerings.

Source: Arthur Bliss, *Moderato, Sonata for Viola and Pianoforte*, ed. Lionel Tertis (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), mm. 1–4, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.

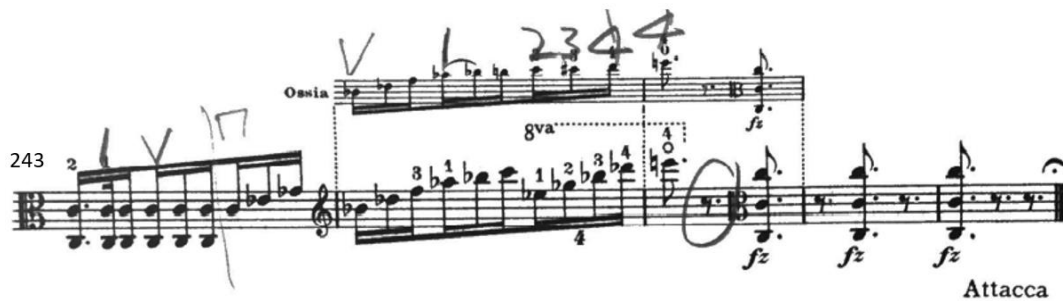


The most notable markings in Clarke's part are her fingerings above the *Ossia* section at the end of the third movement, *Furiant*, indicating that she chose Bliss's own simplified alternative to this notoriously difficult run (fig. 17, next page).

¹³⁶ Clarke, Diary, September 29, 1923.

¹³⁷ Trudy Bliss, letter to Rebecca Clarke, April 23, 1975, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.

Figure 17. Bliss sonata: Clarke's use of alternate *ossia* at third movement climax.
 Source: Arthur Bliss, *Furiant, Sonata for Viola and Pianoforte*, mm. 243–247, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



The extreme athletics required to execute Bliss's original notes are somewhat infamous among violists. Tertis, in fact, recounts his own fear when playing this passage:

The B.B.C. broadcast concerts in the middle of the night at Evesham in Worcestershire in 1942, and I remember playing the Bliss viola sonata, which he wrote for me, at about three in the morning when my colleague Frederick Riddle was broadcasting in another studio. When I finished playing the work he burst into the studio and his first words were: 'How the devil do you get up to that last bar in the third movement?' (entitled 'Furiente', in which somehow my left hand at the end of a violent passage reached top E in the treble clef perilously close to the bridge—here the reader may remember the unfortunate experience of Hans Wessely at a concert, which I have already related). My reply was: 'The Lord only knows.' Of course Bliss wrote a simplified 'Ossia' for those last bars of difficult passage work.¹³⁸

Most violists who have recorded this work, including Enikő Magyar, Martin Outram, and Emanuel Vardi, attempt Bliss's more difficult version to varying degrees of success.¹³⁹ Christine Rutledge and Doris Lederer, both very highly respected violists, play the alternative *Ossia* part in

¹³⁸ Tertis, *My Viola and I*, 96.

¹³⁹ Enikő Magyar, viola, and Tadashi Imai, piano, *The English Viola*, Naxos 8.572407, November 1, 2009, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://um-d-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=8.572407>; Martin Outram, viola, and Peter Donohoe, piano, "Bliss, Arthur: Sonata for Viola and Piano," Naxos 8.555931, May 1, 2003, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://um-d-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=8.555931>; Emanuel Vardi, viola, and Kathron Sturrock, piano, "Bliss, Arthur: Viola Sonata," Chandos CHAN8770, January 1, 1991, Naxos Music Library, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://um-d-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=CHAN8770>.

their recordings of the Bliss Sonata.¹⁴⁰ This legitimate performance choice preserves the climax of a high E harmonic while decreasing the risk of messiness and bad intonation, or even dropping the viola in the attempt to reach the higher E harmonic at such a high speed. Clarke's choice to play the *Ossia* part also speaks to a culture of live performance; the possibilities of multiple takes and editing technology make recording a work inherently less risky than live performance.

Johannes Brahms, Sonata for Viola and Piano, op. 120, no. 2

Inspired by the clarinetist Richard Mühlfeld, Brahms wrote two sonatas for clarinet and piano in 1894. The composer sanctioned the sonatas' alternate arrangement as a work for viola and piano, making his own adjustments to better suit the viola.¹⁴¹ Even though these two pieces were part of the very limited standard viola repertoire during the early twentieth century, Clarke did not perform them very often. A *Radio Times* listing shows her playing two movements from the F minor sonata, Andante un poco adagio and Allegretto grazioso, in a broadcast with the Aeolian Players on January 11, 1926.¹⁴² The Clarke and Friskin collection does not include a copy of the F minor sonata; it does include the E♭ Major sonata, though there is no record of

¹⁴⁰ Christine Rutledge, viola, and Ksenia Nosikova, piano, "Bliss, Arthur: Viola Sonata," *The Blissful Viola*, Centaur CRC2810, January 1, 2007, Naxos Music Library, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://umd-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=CRC2810>; Doris Lederer, viola, and Bruce Murray, piano, "Bliss, Arthur: Viola Sonata," *The Passion of Bliss, Bowen and Bridge*, recorded May 26–28, 2003, Centaur CRC2692, January 1, 2004, Naxos Music Library, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://umd-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=CRC2692>.

¹⁴¹ Riley, *History of the Viola*, 189–190.

¹⁴² "London Programmes," *Radio Times* 10 (January 8, 1926), 107.

Clarke performing it. It is possible she played it for private chamber music parties such as those run by the Howards.

Clarke owned a copy of the Eb Major sonata, and it contains more markings than many of the other works in her collection. Since there is no evidence that she ever performed it, the number of markings is curious. This, combined with the fact that most of her penciled-in fingerings match Tertis's in his own copy of this work, suggests that she may have studied this work under Tertis.¹⁴³ While there are some exceptions to the fingerings and many differences in bow markings, other marginalia match precisely, including 8va markings, added notes in the second movement, and verbal performance indications; in m. 21, for example, Clarke and Tertis both write "loco," or "stay" in Italian, contrasting with Clarke's usual choice of the French "restez" scrawled into her other viola parts when she was reminding herself to keep her left hand in a certain position.

Tertis's part is from a 1951 Augener edition of the work, which indicates that he made markings in it long after his retirement. While he did still perform it occasionally in retirement, it is possible that this copy was used for teaching. While the edition date precludes Clarke having seen the same inscribed copy while studying with him decades earlier, Tertis showed utter commitment to his own fingerings throughout his life. For example, his 1947 recording of *Komm', Süßer Tod* precisely realizes the printed fingerings indicated in his arrangement of the work, published in 1925.¹⁴⁴ Tertis's track record in this regard means that he was likely still

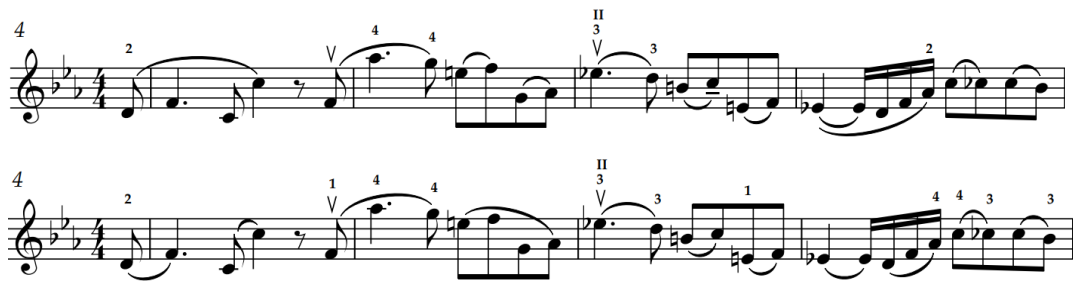
¹⁴³ Johannes Brahms, *Sonata for Clarinet, or Viola, and Piano, op. 120, no. 2* (London: Augener, 1951), viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, Lionel Tertis Collection, Jerwood Library of the Performing Arts at Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance in London, England.

¹⁴⁴ Lionel Tertis, "Bach (arr. Tertis) Come, Sweet Death," *Lionel Tertis: The Father of Modern Viola Playing: The Complete Columbia Recordings, 1924–1933*, recorded August 22, 1947, Biddulph Recordings BDF-ED-80216–2.

using the same fingerings in the Brahms Sonata in 1951 that he used early in his career. The two violists' markings are too similar to be coincidental, and provide evidence that Clarke's copy was used for study with her famous teacher.

Tertis's fingerings in this piece demand both strength and an impressive vibrato in the fourth finger. He shifts to land on fourth finger on a strong beat twice within the first ten measures of the piece, in m. 5 and m. 7, a fingering choice that might be avoided even by some of the most accomplished viola players; this pattern continues throughout the piece. Clarke's adoption of Tertis's fourth finger markings reflects her fourth finger prowess as we have seen in other works (fig. 18).

Figure 18. Brahms sonata (Eb): Clarke's fingerings (top) compared to Tertis's fingerings (bottom). In Clarke's part, the bowings as originally printed. The *tenuto* marking in m. 6 is hers.
Source (Top): Johannes Brahms, Allegro amabile, *Two Sonatas for Clarinet, or Viola, and Piano*, op. 120 (Berlin: Simrock, 1895), mm. 4–7, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, Clarke's fingerings reproduced by the author.
Source (Bottom): Johannes Brahms, Allegro amabile, *Sonata for Clarinet, or Viola, and Piano*, op. 120, no. 2 (London: Augener, 1951), mm. 4–7, viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, Lionel Tertis Collection, Jerwood Library of the Performing Arts at Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance in London, England.



Tertis's markings also indicate many shifts under slurs in this work, again reflecting the penchant for portamento common to early twentieth-century musicians. While we can't tell exactly how much Tertis or Clarke hid or highlighted these shifts, some of them are clearly impractical unless expressly intended for portamento, such as in m. 34.¹⁴⁵ Here Tertis shifts up

¹⁴⁵ Tertis made a recording of the E $\flat$ Sonata in 1945, but it was never released. See White, *Lionel Tertis*, 379.

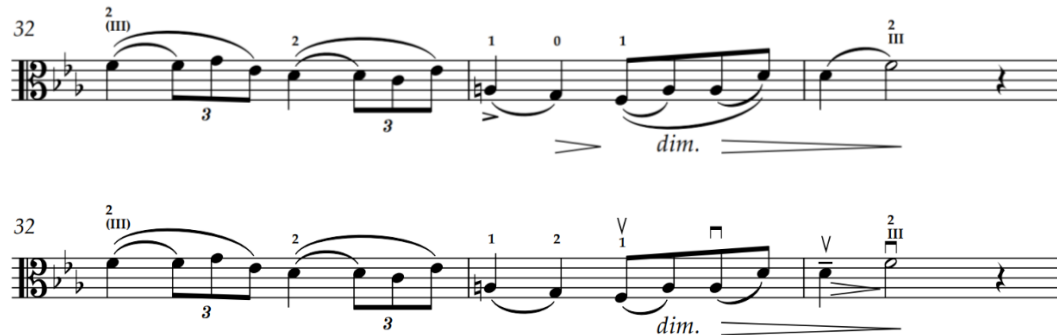
on second finger from a D to an F on the G string; the simplest fingering would be to remain in third position and play the F with a fourth finger. Clarke marks the same fingering in her copy (fig. 19). Since we know both Tertis and Clarke were very comfortable using the fourth finger it is obvious that this shift is for expressive purposes.

Figure 19. Brahms sonata (E $\flat$): Clarke's fingerings (top) compared to Tertis's fingerings (bottom).

In m. 33 (top), the accent on the first quarter note, decrescendo on the second quarter note, and slur over the last four eighth notes are Clarke's. In m. 34 (bottom), the tenuto marking and smaller decrescendo within the staff are both Tertis's.

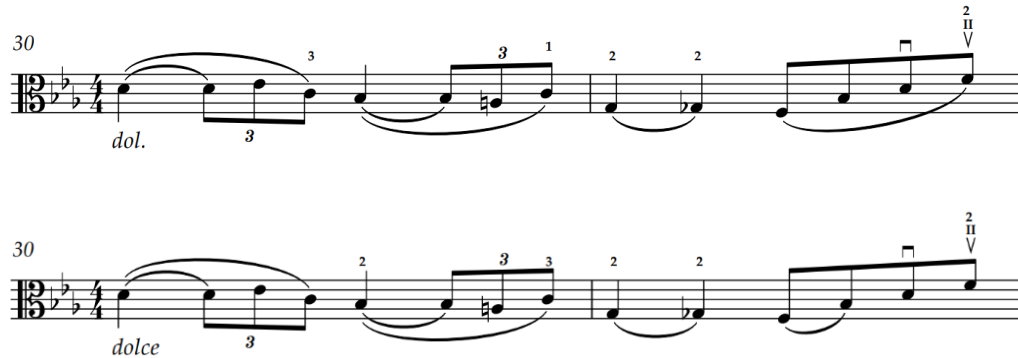
Source (top): Brahms, *Allegro amabile, Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 23–24, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, fingerings reproduced by the author.

Source (bottom): Brahms, *Allegro amabile, Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 23–24, viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, fingerings reproduced by the author.



In m. 30 Clarke adds her own portamento: she shifts under the slurred triplet from the E $\flat$ to the C on a third finger, then again under the next slurred triplet ascending on a first finger from first to third position; this is nearly impossible to accomplish without audible portamento. Tertis instead shifts at the bow changes in this particular measure, making it easier to hide the shifts if one chooses to do so (fig. 20, next page).

Figure 20. Brahms sonata (E♭): Clarke's fingerings (top) compared to Tertis's fingerings (bottom).
Source (top): Brahms, Allegro amabile, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 30–31, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, fingerings reproduced by the author.
Source (bottom): Brahms, Allegro amabile, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 30–31, viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, fingerings reproduced by the author.



These passages also show how Tertis may have influenced Clarke's fondness not only for portamento, but also for higher positions on the D and G strings in general. Their choices in the Brahms Sonata and other works contrast with Primrose's opinions on high positions in the middle strings. Primrose instead liked to "keep as much as possible to the first position until obliged to ascend into the upper range. The medium regions of the D and G strings can be a dull section on the viola."¹⁴⁶ Lower positions do lengthen the string, increasing volume and resonance due to the string's ability to vibrate more freely. When comparing Primrose's approach with his predecessors, it is helpful to consider the needs of various performance spaces. A large portion of Primrose's career was spent performing concertos, and he was often concerned with the viola's ability to project above a large orchestra. Since so many of Clarke's solo appearances were with piano accompaniment over radio broadcast, she may have experienced the opposite problem due to her work with early microphones. In a 1974 interview, Louis Kaufman, an American violinist

¹⁴⁶ William Primrose, in David Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 116.

born in 1905 who began recording in the 1920s and eventually played violin solos in around 500 Hollywood films, discussed adjustments to his own playing when using a microphone:

Due to the fact that I've had a living contact with microphones for most of my life, I began to feel something of what you have to have in the process of recording. You must be a little bit more careful with the bow pressure. You do not dare press and get the extremes of *forte* that you could get in a hall in which the airspace swallows up a lot of the surface noise. You have to play much more carefully, but with that you must somehow or other suggest an intensity that you try to get in your best moments in a public performance. This is something of a trick, you know—getting around the surface and yet getting the intensity at the same time. The vibrato has to be somewhat heightened: it has to be somewhat faster than you really need for a public hall.¹⁴⁷

Kaufman goes on to explain that early recordings seemed to have somewhat less of “that mike-like sharpness and the edginess that we get” from the more technologically advanced microphones of 1974.¹⁴⁸ Citing the recordings of Kreisler, Kaufman does praise early microphones’ ability to capture the artistry of great musicians:

[Kreisler’s recordings] are the best. I remember I would listen to a Kreisler concert, and after about two, three minutes I was actually hypnotized. I was in a different world somehow. I couldn’t analyze, I couldn’t for the life of me figure out anything that he was doing. I was just transported into a mysterious, enchanted world of sound. But as I listen analytically to an old Kreisler record, I realize why—it’s all there. I now can analyze it after a lifetime of working with these problems, but I couldn’t at that time. The recordings give you the key to a great genius like Kreisler, if you will just listen to them—the question of style and everything.¹⁴⁹

Kaufman’s remarks indicate that microphone technology would have given Clarke an opportunity to explore the viola’s colors and timbres without the same issues of power, resonance, and projection that Primrose faced, leading him to extoll the virtues of lower positions

¹⁴⁷ Louis Kaufman, in *Edison, Musicians, and the Phonograph: A Century in Retrospect*, ed. John Harvith and Susan Edwards Harvith, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1987), 116.

¹⁴⁸ Kaufman, *Edison, Musicians, and the Phonograph*,” ed. John Harvith, 117.

¹⁴⁹ Kaufman, *Edison, Musicians, and the Phonograph*,” ed. John Harvith, 118.

on the viola. While Primrose's fingering philosophies seem to have taken stronger root in modern viola pedagogy, both Tertis's and Clarke's enjoyment of higher positions on middle strings may suggest to today's violists that these colors might be worth exploring, especially in the highly romantic and coloristic early twentieth-century British repertoire. This is also particularly worth considering in an era when self-promotion through video recordings on YouTube and social media platforms is increasing, and when, for most violists, solo appearances with orchestra are still rare opportunities.

In the Brahms sonata, some of Tertis's most notable markings include "8va" penciled in above most of the passages which Brahms took down an octave in the viola arrangement of this work. Brahms's adjustments to the viola part are curious from a compositional standpoint as some of them interrupt the flow and direction of the line, particularly in rapidly ascending arpeggios. Many of these passages become quite virtuosic when taken up an octave on the viola. It is possible that Brahms was influenced by perceived limitations of both the viola and its players. Brahms's friendship with the violinist Joseph Joachim is well known, and Lionel Tertis recounted the following anecdote that may have reflected Joachim's low opinion of high passages in viola parts:

In 1906 it was the rarest thing to hear a viola solo, and even so the upper range of the instrument was unexplored. Players never went above the second ledger-line in the treble clef. Once I played Mendelssohn's violin concerto on the viola at an Academy concert, and I remember Alfred Gibson's reproaches. He played viola in the Joachim Quartet. "The viola," he burst out, "is not meant to be played high up! This is the pig department! I suppose the next thing is you will be playing behind the bridge."¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Tertis, *Cinderella No More*, 26.

Gibson and Joachim worked closely together and likely shared a similar opinion about the viola's range. Perhaps Brahms, heavily influenced by Joachim's influence, felt that the viola could not handle the higher passages he had written for the clarinet.

Tertis's determination that the viola's high register had much to offer influenced Clarke. Her confidence in her own virtuosity shines in her choice to play these passages as originally written for clarinet. Her simple notation of "8va" is also noteworthy since most violists, even highly trained professionals, would likely prefer to have the passages written out in the adjusted register to avoid the risk of misreading the notes on stage, supporting the theory that she used this piece for studying the viola rather than for performance.

Tertis took other liberties with the printed viola arrangement by adding double stops in several places, which Clarke also wrote into her part. In the middle B major section of the second movement, Brahms gives rests to the clarinet in bars 119–120, but has the viola double the top note of the piano chords, the resolution of which is made possible by inserting a D# a sixth above the original F# in the clarinet part in m. 121, creating a double stop; Tertis expands this idea as the melody continues in bars 122–124, adding notes a sixth above the original melody, likewise doubling the piano part. These double stops highlight the rich tone quality of the viola's lower strings, adding warmth to the passage and honoring Brahms's fondness for dense textures in lower registers (fig. 21, next page).

Figure 21. Brahms sonata (E $\flat$): double stop additions by Clarke and Tertis.

Source (top): Brahms, Appassionato, ma non troppo allegro, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 121–126, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, notation additions and bowings reproduced by the author.

Source (middle): Brahms, Appassionato, ma non troppo allegro, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 121–126, viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, notation additions, bowings, and fingerings reproduced by the author.

Source (bottom): Original notation as printed in Clarke's viola part.

Tertis also added double stops to the final notes of the piece. Clarke does as well, but takes a different approach, adding just one triple stop E $\flat$ major chord instead of the clarinet's final E $\flat$, bringing out the viola's ability to create a more triumphant end to this joyous finale (fig. 22).

Figure 22. Brahms sonata (E $\flat$): double stop additions by Clarke and Tertis.

Source (top): Brahms, Andante con moto, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 158–163, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, notation additions, bowings, and fingerings reproduced by the author.

Source (middle): Brahms, Andante con moto, *Sonata op. 120, no. 2*, mm. 158–163, viola part inscribed by Lionel Tertis, notation additions, bowings, fingerings, and tenuto markings reproduced by the author.

Source (bottom): Original notation as printed in Clarke's viola part.

Brahms's Eb sonata serves as a case study in Tertis's influence on Clarke's playing. His frequent shifts into higher positions on the G and D strings, generous use of the fourth finger, and unapologetic changes to a work with the intention of bringing out the viola's finer qualities were all strategies Clarke continued to employ in her own performances.

Brahms, *Zwei Gesänge (Two Songs) for Contralto, Viola, and Piano, op. 91*

Records in *The Times*, *The New York Tribune*, and *The Musical Times*, show that Rebecca Clarke performed Brahms's *Zwei Gesänge* for contralto, viola, and piano at least six times. Most of these performances were in recitals given by mezzo-sopranos and contraltos who invited Clarke to collaborate with them. The most famous of these singers was Mary Jarred; Clarke performed the two songs with her in the summer of 1929. *The Musical Times* review of the recital singled out the *Zwei Gesänge* in particular:

Miss Mary Jarred, who sang at Aeolian Hall [London] on June 3, confirmed the very favourable opinion created by her first recital. Her voice has the true contralto quality, and, with the exception that her intonation is not absolutely faultless, her technique is far above the average of the young singers who see fit to make public appearances. If Miss Jarred can ensure that she will always reach the true note and will develop her powers of interpretation, which are at present too limited in range, she should become a singer of note, for she possesses the rare combination of intelligence and a beautiful voice. Miss Jarred was particularly successful in Brahms's two songs with viola (Miss Rebecca Clarke) and pianoforte, which were also the best songs in her programme.¹⁵¹

Jarred must have overcome her faults soon after her performance with Clarke; that same year the singer secured a three-year engagement with the Hamburg State Opera.¹⁵² Clarke also played the *Zwei Gesänge* with Frieda Klink, Sybil Cropper, Helen Stein, and twice with Dorothea Webb.

¹⁵¹ "London Concerts," *The Musical Times* 70, no. 1037 (1929): 646.

¹⁵² Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Jarred, Mary," *Grove Music Online*, 2002, accessed March 14, 2023, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O006781>.

Clarke's markings in her Brahms score are scant, limited to a few fingerings and bowings. Some fingerings indicate possible portamento, as in m. 21, where the shift on first finger from C# to D in third position can only be for expressive purposes since it immediately necessitates another impractical shift to the C# in the following measure (fig. 23).

Figure 23. Brahms, *Zwei Gesänge*: Clarke's expressive fingerings.

Source: Johannes Brahms, *Gestillte Sehnsucht, Zwei Gesänge für Altstimme mit Bratsche und Pianoforte* (Berlin: Simrock, n.d.), mm. 21–24, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, fingerings reproduced by the author.



Clarke's sparse markings could indicate a reliance on muscle memory due to her familiarity with the piece. Another explanation might be that she enjoyed keeping her options open for performances, allowing for spontaneity in her fingering choices as well as responsiveness to each singer. If this latter explanation was the case, it offers new insight into her playing. Clarke may have been more open to interpretive improvisation than today's violists, who often use predetermined fingerings and interpretive choices. Clarke instead responded to the changing nuances of each performance.

Henri Casadesus, *Viola Concerto in B Minor*

Originally presented in 1924 as a work by Handel, scholarly consensus has concluded that Henri Casadesus published his own viola concerto under the name of the famous composer, possibly to sell more copies. Despite its underhanded insertion into the viola repertoire, Casadesus's concerto became standard due to its popularity, craftsmanship, and virtuosic writing. Primrose famously recorded the work in 1946 with the RCA Victor Orchestra.

It's unclear when Clarke performed this concerto, but the sheer number of markings in her part, including her own original cadenza, give evidence that she did perform it. Her personal

copy was a 1924 Max Eschig edition.¹⁵³ Clarke was an experienced, prize-winning composer by the time the work was available, and the harmonic experimentation in her sixteen-measure cadenza shows her interest in showcasing not only her own compositional and performance abilities, but also the viola's unique qualities.

The harmonic progression of Clarke's cadenza places it squarely in the early twentieth century. The sequence in mm. 7–10, moving from B minor to D major to A major hints at late Romantic chord progressions by third relations; the passage also includes a modally borrowed major VI chord in the key of D in m. 8. Music theorist Rebecca Perry also points out that the sequence bringing us out of the cadenza in mm. 14–17 is an ascent by fifths, in contrast to the more common descent by fifths. Perry comments that the entire cadenza may be interpreted as Clarke's response to Casadesus's iv 6/4 (E minor) chord with fermata, preceding the insertion of the cadenza with a deceptive cadence. Clarke, not knowing that this work was written in the 1920s, may have taken special interest in the iv 6/4 chord. The retrogressive, predominant chord places this passage outside common Baroque harmonic practices and therefore may have surprised her ear.¹⁵⁴

Clarke's experimental chord progressions make even more sense when viewed as an idiomatic expression of the virtuosic possibilities of the viola. One example of this is the G# diminished seventh chord, executed in rapid arpeggio ending on a harmonic. Both dramatic phrase endings within the cadenza (m. 4 and mm. 11–13) are on the C string; the chromatic chords in m. 12 also require the C string and are a unique expression of virtuosity on the viola as

¹⁵³ Henri Casadesus, *Viola Concerto in B Minor* (Paris: Eschig, 1924), viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.

¹⁵⁴ Rebecca Perry, personal communication to author, March 25, 2021.

opposed to the violin. By contrast, the concerto itself explores the high regions of the instrument, allowing the viola to display a virtuosity comparable to that found in Baroque violin concertos. It's likely that Clarke intentionally used the cadenza to highlight the unique qualities of the viola that Casadesus may have neglected.

Clarke made many markings in her part, including some unique bowings in the third movement. Here she often begins slurs on weak beats, including over bar lines, creating rhythmic syncopation (mm. 5–6). She also occasionally slurs in groups of two eighth notes, creating three groups within a 6/8 bar (m. 9). The result mirrors the hemiola of the opening bars of the movement, in which Casadesus places notes on the first, third, and fifth beats (fig. 24, see fig. 25 for comparison with original, printed notation).

Figure 24. Casadesus concerto: Clarke's unique bowings.

Added staccato markings are Clarke's.

Source: Henri Casadesus, *Allegro molto*, *Viola Concerto in B Minor* (Paris: Eschig, 1924), mm. 1–10, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers, Clarke's fingerings and bowings reproduced by the author.



Figure 25. Casadesus concerto: viola part as printed.

Source: Henri Casadesus, *Allegro molto*, *Viola Concerto in B Minor* (Paris: Eschig, 1924), mm. 1–13.



Clarke's unconventional bowings are a testament to the freedom and creativity early twentieth musicians enjoyed.

Clarke's fingerings throughout the Casadesus concerto show her fondness for harmonics, an affinity shared by William Primrose, who "[maintained] that the beauty of viola tone resides in the open strings, with free use of natural harmonics and a lot of bariolage."¹⁵⁵ In keeping with this approach, Clarke used harmonics liberally throughout the first movement. She first makes use of the D harmonic one octave above the D string in m. 16. This action not only facilitates an easier crossing to the C string, but also fits a more tapered phrase ending, or slight decrescendo, as the harmonic is naturally softer than the equivalent pitch on the A string in first position. This suggests that Clarke may have taken a similar approach in the analogous phrase in the previous bar (m. 15), shaping the phrase to make the high point somewhere within the first two beats and already tapering by the third beat, rather than emphasizing the third beat as some performers might choose (fig. 26).

Figure 26. Casadesus concerto: Clarke's use of harmonics.

Source: Henri Casadesus, *Allegro moderato, Viola Concerto in B Minor*, mm. 15–16, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, fingerings and staccato markings reproduced by the author (bowings and slurs are as printed).



In m. 38, violists commonly use the harmonic A an octave above the open A string on the third beat. Primrose's handwritten fingerings show this in his own copy of the work.¹⁵⁶ Clarke also uses a harmonic on this note, but she clearly marks "II" in her score, indicating her use of

¹⁵⁵ Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*, 114.

¹⁵⁶ Henri Casadesus, *Viola Concerto in B Minor* (Paris: Eschig, 1924), viola part inscribed by William Primrose, William Primrose Collection, Primrose Box 3, Folder 3, Primrose International Viola Archive, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

the A harmonic on the D string. The marking leaves two possibilities: one can play the equivalent pitch either a fifth above the open D string, or play one octave above, where the equivalent pitch could be played as a fingered note, eighth position if played with the fourth finger. Many violists find the short fourth finger awkward in such a high position and might opt for the longer second or third finger. Clarke's preceding fingerings keep her in third position despite cumbersome string crossings; a third position starting point on second finger lends itself well to shifting up to the high A harmonic in the upper regions of the string. Clarke's markings therefore most likely meant this more virtuosic choice, probably accompanied by an exciting portamento.¹⁵⁷ The orchestral accompaniment also lends itself to this interpretation, allowing a fermata on the high A if the soloist chooses, since the note leads into the following cadenza-like run while the orchestra rests. The drama of this timing pairs well with the technical feat of the high position harmonic, and Clarke's unconventional fingering shows her creatively taking advantage of this particular natural harmonic to bolster the virtuosic display of this work (fig. 27).

Figure 27. Casadesus concerto: Clarke's use of harmonics.

Portamento indication is added by the author to show which harmonic Clarke mostly likely used (shifting up to the high A on the D string rather than remaining in third position to play the equivalent pitch).

Source: Henri Casadesus, *Allegro moderato, Viola Concerto in B Minor*, mm. 38–40, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, fingerings reproduced by the author.



While Clarke did not use many high positions in her cadenza, she certainly made use of them in the body of this concerto, demonstrating her penchant for higher positions on the lower strings. In m. 30, she moves to third position to play the E on the G string, creating a bariolage

¹⁵⁷ Aloysia Friedmann, personal communication, February 15, 2022.

effect over the C and G strings, and then returns to first position in the following measure.

Figure 28. Casadesus Concerto: Clarke's fingerings (top) compared to Primrose's fingerings (bottom).

Source (bottom): Henri Casadesus, *Allegro moderato, Viola Concerto in B Minor* (Paris: Eschig, 1924), mm. 30–31, viola part inscribed by William Primrose, William Primrose Collection, Primrose Box 3, Folder 3, Primrose International Viola Archive, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Clarke also uses high positions in the second movement, *Andante ma non troppo*, similar to her choices in *Komm', Süsßer Tod* and *The Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol*, both similarly slow and lyrical pieces. In m. 46, she indicates "III" on the first note, A. If using third finger, this would put her in sixth position on the G string. Primrose did not write fingerings into this movement of his copy of the Casadesus, but in his 1946 recording of this work, an open D string is audible in m. 47, indicating that he begins this descending scale on the D string rather than the G string.¹⁵⁸ Clarke remains in the upper positions throughout the remainder of this passage, moving to fourth position in m. 48 and remaining there through the following measure, then

shifting to sixth position on the C string in m. 50. While we do not know Primrose's exact fingerings, his recording reveals an audible shift to the half-position G $\sharp$ on the G string across mm. 48–49; a lack of color change in m. 50 suggests he remains on the G string throughout the rest of this passage until it's necessary to move to the C string to play the lower pitches in m. 53 (fig. 29).

Figure 29. Casadesus concerto: Clarke's high positions on the G and C strings.
 Source: Henri Casadesus, *Andante ma non troppo*, *Viola Concerto in B Minor*, mm. 46–54, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Clarke's fingerings, bowings, and *tenuto* markings reproduced by the author.



If executed well, Clarke's challenging fingerings produce a dark, warm, and shrouded sound, heightening the emotional import of this movement. The marginalia in the Casadesus concerto reflects a marked distinction between Clarke's fingering philosophies and that of other violists, particularly Primrose and his protégés.

Percy Grainger, *Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* for viola and piano

Rebecca Clarke performed Percy Grainger's *Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* as early as October 1916 in Oakland California, the same year the work was first published. She played it several more times during her tours throughout the late 1910s, including performances in San Francisco, New York City, and Hawaii. *Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* was also the first work she performed over wireless broadcast, as part of the program presented by the Aeolian Players on April 8, 1925. It is fair to say that she chose a work familiar and beloved in her first

radio appearance. She performed it twice more in similar broadcasts with the same group in 1927 and 1929. This arrangement is an example of Grainger's many settings of traditional English folk music found through the efforts of The English Folk Song Society, which will be discussed more fully in the section on Marin Marais's *Old French Dances*. Grainger's published setting is for cello and piano, with an alternate part for violin.

Clarke's copy of the viola part is written in her own hand and is a near exact transcription of Grainger's original cello part, published in 1916 by Schott, leaving it at pitch with only a few minor changes to the double stops, either eliminating notes or adding them to fill out chords. The result suits the viola beautifully, highlighting its lower register even as the cello part highlights the higher, brighter D and A string range of the cello. The result is a rich and warm rendition not quite attainable on either the cello or the violin. This work's potential for the viola has been realized by other violists since Clarke's early performances of it; the pedagogue Barbara Barber has published her own transcription of *The Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* in Volume 5 of her *Solos for Young Violists* series, and Paul Coletti and pianist Leslie Howard recorded a similar transcription (not Clarke's) under the Hyperion label in 1994. In the liner notes of the Coletti/Howard album, author Paul Spicer notes "how well it sits in the violist's hands! ... Grainger's dark, Bourneville-chocolate harmonies are perfectly matched with the colour of the viola in this lovely setting."¹⁵⁹

Spicer also makes the assertion that the viola and piano arrangement of this work was "personally sanctioned in this version by Grainger."¹⁶⁰ There is certainly evidence that Grainger

¹⁵⁹ Paul Spicer, liner notes to *English Music for Viola*, Paul Coletti (viola) and Leslie Howard (piano), Hyperion, CDH55085, CD, 1994, 3–4.

¹⁶⁰ Spicer, liner notes to *English Music for Viola*, 3.

was involved with Clarke in arranging this work for viola. In a March 1925 article in *The School Music Review*, BBC programming staff member K. A. Wright announced the formation of the Aeolian Players and their first broadcast, adding that “it [was] interesting to note that Percy Grainger made a special arrangement of his *Sussex Mummer’s Christmas Carol* for Miss Clarke, who will play it on this occasion.”¹⁶¹ We don’t know what communications Clarke and Grainger exchanged over the *Sussex Mummer’s Carol*, but their acquaintance with each other is well known; their overlapping musical and social circles would have given them plenty of chances to discuss a version of this beautiful work for viola and piano.

Clarke’s part includes fingerings that are again consistent with her typical playing style. The opening melody is played entirely on the C string, enhancing a dark, rich sonority as opposed to the cello part’s brighter qualities on the same pitches. Clarke also writes in many shifts under slurs, indicating the portamento so emblematic of early twentieth century string playing. Paul Coletti, a well-known viola soloist, remarked,

This is lyrical, to be sung! She wants one note to blend into the next note just as musicians loved to do in the olden times. The players didn’t care about intonation the way that we are locked into it nowadays, they had techniques for bending into the note and then merging into the next one, and you would sing your way through the phrases while playing vocally. ... So she makes choices as a singer would. It’s like, wow, this is going to break your heart!¹⁶²

Daniel Foster, principal violist of the National Symphony Orchestra, adds that Clarke’s fingerings here “have this *espressivo* quality to them, but they’re also very comfortable. You’re

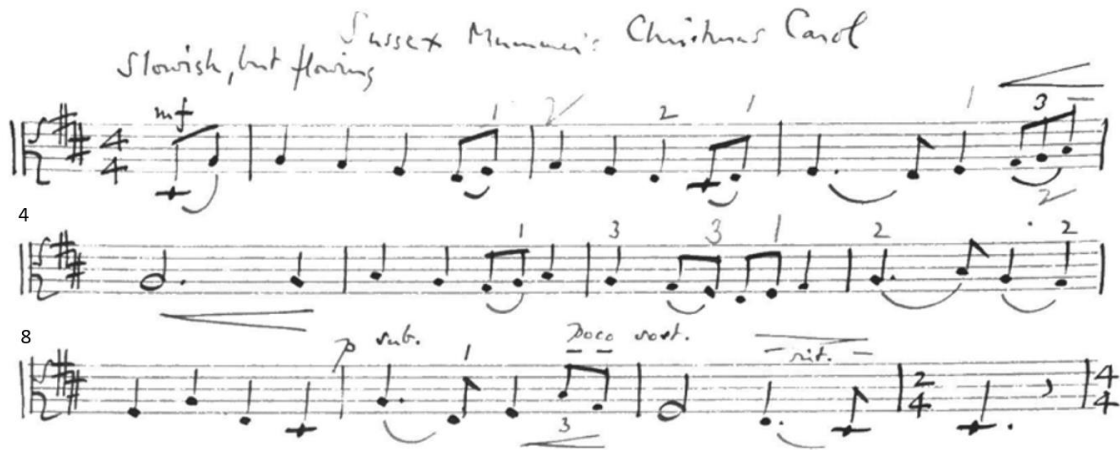
¹⁶¹ Wright, *School Music Review*, 326.

¹⁶² Paul Coletti, personal communication, July 7, 2022.

just always in a good spot for your hand and for your tone. ... You're always on second and third finger when you want to be. That fingering was designed for sonority"¹⁶³ (fig. 30).

Figure 30. Grainger, Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol: Clarke's fingerings.

Source: Clarke's handwritten viola part, mm. 1–11, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



Clarke continues to explore the upper regions of the lower strings in the last two lines of the piece, where she marks “III” to remain on the G string. This takes her to seventh position on the highest note of the phrase, to be played suddenly *pianissimo*. Maintaining a whispered *pianissimo* sound that requires the bow not to move too close to the bridge is a challenge in such a delicate area on the instrument, where the shape of the bridge makes it difficult to avoid hitting adjacent strings (fig. 31, next page).

¹⁶³ Daniel Foster, personal communication, July 11, 2022.

Figure 31. Grainger, *Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol*: Clarke's high positions on the G string.
 Source: Clarke's handwritten viola part, mm. 30–35, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



One of Grainger's famous idiosyncrasies was a commitment to writing performance instructions in English rather than the traditional Italian, French, or German. Grainger's preferences in this regard likely stemmed from his participation in the search for an identifiably British compositional sound during the early twentieth century "British Musical Renaissance." *Sussex Mummer's Carol* contains such thought-provoking directions as "the tune very much to the fore" (m. 12), "suddenly softer" (m. 20), "louden" (m. 21), and "very feelingly" (m. 25). Clarke, entrenched in traditional performance indications, translated most of these instructions back into Italian within her handwritten copy, writing abbreviations for the Italian "subito piano," "poco sostenuto," "ritardando," etc., though she did write Grainger's tempo indication, "Slowish, but flowing," at the beginning.

The Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol occupies a special place within Clarke's repertoire. Her repeat performances of the work offer a window into her particular strengths as a player. The work also represents the intersection between the aims of the "British Musical Renaissance" and the elevation of the viola as a solo instrument, which were central to Clarke's goals both as a composer and a performer.

Giovanni Battista Grazioli, *arr.* Marchet, Sonata for Viola and Piano

Giovanni Battista Grazioli, 1746–1820, wrote three sets of keyboard sonatas typifying the *galant* style works from the early Classical period; these works feature characteristics such as Alberti bass, monothematicism, recitative style, binary forms, and fast-slow-fast movement tempi schemes.¹⁶⁴ French musicologist, editor, and arranger Gaston Marchet derived his viola arrangement from one of Grazioli's original keyboard sonatas: Sonata No. 5 in G Major, op. 2 for harpsichord, comprising three movements, Allegro moderato, Adagio, and Tempo di Minuetto. Marchet's motives for lowering the key to F major are unknown; the original key of G is generally thought to be more resonant on the viola, but F major does offer some opportunities to utilize harmonics on some key points in specific phrases.

Marchet's arrangement, published by Stainer and Bell, is still in print and available for purchase, but is absent from well-known syllabus lists such as those published by the American String Teachers Association and the Royal Conservatory of Music. Its omission today is unfortunate due to its suitability as a representative piece from the Classical period, appropriate for levels ranging from advanced student to professional. In the early twentieth century the sonata was a well-known and standard staple of the viola repertoire. When Tertis accepted an invitation from Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to perform in the 1923 Berkshire festival, he sent her a list of possible repertoire including the Grazioli sonata.¹⁶⁵ In 1928, Tertis established a competition with a modest cash prize at the Royal Academy of Music for students who had

¹⁶⁴ Barbara L. Hall, Giacomo Fornari, and Sven Hansell, "Grazioli, Giovanni Battista," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 30 2021, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40058>.

¹⁶⁵ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 68.

recently switched from violin to viola. The required repertoire for contestants included the third movement of the Grazioli sonata, and Rebecca Clarke was an adjudicator.¹⁶⁶

By the time of this competition Clarke had given public performances of the work at least twice: in January 1920, she played it alongside her own sonata for viola and piano in New York's Aeolian Hall; on February 21, 1926, she opened her first solo recital appearance on BBC wireless broadcast with the piece.¹⁶⁷ On this occasion, Clarke also played Wagner's *Preislied*, Burmester's French Air from the 18th Century (presumably Tertis's transcription for viola), and a Mazurka by Georg Goltermann, (likely a transcription of one of Goltermann's works for cello and piano). Clarke's diaries reveal that Gordon Bryan covered the piano parts for this performance, but his name is not printed in the *Radio Times* listing.¹⁶⁸

Immediately noticeable in Clarke's parts are the register changes she makes in several places, bringing the part down an octave. These changes appear to fit into two categories. The first is to add variety to repeated phrases. One example is mm. 24–28, where she takes the first six bars down an octave to create a change in register when the same pitches are repeated two bars later in their original notation. This octave displacement reflects the original harpsichord sonata, where Grazioli uses the same effect, but in reverse (fig. 32, next page).

¹⁶⁶ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 86.

¹⁶⁷ "Gives Her Own Sonata: Rebecca Clarke, Viola, Plays with Winifred Christie, Pianist," *New York Times*, January 27, 1920, 18; "London Programmes," *The Radio Times* 10 (February 19, 1926), 394, BBC Genome, accessed June 7, 2022.

¹⁶⁸ Clarke, Diary, February 21, 1926.

Figure 32. Grazioli sonata: Clarke's register changes (top) compared to printed notation (bottom).
Source (top): Giovanni Battista Grazioli, Tempo di Minuetto, *Sonata in F for Viola and Piano*, (London: Stainer and Bell, n.d.), mm. 22–34, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.

Source (bottom): Giovanni Battista Grazioli, Tempo di Minuetto, *Sonata in F for Viola and Piano*, (London: Stainer and Bell, n.d.), mm. 22–34.



The second possible reason Clarke brings the original part down an octave in some places is to showcase the lower registers of the viola. This appears to be the case in the *Tempo di Minuetto*, mm. 49–61, where Clarke's register change requires the use of the C string (fig. 33):

Figure 33. Grazioli sonata: Clarke's register changes (top) compared to printed notation (bottom).
Source (top): Grazioli, Tempo di Minuetto, *Sonata in F for Viola and Piano*, mm. 49–61, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.

Source (bottom): Grazioli, Tempo di Minuetto, *Sonata in F for Viola and Piano*, mm. 49–61.



The first and third movements of Marchet's original arrangement make no use of the C string at all and therefore might as well be played on the violin. As an emissary for her instrument, Clarke likely wanted the arrangements she performed to exhibit the viola's rich low register sonority, setting it apart from the violin as its own unique solo instrument.

George Frideric Handel, arr. Johan Halvorsen, Passacaglia for violin and viola

Johan Halvorsen's arrangement of Handel's Passacaglia for violin and viola has remained a crowd-pleasing staple of the repertoire since its publication in 1893. The Norwegian violinist and conductor based his arrangement on the final Passacaglia movement of Handel's Suite in G Minor for keyboard, HWV 432, successfully preserving its virtuosic flair despite the change in medium. The work remains popular and is performed frequently today, with the viola part sometimes transcribed for cello. Violinist Itzhak Perlman and violist Pinchas Zukerman have famously performed it together several times.

The Passacaglia offered the early twentieth-century violist a rare opportunity to show off technical prowess equal to the violinist duet partner. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Tertis often played it with the violinist Albert Sammons and the two recorded the work on May 27, 1929.¹⁶⁹ Rebecca Clarke performed it at least twice in broadcasts with the Aeolian Players: on June 16th, 1925 with Constance Izard and on November 11, 1927 with Antonio Brosa. At the time of their broadcast, Brosa and Clarke had also recently performed Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante together at the BBC Proms in September 1927.

¹⁶⁹ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 377.

Rebecca Clarke also performed the Passacaglia with Marjorie Hayward in a program presented by the English Ensemble at the Leighton House in London on May 10, 1929. The group received a short but positive review for their program in *The Times*:

The recently formed chamber music party of distinguished women executants, calling themselves the English Ensemble, gave a programme at one of the regular Leighton House concerts on Friday afternoon. Miss Kathleen Long (piano), Miss Marjorie Hayward (violin), Miss Rebecca Clarke (viola), and Miss May Mukle (violoncello) are all soloists of established reputation, and all have had wide experience of ensemble playing. Their performance showed that they can treat big music in a big manner. Their ensemble is an ensemble of understanding, not merely of time and notes, and the whole effect of their playing is musical. A string trio by Beethoven and a duet for violin and viola arranged out of Handel gave an indication of the variety embraced by their repertory.¹⁷⁰

Clarke's viola part has few markings, but the ones she did make again reflect the freedom contemporaneous performers had to change their parts to suit their purposes. In mm. 25–26, Clarke moves the final 16th note down an octave in each bar. The change preserves the bariolage bowing pattern of the first three beats in the measure. It also eliminates large string crossing jumps, creating seamless transitions over bar lines so that the violin melody may flow without interruption (fig. 34).

Figure 34. Handel/Halvorsen, Passacaglia: Clarke's notation changes (top) compared with print (bottom).
Source (top): George Frideric Handel, *Passacaglia for Violin and Viola*, arr. Johan Halvorsen (Leipzig: Hansen, 1919), mm. 25–27, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.
Source (bottom): George Frideric Handel, *Passacaglia for Violin and Viola*, arr. Johan Halvorsen (Leipzig: Hansen, 1919), mm. 25–27.



¹⁷⁰ "Week-End Concerts," *Times*, May 13, 1929, 14.

In the following section, mm. 29–32, Clarke adds third and fourth notes to fill out the pizzicato chords, matching the effect of the violin part’s triple stops. These added notes not only create a more strummed guitar effect, but also allow the performer to execute bigger, more dramatic gestures in performance since the plucking finger is not required to carefully avoid the C string in its attack (fig. 35).

Figure 35. Handel/Halvorsen, Passacaglia: Clarke’s additional notation.

Clarke’s additions are penciled in under the second eighth note in m. 30 (F), m. 31 (E $\flat$), and m. 32 (D).
 Source: Handel, *Passacaglia*, arr. Halvorsen, mm. 29–33, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke’s fondness for harmonics, as seen in the Casadesus concerto, is also evident in her part. In the rapid ascending scale in m. 34, Clarke shifts up the D string to land on the D harmonic an octave above the open string (fig. 36) rather than staying in first position where vibrato and a stronger landing are possible, which is the option taken by Tertis in his recording with Albert Sammons.¹⁷¹

Figure 36. Handel/Halvorsen, Passacaglia: Clarke’s use of harmonic to finish scale. mm. 34–35.
 Source: Handel, *Passacaglia*, arr. Halvorsen, mm. 34–33, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



¹⁷¹ Lionel Tertis and Albert Sammons, “Handel (arr. Halvorsen) Passacaglia,” *Lionel Tertis: The Father of Modern Viola Playing: The Complete Columbia Recordings, 1924–1933*, recorded May 27, 1929, Biddulph Recordings BDF-ED-80216-2.

George Frideric Handel, arr. Gustav Jensen, Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke's collection of sheet music includes a sonata da camera for viola da gamba and cembalo concertato by George Frideric Handel, arranged for viola and piano by Gustav Jensen. Scholars have disputed Handel's authorship of this work due to stylistic differences.¹⁷² Regardless, this work is a fine example of a typical Baroque sonata da camera with its slow-fast-slow-fast movement structure and its contrapuntal interaction between the viola and the right hand of the keyboard as independent voices.

Clarke almost certainly performed this piece, though it is unknown when or where. Her part is heavily marked with bowings and fingerings. She also penciled into the margins the timing of each movement, suggesting preparation for broadcast, but *The Radio Times* does not have record of Clarke performing this work. Clarke also took several passages up an octave in the two fast movements, using straight pins to secure strips of music rewritten in her hand over the original part; the changes in register were most likely for the sake of projection over a busy keyboard part. She is unlikely to have taken such trouble over a work that she did not actually perform.

The Handel sonata is yet another example of Clarke's tendency to play in the high positions on the lower strings. In the first movement in m. 10, she marks "III" on an ascending scale to remain on the G string. She does the same a few bars later (mm. 16–17), marking "IV" on a melodic ascent on the C string. Both of these passages place her in sixth position, giving this movement the richness and warmth she prized (fig. 37, next page).

¹⁷² Terence Best, "Handel's Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity," *Early Music* 13, no. 4 (November 1985): 484; Douglas A. Lee, "Leffloth, Johann Matthias," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed February 3, 2022, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16281>.

Figure 37. Handel/Jensen sonata: Clarke's high positions on the G and C strings.

Source: George Frideric Handel, Adagio, *Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Cembalo Concertato*, arr. Gustav Jensen (London: Augener, n.d.), mm. 6–21, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



This particular work offers several examples of Clarke utilizing fingerings to provide variety of color in repeating sections. In m. 41 in the second movement, she moves to third position just before the last beat to help facilitate the decrescendo (fig. 38).

Figure 38. Handel/Jensen sonata: Clarke's first finger indication in m. 41 provides a color change along with the dynamic change.

Source: Handel, Allegro, *Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Cembalo Concertato*, arr. Jensen, mm. 40–41, part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke makes a similar choice at the beginning of the fourth movement, playing the first two bars mostly in first position, followed by the same material in fourth position in the third and fourth bar. Playing passages more softly on the repeat is a common interpretive choice, and Clarke's fingerings add a dimension of color to enhance such a choice (fig. 39, next page).

Figure 39. Handel/Jensen sonata: Clarke's coloristic fingerings.

Clarke's fingerings in m. 2 keep her on the G string, providing a color change on the repeated notes.

Source: Handel, Allegro, *Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Cembalo Concertato*, arr. Jensen, mm. 1–2, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



These examples might suggest a relationship for Clarke between high positions and soft playing, but her fingerings in mm. 30–33 debunk this assumption: she begins *forte* measures in third position and the repeated *mezzo forte* measures in first position (fig. 40).

Figure 40. Handel/Jensen sonata: Clarke's high positions in *forte* measures.

Clarke stays in third position on the C string in the *forte* measures while shifting to first position on the *mezzoforte* measures.

Source: Handel, Allegro, *Sonata for Viola da Gamba and Cembalo Concertato*, arr. Jensen, mm. 30–33, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke's markings in the Handel/Jensen sonata show that fingerings and choice of string was at the forefront of her approach to achieving variety of color in performance.

Pietro Locatelli, Sonata in G Minor for Viola and Piano, op. 2, no. 6

Pietro Locatelli's Sonata in G Minor, op. 2, no. 6, for flute and keyboard is one of many works arranged for viola by Friedrich Hermann, a nineteenth century German violinist and violist who author Maurice Riley named as "one of the most prolific of all editors and transcribers of music for [viola]."¹⁷³ The four-movement sonata da camera was the first of seven short works Clarke performed on October 15, 1929 in a recital broadcast over the BBC's 5GB

¹⁷³ Riley, *History of the Viola*, 336.

Daventry Experimental, the supplemental station to its main channel, 2LO. Two years prior, 5GB Daventry Experimental had replaced several disparate local stations as radio technology had improved to transmit to a greater geographical distance; this allowed the BBC to unify their programming.

Clarke shared the recital with a vocal quartet known as the Northern Singers, alternating performance slots with them; she and the Northern Singers each received thirty minutes of total broadcast time. Clarke's pianist remained unnamed, as in her other solo broadcast appearances. Her diary entry on September 18, 1929 describes her process of choosing new music for the broadcast as she "[tried] various viola solos with [my mother]. I have to make a BBC programme and have played all old things too often already."¹⁷⁴ On Sunday, October 13, she expressed some anxiety about the speedily approaching event, "[having] waked up to the fact that I play a lot of new solos on Tuesday night. Practiced almost all day."¹⁷⁵ In the end, Clarke did choose at least one piece she was already quite familiar with: *Le Basque* from Marais's Five French Dances; but she also chose the Locatelli sonata, *De Soir* by Vierne, a minuet by Milandre, a waltz by Walthew, and Porpora's *Aria* and the folksong *Old Irish Air*, both arranged by Tertis.¹⁷⁶ All of these works, apart from the Locatelli Sonata, were crowd-pleasing salon pieces. Unlike her programs with the Aeolian Players, Clarke likely considered this broadcast an opportunity to make a name for herself without presenting anything too challenging for the public ear.

¹⁷⁴ Clarke, Diary, Sep. 18, 1929.

¹⁷⁵ Clarke, Diary, Oct. 13, 1929.

¹⁷⁶ "Tuesday, October 15: 5GB Daventry Experimental," *Radio Times* 25, no. 315 (October 11, 1929), 109..

The timing of Clarke's performances in the *Radio Times* indicates that she performed the Locatelli in its entirety. However, only the fourth movement of the viola part and entire piano score remain extant in her sheet music collection. Just over two minutes in length, the fourth movement, *Allegretto moderato ed espressivo*, fits onto a single page. Despite the movement's brevity, Clarke's fingerings still represent a small case study of her freedom as a performer to change notes to suit her purposes, and her tendency to utilize the high positions and harmonics.

The one compositional change Clarke made to this movement was to convert the final note into a G minor chord, enhancing the climactic ending (fig. 41).

Figure 41. Locatelli sonata: Clarke's additional notation.

Clarke adds an additional B $\flat$ and G to the final note, creating a G minor chord.

Source: Pietro Locatelli, *Allegro moderato ed espressivo, Sonata da Camera für Violine (oder Viola) mit Beziffertem Bass*, arr. Friedrich Hermann, (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.), mm. 30–33, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



In mm. 12–13 Clarke shifts to third position to play the *largamente* on the C string, creating a heavier, meatier tone quality while perhaps sacrificing some clarity (fig. 42).

Figure 42. Locatelli sonata: Clarke ends the phrase on the C string.

Source: Locatelli, *Allegro moderato ed espressivo, Sonata da Camera*, arr. Friedrich Hermann, mm. 10–13, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke makes a similar choice in mm. 30–31, shifting to fifth position on the D string (fig. 43, next page).

Figure 43. Locatelli sonata: Clarke shifts to fifth position at the high point of the final phrase (m. 30).
Source: Locatelli, Allegro moderato ed espressivo, *Sonata da Camera*, arr. Friedrich Hermann, mm. 30–33, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Both examples (mm. 12–13 and mm. 30–31) take place at the conclusion of major sections of music, and they show that Clarke may have used the higher positions to heighten the drama at the end of a climactic phrase.

Clarke uses harmonics in the first half of this movement, but in this case they seem driven by convenience rather than color. For example, in m. 2, Clarke's harmonic on the D offer an elegant solution to some otherwise awkward shifting and string crossings (fig. 44).

Figure 44. Locatelli Sonata: Clarke's practical use of harmonics
Source: Locatelli, Allegro moderato ed espressivo, *Sonata da Camera*, arr. Friedrich Hermann, mm. 1–3, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke's use of the G string harmonic in m. 31, however, is more likely to be an interpretive choice, again heightening the drama of the final, climactic phrase in the piece. The physical reach of the harmonic combined with a string crossing would have added a visual component to the new descending scale as she emphasized the G (fig. 45, next page).

Figure 45. Locatelli sonata: Clarke's use of harmonic in a climactic phrase.
 Source: Locatelli, *Allegro moderato ed espressivo, Sonata da Camera*, arr. Friedrich Hermann, mm. 31–32, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



While Clarke's radio listeners would not have seen her on this particular occasion, the fingering choice speaks to a time before blind auditions and before the recording industry was in full swing, when soloists may have put more weight into visible displays of virtuosity as they prepared for live audiences.

Marin Marais, arr. Maude E. Aldis and Louis T. Rowe, *Old French Dances*

Marin Marais's *Old French Dances* have long been a staple of the viola repertoire; they have been recorded by the likes of Yuri Bashmet, Yizhak Schotten, and Bruno Giuranna, and four of the dances appear in Volume 5 of the Suzuki viola method. Published in 1912, these transcriptions of a few of Marais's works for viola da gamba bolstered the viola's limited repertoire at the time. Little is known about the arrangers, Maud E. Aldis and Louis T. Rowe; Aldis was probably a violist as her name is listed third, after the violinists, in two BBC Radio chamber music presentations.¹⁷⁷ The two arrangers are also listed among the founding members of the English Folk Song Society in 1898, an organization whose ranks were later joined by

¹⁷⁷ "Programmes for Wednesday (December 15)," *Radio Times* 13 (December 10, 1926), 531; "London Programmes," *The Radio Times* 10 (March 5, 1926), 492.

Ralph Vaughan Williams, Edward Elgar, and Percy Grainger.¹⁷⁸ The society was at the forefront of early twentieth-century British nationalism in music and published many transcriptions of English folk songs in its print journal's thirty-one issues.¹⁷⁹ While Marais's works for viola da gamba were obviously French and not British, it is likely Aldis and Rowe arranged the five dances in response to the Society's urge to preserve old music no matter its national origin, and to pay homage to England's rich tradition of viola da gamba players in the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. While today's listeners can enjoy fine performances and recordings of Marais's music played on actual viola da gambas, the Baroque instrument had all but died out in the early twentieth century; it would be revived later in the century under such luminaries as Jordi Savall. The dearth of viola da gamba players at the time of the English Folk Song Society's active work would have made the viola a natural alternative.

Clarke played various combinations of the five dances in at least four recitals; one in New York City in 1920 and three separate BBC wireless broadcasts in 1929.¹⁸⁰ Her markings include the timing of each movement near its title, as well as fingering and bowing changes. Some of her fingerings indicate portamento opportunities, such as in m. 9 of the *Rondeau l'Agréable*, the second statement of the opening melody, now raised by an octave. Clarke crosses

¹⁷⁸ Frederick Keel, "The Folk Song Society 1898–1948," *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 5, no. 3 (1948): 111.

¹⁷⁹ Maud Karpeles and Alain Frogley, "English Folk Dance and Song Society," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 8, 2021, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08822>.

¹⁸⁰ "Programs of the Week: Sunday," *New York Tribune*, January 25, 1920, B6; "Thursday, April 11: 2LO & 5XX Daventry," *The Radio Times* 23 (April 5, 1929), 31; "Tuesday, October 15: 5GB Daventry Experimental," *The Radio Times* 25 (October 11, 1929), 109; "Thursday, November 7: 5 GB Daventry Experimental," *The Radio Times* 25 (November 1, 1929), 345.

out the printed fingering, changing the “1” to a “3” so that instead of starting directly in third position, the player is required to shift up to the second note (fig. 46).

Figure 46. Marais, *Old French Dances*: Clarke’s unconventional shift.

Source: Marain Marais, “Rondeau l’Agréable,” *Five Old French Dances for Viola (or Violin) with Pianoforte Accompaniment*, (London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912), mm. 7–13, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



The inconvenience of this shift indicates that its sole purpose is artistic; the shift offers the opportunity for portamento and adds variety in the repetition of the melody, now an octave higher than in the opening measures. Clarke makes a similar choice in *Le Basque*, where in m. 4 she opts to stay in first position at the beginning of the measure and then shifts to third position on her fourth finger to begin the new phrase, while most violists shift to third position at the beginning of the measure (printed fingering). Of the two options, Clarke’s fingering is more risky, requiring great accuracy with the weakest finger, but her choice again affords the opportunity for portamento, and connects the two phrases in a jovial manner, contributing to the rustic character of this dance (fig. 47).

Figure 47. Marais, *Old French Dances*: Clarke’s unconventional shift. *Le Basque*, mm. 1–9.

Clarke shifts from first position to third position mid-measure (m. 4).

Source: Marais, “Le Basque,” *Five Old French Dances*, mm. 1–9, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke’s fingerings contrast with the playing of later violists. In their recordings of *Le Basque*, both Yizhak Schotten and Yuri Bashmet opt out of shifting to third position altogether,

remaining in first position for the first eight measures.¹⁸¹ Lower positions offer greater pitch accuracy as well as more overtones and resonance with the resulting longer string length. Clarke's fingering choices are consistent with the performance practice of her time and indicate a higher consideration of the left hand and shifting as an expressive tool, prioritizing color and variety over clarity and power.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Two Duos for Violin and Viola, K. 423–424

Clarke performed sections of Mozart's Duos for violin and viola on three different occasions from 1928 to 1930 in broadcasts presented by the Aeolian Players. She partnered with Antonio Brosa for the first and second of these performances: on October 21, 1928 they played the Adagio and Rondo from the Duo in G Major and on October 21, 1929 they played the last movement of the Duo in B $\flat$ Major, Andante con Variazioni. The two gave only one other duet performance, the Handel/Halvorsen Passacaglia, in their time with the Aeolian Players and their selection of Mozart duos may have been an affectionate nod towards their acclaimed performance of Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante at the BBC Proms in fall 1927.

Clarke performed the first movement of the G major duo, Allegro, with the violinist Samuel Kutcher on March 4, 1930 (the last of the Aeolian Player's broadcasts before they reassembled as the New Aeolian Players). Kutcher was a well-established figure in the British

¹⁸¹ Yizhak Schotten (viola), *Viola Recital*, with Edward Parmentier (harpsichord), Crystal Records CrystalCD635, January 1, 1989, Naxos streaming audio, accessed April 9, 2021, <https://umd-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=CrystalCD635>; Yuri Bashmet (viola), *Reminiscences*, with Mikhail Muntian (piano), Onyx ONYX4032, 2008, Naxos streaming audio, accessed April 9, 2021, <https://umd-naxosmusiclibrary-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/catalogue/item.asp?cid=ONYX4032>.

music scene and, like Brosa, performed with his own world-renowned eponymous chamber group, the Kutcher Quartet. For this broadcast, Kutcher was probably engaged as a one-time substitute for Antonio Brosa.

Clarke only made markings in the movements listed in the programs for the *Radio Times*, suggesting that the sheet music in Christopher Johnson's collection is indeed the copy she used for these particular broadcasts. Her fingerings show her usual creativity with the left hand. In the first movement of the G major duo, Clarke shifts mid-slur in m. 60, m. 62, and m. 64, resulting in an audible portamento and putting her in third position on the G string during intricate passagework (fig. 48). In contrast, most Primrose followers would have favored the clarity of first, second, or half position in these passages.

Figure 48. Mozart duos: Clarke shifts mid-slur in mm. 60, 62, and 64.
Source: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Allegro, *Duos für Violine und Viola* (Leipzig: Peters, n.d.), mm. 56–64, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



In mm. 46–47 of the second movement, Adagio, Clarke and Brosa make the interpretive choice to play the repeated material in m. 47 at a softer dynamic, *pianissimo*. Clarke shows her thoughtfulness regarding color as she chooses fingerings to enhance the *pianissimo* by playing m. 46 in first position, and then the repeated material m. 47 in fifth position for only four notes in order to stay entirely on the G string (fig. 49, next page).

Figure 49. Mozart duos: Clarke's high position on the G string in the Adagio.

In m. 47 Clarke adds *pianissimo* and shifts to fifth position.

Source: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Adagio, *Duos für Violine und Viola*, mm. 46–49, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke also employs harmonics in several places in this work. The use of harmonics avoids potential color changes from string crossings and offers new opportunities for phrasing and gesture that might be unavailable with traditional fingerings. Clarke's use of harmonics again shows their consistent place in her immediate color palette; she did not consider them special effects for rare occasions, but instead used them often as thoughtful solutions in her creative process.

Hubert Parry, Sarabande from Partita in D Minor for Violin and Piano

Sir Hubert Parry was a well-respected composer and the director of the Royal College of Music from 1898 until his death in 1918, which places Clarke's enrollment at the school during the middle of his tenure. He also held a position at Oxford University and was a major influence on musical development in England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁸²

Parry's relationship with RCM students was personable and kind. The composer Eugene Goossens, a classmate of Clarke's, described Parry in fond terms:

The twinkling-eyed, debonair Sir Hubert, looking more country gentleman than erudite musician, had an encouraging word for everyone. No matter who much of a hurry he was

¹⁸² Jeremy Dibble, "Parry, Sir (Charles) Hubert," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 20, 2021, <https://doi-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20949>.

in, he would stop and shake hands and ask how everything fared. ... He was a ‘friend in need’ to the students, and no problem existed with which he could not effectively cope.¹⁸³

Parry was a friend to Rebecca Clarke when she was in need; after her father threatened to remove her from the school over a dispute over scholarship funds, Parry paid the remainder of her tuition out of his own pocket, claiming the school had a “fund here for just that kind of thing.”¹⁸⁴

Clarke performed the Sarabande from Parry’s Partita for Violin in D Minor in her joint concert with May Mukle at New York City’s Aeolian Hall in February 1918. Her choice to play this work may have been, in part, a tribute to Parry’s generosity. Clarke’s handwritten performance copy of the Sarabande’s piano score shows an exact transcription of Parry’s violin part. Her choice not to change the key or register of the work gave Clarke the opportunity to display her abilities in the high positions on the viola. On the violin, the part goes no higher than third position, easily playable by an intermediate violinist; on the viola, however, the climactic G minor arpeggio at the end of the piece, mm. 28–29, takes the left hand all the way to at least seventh position to reach D6, a considerably more advanced feat requiring more shifting (fig. 50, next page).

¹⁸³ Eugene Goossens, *Overture and Beginners* (London: Methuen, 1951), 65–66.

¹⁸⁴ Clarke, *I Had a Father Too*, 175.

Figure 50. Parry Sarabande: Clarke shifts to a high position in mm. 28–29.

Source: Hubert Parry, *Sarabande, Violin Partita in D Minor*, mm. 24–32, transcribed by hand for viola by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.

As cited in Chapter 1, the *New York Tribune*'s review of Clarke's Aeolian Hall performance specifically mentions her "song-like upper register," and describes the viola itself as "[possessing] something of the flexibility of the violin with the intensity of the 'cello."¹⁸⁵ Because of its high register, Parry's Sarabande would have been a main factor in this assessment. The review highlights Clarke's success in this performance on two fronts: displaying her own virtuosity and demonstrating the soloistic capabilities of the viola.

¹⁸⁵ The other two works for viola and piano on this program, Bridge's *Allegro Appassionato* and Clarke's *Morpheus*, also utilize the upper registers of the viola to great effect. These works and Clarke's thinking in regard to register will be discussed more fully in the final section of Chapter 2: Rebecca Clarke, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*.

Max Reger, Suite no. 1 for Viola Alone, op. 131d

The title page of Clarke's copy of Reger's suites for solo viola is inscribed, "In remembrance of your birthday, from V. Alexieff" and is dated, "Scotland, Conn. Aug. 27, 1937." The date would have been Clarke's fifty-first birthday, and Scotland, Connecticut was the location of Clarke's brother Hans's second home. V. Alexieff's identity is unknown. Reger's Three Suites for Solo Viola were not progressive when they were published in 1916, but the work was a wonderful addition to existing viola repertoire, so lacking in works from the Romantic era. Author David Bynog calls Reger's suites a "glorious achievement for the viola, ... [capturing] the *modern spirit*" even as they "encapsulate Baroque, Classical, and Romantic sensibilities."¹⁸⁶

It is unlikely that Clarke ever performed the suites; her markings appear only in the last movement of the first suite, *Molto vivace*. Her fingerings in this movement are extensive, suggesting that she believed the work of enough value to spend time learning it. Clarke may have planned a performance, not anticipating the dramatic changes to her career a mere two years later when Great Britain entered World War II.

Clarke's fingerings in this movement reveal the broad reach of her hand. After playing an A on the G string, the last note of m. 28, she makes an extension to the following B flat on the A string with her fourth finger to make shifting unnecessary—a rather difficult feat for those of us with smaller hands (fig. 51, next page).

¹⁸⁶ David Bynog, *Notes for Violists: A Guide to the Repertoire*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 232.

Figure 51. Reger Suite no. 1: Clarke makes a fourth finger extension in m. 29.
 Source: Max Reger, *Molto vivace, Drei Suiten für Bratsche Allein, op. 131d*, (Leipzig: Peters, 1916), mm. 28–32, inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



In m. 33, Clarke moves to second position, requiring her to bar the G and D strings with her fourth finger (fig. 52).

Figure 52. Reger Suite no. 1: Clarke’s second position indication requires fourth finger barring.
 Source: Max Reger, *Molto vivace, Drei Suiten für Bratsche Allein, op. 131d*, mm. 33–37, inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Paul Coletti regards the fourth finger barring as an example of Clarke’s British pedagogical roots:

That’s an astonishingly well-trained fingering. Those are the fingerings of the standard scales and arpeggios of the British school. Because you’re in the key of E, you play everything in second position, this was a given in those days. She was trained in this style. Nowadays people are less and less schooled in this dogmatic way and sometimes go for unusual or varied fingerings. Personally I would have gone for a wilder choice for sure to avoid the awkward fourth finger. She, being the great violist she was, obviously was not daunted by the fourth finger as it fits perfectly into the second position system she was fluently accustomed to.¹⁸⁷

Robert Schumann, *Märchenbilder* for viola and piano

Clarke’s collection of sheet music includes Schumann's *Märchenbilder*, but there is no evidence that she ever performed it. The work is marked quite extensively in what appears to be Clarke’s handwriting, but scrawled at the top of the piano score are the words “revus et doigté

¹⁸⁷ Paul Coletti, personal communication, July 7, 2022.

par [reviewed and fingered by] Th. Laforge.” “Th. Laforge” almost certainly refers to Théophile Édouard Laforge, the founder of the first viola program at the Conservatoire de Paris, which Laforge ran from 1893 until his death in 1918.¹⁸⁸ Whether Clarke ever met Laforge in person is entirely unknown. It is possible that she used the Schumann work as a way to study the new instrument when she switched from violin to viola in 1908. Similar to the way she may have copied Tertis’s fingerings for the Brahms Eb sonata directly into her part, she may have copied Laforge’s fingerings on this piece. One of the printed subtitles on the same page reads “Four Pieces for Viola (or Violin) and Piano;” Clarke underlined the word “Viola” while emphatically crossing out the word “violin,” and further emphasized the point by writing the German equivalent underneath it, “Vier Stücke für Pianoforte und Viola.” Clarke may have felt irritated at the thought of violinists usurping one of the few Romantic works originally written for the viola.

While we do not have confirmation that the fingerings in *Märchenbilder* are Clarke’s original conception, they are reflective of performance practice at the time and are evidence of her thinking. The fingerings offer many opportunities for portamento, as exemplified in first movement in the repeated rhythmic motive of a quarter note tied to the first of a series of cascading sixteenth notes, where Clarke marked a descending shift under the slur following the tied note, as in mm. 30–31 (fig. 53, next page).

¹⁸⁸ Nora Hamme, “L’Altiste Oublié: A Short History of Théophile Laforge and the Establishment and Influence of the Viola Studio at the Conservatoire de Paris,” *Journal of the American Viola Society* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2014), 23.

Figure 53. Schumann, *Märchenbilder*: Clarke's descending portamento, I. Nicht schnell, mm. 28–32
 Source: Robert Schumann, *Nicht Schnell, Märchenbilder (Pictures from Fairyland): Four Pieces for Viola (or Violin) and Piano* (New York: Schirmer, 1898), mm. 28–32, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



The fingerings also indicate portamento at the beginning of the fourth movement, *Langsam, mit melancholischem Ausdruck*, in mm 5–8. Especially striking is an ascent from the A to the C#, pickup to mm. 7–8 which is then repeated. Because of an apparent avoidance of string crossings mid-phrase in the rest of the movement, all four notes (A– C#– A– C#) are probably meant to be played entirely with first finger. The resulting portamento would be unavoidable, though it could be varied in terms of start time and speed to avoid redundancy (fig. 54).

Figure 54. Schumann, *Märchenbilder*: Clarke's portamento in the fourth movement.
 Source: Schumann, *Langsam, mit melancholischem Ausdruck, Märchenbilder*, mm. 5–9, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



The fingerings in this work also use high positions on the lower strings for coloristic effect, though to a lesser extent than Clarke seemed to use in other works. In m. 54 of the third movement, in the slower middle section, there is a shift, or possible extension, to fourth finger on the C string (C#) on the repeat of the previous descending fifth. This fingering necessitates an awkward shift or awkward stretch for many violists, but Clarke's large hands and ease with her fourth finger allowed her greater access to this possibility. The fingering creates a darker color

and possible portamento on the second descending C $\sharp$ –F $\sharp$, adding variety to the repeated motive (fig. 55).

Figure 55. Schumann, *Märchenbilder*: Clarke’s fourth finger extension.

Source: Schumann, Rasch, *Märchenbilder*, mm. 53–56, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



A curious bowing in the final phrase of the third movement suggests an interpretation of this work quite different from today’s performances, which usually include a dramatic slowing of the tempo beginning with the pickup to m. 104. The adjustment in tempo offers a greater emphasis on the sforzando note, but usually requires more bow direction changes than are indicated in the part. The video recordings of Tabea Zimmermann and Richard O’Neill, available on YouTube, show both musicians taking an upbow on the G $\sharp$ pickup and a down bow on the sforzando A in m. 104.¹⁸⁹ Both Zimmermann and O’Neill vary their bowings in the following measures to achieve a down bow on the final chord. In contrast, Clarke indicates an up-bow on the G $\sharp$ pickup and slurs until mid-measure in m. 105 (fig. 56).

Figure 56. Schumann, *Märchenbilder*: Clarke’s third movement ending likely stayed in tempo.

Source: Schumann, Rasch, *Märchenbilder*, mm. 100–107, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



¹⁸⁹ Tabea Zimmermann (viola) and Christian Ihle Hadland (Piano), “R. Schumann Märchenbilder,” International Chamber Music Festival, Stavanger, 2010, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/8ofF7-RZeYs>; Richard O’Neill (viola) and Jeremy Denk (piano), “Schumann: Märchenbilder, Op.113: Richard O’Neill & Jeremy Denk,” filmed and broadcasted by MBC, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, https://youtu.be/e_vlf79XUaw.

Slowing the tempo in the manner of Zimmermann and O'Neill would be impractical, if not impossible, while maintaining Clarke's long up-bow slur. Schumann himself does not indicate any tempo changes here, and it is possible that performers in the early twentieth century ended this movement in tempo as written, sharply contrasting with most modern interpretations.

Lional Tertis, *Old Irish Air* for viola and piano

Clarke performed Tertis's arrangement, *Old Irish Air*, in her broadcast with the Northern Singers on October 15, 1929. *Old Irish Air* is a setting of the Irish tune "The Sixpence," also known as "Tis not the Tear," as seen in William Forde's collection of British melodies (fig. 57).¹⁹⁰

Figure 57. Tertis, *Old Irish Air*: source material for Tertis's arrangement.
Source: William Forde, arranger, *300 National Melodies of the British Isles, Vol. 3: 100 Irish airs*, (London: R. Cocks & Co., ca. 1841), 12.



The tune can also be found in Charles Villiers Stanford's 1895 settings of *The Irish Melodies* by Thomas Moore, one of many volumes of works resulting from Stanford's efforts to publish, preserve, and disseminate Ireland's folk music. The defining feature of "The Sixpence" is its flattened seventh scale degree; Stanford was critical of Moore for raising it in his original collection.¹⁹¹ Tertis's 1925 arrangement of the tune uses the flattened seventh, but only in the

¹⁹⁰ William Forde, arranger, *300 National Melodies of the British Isles, Vol. 3: 100 Irish airs*, London: R. Cocks & Co., ca. 1841, 12.

¹⁹¹ Charles Villiers Stanford and Thomas Moore, *The Irish Melodies: op. 60*, London; New York: Boosey, 1895, 8.

final A section of this song in AABA form. The change adds a profound contrast to the final iteration of an otherwise simple melody.

Figure 58. Clarke, *Lullaby: An Arrangement of an Ancient Irish Tune*: source material.
 Source: “A Lullaby. From Miss Ross,” George Petrie, *The Complete Collection of Irish Music, Part II*, ed. Charles Villiers Stanford. (London: Boosey, 1902), 256.

In Clarke's arrangement, the viola plays the same tune in its opening measures, now transposed from E $\flat$ Major to D $\flat$ Major. The tune may have held some attraction to Clarke by its trace resemblance to another lullaby well known to her: "Geistliches Wiegenlied," the second of Brahms's *Zwei Gesänge*, op. 91. Both lullabies begin by outlining a major triad in 6/8 (fig. 59, next page).

Figure 59. Brahms, *Geistliches Wiegenlied*: lullaby melody outlines a major triad, similar to Irish lullaby. Source: Johannes Brahms, “Geistliches Wiegenlied,” *Zwei Gesänge für eine Altstimme mit Bratsche und Pianoforte*, op. 91 (Berlin: Simrock, 1884), mm. 1–11.

Andante con moto.
pdolce espressa.

Johannes Brahms, Op. 91 No 2

(Jo - sef, lie - ber Jo - sef mein, hilf mir wieg'n mein Kind - lein fein, Gott der wird dein
(Jo - seph, dear - est Jo - seph mine, help me rock him, ba - by mine, God's re - ward will
(Saint Jo - seph, mon ben pa - tron, aide à ber - cer mon pou - pon, Dieu te re - com
Loh - ner sein, im Him - mel - reich der Jung - frau Sohn, Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a.)
too be thine, in heav'n a - bove, the Vir - gin's son, Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a.)
pen - se - ra, au Pa - ra - dis il l'en - ver - ra, Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a.)

Like “The Sixpence,” Miss Ross’s “Lullaby” features an altered scale degree, this time a raised fourth. Author Callum MacDonald called the alteration “the most distinctive feature of this lilting 6/8 tune, ... [the] highly chromatic turn ... brings the tritone A $\sharp$ into unusual prominence.”¹⁹³

The altered scale degrees in both Irish tunes may have had exotic appeal for Tertis and Clarke in their respective arrangements. Clarke’s is much more harmonically progressive than Tertis’s as she explores the raised fourth scale degree through chromaticism in the piano part. MacDonald compares her “sinuously accompanimental figures,” “imitative polyphonic texture,” and “ambiguous tritonal resonance” in this setting to Bartók’s early piano works, similarly based on modes not found in traditional Western European art music.¹⁹⁴ Clarke may thus have deemed her own progressive setting of the *Lullaby* too unfamiliar for the ears of her wireless broadcast listeners, leading her to choose Tertis’s arrangement over her own for this performance.

¹⁹³ Calum MacDonald, “Rebecca Clarke’s Chamber Music (I),” *Tempo* 160 (March 1987), 16.

¹⁹⁴ MacDonald, “Rebecca Clarke’s Chamber Music (I),” 17.

As in *Komm', Süßer Tod*, Tertis's printed fingerings in *Old Irish Air* display his typical penchant for portamento and high positions on the lower strings, including a substantial passage entirely on the C string (mm. 20–29). Clarke again defers to her former teacher's fingerings except in one place, where she crosses out the first finger marked under the second of two pickups to m. 35, and instead shifts to first finger in fourth position on the first beat of 35 (fig. 60).

Figure 60. Tertis, *Old Irish Air*: Clarke moves the portamento to a strong beat.
 Source: *Old Irish Air*, arr. Lionel Tertis (New York: Schirmer, 1925), mm. 31–35, viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



The change, while small, supports the idea that Clarke preferred to execute portamento while coming into a strong beat rather than a weak one, a predilection that has a much stronger prevalence in fingerings she writes into her piece, *Dumka*.

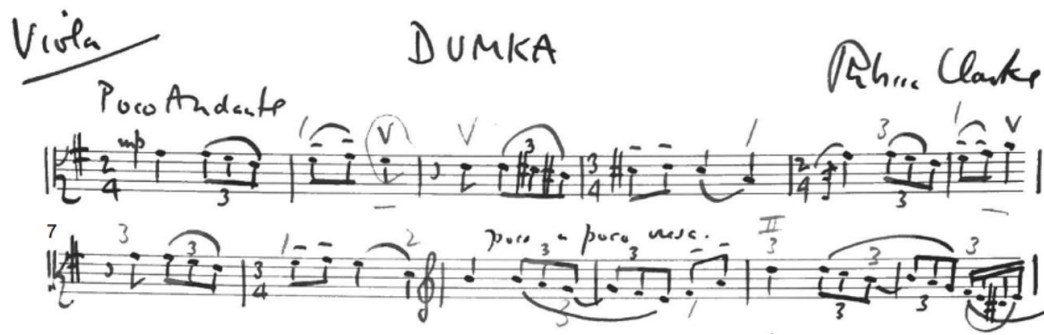
Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka* for violin, viola, and piano

Like the viola sonata, Clarke's *Dumka* for violin, viola, and piano, written sometime between 1940 and 1941, is a rare example of Clarke's performance markings written into a work she composed herself. *Dumka*, like many of Clarke's works, was not published during her lifetime, and there is no record of her performing it. In the published edition of the work, the editor, Christopher Johnson, notes that Clarke's manuscript markings in the viola part and piano score, "suggest that at some point Clarke tried the piece over with colleagues, playing the viola part herself."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Christopher Johnson, in Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka: Duo Concertante for Violin and Viola, with Piano*, ed. Christopher Johnson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.

Clarke's fingerings in the viola part reflect her slight preference for shifting into high points of phrases, as evidenced by the first fourteen bars. The first two bars contain a thematic rhythmic motive of quarter, triplet, eighth, eighth, and quarter notes, which is repeated twice more within this first section. Clarke consistently shifts into the first eighth note on beat one of the second measure of this rhythmic motive (mm. 2, 6, and 8); this portamento emphasis in the middle of the rhythmic motive indicates her view that the first eighth note after the triplet is a high point of the phrase. For performers wishing to replicate Clarke's conception of *Dumka*, her fingerings may indicate a slight swelling towards the first eighth note followed by a slight diminuendo (fig. 61).

Figure 61. Clarke, *Dumka*: Clarke prefers portamento on strong beats and high points of phrases.
Source: Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka*, viola part, mm. 1–11, manuscript with Clarke's performance markings, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



Clarke's markings in *Dumka*, like most of the works she performed, also display her penchant for high positions on the lower strings during passionate moments. In m. 140, at the climactic arrival in Tempo I, Clarke indicates to stay on the G string, including an octave leap to sixth position in m. 144 (fig. 62).

Figure 62. Clarke *Dumka*: Clarke remains on the G string following a climactic arrival.
Source: Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka*, viola part, mm. 140–145, manuscript with Clarke's performance markings.



At the end of the piece, in m. 277, she writes “IV,” shifting up to stay on the C string in fifth position. A few bars later, m. 281, she writes a “2” over the A; though ambiguous, Clarke’s track record of enjoying the warmth of the high G string suggests that she means seventh position on the G string rather than third position on the D string. This dramatic shift up the G string, delicate within a *piano* dynamic, supports a slight slowing into the cadence at m. 282. This slowing not only accommodates the shift, but also sets up the mysterious quality of the concluding bars of the piece (fig. 63).

Figure 63. Clarke *Dumka*: Clarke’s use of high positions on the C and G strings.
 Source: Rebecca Clarke, *Dumka*, viola part, mm. 276–288, manuscript with Clarke’s performance markings.



Clarke’s fingerings in *Dumka* offer an opportunity to study her performance indications in a work of her own making. Her use of portamento to enhance phrasing and her preference for the rich, dark timbre of the high positions over the clarity of the lower positions can help inform performers today in their interpretations of her other works for viola.

Rebecca Clarke, Sonata for Viola and Piano

Due to its high level of virtuosity, Rebecca Clarke’s Sonata for Viola and Piano provides further evidence of her mastery of the instrument.¹⁹⁶ The work predates the sonatas by Bax and

¹⁹⁶ Paul Coletti, personal communication, July 7, 2022.

Bliss, the only extant works in her own sheet music collection that rival her own sonata in terms of technical demand. In the year prior to writing the viola sonata, Clarke had been thinking about expanding the viola's higher register. In her 1918 debut recital in New York's Aeolian Hall, Clarke performed three pieces for viola and piano, all of which utilize the higher regions of the A string: Frank Bridge's *Allegro Appassionato* (highest pitch is B5), Clarke's *Morpheus* (E♭6), and Parry's *Sarabande* (D6). Clarke expanded the viola's range even further in her viola sonata, in the first movement to E6 in m. 106 (fig. 64) and in the second movement to A6 (fig. 65).¹⁹⁷

Figure 64. Clarke sonata: high register in the first movement, m. 106.

Source: Rebecca Clarke, *Impetuoso, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano* (London: Chester, 1921), mm. 101–110.



Figure 65. Clarke sonata: high register in the second movement.

Source: Clarke, *Vivace, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 41–45.



¹⁹⁷ There are a few examples of viola parts written in a high range previous to Clarke's sonata. Mozart's *Sinfonia Concertante* famously reaches E♭6 in the final movement, though if played scordatura as originally intended, the note would be played as D6. The range in York Bowen's works for viola (two sonatas and a concerto, written between 1905–1906) is comparable to Clarke's viola sonata; his *Sonata no. 1 in C Minor for Viola and Piano* also uses the A6 harmonic. The highest note in Bowen's *Viola Concerto* is C7.

In expanding the viola's range in her sonata, it is possible that Clarke was responding to the New York Tribune's praise of her "song-like upper register."¹⁹⁸ She was also doing for the viola what Paganini and others had done for the violin in the previous century: creating repertoire that pushed traditional technical boundaries of the instrument in order to showcase her own abilities.

In the year following the sonata's success at the 1919 Berkshire Festival, Clarke spent a great deal of time promoting the sonata through her own performances of it. In the United States, her efforts brought her to Detroit, Buffalo, Boston, and New York City, where she played the sonata in multiple public recitals with great success.¹⁹⁹ In her diaries, she also recounts private performances for the conductor Walter Damrosch and pianist Benno Moiseiwitsch.²⁰⁰ In January 1920 she returned to New York City where she had, as the *New York Times* put it, "the novel experience of presenting her own [sonata] at Aeolian Hall ... for the first time in New York."²⁰¹ Clarke was more than satisfied with her performance, writing, "Saved myself up all day for the evening. Felt very nervous. ... Concert went off extremely well. Had tremendous success with sonata & also solos. Very enthusiastic house. Jolly party here after, about 80 people."²⁰² The *New York Tribune* reviewed the recital, praising Clarke as both performer and composer:

¹⁹⁸ "Music: Miss Rebecca Clark Demonstrates Beauty of the Viola, Instrument Rarely Heard Alone," *New York Tribune*, February 14, 1918, 9.

¹⁹⁹ "New Trio Will Play 3 Attractive Programs," *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1919, C1; "Music," *Buffalo Courier*, November 20, 1919, 83; "Musical at Brooklyn Music School Settlement," *Brooklyn Life*, April 3, 1920, 13; Clarke, Diary, December 7–9, 1919; December 10–11, 1919; January 26–27; March 4, 1920; March 14, 1920.

²⁰⁰ Clarke, Diary, December 3, 1919; March 22, 1920.

²⁰¹ "Gives Her Own Sonata: Rebecca Clarke, Viola, Plays with Winifred Christie, Pianist," *New York Times*, January 27, 1920, 18.

²⁰² Clarke, diary, January 26, 1920.

“Into the three movements the young woman has crowded the emotions of a sensitive nature. ... The second movement has spectacular glissandos for the piano and showy passages for both instruments in unusual combinations. It is evident that Miss Clarke has listened sympathetically to the music of French and Spanish composers. It is in the third movement that the composer has shown her greatest genius, for here the music is mystical and macabre, in places as poignant, as moving as anything heard in the death chamber of Melisande. The beauty of the opening theme of this movement first announced by the piano alone will not soon be forgotten. Wholly in keeping with the character of its last pages the sonata ends with a question. Had Miss Clarke written nothing more than this last part it would be enough to stamp her as a composer of remarkable talent. Like her composition, her playing was of a high order of merit.”²⁰³

Clarke soon returned to London where she continued the work of promoting her sonata.

In May 1920, Clarke performed it privately for Lionel Tertis, who performed it himself the following month.²⁰⁴ Clarke gave the London premier of the sonata on May 31 in London’s Aeolian Hall, to largely positive reviews. Despite its critique of her “somewhat invertebrate playing,” in comparison with Tertis, *The Sackbut* reported,

The sonata is distinguished by clear-flowing melodic outlines and a refreshing absence of turgidity; the slow movement, a meditative study in greys, rather in the style of Vaughan Williams, is particularly beautiful. This is easily the best work we have had from a woman composer for a long time—though music has no genders and such a consideration is really irrelevant to its quality.²⁰⁵

Calling the sonata “admirably suited to the viola,” the *Morning Post* named it “the most striking work of the day for the viola, [taking] a very high place amongst contemporary music. Possibly nothing could be more imaginative than the Vivace, certainly nothing more impressive than the Adagio; the end alone seemed abrupt. It was received with complete approval.”²⁰⁶

²⁰³ “Miss Clarke Interprets Her Own Composition,” *New York Tribune*, January 27, 1920, 13.

²⁰⁴ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 59–60.

²⁰⁵ “Contingencies,” *Sackbut* 1, no. 3 (London: July 1920), 109.

²⁰⁶ “New Viola Music,” *Morning Post*, Jun 1, 1920.

The Daily Telegraph, while calling her skills as a melodist “adequate” and “rarely, if ever striking,” did praise her “ingenuity as a [compositional] technician” and called Clarke “a violist of talent” who “played it well,” adding that as a performer “she was better in her own sonata” than other works in her program.²⁰⁷

In 1921, Clarke played the sonata in London’s Mortimer Hall on April 5 in a program that included May Mukle in some capacity.²⁰⁸ The following month, she played it again with the pianist Winifred Christie in Wigmore Hall. The *Daily Telegraph* reporting that the sonata “was well played by Miss Clarke and by Miss Christie, whose performance of this, as of all other pieces in her programme, revealed unusual care and distinction.”²⁰⁹ She played the sonata again in New York City in 1922 in a concert dedicated to composers performing their own works.²¹⁰ In October 1925, she and her colleagues presented a concert of her works at Wigmore Hall, including the sonata, and she performed it again the following week over BBC broadcast.²¹¹ The Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers include a flyer promoting Clarke’s viola playing as well as the sonata (fig. 66, next page).

²⁰⁷ “A Viola Sonata,” *Daily Telegraph*, June 2, 1920, 15.

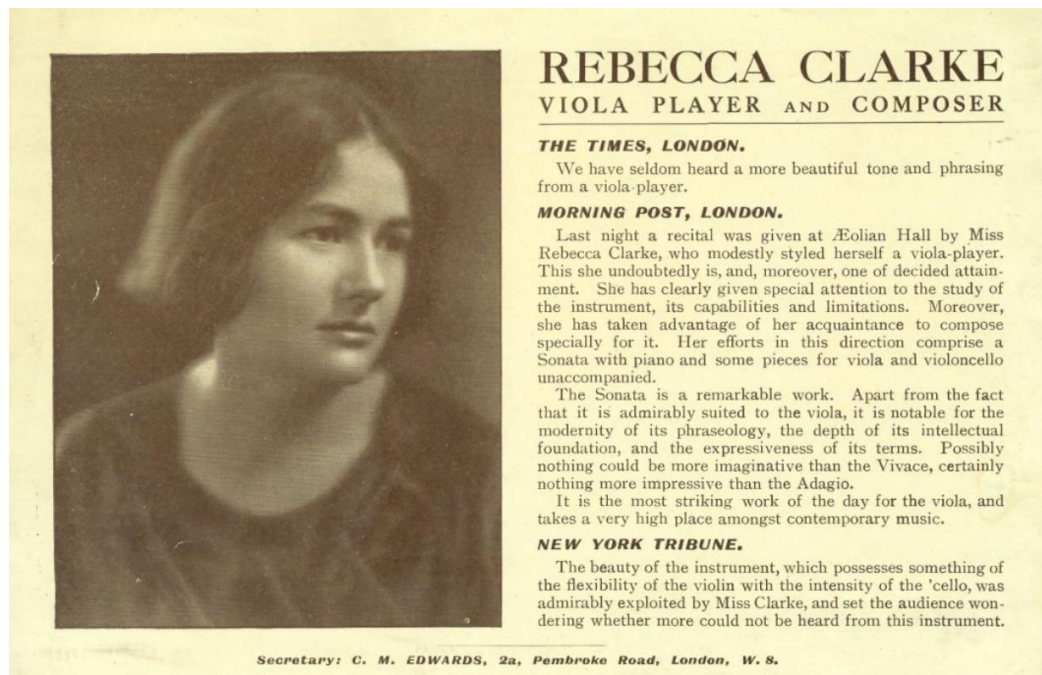
²⁰⁸ “Spring Concerts,” *Times*, April 4, 1921, 8.

²⁰⁹ “Miss Winifred Christie’s Recital,” *Daily Telegraph*, May 30, 1921, 6.

²¹⁰ “Composers’ Concert at Cooper Union,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 12, 1922, 44.

²¹¹ “Miss Clarke as Composer,” *Guardian*, October 22, 1925, 12; “London Programmes,” *Radio Times*, October 23, 1925, 204.

Figure 66. Flyer promoting Rebecca Clarke as a viola player and composer
Source: Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com



Clarke's repeat performances of her sonata did not go unnoticed, and they received praise. A reviewer for the *Christian Science Monitor* remarked:

When a work wears well after several hearings one may regard it as having attained definite status. "It will wash," Beethoven used to say—very high praise, if the laundries of his day were as destructive as ours! It was this quality of persisting excellence which most distinguished the concert of her own compositions given by Miss Rebecca Clarke at Wigmore Hall on Oct. 21. Her Sonata for viola and pianoforte, her Duets for viola and violoncello, and her Trio for pianoforte, violin and violoncello, have all been heard before. They emerge from the test of rehearsing extremely well.²¹²

In other words, by 1925 the sonata was well known, largely due to Clarke's own actions.

Christopher Johnson names Clarke's self-promotion as a "crucial element of Clarke's career that has been systematically misrepresented—namely, how assiduously, and how brilliantly, she

²¹² M. M. S. "On Some Second Thoughts: Rebecca Clarke's Concert," *Christian Science Monitor*, November 13, 1925.

promoted herself and her compositions.”²¹³ Clarke’s performances of her sonata are also a testament to the confidence she had in her own playing; she saw her own viola skills as her sonata’s best chance at winning audiences. In all, the early 1920s are a striking example of Clarke assuming the role of composer-performer, amplifying her career in both arenas as her fame increased in the U.S. and England.

Clarke’s collection of sheet music includes two copies of her own viola sonata in print. The Library of Congress also holds a handwritten score, which we may assume was submitted for the 1919 competition and used in performance at the time as it contains performance markings written by the pianist. There are no performance indications for the viola in this score beyond a few bow direction indications and string indications. The Library of Congress manuscript is available to the public on the IMSLP website (International Music Score Library Project). The two print copies in Clarke’s personal collection are easily distinguishable as one is labeled “Rebecca Clarke” and the other labeled “Rebecca Friskin,” her married name; hereafter I will refer to these as the “Clarke part” and the “Friskin part,” respectively. Clarke’s fingerings vary between the two parts. There is no documentation of a public performance by Clarke after 1940, but the existence of the Friskin part shows that she may have performed it privately later in life, or at the very least that she was still thinking creatively about the fingerings in her sonata even after she had retired from public performance.

Viola fingerings have been the subject of debate since the instrument’s emergence as a solo instrument. Tertis revealed his strong opinions by detailing many specific fingerings in his

²¹³ Christopher Johnson, *Rebecca Clarke, Viola-Player and Composer: A Life*, unpublished manuscript, last modified March 26, 2023, Microsoft Word file.

published editions, transcriptions, and arrangements of viola works. Primrose was likewise assertive about his fingerings, even at times dictatorial:

I must confess that it irks me no little—and I emphasize this ‘no little’—when I listen to an auditioner, aspiring to my class, re-finger the passage from the Bartók Concerto, which I have expressly marked. ... Later, with lofty disdain, he frequently ignores my suggestion, well thought out for colourful effect, of the fingering of the passage toward the end of the first movement in favour of a mean-spirited and drab [fingering]. ... I remind him that such a colouristic fingering was put down only after careful study and having also been subjected to a lot of performance experience. Such fingerings would better not be changed capriciously.²¹⁴

Compared with Tertis and Primrose, Clarke showed less concern with imposing specific fingerings; Toby Appel stated that “she was tickled pink about the changes that I made to fingerings” when he and Emanuel Ax played her sonata for her in preparation for a 1976 WNYC broadcast celebrating her ninetieth birthday.²¹⁵ Clarke’s markings also reflect a perspective that these decisions were at the personal discretion of the performer. The fair copies (manuscripts ready to send for publication) of her published works contain no fingerings, except to indicate coloristic effects such as harmonics or high positions on lower strings. In the sonata’s Clarke and Friskin parts, she sometimes also crosses out printed performance directions, showing that even printed indications may not necessarily be binding.

The first example of this is in the Clarke part during the viola’s opening cadenza, where Clarke crosses out the printed “sul C” direction over bar four, where she remains in first position to execute a string crossing to play the fifth rather than a descending portamento on the C string (fig. 67, next page).

²¹⁴ Primrose, in Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*, 115–116.

²¹⁵ Toby Appel, personal communication, March 24, 2023.

Figure 67. Clarke sonata: Clarke crosses out “sul C” in m. 4.

Source: Clarke, *Impetuoso, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano* (London: Chester, 1921), mm. 1–7, “Clarke part” inscribed by Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



Remaining in first position is a common performance practice today; a cursory YouTube search reveals that this fingering is used by Richard O’Neill, Katherine Murdock, and Gérard Caussé, while the sul C fingering is used by Marina Thibeault and Sheila Browne.²¹⁶ Clarke’s apparent sanctioning of both fingerings at different times puts the creative onus back onto the violist, a gift that allows performers to take into consideration their own strengths, as well as the particular qualities of their instrument.

Clarke also strikes out the specific string indications in several other places throughout the sonata. In the final bars of the first movement, she crosses out “sul G” on the arrival of the final B, repeated three times, instead playing it in third position on the D string (fig. 68, next page).

²¹⁶ Richard O’Neill (viola) and Jeremy Denk (piano), “Clarke: Sonata for Viola and Piano,” filmed and broadcasted by MBC, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/QMK2IG8FvvE>; Katherine Murdock (viola) and Audrey Andrist (piano), “#Declassified: Rebecca Clarke and Viola Sonata at 100,” Library of Congress, recorded March 2, 2019, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/GSxDGMDF2bc>; Gérard Caussé (viola) and Katya Apekisheva (piano), “Gérard Caussé viola: Rebecca Clarke Sonata for Viola and Piano,” recorded live at Oxford May Music Festival 2016, Holywell Music Hall, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/AtwjIUCQPgY>; Marina Thibeault (viola) and Marie-Ève Scarfone (piano), “Rebecca Clarke: Sonata 1919: Marina Thibeault & Marie-Ève Scarfone,” recorded by Pascale Piché (video) and Jack Kelly (audio), Red Path Hall, Montreal, December 2017, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/7z1qB2n4fFI>; Sheila Browne (viola) and Allie Su (piano), “Clarke: Sonata for Viola and Piano: Sheila Browne,” Live recording, YouTube, accessed May 24, 2022, <https://youtu.be/YCPSwD4iIok>.

Figure 68. Clarke sonata: Clarke crosses out “sul G” in m. 181.

Source: Clarke, *Impetuoso, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 177–185, viola part inscribed by Clarke.



In the second movement, Clarke strikes out both high position indications at the beginning of the slower-paced B section, in mm. 59 and 69 (fig. 69).

Figure 69. Clarke sonata: Clarke crosses out “sul G” in m. 59 and “sul D” in m. 69.

Source: Clarke, *Vivace, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 59–72, viola part inscribed by Clarke.



Her changes here show that for this particular performance, she may have been seeking transparency, simplicity, and clarity rather than the warmth, effort, and complexity that comes with the high positions.

The elimination of these high positions in the Clarke part is indeed technically easier, but her choices as a performer under pressure should not be considered shortcuts. She kept some of the high position fingerings most difficult to execute, such as in mm. 53–55 in the third movement. It’s clear that she remained “sul D” through the B and the *tenuto* G, since she wrote “III” under the following A, indicating a string crossing to G in eighth position. The resulting effect in a *pianissimo* dynamic is much softer and more fragile than the equivalent G on the A string (fig. 70, next page).

Figure 70. Clarke sonata: Clarke follows her “sul D” direction in mm. 53–56.

Source: Clarke, *Adagio, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 51–56, viola part inscribed by Clarke.



Similarly, Clarke pencils in some high positions that are not indicated in the printed music: for example, in the third movement, she writes “IV” under the bar line between mm. 83 and 84, indicating that the pickups and following two-bar phrase ought to be played on the C string (fig. 71).

Figure 71. Clarke sonata: Clarke adds “IV” in m. 84 (very faint in this reproduction).

Source: Clarke, *Adagio, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 79–85, viola part inscribed by Clarke.



A glance at the second movement of the sonata shows Clarke’s interest in harmonics as a compositional effect as the movement features them prominently. Clarke also penciled in harmonics in several places in both the Clarke part and the Friskin part. In the Clarke part, she adds a harmonic to the first note of m. 94 in the first movement (fig. 72, next page).

Figure 72. Clarke sonata: Clarke uses a harmonic at the beginning of m. 94.

Source: Clarke, *Impetuoso, Sonata for Viola (or Violoncello) and Piano*, mm. 94–100, viola part inscribed by Clarke.



In the Friskin part, she adds a harmonic to the high E and high D in mm. 106 and 107, indicating that the D should be played on the D string to obtain equivalent pitch (fig. 73).

Figure 73. Clarke sonata: Clarke uses harmonics in both notes in mm. 106–107.

Source: Rebecca Clarke, *Impetuoso, Sonata for Viola and Piano* (London: Chester, 1921), mm. 101–110, “Friskin” viola part inscribed by Rebecca Clarke, Rebecca Clarke and James Friskin Papers.



In the Clarke part, in the second movement, in m. 40, she writes “II” over the A harmonic, indicating that it should be played on the high end of the D string instead of on the A string, a rather extraordinary feat at such a fast tempo, adding to the virtuosic effect of this movement (fig. 74).

Figure 74. Clarke sonata: Clarke indicates A5 harmonic on the D string in m. 40

Source: Clarke, *Vivace, Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 37–40, “Clarke part” inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



This choice recalls the same stunt in m. 38 in the first movement of the Casadesus Concerto, where she vaults herself to the same high harmonic; in both instances there also would have been portamento. Finally, in the second movement of the Clarke part, Clarke pencils in a harmonic

over the G in m. 158 (fig. 75). The choice creates a color change, adding variety on the repeat of the notes in mm. 155–156. The harmonic also offers the opportunity for tasteful portamento if the performer desires.

Figure 75. Clarke sonata: Clarke writes a harmonic over the G in m. 158.

Source: Clarke, Vivace, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 154–160, “Clarke part” inscribed by Rebecca Clarke.



Clarke’s markings in her own viola sonata manifest her deep-seated creativity, as well as her high value of color and effect over accuracy and risk-avoidance. Those performers wishing to find the one “right” or “authentic” way to play the sonata will be disappointed as they find that Clarke was still experimenting with timbre and fingerings decades after she wrote it. Her own creative approach leaves room for many possibilities for modern violists wishing to perform any of her works, but there are some items to keep in mind. Modern-day performance practice often frowns on excessive portamento, but since the sonata and other works come directly from a violist who used it frequently, its application is entirely appropriate. Fingerings should thus be chosen for color and timbre rather than convenience, cleanliness, or reliability. Natural harmonics may also be used even when not indicated, particularly when they add to the performer’s intended effect in a specific passage. Any technical solution that enhances a performer’s virtuosity as perceived by the audience is also worth considering.

Conclusion

Current literature on Rebecca Clarke has, at times, implied that Clarke could or should have continued to perform and compose after World War II. Authors of *A Rebecca Clarke Reader* prompted Dwight Pounds, Ph.D., in his review of the volume, to ask why she did not write more music:

Clarke, blessed both with good health and length of years, three decades before her death reached a point beyond which she chose no longer to compose. Why? Many reasons are suggested, i.e., changing interests and time constraints, but no definitive cause seems to emerge. Blaming her lack of recognition on being a woman in a late-Victorian man's world, while legitimate, is also convenient. She freely admitted that she was a poor businesswoman but did not seem to realize the extent of her self-deprecation, which is revealed time and again in this book. However legitimate the reasons, the violist in me ponders what might have been had this marvelously creative mind been inclined to write one or two more sonatas, perhaps a suite, some songs with viola *obbligato*, and some chamber music in her mature years.²¹⁷

Towards the end of her life, Clarke explained that there was “nothing in the world more thrilling” than composing, but that “I can’t do it unless it’s the first thing I think of every morning when I wake and the last thing I think of every night before I go to sleep, and that I have it in my mind all the time. And if one allows too many other things to take over, one’s liable not to be able to do it. That’s been my experience.”²¹⁸

Clarke’s personal reasons notwithstanding, her fame in England, due to her many performances on and off the radio that included her own works, challenges the idea that she was a “poor businesswoman” or that her “self-deprecation” prevented her from reaching her full

²¹⁷ Dwight Pounds, “Book Review: A Rebecca Clarke Reader,” *Journal of the American Viola Society* 22, no. 2 (Fall, 2006), 32.

²¹⁸ Rebecca Clarke, interview by Robert Sherman, trans. by the author, “Rebecca Clarke 90th Birthday,” August 30, 1976, The NYPR Archive Collections, accessed March 23, 2023, <https://www.wnyc.org/story/rebecca-clarke-90th-birthday/>.

potential during the prime of her life.²¹⁹ The misguided idea that Clarke gave up on her career is pervasive in the viola community. I am excited that my research has allowed me to present new information about her varied and prolific performing career, which in fact spanned thirty-five years. By the time World War II ended, Clarke was fifty-nine years old and experiencing rheumatoid arthritis that made playing difficult and uncomfortable. Life expectancy in the United States in 1950 was only sixty-eight;²²⁰ Clarke, not knowing that she would live to the age of ninety-three, may thus have felt that she did not have much time left to enjoy retirement. Her retirement age is also comparable to that of her fellow viola emissaries. Tertis stopped performing before the war in 1937 when he was sixty-one, also due to arthritis.²²¹ Primrose, too, experienced health problems that affected his performance career; he first noticed a hearing problem due to residual side effects from an illness in his early forties, which greatly affected his playing and caused him much distress.²²² After a heart attack in 1963 at the age of fifty-nine, Primrose stopped performing altogether, devoting his remaining years to teaching. That same year, Hindemith died at the age of sixty-eight. Given that none of these men pushed their artistic careers much further than Clarke did, she seems to have been unfairly judged in this regard.

Violists frequently revere Tertis, Primrose, and Hindemith as pioneers of our oft-neglected instrument. While Rebecca Clarke did not perform as many viola concertos with

²¹⁹ Pounds, “Book Review: A Rebecca Clarke Reader,” 32.

²²⁰ Max Roser, Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, and Hannah Ritchie, “Life Expectancy,” OurWorldinData.org, 2013, last updated October 2019, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://ourworldindata.org/life-expectancy>.

²²¹ White, *Lionel Tertis*, 136.

²²² William Primrose, *Walk on the North Side: Memoirs of a Violist*, (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press), 1978.

orchestras as her male contemporaries, her work promoting the viola as a first-class performer should be justly recognized, and she is owed a place among the great twentieth-century proponents of the instrument. My sincere hope is that this document honors her contribution by bringing to light information about her impressive performance career, as well as highlighting her specific strengths and style as a violist.

Appendix A: Caroline Castleton's Dissertation Recital Program

Caroline Castleton

Viola

Joined by:

Jessica McKee, piano

Brianne Steif, flute

Olivia O'Brien, voice

Amir Nasser, violin

February 11, 2023. 2 PM
ULRICH RECITAL HALL

PROGRAM

<i>Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol</i> for viola and piano	Percy Grainger 1882–1961
Variations on “Bonny Sweet Robin” for flute, viola, and piano	Ethel Smyth 1858–1944
<i>Komm', Süsßer Tod</i> (“Come, Sweet Death”) for viola and piano	Johann Sebastian Bach 1685–1750 Arr. Lionel Tertis 1876–1975
Zwei Gesänge for alto, viola, and piano I. Gestille Sehnsucht II. Geistliches Wiegenlied	Johannes Brahms 1833–1897
–Intermission–	
<i>Dumka</i> for violin, viola, and piano	Rebecca Clarke 1886–1979
Concerto in B Minor for Viola, attributed to Handel I. Allegro moderato II. Andante ma non troppo III. Allegro molto (Cadenza by Rebecca Clarke)	Henri Casadesus 1879–1947

Appendix B: Clarke's Candenza to the Casadesus Concerto, Third Movement

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ALTO

Handwritten musical score for Alto, titled "Clarke's Candenza to the Casadesus Concerto, Third Movement". The score is written on ten staves. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff contains measures 36-37. The second staff contains measures 38-39. The third staff contains measures 40-41. The fourth staff contains measures 42-43. The fifth staff contains measures 44-45. The sixth staff contains measures 46-47. The seventh staff contains measures 48-49. The eighth staff contains measures 50-51. The ninth staff contains measures 52-53. The tenth staff contains measures 54-55. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Handwritten annotations include "poco rit.", "a tempo", "cresc.", "f", "p", "allarg.", "meno", "poco e poco in tempo", and "meno". Measure numbers 37, 38, 39, and 40 are circled. The score is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper.

Appendix C: Rebecca Clarke's Grancino Viola

Photographs courtesy of Aloysia Friedmann.



Clarke with the Grancino viola, c. 1917, Hopkins Studio, Denver.
Courtesy Christopher Johnson, rebeccaclarkecomposer.com.



Appendix D: Rebecca Clarke's BBC Appearances

Works marked with * are for viola with piano and may be considered as solo appearances for Clarke.

Some of these programs included other works in which Clarke did not participate. For example, a singer would often add several solo numbers, and the Aeolian Players would often perform works that did not include the viola. Since this dissertation focuses on Rebecca Clarke, I have only included her performances here, rather than information about the entire programs. I have also included works by Rebecca Clarke in these programs, such as her piano trio, even if she did not participate in the performance. All of these programs are free to the public online as part of the BBC Genome Project, <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk>, with the exception of a few short wave broadcasts to North America or Israel, which are noted when they appear.

Please note that only live broadcasts are included here. Around 1930, Clarke made a recording of Mozart's "Kegelstatt" Trio, K. 498, for clarinet, viola, and piano with clarinetist Frederick Thurston and pianist Kathleen Long. This Gramophone recording was broadcast many times over BBC Radio.

7:35 p.m. Wednesday, April 8, 1925

The Aeolian Players:

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

**Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* for viola and piano
“(Specially arranged for the Soloist by the Composer)”

Percy Grainger

**Lullaby* for viola and piano

Cyril Scott

Serenade for Flute, Violin, and Viola, op. 25

Ludwig van Beethoven

Elegiac Trio for Flute, Viola, and Piano

Arnold Bax

6:00 p.m. Tuesday, June 16, 1925

The Aeolian Players:

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Passacaglia for violin and viola

George Frederic Handel, arr. Halvorsen

Serenade for Flute, Violin, and Viola, op. 141a

Max Reger

8:00 p.m. Thursday, October 1, 1925

The Aeolian Players:

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Phantasy Trio for Violin, Viola, and Piano, op. 36

Thomas Dunhill

**Sonatina* in D for Viola and Piano

Padre Martini

Aria con Variazioni from Duo in B $\flat$ for Flute and Viola

Ludwig van Beethoven

Sonata for Flute, Viola and Harp (harp part performed on piano)

Claude Debussy

II. Interlude

III. Finale

9:00 p.m. Thursday, October 29, 1925

“A Programme of Music by Rebecca Clarke”

John Goss (tenor), Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gordon Bryan (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano	Rebecca Clarke
I. Impetuoso	
II. Vivace	
<i>The Seal Man</i> for voice and piano	Rebecca Clarke
<i>Shy One</i> for voice and piano	Rebecca Clarke
<i>Midsummer Moon</i> for violin and piano	Rebecca Clarke
<i>Chinese Puzzle</i> for violin and piano	Rebecca Clarke
Three Old English Songs with Violin	Rebecca Clarke
<i>It Was a Lover and His Lass</i>	
<i>Phyllis on the New Made Hay</i>	
<i>The Tailor and His Mouse</i>	
<i>June Twilight</i> for voice and piano	Rebecca Clarke
Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano	Rebecca Clarke
II. Andante molto semplice	
III. Allegro vigoroso	

8:00 p.m. Monday, January 11, 1926

The Aeolian Players:

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Sonata in G for Violin, Viola, and Piano	Friederich Bach
I. Allegro	
II. Larghetto	
III. Allegretto	
Sonata for Viola and Piano in F Minor, op. 120, no. 1	Johannes Brahms
II. Andante un poco adagio	
III. Allegro grazioso	

4:00 p.m. February 21, 1926

“Rebecca Clarke (Solo Viola)”

*Sonata in F for Viola and Piano	Giovanni Battista Grazioli
I. Allegro moderato	
II. Adagio	
III. Tempo di Minuetto	
* <i>Prieslied</i> (Prize Song)	Richard Wagner
*French Song	arr. Willy Burmester
*Mazurka	Georg Goltermann

8:00 p.m. Wednesday, March 24, 1926

The Aeolian Players:

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Trio in E $\flat$ for violin, viola, and piano, K.498

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Ario con Variazioni from Duo in B $\flat$ for flute and viola alone

Ludwig van Beethoven

Suite Brève for flute, viola, and harp (harp part played on piano)

Ladislav Rohozinski

III. Assez vite

IV. Modéré

VI. Vite

Terzetto, op. 32 for flute, violin, and viola (first performance in England)

Henry Marteau

Chinese Puzzle for flute, violin, viola, and piano (first performance of this arrangement)

Rebecca Clarke

9:15 p.m. Thursday, April 15, 1926

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano), Harold Williams (voice), Marcia van Dresser (voice)

Elegiac Trio for Flute, Viola, and Piano

Arnold Bax

Come Away Death for voice, violin, and piano (Marcia van Dresser)

Benjamin Dale

A London Song Bird for voice, flute, violin, and viola (Marcia van Dresser)

Phyllis James

The Persian Coat for voice, flute, viola, and piano (Marcia van Dresser)

Gordon Bryan

Chinese Puzzle for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Rebecca Clarke

Three Old English Songs for violin and voice (Harold Williams)

Rebecca Clarke

It Was a Lover and His Lass

Phyllis on the New-Made Hay

The Tailor and His Mouse

8:30 p.m. Monday, May 31, 1926

“B.B.C. Spring Series of Chamber Concerts: Fourth Concert, relayed from the Chenil Galleries.”

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Constance Izard (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano), Anne Thursfield (voice)

*Sonatina for Viola and Piano

Padre Martini

I. Allegro

II. Andante

III. Giocoso

IV. Presto

Two Nursery Rhymes for voice, clarinet, and piano (clarinet part played by Clarke on viola)

Arthur Bliss

Serenade for Flute, Violin, and Viola, op. 25

Ludwig Van Beethoven

I. Entrata—Allegro

II. Minuet e Trio

III. Allegro Molto

IV. Andante con Variazioni

V. Allegro Scherzando e Vivace

VI. Adagio e Finale

Second half of concert, not broadcast:

Phantom for low voice and piano

Gordon Bryan

The Persian Coat for baritone, piano, flute, and viola

Gordon Bryan

Chinese Puzzle for flute, violin, viola, and piano
The Woodlanders for flute, violin, viola, and piano
Rhapsody for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Rebecca Clarke
Patrick Hadley
Arthur Honegger

8:30 p.m. Friday, June 11, 1926

“Concert by the British Music Society”

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Leon Goossens (oboe)

Piano Quintet

Ernest Bloch

I. Agitato

II. Andante Mistico

III. Allegro Energico

Quintet for Oboe and Strings

Arnold Bax

9:35 p.m. Sunday, December 12, 1926

“Mozart”

The Wireless Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Percy Pitt

Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola); listed incorrectly as Jean Pougnet (violin), and Harry Berly (viola)

*Sinfonia Concertante in E $\flat$ Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

9:30 p.m. Thursday, December 31, 1926

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Serenade in G for Flute, Violin, and Viola, op. 141a

Max Reger

Prelude for Violin, Viola, and Piano, op. 30

Joseph Jongen

Idylle for Flute, Violin, Viola, and Piano

Alec Rowley

(Specially composed for the Aeolian Players)

3:00 p.m. Friday, November 11, 1927

Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Serenade for Flute, Violin and Viola

Max Reger

Passacaglia for Violin and Viola

George Frideric Handel, arr. Halvorsen

Trio for Flute, Viola, and Piano

Arnold Bax

**The Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* for Viola and Piano

Percy Grainger

9:50 p.m. Sunday, December 18, 1927

“A Popular Ballad Concert”

Leonard Gowings (tenor), Edward Dykes (bass), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Vladimoff's Balalaika Orchestra

**Romanza*

William Wolstenholme

**All Through the Night*

Rebecca Clarke

**Old French Song*

Willy Burmester

3:30 p.m. Sunday, January 15, 1928

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Norman Allen (bass)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Johannes Brahms

Divertimento in E $\flat$ Major, K. 563 for Violin, Viola, and Cello

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Robert Schumann

6:00 p.m. Friday, April 6, 1928

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Two Interlinked French Melodies

Ethel Smyth

Phantasy Trio in E $\flat$ Major for Violin, Viola, and Piano

Thomas Dunhill

Rhapsody for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Arthur Honegger

Clouds for flute, violin, viola, and piano (first performance)

Alec Rowley

7:45 p.m. Thursday, June 28, 1928

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Phantasy Quartet for Violin, Viola, Cello, and Piano

Frank Bridge

Trio for Violin, Cello, and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

Piano Quartet in G Minor, K. 478

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

9:00 p.m. Sunday, September 9, 1928

“A Military Band Concert”

Kate Winter (soprano), Rebecca Clarke (viola), The Wireless Military Band

**Après un Rêve*

Gabriel Fauré, arr. Casals

**Allegretto*

William Wolstenholme

**Come, Sweet Death*

J. S. Bach, arr. Tertis

**Capriccio*

Joseph Haydn, arr. Willy Burmester

**Londonderry Air*

Marchant

3:30 p.m. Sunday, October 21, 1928

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Quartet in E Minor for Flute, Violin, Viola, and Piano

Georg Philipp Telemann

Duo in G Major for Violin and Viola

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

II. Adagio

III. Rondo

Sonata for Flute, Viola, and Harp

Claude Debussy

II. Interlude. Tempo di minuetto

Serenade for Flute, Violin, and Viola (first performance in England)

Ludwig Weber

9:35 p.m. Thursday, January 3, 1929

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

**Sussex Mummer's Christmas Carol* for viola and piano

**Lullaby*

Terzettino for Flute, Viola, and Harp (harp part played by the piano)

Two Interlinked French Melodies

Clouds for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Chinese Puzzle for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Percy Grainger

Cyril Scott

Théodore Dubois

Ethel Smyth

Alec Rowley

Rebecca Clarke

5:45 p.m. Friday, March 29, 1929

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Sinfonia Concertante for Violin, Viola, and Piano (reduction)

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

II. Andante

III. Presto

Trio Sonata for Flute, Viola, and Pianoforte

Antonio Lottie

Variations on "Bonny Sweet Robin" (Ophelia's Song) for flute, viola, and piano

Ethel Smyth

Pastoral Fantasy for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Phyllis James

7:45 p.m. Thursday, April 11, 1929

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Five Old French Dances

Marin Marais

Rondeau

La Provençale

La Musette

La Matelotte

La Basque

Minuet from Trio in E $\flat$

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Air and Variations from Duo in B $\flat$

Ludwig van Beethoven

7:45 p.m. Tuesday, April 16, 1929

Orrea Pernel (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Leslie Heward (piano)

Romanza from Serenade for Violin, Viola, and Cello

Ernst von Dohnányi

Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ major, Op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

8:45 p.m. Sunday, July 17, 1929

Miriam Licette (soprano), Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Allen Ford (cello), Lyell Barbour (piano)

Trio in G, op. 9, no. 1

Ludwig van Beethoven

Quartet in A Major, op. 26

Johannes Brahms

3:30 p.m. Sunday, September 29, 1929

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Johannes Brahms

Phantasy Piano Quartet

Frank Bridge

Two arrangements for piano quartet

Roger Quilter

Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes

Three Poor Mariners

10:15 p.m. Tuesday, October 15, 1929

“A Recital by The Northern Singers and Rebecca Clarke”

The Northern Singers, Rebecca Clarke (viola)

*Sonata in G Minor

Pietro Locatelli

*Aria

Nicolo Porpora, arr. Tertis

**De Soir*

Louis Vierne

*Minuet

Louis-Toussaint Milandre

*Tempo di Valse

Richard H. Walthew

**Old Irish Air*

Traditional, arr. Tertis

**Le Basque*

Marin Marais, arr. Aldis and Rowe

9:50 p.m. Monday, October 21, 1929

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Quartet in E Minor

Georg Philipp Telemann

Andante con Variazioni, from Duo in Bb

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Terzettino for Flute, Viola, and Harp (harp part played by the piano)

Théodore Dubois

10:15 p.m. Thursday, November 7, 1929

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Allegro, from Trio in G

Ludwig van Beethoven

*Four Old French Dances

Marin Marais, arr. Aldis and Rowe

Rondeau—l'Agréable

La Provençale

La Musette

La Matelotte

Terzettino for Flute, Viola, and Harp (harp part played by the piano)

Théodore Dubois

Two Interlinked French Melodies

Ethel Smyth

9:00 p.m. Tuesday, January 14, 1930

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Victor Watson (double bass)

Quartet in G Minor, K. 478

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Quintet in A Major (“Trout”)

Franz Schubert

9:00 p.m. Tuesday, March 4, 1930

The Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Samuel Kutcher (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordon Bryan (piano)

Allegro from Duo in G for violin and viola

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Lied

Vincent d'Indy

Rhapsody Impression for flute, viola, and piano

Katharine Eggar

Pastoral Fantasy for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Phyllis James

9:40 p.m. Friday, April 25, 1930

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Pierre Tas (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Dorothy Jones (viola), May Mukle (cello), Allen Ford (cello)

Sextet in G Major for Strings, op. 36

Johannes Brahms

Verklärte Nacht

Arnold Schoenberg

9:50 p.m. Saturday, July 12, 1930

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Trio Sonata no. 11

J. S. Humphries

Piano Quartet

Ernest Chausson

9:00 p.m. Tuesday, November 4, 1930

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in D Minor

William Walton

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 60

Johannes Brahms

9:00 p.m. Friday, February 6, 1931

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

String Trio in C Minor

Ludwig van Beethoven

*Sonatina for Viola and Piano (written for Rebecca Clarke)

Walter Leigh

Piano Quartet, op. 13

Richard Strauss

9:45 p.m. Tuesday, April 28, 1931

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in D Major, op. 23

Antonín Dvořák

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 43

Gabriel Fauré

9:35 p.m. Friday, October 30, 1931

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 47

Robert Schumann

9:40 p.m. Monday, February 1, 1932

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in A Major, op. 26

Johannes Brahms

Quartet in One Movement

Arnold Bax

8:00 p.m. Thursday, May 12

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 11

Alexander Mackenzie

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

9:50 p.m. Sunday, July 3, 1932

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Winifred Small (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quintet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 44

Robert Schumann

9:00 p.m. Saturday, October 22, 1932

“B.B.C. Chamber Concerts—II”

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

Piano Quartet in A Major, op. 26

Johannes Brahms

4:15 p.m. Sunday, December 11, 1932

The English Ensemble Strings

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Pierre Tas (violin), Joseph Slater (flute), Ralph Clarke (clarinet), Gwendolene Mason (harp)

Quintet in A for Clarinet and Strings, K. 581

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Quintet for Strings and Harp

Arnold Bax

Introduction and Allegro for Harp, Flute, Clarinet, and Strings

Maurice Ravel

3:55 p.m. Sunday, May 28, 1933

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet in G Minor

Gabriel Fauré

9:00 p.m. Saturday, August 5, 1933

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C minor, op. 60

Johannes Brahms

Two Three-part Fantasias for String Trio

Henry Purcell, arr. Peter Warlock

Fantasy in One Movement for Piano Quartet

Frank Bridge

8:00 p.m. Monday, March 5, 1934

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in B $\flat$ Major, op. 41

Camille Saint-Saëns

9:00 p.m. Friday, June 1, 1934

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Trio in E $\flat$ Major for violin, viola, and piano

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Serenade, op. 141a for flute, violin, and viola

Max Reger

9:25 p.m. Monday, July 9, 1934

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Quartet in One Movement

Arnold Bax

Sonata no. 11

J. S. Humphries

Sonata no. 7

William Boyce

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Robert Schumann

10:15 p.m. Monday, November 5, 1934

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet, op. 30

Ernest Chausson

5:30 p.m. Sunday, November 25, 1934

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Serenade, op. 25 for flute, violin, and viola

Ludwig van Beethoven

Trio in One Movement, op. 4

Arnold Bax

10:00 p.m. Monday, January 7, 1935

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Sonata à Quatre

Jean Baptiste Loeillet

Quartet in A Major, op. 26

Johannes Brahms

10:15 p.m. Thursday, March 7, 1935

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Elegiac Trio

Arnold Bax

Quartet in D Major

Georg Philipp Telemann

9:50 p.m. Friday July 26, 1935

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

Trio in G Major, op. 9, no. 1

Ludwig van Beethoven

Quartet in One Movement

Arnold Bax

5:30 p.m. Sunday, February 23, 1936

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in F Minor, op.

Felix Mendelssohn

Piano Quartet in G Minor

Gabriel Fauré

10:20 a.m. Thursday, April 16, 1936

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Sonata for flute, viola, and piano

Antonio Lotti

Terzettino for Flute, Viola, and Harp (harp part played by the piano)

Théodore Dubois

Phantasy in One Movement, op. 36

Thomas Dunhill

6:30 p.m. Friday, May 8, 1936

Broadcast in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada

“Tonight,” *Times Colonist*, May 8, 1936

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

5:30 p.m. Sunday, June 21, 1936

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet

William Walton

10:15 p.m. Wednesday, August 26, 1936

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Trio Sonata for flute, violin, and piano

Jean-Marie Leclair

Rhapsody for two flutes, clarinet, and piano

Arthur Honegger

(arranged for flute, violin, viola, and piano)

4:00 p.m. Wednesday, November 4, 1936

Broadcast in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada

“Short Wave: All Times Pacific Standard,” *The Victoria Daily Times*, November 4, 1936, 8.

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Unknown repertoire

3:30 p.m. Friday, November 6, 1936

Broadcast in Oakland, California

Oakland Tribune, November 6, 1936

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Unknown repertoire

3:00 p.m. Saturday, January 30, 1937

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Sonata à Quatre

Quartet in C Minor, op. 13

Jean Baptiste Loeillet

Richard Strauss

5:20 p.m. Sunday, March 7, 1937

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Elegiac Trio for flute, viola, and piano

Rhapsody for two flutes, clarinet, and piano

(arranged for flute, violin, viola, and piano)

Arnold Bax

Arthur Honegger

10:00 p.m. Friday, June 11, 1937

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), William Murdoch (piano)

Piano Quartet in A Major, op. 30

Ernest Chausson

11:40 a.m. Tuesday, January 4, 1938

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Sonata in G for flute, violin, viola, and pianot

Sonata for flute, viola, and harp (harp part played on the piano)

Johann Sebastian Bach

Claude Debussy

2:20 p.m. Wednesday, March 2, 1938

Broadcast in Jerusalem, Israel

“Wireless Programs,” *Palestine Post*, March 2, 1938, 2.

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

“Schumann’s chamber music”

6:50 p.m. Sunday, April 3, 1938

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Sonata à Quatre

Piano Quartet

Jean Baptiste Loeillet

William Walton

1:40 p.m. Saturday, September 10, 1938

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Sonata no. 11

J. S. Humphries

Sonata no. 7

William Boyce

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 25

Johannes Brahms

1:00 p.m. Saturday, October 29, 1938

The New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Serenade, op. 25, for flute, violin, and viola

Ludwig van Beethoven

Quartet for flute, violin, viola, and piano

Felix White

10:50 p.m. Friday, November 11, 1938

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, K. 493

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Robert Schumann

9:25 p.m. Thursday, January 19, 1939

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Alexander Mackenzie

2:00 p.m. Saturday, May 27, 1939

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

6:45 p.m. Saturday, July 8, 1939

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 25

Johannes Brahms

Appendix E: Clarke's Recital Appearances

This list is compiled from notices and reviews found in public newspapers, magazines, and journals. It is not exhaustive and there may be documentation of performances in newspapers not yet digitized or only found in databases unavailable to the author. All sources are listed here and are therefore not repeated in the Bibliography.

January 11, 1910

"Music," *Times*, January 12, 1910, 13.

Kensington Town Hall

Marion Scott (violin), T. Peatfield (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Cedric Sharp (cello), Maude Scruby (cello)

Quintet in D Major

Cyril Rootham

December 22, 1910

"Music," *Times*, December 22, 1910, 10.

Temple Church, London

Dorothea Webb (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola)

Zwei Gesänge

Johannes Brahms

January 24, 1911

"Women Writers' Suffrage League at Home"

Little Theatre, John St., Adelphi

Ethel Smyth (conductor) Edith Clegg (singer), Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gwendolen Mason (harp), Edith Penvill (flute), Louise Mukle (percussion)

Various works ("Songs with Instrumental Accompaniment") by Ethel Smyth

March 13, 1911

"The Dunhill Chamber Concerts," *Times*, March 13, 1911, 11.

Steinway Hall, London

Thomas Dunhill (piano), Marjorie Hayward (violin), Fany Eveleigh (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Ernest Walker

String Quartet in G Minor

Vaughan Williams

March 11, 1912

"Music," *Times*, March 11, 1912, 12.

Aeolian Hall, London

Dorothy Ewens (violin), Ella Faber (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Paul Ludwig (cello)

String Quartet

Smetana

June 19, 1912

"The Mayor Entertains a Distinguished Assembly at a Garden Party," *Marylebone Mercury and West London Gazette*, June 22, 1912, 6.

Home of the Mayor

Marjorie Clemens (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola)

Unknown repertoire

July 18, 1912

“Mrs. Layton’s Concert,” *The Fulham Chronicle*, July 19, 1912, 5.

Fulham Town Hall

Marjorie Clemens (violin), Audrey Ffolkes (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Ivor James (cello), May Mukle (cello)

Unknown repertoire

October 29, 1912

“Solly String Quartet,” *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, October 22, 1912, 1.

Rougement Assembly Rooms, Exeter

Harriet Solly (violin), Annie Kenwood (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Margaret Izard (cello)

Unknown repertoire

November 12, 1913

“Grand Evening Concert,” *Wells Journal*, October 31, 1913, 4.

Guildhall, Wells, Somerset, England

Marjorie Clemens (violin), Katherine Kendall (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Unknown repertoire

November 5, 1913

“The Nettleship Quartet: String Concert at Ramsgate,” *East Kent Time and District Advertiser*, November 12, 1913, 7.

Congregational Hall, Ramsgate

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Marjorie Clemens (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Ethel Nettleship (cello), Winifred Christie (piano)

Piano Quintet

Robert Schumann

November 12, 1913

“Concert at the Guildhall,” *Shepton Mallet Journal*, November 13, 1913, 8.

Guildhall, Wells, Somerset

Marjorie Clemens (violin), Katherine Kendall (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

String Quartet in F Major, K. 590

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Andante from String Quartet no. 1 in D Major

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky

**Prieslied*

Richard Wagner

November 13, 1913

“Somerset County Nursing Association: High-Class Concert at Frome Market Hall,” *Somerset Standard*, November 14, 1913, 5.

Frome Market Hall, Wells, Somerset

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Marjorie Clemens (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

String Quartet in Eb Major, no. 16, K. 428

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

String Quartet in F Major, op. 96 (“American”)

Antonín Dvořák

Notturmo from String Quartet no. 2 in D Major

Alexander Borodin

Molly on the Shore

Percy Grainger

November 20, 1913

“Miss Katharine Kendall’s Concert,” *Hertfordshire Mercury*, November 22, 1913, 5
Katharine Kendall (violin), Marjorie Clemens (piano/violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Margaret Izard (cello)

Various violin solos with string quartet accompaniment

November 25, 1914

“London Concerts,” *Musical Times* 56, no. 863 (1915): 40–42.

Bechstein Hall

Adily d’Aranyi (violin), Jelly d’Aranyi (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Guilhermina Suggia (cello)

String Trio in C Minor

Ludwig Van Beethoven

October 10, 1915

“The South Place Sunday Concerts,” *The Musical Times* 56, no. 873 (1915): 678.

The South Place, London

Marcel Lavureux (piano), Desire Defauw (violin), R. Kay (violin), Ernest La Prade (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), M. M. Lagrilliere (cello)

Concerto in D Major, op. 21, for piano, violin, and string quartet

Ernest Chausson

November 24, 1915

“Musical Miniatures,” *Times*, November 25, 1915, 10.

Aeolian Hall, London

William Murdoch (piano), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Charles Draper (clarinet)

Hebrew Melodies

Joseph Joachim

Trio for Clarinet, Viola, and Piano, K. 498

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

December 1, 1915

“Classical Concert Society,” *Times*, December 2, 1915

Aeolian Hall, London

Adila d’Aranyi (violin), Jelly d’Aranyi (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Percy Such (cello), Leonard Borwick (piano)

Piano Quintet in A Major, op. 81

Antonín Dvořák

Quartet in F Major, op. 77, no. 2

Joseph Haydn

June 13, 1916

“Matinee for ‘Star and Garter’ Home,” *Times*, June 14, 1916, 4.

Steinway Hall, London

Margery Bentwich (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Thelma Bentwich (cello)

Divertimento in E $\flat$ Major, K. 563

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

September 15, 1917

“Society Women Will Hear Miss Matthison,” *Hartford Courant*, September 14, 1917, 7.

Home of Mrs. Havemeyer, Palmer Hill, Greenwich, Connecticut

Onata Quartet: Gertrude Watson (piano), Walter Stafford (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Unknown repertoire

September 19, 1916

“Chamber Music Proves Great Delight,” *San Francisco Examiner*, September 21, 1916, 8.

Sorosis Hall, San Francisco

Alexander Saslavsky (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Winifred Christie (piano)

Piano Quartet in F

Paul Juon

Piano Quartet in G minor

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

October 24, 1916

Ray C. Brown, “Music Echos From the Realm of Tone,” *Oakland Tribune*, October 22, 1916, 29.

Municipal Theater, Oakland, California

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Dorothy Crandall (piano)

**Prieslied*

Richard Wagner, arr. Wilhelmj

**Melodie*

Frank Bridge

**Old French Dances*

Marin Marais

**The Sussex Mummer’s Christmas Carol*

Percy Grainger

January 9, 1917

“Music School Settlement Notes.” *New York Age*, January 11, 1917, 6.

Music School Settlement, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Albert Eikus (piano)

Piano Trio for Clarinet, Cello, and Piano (arranged for viola, cello, and piano)

Johannes Brahms

**The Sussex Mummer’s Christmas Carol*

Percy Grainger

March 26, 1917

“St. Thomas’s Church.” *New York Times*, March 25, 1917, 90.

St. Thomas’s Church, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), T. T. Noble (organ)

Unknown repertoire

February 13, 1918

“Music: Miss Rebecca Clark Demonstrates Beauty of the Viola, Instrument Rarely Heard Alone.” *New York Tribune*, February 14, 1918.

Aeolian Hall, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Katherine Ruth Heyman (piano)

**Allegro Appassionata* for Viola and Piano

Frank Bridge

Duets for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

Morpheus

Rebecca Clarke

Sarabande from Violin Partita in D Minor

Hubert Parry

July 22, 1918

“Onata and Albani Quartets to Give Program at High School,” *Berkshire Eagle*, July 20, 1918, 3.

High school auditorium, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Onata Quartet: Gertrude Watson (piano), Walter Stafford (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Piano Quartet, op. 47

Robert Schumann

I. Sostenuto assai—Allegro ma non troppo

**Romanza*

Wolstenholme

Irish Melody for Viola and Cello

Rebecca Clarke

August 1, 1918

“Musical Nets \$300. Delightful Program Rendered by Miss Watson and Co-workers,” *Bennington Banner*, August 6, 1918, 1.

Bennington, Vermont

Onata Quartet: Gertrude Watson (piano), Walter Stafford (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Piano Quartet (no. 1 or no. 2?)

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quartet in E♭ major, Op. 47

Robert Schumann

August 16, 1918

“Special to the Courant,” *Hartford Courant*, August 9, 1918

Colebrook Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecticut

Onata Quartet: Gertrude Watson (piano), Walter Stafford (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Unknown repertoire

October 18, 1918

“Selinsky Quintet Opens Honolulu’s First Season of Chamber Music in Brilliant Success to Packed House,”

Honolulu Star-Bulletin, October 19, 1918, 7.

Mission Memorial Hall, Honolulu, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Mrs. Tenney Peck (piano)

String Quartet, op. 12, no. 1

Felix Mendelssohn

“Invitation to the Dance,” arr. for piano quintet

Carl Maria von Weber

String Quartet

Edvard Grieg

November 1, 1918

“Capacity House Gives Rapturous Aloha to Artists.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 2, 1918, 5.

Mission Memorial Hall, Honolulu, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

String Quartet, op. 12, no. 1

Felix Mendelssohn

**Romanza*

William Wolstenholme

**Old French Dances*

Marin Marais

*Capriccio

Joseph Haydn

Slavonic Dance no. 2, arr. for piano quintet

Antonín Dvořák

Anitra’s Dance, arr. for piano quintet

Edvard Grieg

Hungarian Dance, arr. for piano quintet

Johannes Brahms

November 21, 1918

“Quintet to Play for Khaki Boys,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 20, 1918, 10..

Schofield, Honolulu, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

String Quartet, op. 12, no. 1

Felix Mendelssohn

II. Canzonetta

String Quartet

Edvard Grieg

IV. Presto

**Romanza*

William Wolstenholme

December 6, 1918

“Quintet to Give Red Cross Concert,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 5, 1918, 12.

Bijou Theater, Honolulu, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

String Quartet, op. 12, no. 1

Felix Mendelssohn

II. Canzonetta

Irish Melody for Viola and Cello

Rebecca Clarke

Marche Militaire, arr. for piano quartet

Franz Schubert

“Intermezzo” from *Cavalleria Rusticana*, arr. for piano quartet

Pietro Mascagni

Hungarian Dance, arr. for piano quintet

Johannes Brahms

December 13, 1918

“Miss Mukle is Superb in Solo Work at Concert,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 14, 1918, 11.

Mission Memorial Hall, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

Piano Quartet in E♭ major, Op. 47

Robert Schumann

December 13, 1918

“War Pictures Shown Today,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 16, 1918, 12.

Army and Navy Y.M.C.A.

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

Piano Quartet in E♭ major, Op. 47

Robert Schumann

December 27, 1918

“Choice Program at 6th Concert,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 27, 1918, 3.

Honolulu

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

Quartet in C minor

Ludwig van Beethoven

**Prieslied*

Richard Wagner

January 24, 1919

“Coming of Selinskys a Treat to Music Lovers,” *Maui News*, January 24, 1919.

Kahului Lyceum, Maui, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

String Quartet no. 1 in D Major

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky

II. Andante cantabile

Menuet

Georges Valensin

Molly on the Shore, arr. for string quartet

Percy Grainger

Romanza

William Wolstenholme

Anitra's Dance, arr. for piano quintet

Edvard Grieg

Hungarian Dance, arr. for piano quintet

Johannes Brahms

Italian Dance

Moritz Moszkowski

February 18, 1919

“Fix Dates of Next Selinsky Concerts,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 1919, 5.

Mission Memorial Hall, Hawaii

Max Selinsky (violin), Iola Ingalls (violin) Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Jessie Mason (piano)

Piano Quintet, op. 81

Antonín Dvořák

Lullaby and Grotesque for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

October 11, 1919

“Bennington Briefs,” *Bennington Evening Banner*, October 10, 1919, 7.

Congregational Chapel, Bennington, Vermont

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

December 7, 1919

“New Trio Will Play 3 Attractive Programs,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1919, C1.

Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Frances Nash (piano)

Trio in A minor for clarinet, cello, and piano, op. 114

Johannes Brahms

**Romanza*

William Wolstenholme

Old Irish Tune for cello and piano

Rebecca Clarke

Molly on the Shore for viola, cello, and piano

Percy Grainger

December 8, 1919

“New Trio Will Play 3 Attractive Programs,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1919, C1.

Hotel Statler, Detroit, Michigan

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Frances Nash (piano)

**Sonata for Viola and Piano*

Rebecca Clarke

Lullaby and Grotesque for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

Trio in A minor for clarinet, cello, and piano, op. 114

Johannes Brahms

December 9, 1919

“New Trio Will Play 3 Attractive Programs,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 7, 1919, C1.

Central High School, Detroit, Michigan

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Frances Nash (piano)

**Sonata for Viola and Piano*

Rebecca Clarke

Lullaby and Grotesque for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

Colonial Song for viola, cello, and piano

Percy Grainger

Molly on the Shore for viola, cello, and piano

Percy Grainger

December 11, 1919

“Music,” *Buffalo Courier*, November 30, 1919, 83.

Twentieth Century Club, Buffalo, New York

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Frances Nash (piano)

Unknown repertoire, but likely played Rebecca Clarke’s viola sonata

January 26, 1920

“Gives Her Own Sonata: Rebecca Clarke, Viola, Plays with Winifred Christie, Pianist,” *New York Times*, January 27, 1920, 18.

Aeolian Hall, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Winifred Christie (piano)

**Caprice Basque*

Emil Ferir

**Sonata for viola and piano*

Giovanni Battista Grazioli

**Old French Dances*

Marin Marais

Musette

La Provençale

**Lullaby* Cyril Scott

February 27, 1920

“Music notes,” *New York Tribune*, February 22, 1920, B7.

Brick Church, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Clarence Dickinson (organ), Louise Hubbard (soprano)

Unknown repertoire, “Music of England”

March 28, 1920

“Musical at Brooklyn Music School Settlement,” *Brooklyn Life*, April 3, 1920, 13.

Brooklyn Music School Settlement, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Francis Moore (piano)

Unknown repertoire: “Several viola selections”

May 31, 1920

“A Viola Sonata,” *Daily Telegraph*, June 2, 1920, 15.

Aeolian Hall, London

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Harold Samuel (piano), F. B. Kiddle (piano)

Lullaby and Grotesque for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

**Sonata for Viola and Piano*

Rebecca Clarke

**Sonata for viola and piano*

Giovanni Battista Grazioli

August 26, 1920

“Duke and Duchess Entertained,” *New York Tribune*, August 29, 1920, 39.
Gertrude Watson’s villa, Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

August 27, 1920

“Series of Musicales,” *Berkshire County Eagle*, August 25, 1920, 2.
Bennington, Vermont
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

August 28, 1920

“Series of Musicales,” *Berkshire County Eagle*, August 25, 1920, 2.
Cornish, New Hampshire
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

August 30, 1920

“Series of Musicales,” *Berkshire County Eagle*, August 25, 1920, 2.
Woodstock, Vermont
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

September 7, 1920

“Salvation Army Concert Tickets Placed on Sale,” *Berkshire Eagle*, August 31, 1920, 4.
High school auditorium, Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

October 2, 1920

“Resort notes: The Berkshires,” *New York Herald*, October 1, 1920
Onata Farm Villa, Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Unknown repertoire

March 18, 1921

“The Music Society,” *Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 1921, 11.
St. John’s Institute, Westminster, London
André Mangeot (violin), Kenneth Skeaping (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quintet in B $\flat$ Major
String Quartet No.2 in D Flat Major, Op.15

Alfred Mostowski
Ernst von Dohnányi

May 5, 1921

“Spring Concerts,” *Times*, April 4, 1921, 8.
 Mortimer Hall, London
 Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), pianist unknown

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

May 28, 1921

“Yesterday’s Music,” *Observer*, May 29, 1921, 14.
 Wigmore Hall, London
 Rebecca Clarke (viola), Winifred Christie (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

August 31, 1921

“Sharon Concert,” *Connecticut Western News*, September 1, 1921, 8.
 Home of Laura Wheelah, Sharon, Connecticut
 Rebecca Clarke (violin), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Piano Trio in B Major, op. 8
 Piano Trio in F Major, op. 80

Johannes Brahms
 Robert Schumann

September 21, 1921

“Gave Excellent Concert,” *Berkshire Eagle*, September 22, 1921, 11.
 Opera House, Pittsfield, Massachusetts
 Rebecca Clarke (violin), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Piano Trio in F Major, op. 80
 Piano Trio No. 4 in E minor, Op. 90 (“Dumky”)
 **Après un Rêve* for violin and piano
 *Hungarian Dance for violin and piano

Robert Schumann
 Antonín Dvořák
 Gabriel Fauré
 Johannes Brahms, trans. Joachim

January 13, 1922

“Display Ad 30—no title,” *New York Tribune*, January 13, 1922, 4.
 Brick Church, New York City
 Rebecca Clarke (viola), Frieda Klink (voice), Clarence Dickinson (piano)

Zwei Gesänge for Alto, Viola, and Piano

Johannes Brahms

January 12, 1922

“Composers’ Concert at Cooper Union,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 12, 1922, 44.
 Cooper Union, New York City
 Rebecca Clarke (viola), Irene S. Jacobi (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

March 14, 1922

“This Week’s Music,” *Times*, March 13, 1922, 10.

London

André Mangeot (violin), Kenneth Skeaping (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

String Quartet no. 1

Ernest Bloch

String Quartet in Eb Major, K. 428

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

May 31, 1922

“Opera,” *Times*, May 31, 1922, 12.

Wigmore Hall, London

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Sybil Cropper (voice), Anne Mukle (piano)

Zwei Gesänge for Alto, Viola, and Piano

Johannes Brahms

July 1, 1922

“Occasional Notes,” *Musical Times*, 63, no. 954 (1922): 552.

British Music Society: Annual Congress

Norman Notley (voice), André Mangeot (violin), Kenneth Skeaping (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Love Blows as the Wind Blows for voice and string quartet

George Butterworth

June 18, 1923

“May Mukle Concert Program Announced for Tomorrow Night,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 27, 1923.

Alexander Young Roof Garden, Honolulu

Rebecca Clarke (violin), May Mukle (cello), Gertrude Watson (piano)

Piano Trio in C Minor, op. 101

Johannes Brahms

Piano Trio in A Minor, op. 50

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky

September 20, 1923

“Musical Notes,” *Berkshire Eagle*, September 19, 1923, 6.

Onata Farm Villa, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Hugo Kortschak (violin), Jay Rosenfeld (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Albert Sprague Coolidge

Unknown repertoire

September 28, 1923

“Music News and Reviews: New Chamber Music for Berkshire Festival Ballet for Covent Garden,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 8, 1923, 8.

Berkshire Festival, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Lionel Tertis (viola), H. Waldo Warner (viola), Hugo Kortschak (viola), Albert Soessel (viola), Edward Kreiner (viola), Rebecca Clarke (viola).

Sextet for Violas: Introduction and Andante

Benjamin Dale

March 24, 1924

“Recitals of the Week,” *Times*, March 28, 1924, 12.

Wigmore Hall, London

Music Society String Quartet: André Mangeot (violin), Boris Pecker (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), John Barbirolli (cello)

Serenade for Flute, Violin, and Viola, op. 25

Ludwig van Beethoven

May 26, 1924

“The Music Society,” *Times*, May 28 1924, 9.

St. John’s Institute, Westminster, London

Music Society String Quartet: André Mangeot (violin), Boris Pecker (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Raymond Jeremy (viola), John Barbirolli (cello), Leon Goossens (oboe)

Quintet for Oboe and Strings

Arnold Bax

Quintet for Oboe and Strings

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Fantasy String Quintet

Ralph Vaughan Williams

May 26, 1924

“Norman Notley,” *The Daily Telegraph*

Aeolian Hall, London

Norman Notley (voice), Kendall String Quartet, Rebecca Clarke (viola)

Old English Songs for Voice and Violin

September 25, 1924

“Concert at Helston,” *Cornishman*, August 17, 1924, 3.

Godolphin Hall, Helston

André Mangeot (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Emile Doehaerd (violin), Ernest Whitfield (cello)

Unknown repertoire

October 10, 1924 (estimated date)

“New Works by Delius and Bax,” *Observer*, October 12, 1924

St. John’s Institute, Westminster, London

Music Society String Quartet: André Mangeot (violin), Boris Pecker (violin), Harry Berly (viola), John Barbirolli (cello), Rebecca Clarke (viola)

Fantasy String Quintet

Ralph Vaughan Williams

October 11, 1924

Clarke’s diaries

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Harriet Cohen (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Arnold Bax

October 7, 1925

"Music This Week," *Times*, October 5, 1925, 12.

Wigmore Hall, London

The London Chamber Music Group: Evelyn Howard-Jones (piano), Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Quartet in One Movement for Violin, Viola, Cello, and Piano

Arnold Bax

Piano Quintet in G Minor, op. 25

Johannes Brahms

Divertimento in E $\flat$ major, K.563

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

October 21, 1925

"Music This Week," *Times*, October 19, 1925, 10.

Wigmore Hall, London

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Myra Hess (piano), Adila Fachiri (violin), May Mukle (cello), John Goss (baritone)

Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

Duets for viola and cello

Rebecca Clarke

Songs for voice and piano

Rebecca Clarke

Trio for violin, cello, and piano

Rebecca Clarke

February 3, 1926

"English Music in Paris," *Daily Telegraph*, February 4, 1926, 8.

Union Interalliée, Paris

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), George Baker (baritone)

"The artists ... had come specially to Paris in order to to give a large and distinguished company the opportunity of hearing British music from Purcell to Goossens, performed by British musicians. ... Rebecca Clarke ... played some viola solos."

Trio for violin, cello, and piano

Rebecca Clarke

June 1, 1926 (approximately)

"Music in the Provinces," *Musical Times* 67, no. 1001 (July 1, 1926), 652.

Sponsored by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Tre Canzoni for voice and string quartet

Ildebrando Pizzetti

February 4, 1927

"Week-End Concerts," *Times*, February 7, 1927, 12

Aeolian Hall, London

Recital by Kathleen Long, assisted by other members of the English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet no. 3 in C Minor, op. 60

Johannes Brahms

March 15, 1927 (approximate date)

“Music in the Provinces,” *Musical Times* 68, no. 1010 (1927): 362.

Bury, England

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Stella Pattenden (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

September 20, 1927

“Promenade Concert,” *Times*, September 21, 1927, 8.

Queen’s Hall, London

Antonio Brosa (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola)

*Sinfonia Concertante in E♭ Major, K. 364

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

October 26, 1927

“Concerts,” *Times*, October 31, 1927, 12.

Aeolian Hall, London

Antonio Brosa (violin), Joseph Slater (flute), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gordan Bryan (piano)

Chinoiserie (probably *Chinese Puzzle*)

Rebecca Clarke

Phantasy Trio for Violin, Viola, and Piano in E flat, op. 36

Thomas Dunhill

Two Interlinked Melodies for Flute, Viola, and Pianoforte

Ethel Smyth

Passacaglia for Violin and Viola

George Frideric Handel, arr. Halvorsen

June 19, 1928

“Manchester Contemporary Music Centre,” *Guardian*, June 20, 1928, 6.

Memorial Hall, Manchester

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Isador Cohn (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

June 28, 1928

“Concerts,” *Times*, June 20, 1928, 12.

Wigmore Hall, London

Adila Fachiri (violin), Orrea Pernel (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Alexander Fachiri (cello)

Quintet in C Major

Franz Schubert

October 2, 1928

“Recitals of the Week,” *Times*, October 5, 1928, 12.

Wigmore Hall, London

Adila Fachiri (violin), Orrea Pernel (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Alexander Fachiri (cello)

Quintet in C Major

Franz Schubert

October 19, 1928

“A Ravel Concert: Composer as Pianist and Conductor,” *Daily Telegraph*, October 20, 1928, 8.

Aeolian Hall, London

Odette de Foras (soprano), Gwendolen Mason (harp), Frederick Holding (violin), Orrea Pernel (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Joseph Slater (flute), Ralph Clarke (clarinet), Gordon Bryan (piano), Maurice Ravel (conductor)

Introduction and Allegro for Harp with String Quartet, Flute, and Clarinet

Maurice Ravel

November 8, 1928

“Viola Recital at Ealing Green”

Ealing Congregational Hall, London

Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Works by Bach, Brahms, and Wagner, as well as music by French, Italian, Celtic, British, and Chinese composers (the “Chinese” work is likely *Chinese Puzzle*, by Rebecca Clarke).

November 25, 1928

“Sunday Tea-Time Concerts”

Grosvenor House, London

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor

Gabriel Fauré

December 3, 1928

“Concerts in London: A Rebecca Clarke Concert,” *Christian Science Monitor*, January 3, 1929, 8.

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London

Piano Trio

Rebecca Clarke

Duets for Viola and Cello

Rebecca Clarke

Songs for voice and piano

Rebecca Clarke

January 27, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, January 26, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

String Trio in C Minor

Ludwig van Beethoven

Piano Quintet in F Minor

Brahms

March 3, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, March 2, 1929

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Elsie Hall (piano)

String Trio

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

March 17, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Obvserver*, March 17, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

String Trio in G

Ludwig van Beethoven

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Gabriel Fauré

April 28, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, April 27, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Orrea Pernel (violin), James Lockyer (viola), Allen Ford (cello)

Sextet in G Major

Johannes Brahms

Quintet in D Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

May 10, 1929

“Week-End Concerts,” *Times*, May 13, 1929, 14.

Leighton House, London

String Trio

Ludwig van Beethoven

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Johannes Brahms

Passacaglia for violin and viola

George Frideric Handel, arr. Halvorsen

May 12, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, May 11, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Orrea Pernel (violin), Elsie Hall (piano)

Piano Quintet

Robert Schumann

May 19, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, May 18, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet

Ernest Chausson

June 3, 1929

“London Concerts,” *Musical Times* 70, no. 1037 (1929): 646

Aeolian Hall, London

Mary Jarred (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola), George Reeves (piano)

Zwei Gesänge for alto, viola, and piano

Johannes Brahms

June 16, 1929

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, June 15, 1929, 1.

Grosvenor House, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

String Trio

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Two new arrangements for piano quartet

Roger Quilter

October 3, 1929

White, *Lionel Tertis*, 113.

Wigmore Hall, London

Lionel Tertis (viola), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Dorothy Jones (viola), Raymond Jeremy (viola), Leonard Rubens (viola), James Lockyer (viola)

Introduction and Andante for Six Violas, op. 5

Benjamin Dale

November 22, 1929

“Chamber Music,” *Gloucester Citizen*, November 23, 1929, 4.

Guildhall, Gloucester, England

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Gabriel Fauré

Serenade for violin, viola, and cello

Ernst von Dohnányi

Passacaglia for violin and viola

George Frideric Handel, arr. Halvorsen

Piano Quartet in A Minor

Herbert Howells

December 7, 1929

“Week-End Concerts,” *Times*, December 9, 1929, 10.

Aeolian Hall, London

Lionel Tertis (viola), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Dorothy Derbyshire-Jones (viola), Winifred Copperwheat (viola)

Fantasia for Four Violas

York Bowen

January 12, 1930

“Sunday Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, January 11, 1930, 1.

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

John Fry (violin)

Piano Quintet

Johannes Brahms

April 27, 1930

“Leicester’s Verdict on Chamber Music,” *Leicester Mail*, April 28, 1930, 3.

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

The Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ major, Op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

May 18, 1930

“Tea Time Concerts,” *Daily Telegraph*, May 17, 1930

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Pierre Tas (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

String Trio

J. S. Humphries

String Trio

William Boyce

Piano Quintet

Florent Schmitt

May 25, 1930

“Dame Ethel Smyth,” *Daily Telegraph*, May 24, 1930, 7.

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Pierre Tas (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Anne Thursfield (voice)

String Quartet in E Minor

Ethel Smyth

Two Interlinked French Folk Melodies

Ethel Smyth

Songs, accompanied by flute, harp, strings, and percussion

Ethel Smyth

July 12, 1930

“Lectures and Meetings,” *Times*, October 20, 1930, 12.

Grotrian Hall, London

Dorothea Webb (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Ella Ivimey (piano)

Zwei Gesänge for alto, viola, and piano

Johannes Brahms

March 30, 1931 (approximate)

“*Music Club*,” *Tuanton Courier*, April 1, 1931, 7.

Great Hall, Wellington School, Somerset, England

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Serenade

Ernst von Dohnányi

Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

July 21, 1931

“English Music in Paris,” *Times*, July 22, 1931, 10

Colonial Exhibition, Paris

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet

William Walton

October 16, 1931

“Miss Dora Stevens,” *Daily Telegraph*, October 17, 1931, 8.

Wigmore Hall, London

Dora Stevens (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Hubert J. Foss (piano)

Come Away, Death for voice, viola, and piano

Benjamin Dale

November 30, 1931

“Kensington Music Club,” *Daily Telegraph*, December 2, 1931, 8.

Kensington Music Club, Victorian Town Hall

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Orrea Pernel (violin), Pierre Tas (violin)

Quartet in G Minor

Johannes Brahms

Duo for violin and viola (unknown which one)

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Concerto for Piano, Violin, and String Quartet

Ernest Chausson

December 2, 1931

“Seventeen Visits to America,” *Taunton Courier*, December 9, 1931, 4.

Taunton Music Club, Big Hall, Taunton School, Somerset, England

English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Gabriel Fauré

Passacaglia for violin and viola

George Frideric Handel, arr. Halvorsen

Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

December 9, 1931

“Chamber Music Concerts in Dundee,” *Dundee Courier*, December 10, 1931, 3.

Technical College, Dundee, Scotland

Piano Quartet, op. 30

Ernest Chausson

Serenade

Ernst von Dohnányi

Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

September 4, 1932

“Music at Aldgate,” *Daily Telegraph*, September 3, 1932

Aldgate, London

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Unknown Repertoire

January 19, 1933

“Local Happenings,” *Nottingham Evening Post*, January 20, 1933, 9.

Nottingham Music Club, Mechanics Lecture Hall, Nottingham, England

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Unknown repertoire

May 4, 1933

“Concerts,” *Times*, May 6, 1933, 9

London Museum

The English Ensemble and the Kutcher Quartet

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Samuel Kutcher (violin), Frederick Grinke (violin), Raymond Jeremy (viola), Douglas Cameron (cello)

Sextet in B $\flat$ Major

String Octet, op. 3

Johannes Brahms

Johan Svendsen

June 21, 1933

“Concerts & c.,” *Times*, June 17, 1933, 10.

Royal College of Music

May Harrison (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Cedric Sharpe (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

February 16, 1934

“Lectures and Meetings,” *Times*, February 14, 1934, 10.

Aeolian Hall, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet

Ernest Bloch

February 17, 1934

“Week-End Concerts,” *Times*, February 19, 1934, 17.

Wigmore Hall, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Trio in G, op. 9, no. 1

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 24

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Ludwig van Beethoven

Johannes Brahms

Antonín Dvořák

April 1, 1934

“Music in Scotland,” *Musical Times* 75, no. 1094 (1934): 366.

Chamber Music Society Concerts, Glasgow, Scotland

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Works by Beethoven, Brahms, Bloch, Bax, and Rebecca Clarke

July 9, 1934

“London Concerts,” *Musical Times* 75, no. 1098 (1934), 745–746.

Oxford University Press sponsored concert

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Reginald Paul (piano)

*Three Quotations for Viola and Pianoforte

Phyllis Tate

December 4, 1934

“The Pro Musica String Quartet,” *Daily Telegraph*, December 15, 1934, 1.

Birmingham, England

Pro Musica Quartet

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Jeanne Le Fèvre (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

String Quartet in F Major

Maurice Ravel

January 31, 1935

“Academy and College Notes,” *Musical Times*, 76, no. 1105 (1935): 257.

Royal Academy of Music, New Music Society Invitation Concert

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Myers Foggin (piano)

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Arthur Bliss

*Sonata for Viola and Piano

Rebecca Clarke

February 17, 1935

“Pro Musica Quartet,” *Daily Telegraph*, February 18, 1935, 8.

Working Men’s College, Camden Town

Pro Musica Quartet

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Jeanne Le Fèvre (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello)

Music by Mozart, Schumann, Brahms and Ravel

February 24, 1935

Drawing of Clarke playing “Three Quotations from Milton,” dated February 24, 1935

Rebecca Clarke (viola)

*Three Quotations for Viola and Pianoforte

Phyllis Tate

October 30, 1935

“Dundee Chamber Music Club,” *Evening Telegraph*, October 31, 1935, 2.

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 25

Johannes Brahms

String Trio in D Major

Ludwig van Beethoven

Piano Quartet (doesn’t specify which)

Gabriel Fauré

January 30, 1936

“Season Opens in the West,” *Western Morning News*, October 9, 1935

Sidmouth Winter Chamber Music Concerts

New Aeolian Players

Joseph Slater (flute), Jean Pougnet (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Angus Morrison (piano)

Unknown repertoire

March 11, 1936

“The English Ensemble,” *Western Daily Press*, March 6, 1936, 4.

Bristol University, Bristol, England

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 60

Johannes Brahms

Piano Quartet in A Major

Ernest Chausson

String Trio in G Major, op. 9

Ludwig van Beethoven

March 17, 1936

“Concerts & c.,” *Times*, March 12, 1936

Wigmore Hall, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in A Major

Johannes Brahms

Aisling for String Trio

Ivor Walsworth

Piano Quartet

William Walton

November 13, 1936

“Week-End Concerts,” *Times*, November 16, 1936, 20.

Aeolian Hall, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor

Johannes Brahms

Sonata à Quatre

Jean Baptiste Loeillet

String Trio

J. S. Humphries

String Trio

William Boyce

Piano Quartet

William Walton

November 21, 1936

“Music and Drama,” *Western Daily Press*, November 13, 1936, 5.

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in G Minor, op. 25

Johannes Brahms

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

January 29, 1937

“Advertisement and Notices,” *Derby Daily Telegraph*, June 6, 1936, 6.

Central Hall, Derby, England

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

Piano Quartet No. 2 in E $\flat$ Major, op. 87

Antonín Dvořák

String Trio

William Boyce

String Trio

J. S. Humphries

March 29, 1938

“Recitals of the Week,” *Times*, April 1, 1938, 14.

Grottrian Hall, London

Helen Stein (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Ada Thomas (piano)

Zwei Gesänge for alto, viola, and piano

Johannes Brahms

June 15, 1938

“Harriet Eells,” *Daily Telegraph*, June 11, 1938, 1.

Wigmore Hall, London

Harriet Eells (voice), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Arpad Sandor (piano)

Four Poems for voice, viola, and piano

Charles Martin Loeffler

January 9, 1939

“The Rodewald,” *Liverpool Echo*, January 5, 1939, 3.

Rodewald Society, India Buildings, Liverpool, England

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano)

Piano Quartet in C Minor, op. 15

Gabriel Fauré

Piano Quartet in A Major

Johannes Brahms

Serenade

Ernst von Dohnányi

March 17, 1939

“Concerts & c.,” *Times*, March 17, 1939, 14.

American Women’s Club, 46 Grosvenor Street, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Steuart Wilson (tenor)

Piano Quartet in A Major

Johannes Brahms

Sonata à Quatre

Jean Baptiste Loeillet

(Title of work not named, probably Fantasias for String Trio, arr. Peter Warlock)

Henry Purcell

On Wenlock Edge

Steuart Wilson

March 31, 1939

“Concerts & c.,” *Times*, March 31, 1939, 12.

American Women’s Club, 46 Grosvenor Street, London

The English Ensemble

Marjorie Hayward (violin), Rebecca Clarke (viola), May Mukle (cello), Kathleen Long (piano), Adolf Lotter (double bass)

Piano Quartet in E $\flat$ Major

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Piano Quintet (“Trout”)

Franz Schubert

March 11, 1941

“Activities of Musicians Here and Afield: Program in Memory of Frank Bridge Planned for Washington,” *New York Times*, March 9, 1941, X8.

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William Kroll (violin), Jack Pepper (violin), Nicholas Moldavan (viola), Rebecca Clarke (viola), Victor Gottlieb (cello), Sterling Hunkins (cello)

Sextet

Frank Bridge

March 29, 1941

“Emanu-El Offers 3-Choir Festival,” *New York Times*, March 29, 1941, 13.

Temple Emanu-El, New York City

Rebecca Clarke (viola),

**Chinese Puzzle*

Rebecca Clarke

**Passacaglia*

Rebecca Clarke

March 31, 1944

“A Salute to England at Temple Emanu-El Congregation Presents Second of United Nations Concerts,” *New York Times*, April 1, 1944, 11.

Rebecca Clarke (viola), Gottfried Federlain (organ)

**Passacaglia*

Rebecca Clarke

**I’ll Bid My Heart Be Still*

Rebecca Clarke

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