Beyond Rebecca Clarke: Viola Music by Ruth Gipps and Kalitha Fox

By

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Chapter One

Introduction

In February 1976, WQXR Classical Radio host Robert Sherman interviewed the composer Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979). Sherman, however, did not know at the beginning of the interview that Clarke was anything but an old friend and colleague of pianist Dame Myra Hess. It was not until halfway through the interview, when Clarke produced a program from 1925 with the headline "Rebecca Clarke: Concert of Her Own Compositions," that Sherman realized he was speaking to an accomplished composer.[1] He began exchanging letters with Clarke, and by the time her 90th birthday arrived, in August of 1976, Sherman had prepared a radio program celebrating Clarke's life and work. The centerpiece of this broadcast was a second interview with Clarke, recorded sometime before June 1976.[2] In it, Clarke expresses joy and surprise at the "mini-revival" of her music,[3] which had been largely forgotten, particularly after she stopped giving concerts of her own works.

This radio program also featured a performance of Clarke's viola sonata by violist Toby Apel and pianist Emmanuel Ax.[4] The viola sonata itself also had a tantalizing anecdote to accompany it: the piece had won second place to Ernest Bloch's Suite for Viola and Piano at the 1919 Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge chamber music competition, after a tie-breaking vote by

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[1] "Rebecca Clarke Remembers Myra Hess (Interview with Robert Sherman)," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*, ed. Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 165.

[2] Curtis, 170.

[3] Ibid., 177.

[4] Ibid., 170.

Sprague Coolidge herself decided in favor of Bloch.[5] When Clarke's name was revealed as the runner-up, Sprague Coolidge recalled to Clarke that "you should have seen their faces when they saw it was by a woman!"[6] It seems the jurors were not alone in their shock that a woman could write such music; Clarke remembers rumors that the piece was actually written by Bloch, or that "Rebecca Clarke" was a pseudonym for some other man.[7] These rumors, combined with the fact that Clarke had tied with Bloch in the initial round of voting, gave the Clarke viola sonata the shine of a lost gem; and as violists now know, it is a gem, a complex and challenging work that is now regarded as essential to the viola repertoire.

But what about other lost gems? What about music written by women who were not childhood friends of great pianists, whose music was not involved in any interesting scandals at international competitions, who did not live to see revivals of their works that were ignored by the musical establishment. Using Clarke's life and milieu as a guide, I decided to see if there were other "lost" composers who wrote music for viola among her contemporaries. Clarke's career was centered around the Royal College of Music (RCM), the nexus of the "renaissance" of English music that propelled composers like Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst, and Edward Elgar into the classical canon, but she was also a founding member of the Society for Women Musicians (SWM), an organization that had regular concerts promoting the work of women composers from its inception in 1911 until it dissolved in 1972. Therefore I looked to the RCM and the SWM to find women composers of that era whose works never made it into the

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[5] Rebecca Clarke, "Rebecca Clarke's 1977 Program Note on the Viola Sonata," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*, 226.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

viola repertoire, slim as it has always been. While the question of why none of the many women who studied at the RCM or had their music performed by the SWM during the first half of the twentieth century ever gained a real foothold in the larger classical canon is beyond the scope of this project, what I can offer are ideas on why two specific women, Kalitha Dorothy Fox and Ruth Gipps, fell into varying degrees of obscurity.

In this first chapter, I will set the stage with an overview of current theories of canon formation and how gender affects that process. In addition to scholarship by musicologists like Marcia Citron, Susan McClary, and William Weber, I will also discuss Joanna Russ's 1983 theoretical text, *How to Suppress Women's Writing*. While *How to Suppress Women's Writing* is almost forty years old, it remains relevant to this discussion because women still fight for inclusion in the canon of Western art in general, and in music in particular. At the 2020 Academy Awards, for example, Hildur Guðnadóttir became the first woman to win the award for Best Original Score; of the 74 Pulitzer Prizes awarded for excellence in music since 1943, there have been only eight female honorees.[8] Awards are only one facet of the story; in 2019, a Women's Philharmonic Advocacy study found that of works major American orchestras planned for the 2019–2020 season, just 8% were composed by women.[9] Russ's monograph describes a half-dozen "strategies" used to prevent women artists from accumulating the cultural currency required for inclusion in canons of Western art:

> Informal prohibitions (including discouragement and the accessibility of materials and training), denying the authorship of the work in question (this ploy ranges from simple misattribution to psychological subtleties that make the head spin), belittlement of the

[8] "Music," The Pulitzer Prizes, https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-category/225.

[9] Hannah Schiller, "Where Are the Women Composers? How Classical Music is Faring in the Fight for Gender Equality," *WFMT* May 13, 2019, https://www.wfmt.com/2019/05/13/where-are-the-women-composers-how-classical-music-is-faring-in-the-fight-for-gender-equality/.

> work itself in various ways, isolation of the work from the tradition to which it belongs and its consequent presentation as anomalous, assertions that the work indicates the author's bad character and hence is of primarily scandalous interest or ought not to have been done at all (this did not end with the nineteenth century), and simply ignoring the works, the workers, and the whole tradition, the most commonly employed technique and the hardest to combat.[10]

Following the introductory chapter, I will examine two specific works by women composers associated with the RCM and SWM during the first four decades of the twentieth century: Kalitha Dorothy Fox's (1894–1934) sonata for viola and piano, and the *Jane Grey Fantasy* for viola and string orchestra by Ruth Gipps (1921–1999). I chose these pieces because they represent two major genres of "solo" instrumental works: a sonata with piano and a solo with orchestral accompaniment.

Of these two women Kalitha Dorothy Fox is by far the most obscure. The only scholarly work that so much as mentions her is Laura Seddon's 2013 monograph, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century*. Using geneaological research techniques, I have compiled the first biographical sketch of Fox, and have uncovered previously unknown details of her personal life from newspaper coverage of her suicide. In January 2020, with the generous support of a UW-Madison School of Music travel grant, I conducted research on Fox at the RCM and the British Library. The RCM houses the archives of the SWM, and through examining that collection and copies of Fox's published works at the British Library, I was able to construct a chronological list of Fox's music. This list is appended to this document as Appendix A. Chapter Two contains my full biography of Fox, while in Chapter Three I discuss the content and style of her viola sonata.

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[10] Joanna Russ, *How to Suppress Women's Writing*, (1983; repr., Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 3.

There is currently one book-length biography of Ruth Gipps, though this is the only significant scholarship on her at this time. Gipps was in many ways a trailblazer, particularly in her work as an orchestral conductor, but her musical idiom was staunchly conservative – following in the footsteps of her teacher Vaughan Williams, her writing was largely tonal and based in English folk music. Her biographer Jill Halstead argues that this "anti-modernism" severely impeded Gipps's career as a "serious" composer:

> During [Gipps's career] musical culture in Britain changed beyond recognition; her first works came at the tail end of the first phase of the English musical renaissance, while her last fought to be heard in a musical landscape defined by stylistic diversity, globalization, and technology. When she sent her fifth and final symphony to the BBC in 1985 they apparently returned the score almost immediately, explaining, in her words, that 'they didn't broadcast that sort of music any more.'[11]

I wrap up my biographical sketch of Gipps by examining this claim through the lens of Russ's concept of "false categorizing," which Russ describes as a technique for denying artistic value in women's creative work by moving their work from the realm of "serious" to "not serious."[12] In other words, if a work can be pigeonholed in to a category with less cultural value, that work can be ignored and eventually forgotten; in Gipps's case, because her music was largely tonal in a culture that privileged atonal and serialist styles, it was categorized as "light classical" and subsequently dismissed.

Though the modern feminist movement can be traced as far back as Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* in most academic disciplines feminist thought was not introduced until well into the twentieth century – likely because in most

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[11] Jill Halstead, *Ruth Gipps: Anti-Modernism, Nationalism and Difference in English Music* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 81.

[12] Russ, 64.

academic disciplines *women* were not involved until well into the twentieth century. In the extremely conservative world of music, it is not surprising that the relationship between gender and canonicity in Western art music has only been interrogated in the last forty years. Marcia Citron's 1991 monograph *Gender and the Musical Canon*, though now entering its third decade, remains the most comprehensive overview of the intersections of power, privilege, and culture that largely pushed women composers out of the Western musical canon. She writes that "canons simultaneously reflect, instigate, and perpetuate value systems."[13] These value systems are those of the "dominant cultural group."[14] When the canons of Western art music were being formed, that dominant class was white, educated, and male.

England was central to the creation of the Western musical canon. William Weber traces the idea of "musical classics" to Britain in the 18th century, where concert societies celebrating "ancient" music quickly became a powerful force in musical life throughout the country. In this case "ancient" music ranged from English music of the Tudor period to "modern classics"[15] like George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), Henry Purcell (1659–1695), and Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713). Celebrating this music gave the members of these ancient music societies a sense of shared national identity, perhaps even a shared moral authority. The music of Handel, Corelli, and Purcell was elevated by the cult status given to those specific composers by the ancient music societies. Handel and Purcell were considered geniuses of "serious" music in general, while Corelli was the acknowledged master of the concerto. In this way they became great

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[13] Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19.

[14] Ibid., 20.

[15] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 75.

composers in the canonic, nineteenth-century sense of the term. Their names began to "[signify] much more than [themselves],"[16] or take on a Foucauldian "author-function." Citron contends that the "semiotic power" of the author-function "plays a major role in canonicity."[17] To be brief, if we already "know" that a composer is "good" through the author-function of his name (Handel, for example), we can assume that any music by him is probably "good" and deserves inclusion in the canon. Thus canons self-perpetuate; if a composer is included in the canon, his music must be "good" because his music is included in the canon, and so on. Knowing that Purcell and Handel were great composers "[served] as a source of stability in a time of flux and uncertainty in the development of musical life...it provided authority within a context that threatened to dissolve into cultural anarchy."[18]

The impulse to form canons of "good" music in eighteenth England was also spurred by the desire of conservatives, especially clergymen, to defend against a "lewd and profane"[19] Other, the "licentious and tasteless music" of the wildly popular Italian opera, a foreign incursion on to English soil.[20] The only appropriate counteraction was the performance of music that exemplified the values of English culture. While Handel and Corelli were not native Britons, both had characteristics that reflected conservative ideals of Englishness at the time. Corelli's concerti were learned in style but also accessible by dedicated amateurs.[21] Handel's connection

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[16] Citron, 113.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Weber, 77.

[19] Ibid., 52.

[20] Ibid., 47.

[21] Ibid., 83.

with Englishness is more self-evident: though foreign-born, he lived the greater part of his life in London, becoming a naturalized subject in 1727. The music of Handel, Corelli, and Purcell was canonized by conservatives and nationalists in order to counteract both internal strife – the civil war of the seventeenth century and the resulting change in power structures, the beginnings of the industrial revolution, and the transition to capitalism – and external threats to national identity. In other words, canons are defined both by the self-perpetuation of the dominant group, or a collective self, and that group's opposition to an Other. The self-other duality is easily mapped to a male-female duality, which maps to several other relevant dualities, including mind-body and culture-nature. If the purpose of a canon is to shore up the self and oppose the other, then women, as the other, cannot participate in canon – either in formation or perpetuation. Therefore the canon must exclude compositions by women.

The self-other and male-female dualities are also closely linked to the culture-nature and mind-body dualities. Citron explains that the culture-nature duality has often been used to suppress female creativity. "Creativity, which involves the mind," she argues, "is reserved for male activity; procreation, which involves giving birth, is applied to women."[22] The male act of creativity is inherently cultured, or mental, while female creativity is base, animal, merely a bodily process. Nietzsche likened male creativity to the "prime progenitor" power of God; he believed that the things men create are "lasting, eternal, transcendent objects." Women, on the other hand, only make "perishables – human beings."[23] This implies a further duality: immaculate-sinful. Men's creativity is "clean," while women's creativity is tied up in the sinful activities of the body. It is no coincidence that the few women who have broken through into the

[22] Citron, 45.

[23] Friedrich Nietzsche, quoted in Citron, 49.

musical canon are in some way "disembodied." The "first female composer" touted by classroom anthologies, for example, is nun-mystic Hildegard von Bingen. Nuns take vows for the specific purpose of removing their body from reproductive commerce; this removal of her body allows Hildegard to bridge the mind-body/immaculate-sinful duality just enough to edge into the far end of the canon. Later composers like Clarke and Fanny Hensel took a more direct route to denying their female embodiment – they simply put male names on their compositions.[24]

There is no doubt that Kalitha Fox and Ruth Gipps were excluded from the larger Western musical canon, but they have thus far also been shut out of the canon of viola repertoire. We already know that Rebecca Clarke deserved entry into that repertoire, so why not Fox and Gipps? They both wrote interesting, idiomatic works for the instrument that have both artistic and pedagogical value, just as Clarke did. Their only crime has been obscurity, enforced by the lingering effects of gendered assumptions about who can write enduring music.

[24] Clarke named "Anthony Trent" as the composer of her viola sonata, while Hensel published several works under her brother Felix Mendelssohn's name.

Chapter Two

A Brief Biography of Kalitha Dorothy Fox

The following chapter contains the most comprehensive account of composer Kalitha Dorothy Fox's life to date. I have assembled this biography using physical archives, like the SWM archive collection at the Royal College of Music and the British Library's Rare Books and Music collection, and digital archives, like the British Newspaper Archive (BNA). In addition, I have supplemented the information gleaned from those sources with geneaological data from the academic library edition of Ancestry.com. This biography of Fox gives valuable context to her extant music, and I hope that public dissemination of this newly expanded understanding of her life will inspire future performances of those works.

Kalitha Dorothy Fox was born to wealthy parents in London in 1894. Her mother, Kalitha Marianne Childs Fox, was from a prominent Cornish family,[1] while her father, Arthur Elliston Fox, traced his lineage from several families of landed gentry and nobility.[2] The family lived in the Bayswater neighborhood of Westerminster, an affluent borough of London that borders the north side of Hyde Park. Their house, 61 Porchester Terrace, no longer stands, but the street is to this day lined with impressive detached homes that regularly sell for five or six million pounds;[3] a 2015 *Guardian* article characterized the homes on the street as "Italiante mansions of

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[1] "Funeral of Rev. J. Glynn Childs," *Royal Cornwall Gazette* May 19, 1904.

[2] The Peerage.com, "Arthur Elliston Fox," http://www.thepeerage.com/p14477.htm#i144766

[3] HM Land Registry Open Data, "Porchester Terrace, London: detached and semi-detached homes," (https://landregistry.data.gov.uk/app/ppd/)

ambassador's residences and the palatial pieds-à-terre of Middle Eastern royals."[4] Kalitha Dorothy's mother, Kalitha Marianne, died in 1905,[5] and in 1923 Arthur married Cora Blackburn, the daughter of Samual Kitson Blackburn, a "gentleman."[6] According to census records, Arthur Elliston Fox was employed as an insurance broker and was an "underwriting member of Lloyds."[7] Upon his death in 1949 he left an estate of £162,000 or about £5.6 million in today's currency.[8]

Like Ruth Gipps, Kalitha Dorothy Fox began composing when she was very young. In 1906, at the age of eleven, her piece for solo piano, "Affliction – on the death of my mother" was published by the London firm of Augener. If Ruth Gipps's mother Hélène was careful to quell any doubts that Ruth's youthful compositions were her own work, however, whoever induced eleven-year-old Fox to publish had no such concerns.[9] "Affliction" was explicitly printed with the caveat "arranged by L. L."[10] The identity of "L. L." remains a mystery; I was not able to connect Fox to anyone with those initials at any point during her life. That said, there was one

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[4] Oliver Wainwright, "The Grand London 'Semi' that Spawned a Housing Revolution," *Guardian* April 1, 2015.

[5] "England and Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations) 1858–1995 (1905)," digital image s.v. "Kalitha Marianne Fox," *Ancestry.com.*

[6] "London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754–1932 (1923)," digital image s.v. "Cora Kathleen Blackburn," *Ancestry.com*.

[7] "1939 England and Wales Register," digital image s.v. "Arthur Elliston Fox," *Ancestry.com.*

[8] "England and Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations) 1858–1995 (1949)," digital image s.v. "Arthur Elliston Fox," *Ancestry.com.*

[9] Halstead, 5.

[10] Kalitha Dorothy Fox, "Affliction – on the death of my mother," arranged by L. L. (London: W.H. Broome, 1906).

prominent "L. L." composer living in London in the early 1900s: Liza Lehmann, singer, composer, and first president of the SWM. Fox did not become a member of the SWM until she was in her mid-twenties, but there is a slim chance that Lehmann was somehow connected to Fox's genteel, cultured parents. An implied connection with Lehmann, one of the most prominent women composers of the early twentieth century, would give instant credibility to Fox, even though she was still a child. In 1910 three more pieces followed: two more works for solo piano, and one "Scherzo" for violin and piano. These did not carry "arranged by" credits, so apparently by this time Fox was working on her manuscripts alone.

Two of these four works of juvenalia are dedicated to women in her social circle, presumably mentors or teachers. Fox likely had formal training, but these dedications are the only hint available to who those teachers may have been. Her Opus 3, a minuet for solo piano, is dedicated to Mrs. F.G. Dickinson, while the Scherzo for violin and piano, Opus 4, is for Miss A. F. Vernet. Without a complete first name to go with the fairly common surname of Dickinson, it is difficult to find information on the first dedicatee, but it has been possible to track down Miss Vernet. In several advertisements printed in the *Musical Times* around the turn of the century, A. F. Vernet, L.R.A.M., is listed as an instructor of violoncello at the Baker Street Church of England High School for Girls.[11] Further investigation reveals that she was born Adelaide Frances Vernet in 1862, also to a family of some means; she grew up in the London borough of Wandsworth in a household that employed five live-in servants.[12] The 1911 census indicates that

[11] See advertisements in *Musical Times*, vol. 42, no. 695 (January 1901): 1, and vol. 44, no. 723 (May 1903): 289.

[12] "1871 England Census," digital image s.v. "Adelaide F. Vernet," *Ancestry.com.*

she still lived in Wandsworth with her elderly mother,[13] but electoral records from the 1920s and 1930s place her within a mile of the Fox home in Bayswater, much closer to her employer on Baker Street.[14] It seems likely that Vernet was either a family friend who encouraged Fox's musical ambitions, or was perhaps employed by the Fox family as a music tutor.[15]

These dedications to the musical women in her life, along with her other dedications to family members, give valuable insight into the support system that made Fox's compositional career possible, despite the health issues that plagued her during her adult life. While her family's financial resources gave Fox the opportunity to spend her energy – which was probably limited by chronic illness – on music, Fox's most prolific periods of composition were when she was involved in communities of creative women. These communities ranged from gentlewomen's clubs to professional organizations like the Society of Women Musicians.

Fox joined several of these organizations in the late 1910s and early 1920s. Between her miniature publishing boom in her early teens and the appearance of *Chante Élégique* in 1921, Fox was apparently struck by a debilitating illness. Several sources, including the Forum Club Record remembrance published after her death, state that she "became an invalid" at seventeen,[16] but the specific complaint remains unknown. Once she was sufficiently recovered from her illness, Fox became a member of two prominent gentlewoman's clubs: The Lyceum Club and

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[13] "1911 England Census," digital image s.v. "Adelaide F. Vernet," *Ancestry.com.*

[14] "London, England, Electoral Registers, 1832–1965 (1923)," digital image s.v. "Adelaide Frances Vernet," *Ancestry.com*, and "London, England, Electoral Registers, 1832–1965 (1932)," digital image s.v. "Adelaide Frances-J Vernet," *Ancestry.com*.

[15] It is also possible that Fox attended the Baker Street school, which was located a little less than two miles from Porchester Terrace.

[16] "The Late Miss Dorothy Fox," *Forum Club Record*, n.d., 1934, Society of Women Musicians Archive, MS10703, Royal College of Music Library.

the Forum Club. Both clubs were residential establishments where members could live, dine, and engage in social and artistic activities. Gentlewomen's clubs were modeled off the gentlemen's clubs of the day, where gentlemen could socialize in a male-only space that still provided all the comforts of home. By the mid-nineteenth century, Clubs began to appear that were organized around particular professions or interests; these were the Clubs most closely emulated by the Lyceum and the Forum. Lyceum founder Constance Smedley hoped that the Club would be

> a substantial and dignified *milieu* where [women] could meet editors and other employers and discuss matters as men did in professional clubs: above all in surroundings that did not suggest poverty.[17]

Though the Lyceum and the Forum began as clubs for professional writers and artists, they both became known for their association with the Women's Suffrage movement. I was not able to confirm when she joined the Lyceum Club, but I suspect that she joined between 1916 and 1918, when she was in her early twenties. The Forum Club was chartered by former members of the Lyceum in 1919, so it seems likely that Fox followed her Lyceum sisters to the Forum around that time. However, at the time of her death in 1934, at least one newspaper notice on the value of her estate lists her previous address as "The Lyceum Club."[18] This implies that she lived at the Lyceum – and, presumably, was an active member there – until she moved to Amersham, her residence at the time of her death, in 1925. We do know the exact date she was elected into the Society of Women Musicians. The SWM Membership Directory indicates that

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[17] Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866–1928* (London: University College London Press, 1999), 124.

[18] "Wills and Estates," *Scotsman* December 31, 1934.

she and five other women were voted in on December 15, 1923.[19] The publication of the *Chante Élégique* and her election to the SWM marked the start of her mature compositional career.

From what I have been able to reconstruct using local newspaper articles, Fox moved to Amersham, Buckinghamshire – about thirty miles from Central London – around 1925, to live with Christabel Lowndes-Yates. Lowndes-Yates, a writer about fifteen years Fox's senior,[20] had some success in the early 1920s as a screenwriter, earning writing credits on several silent comedies;[21] Lowndes-Yates also wrote for the suffragist paper *The Vote*.[22] According to her testimony at the inquest into Fox's death, Lowndes-Yates met Fox in France[23] while Fox was so ill that she was told she "had only three months to live unless she could be looked after better."[24] Lowndes-Yates states that she undertook the task of nursing Fox back to health when Fox joined her in Amersham "ten years ago."[25] This squares with a 1926 review in a Buckinghamshire paper calls Fox a "local composer" "of Amersham,"[26] so she was definitely living there by that year. Another article in the same paper, from 1929, claims Fox as an Amersham resident "since

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[19] "1 volume of membership lists, SWM members elected and resigned 1920–1960," Society of Women Musicians Archive, MS10850, Royal College of Music Library.

[20] "England & Wales, Civil Registration Birth Index, 1837–1915 (1880)," digital image s.v. "Christabel Lowndes Yates," *Ancestry.com.*

[21] "Christabel Lowndes-Yates," British Film Institute, https://www.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/531118c098248

[22] "Women Voters in the Country," *Vote* December 29, 1922.

[23] The Fox family appears to have some connection with France, as Fox's father was also there at the time of Fox's death (see "Nerve-Shattering Drills," *Buckinghamshire Examinder* August 17, 1934).

[24] "Woman Composer's Suicide," *Gloucester Citizen*, August 14, 1934.

[25] "Nerve-Shattering Drills," *Buckinghamshire Examiner* August 17, 1934.

[26] "Local Composers in London," *Buckinghamshire Examiner* July 16, 1926.

1925."[27] However, in coverage of her death there is some disagreement of exactly when she took up residence in Buckinghamshire. Some articles support the 1924–1925 date,[28] while other reports claim she had only been there for seven years.[29] Perhaps an explanation can be found in the words of an anonymous acquaintance interviewed by the *Daily Herald*, who confided that "for some years [Fox] has had no fixed home, but has spent the time living at hotels or with friends."[30]

Despite her illness and her transient lifestyle, the last decade of her life would be Fox's most compositionally productive. The Parisian publisher Maurice Senart printed five of Fox's compositions in the late 1920s and early 1930s: three works for solo piano, a violin sonata, and a viola sonata. These works were numbered Opus 7 (the viola sonata), Opus 8 (a *Kitten Scherzo*) Opus 9 (a *Prelude* for solo piano), and Opus 11 (*Five Pieces* for solo piano). The violin sonata, dated 1931 per the French National Library catalog, does not have an opus number; however, based on the opus numbers of Senart's other Fox publications it seems likely that it was her Opus 10. Likewise there is some confusion about the date of the viola sonata. The edition held at the French National Library and available on IMSLP is dated 1930, but it was given an opus number that indicates an earlier date than the Kitten Scherzo and the Prelude, which were both published in 1929. The BBC's *Radio Times* indicates that a "Sonata in C Minor" by "K. Dorothy Fox" was

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[27] "Success of a Young Musician," *Buckinghamshire Examiner* May 10, 1929.

[28] A *Bucks Herald* article of August 17, 1934, says she lived in Amersham for "the past 10 years."

[29] The *Gloucester Citizen* article "Woman Composer's Suicide" of August 14, 1934, quotes Lowndes-Yates telling the inquest Fox had lived with her in Amersham for "the past seven years." The same account is repeated in the August 17 edition of the *Kensington Post* "Fleeing from Noise", the *Shepton Mallet Journal* "Fate of Woman Composer"of the same date, and the August 14 edition of the *Londonderry Sentinel* "Woman Composer's Suicide."

[30] "Half-Finished Music in Room of Dead Woman." *Daily Herald* August 13, 1934.

performed by violist Norman Carrell[31] and pianist Nancy Fiori on the radio in November 1927.[32] Presumably this is the same viola sonata that was published by Senart as Opus 7, and now appears on IMSLP with a 1930 copyright date. The broadcast of this piece would turn out to be a defining moment for Fox's career, starting with the brief mention she garners in the second edition of *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* under the catch-all entry "Women Composers." There, Fox is listed among members of the SWM who "have written chamber works performed in public." "Public," in the case of Fox, meaning "viola sonata, broadcast from Bournemouth."[33]

Though they did not have the lasting reach of the viola sonata, several of Fox's other works were given prominent performances between 1925 and her death in 1934. The same article that reviews the 1926 SWM performance also recalls a 1925 performance of a "Suite for chamber orchestra" in London. Both the orchestral suite and the trio are, unfortunately, unpublished and probably lost. Evidence of further lost works can be found in extant SWM concert programs from 1932 and 1935. On a July 9, 1932 concert at the SWM, Fox's trio for flute, viola, and piano was performed.[34] A *Phantasy Quartet* premiered a year after her death at another SWM concert, this one on July 13, 1935.[35] We also know that another unknown,

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[31] I have not been able to confirm if this is the same Norman Carrell who published the monograph *Bach the Borrower* in 1967, though it is not outside the realm of possibility.

[32] "A Short Sonata Recital," *Radio Times* November 21, 1927.

[33] M. Drake-Brockman, "Women Composers," *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 592.

[34] SWM Concert Programme, 21st anniversary, July 9, 1932, Society of Women Musicians Archive, MS11338, Royal College of Music Library.

[35] SWM Concert Programme, July 13, 1935, Society of Women Musicians Archive, MS11342, Royal College of Music Library.

unpublished work, was performed at an SWM concert about a month before her death in 1934. In postcards she wrote to SWM founder Kathleen Eggars in August 1934, Fox thanked Eggars for including her piece in the program and gave instructions on how to return the score.[36] Unfortunately she did not explicitly name the piece or give a hint at its instrumentation. Even more mysterious are the works of "chamber music" referred to in another Buckinghamshire Examiner article in May 1929:

> Miss K. Dorothy Fox, the young composer who has lived at Amersham since 1925, has had her chamber music performed very successfully during the last few weeks, both in London and the provinces. One of the concerts where it was played was given by the Society of Women Musicians. Recently other music of hers was broadcast by the B.B.C.[37]

It is not clear if this is a second BBC broadcast, separate from the 1927 event, or if the newspaper correspondent is simply listing Fox's successes. "During the last few weeks" would imply that this broadcast occurred sometime in early 1929, but "recently" is a good deal more vague.

Many of the details of her life come from extensive press coverage of Fox's suicide at age 40. Newspapers as far away as Scotland carried breathless accounts of the room where she was found, her belongings, her movements during the days before. The macabre reports came from a desire to explain why a wealthy, independent, apparently happy woman would take her own life; and they found a scapegoat in the "shattering noise" of pneumatic drills being used for road construction near her home. The narrative of a nervous, artistic woman who was driven mad by these horrors of modern technology was apparently too tempting to refuse for the press. It

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[36] Kalitha Dorothy Fox to Kathleen Eggars, postcard, July 20, 1934, Society of Women Musicians Archive, MS10702, Royal College of Music Library.

[37] "Success of a Young Musician," *Buckinghamshire Examiner* May 10, 1929.

seems more likely, however, that Fox, like many who attempt or complete suicide, had been suffering from serious anxiety, depression, and general ill-health for decades, and the pneumatic drills had nothing to do with it.

Though her death was extensively covered in the press, Fox and her music quickly faded into obscurity. There are several clear reasons for this. First, without Fox alive to promote it, her music was no longer performed within a year of her death.[38] Second, because her music was so often written for amateurs – friends and family – she had no professional performer who championed her work. Furthermore, no scholar has investigated her life and work until now, almost a century after her demise. Without an extant biography, as a composer she may as well be anonymous, a condition which Citron notes usually means exclusion from the canon.[39] As I explained in Chapter One, knowledge of an author or creator's identity allows arbiters of culture like teachers, publishers, and anthologists to pre-judge the work itself.[40] When there is no author or the author is an unknown quantity, the work is more easily discarded as "not good" or "not relevant." By assembling this biography of Fox, I hope to provide the context necessary for teachers and performers in particular to take Fox's music seriously.

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[38] The last known performance of her music was at an SWM concert on July 13, 1935.

[39] Citron, 113.

[40] Ibid., 115.

Chapter Three

The Fox Sonata for Viola and Piano

Fox wrote her viola sonata around 1927, in the middle of her second major period of composition activity, which began in the early 1920s and ended with her death in 1934. As I outlined in the previous chapter, the late 1920s were a particularly successful time for Fox; her music was being performed in both SWM concerts and other venues, her viola sonata was nationally broadcast, and she had several pieces published by Senart in Paris. Like the Clarke, Fox's sonata is in three movements with a lively scherzo in the central position. The first and last movements roughly conform to traditional sonata form, while the scherzo is a rounded binary. Overall Fox's harmonic language is similar to that of Clarke, Vaughan Williams, and other composers of the English school — in other words, strongly tonal with elements of late nineteenth-century French music. In this chapter I describe the sonata in detail, then conclude with reflections on why the piece should be part of the standard viola repertoire.

In the first movement, the viola enters alone, introducing a flowing, arpeggiated melody consisting of two and four-bar phrases (Theme 1A, fig. 1). This melody is picked up by the piano in canon, starting at the second measure and continuing through measure eight, where the piano restates the melody in full. After a brief transition, the viola joins in again to sing the second sub-theme (Theme 1B, fig. 2), now in the relative major of E-flat. In this section, the piano grounds the music by continuing the steady quarter-note/eighth-note pattern from the first theme, while the viola tests these rhythmic bounds with duples and septuplets in the upper register. Eventually, the duples take over, leading in to the second theme proper in 3/4 at measure 31.

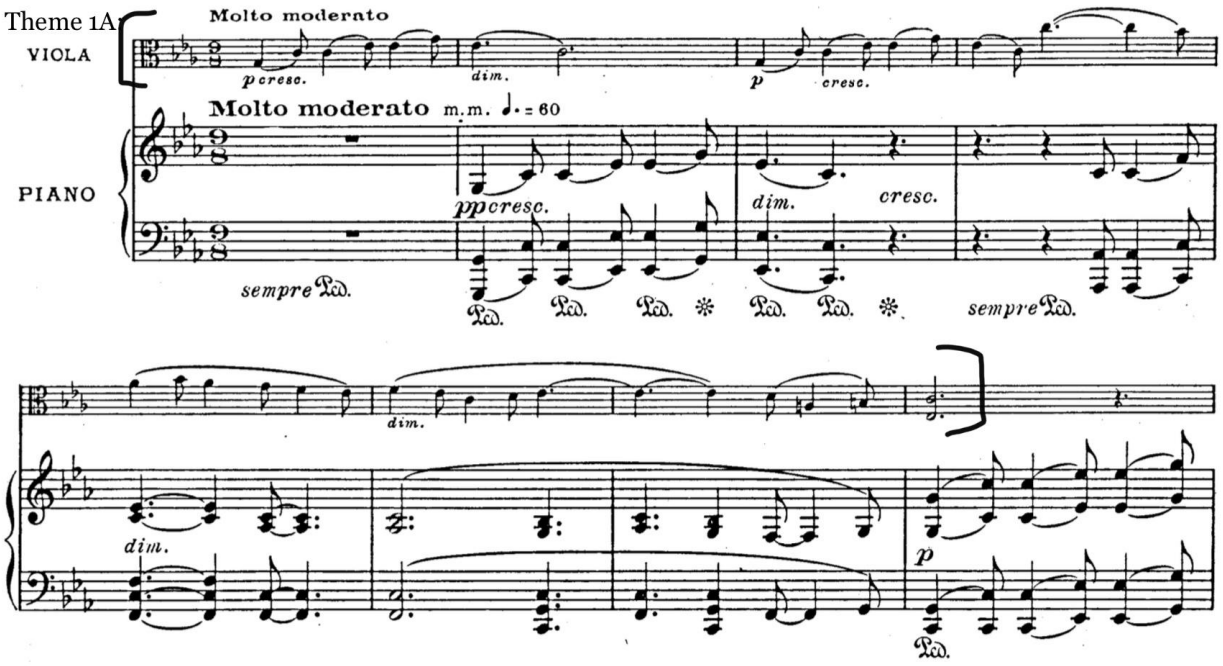

Figure 1. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Molto moderato. Theme 1A, mm. 1–8.

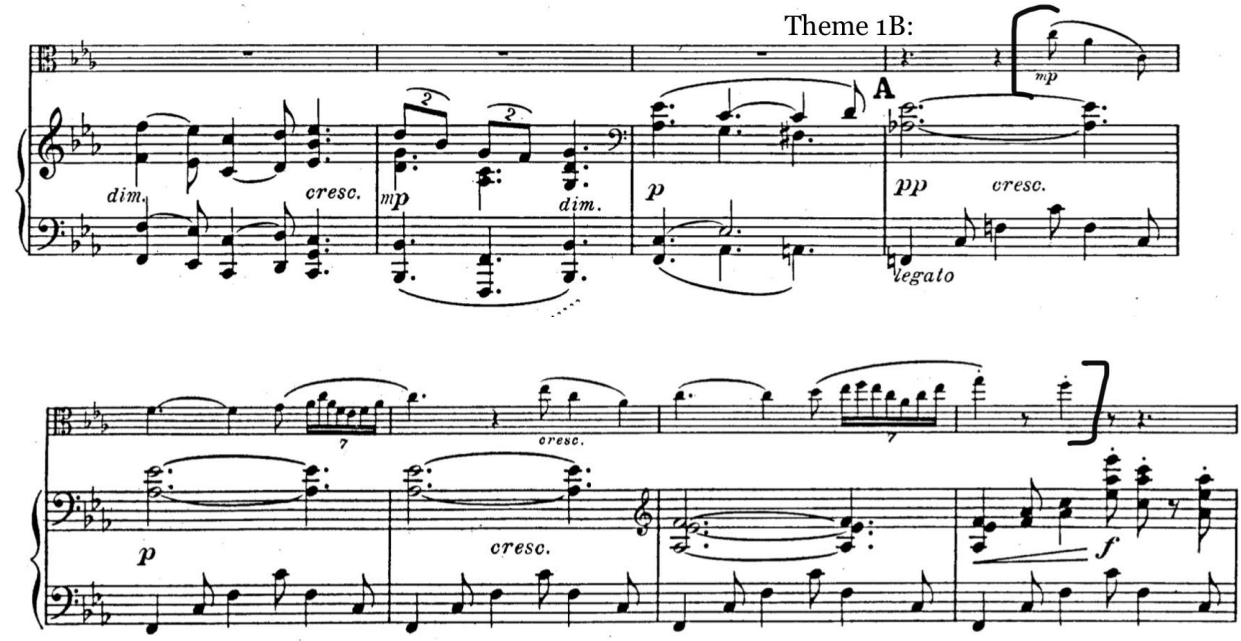

Figure 2. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Molto moderato. Theme 1B, mm. 13–20.

This second theme (Theme 2, fig. 3) leaves behind C minor entirely and Fox instead casts it in E minor, a major third above the previous tonic. In Classical sonata form, a third

relationship between the first and second themes is typical in a minor key. However, in this case we have already encountered material in E-flat major in Theme 1B, so instead Fox raises the stakes by traveling up a half-step to center Theme 2 proper around E-natural. Fox also dispenses with the gentle sway of 9/8 in favor of a steadily driving 3/4, which the simple quarter note-only accompaniment in the piano delineates clearly.

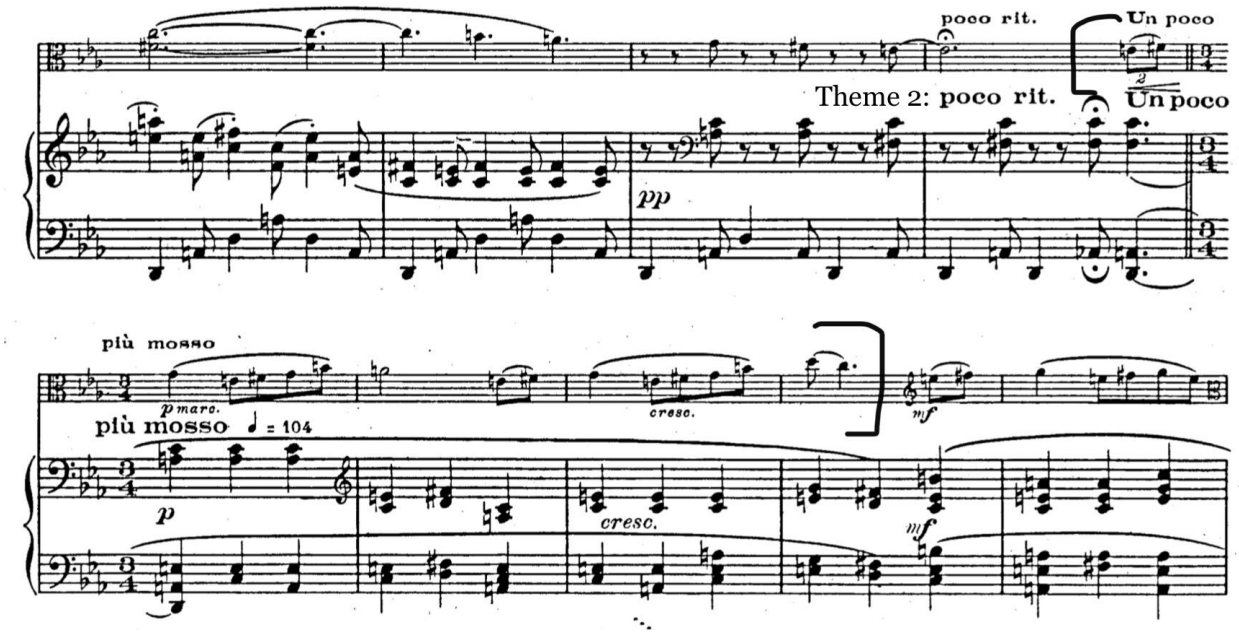

Figure 3. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Molto moderato. Theme 2, mm. 27–35.

After the viola states Theme 2 in full, the piano also gets a chance at this new melody, giving this statement additional momentum through rippling sixteenth-note arpeggios in the left hand. A brief transition launches us into the development section (beginning at measure 52), where we leave behind 3/4 and return to 9/8. E minor is still the tonal center and the piano continues to provide rhythmic drive by way of arpeggiated sixteenths, but the viola stubbornly returns to the opening melody. Over the course of the next twenty measures the viola repeats Theme 1A in various keys before finally arriving in sunny E major at measure 76. Here the tension of the previous section suddenly clears, and the piano seizes the opportunity to briefly

outline a new theme, loosely based on Theme 1B. Almost as soon as it emerges, however, this theme is obscured as the viola initiates the journey back to the recapitulation. By measure 91 the return to Theme 1A is complete.

The recapitulation unfolds in a fairly traditional manner: Fox restates Themes 1A and 1B verbatim, and Theme 2 is recomposed into the tonic key. However, she does not simply transpose Theme 2 harmonically – instead, an attempt is made to force it into the rhythmic parameters of Theme 1 as well. When the viola reaches Theme 2 at measure 110, it does change to 3/4, but is obliged to considerably slow the melody to match the piano, which remains in 9/8 and plays a new countermelody in that time signature. Once the viola's statement of Theme 2 is complete, the two instruments switch roles. This sustained two-against-three creates considerable tension in the recapitulation despite the conventional harmonic structure; in fact the tension is so great that resolution requires a sustained coda. Even so, the movement ends rather abruptly on a fortissimo C minor chord in both instruments.

The second movement, a scherzo in rounded binary form, opens with rapid arpeggiated seventh chords over an open fourth on top of an open fifth – E-flat, B-flat and E-flat – in the left hand. In the fifth measure the viola takes over the arpeggios, which Fox then hands back to the piano in measure nine when the viola line blossoms into a brief lyrical, sustained melody. Turbulence starts to creep in at measure twelve as the bass line suddenly becomes active, changing every other beat instead of simply sustaining a drone. I consider this section, from measure 1 to measure 15, to be the first sub-theme of the first theme, or Theme 1A (fig. 4)

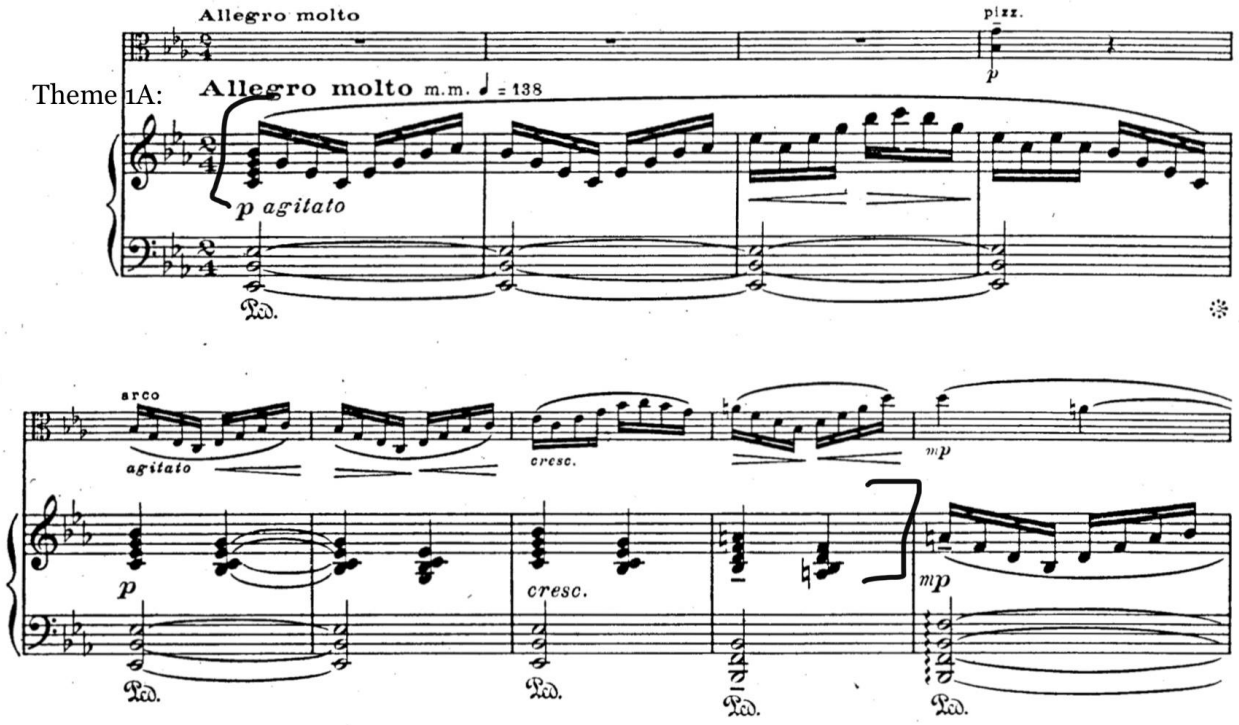

Figure 4. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, II. Allegro molto. Theme 1A, mm. 1–9.

By measure 16 we have reached the transition to the second sub-theme, or Theme 1B (fig. 5). In this section Fox hints at what is to come by setting it in the same general key area (G minor) as Theme 2, but still using the arpeggio patterns from Theme 1A. As in Theme 1A, Fox frames a lyrical theme (mm. 20–27) with arpeggios which are batted back and forth between the piano and viola. In this way each sub-theme reflects the movement's overall form. In fact, the structure of this first larger Theme 1 is also a rounded binary; measure 42 circles back to E-flat and Theme 1A, so Theme 1 concludes where it began.

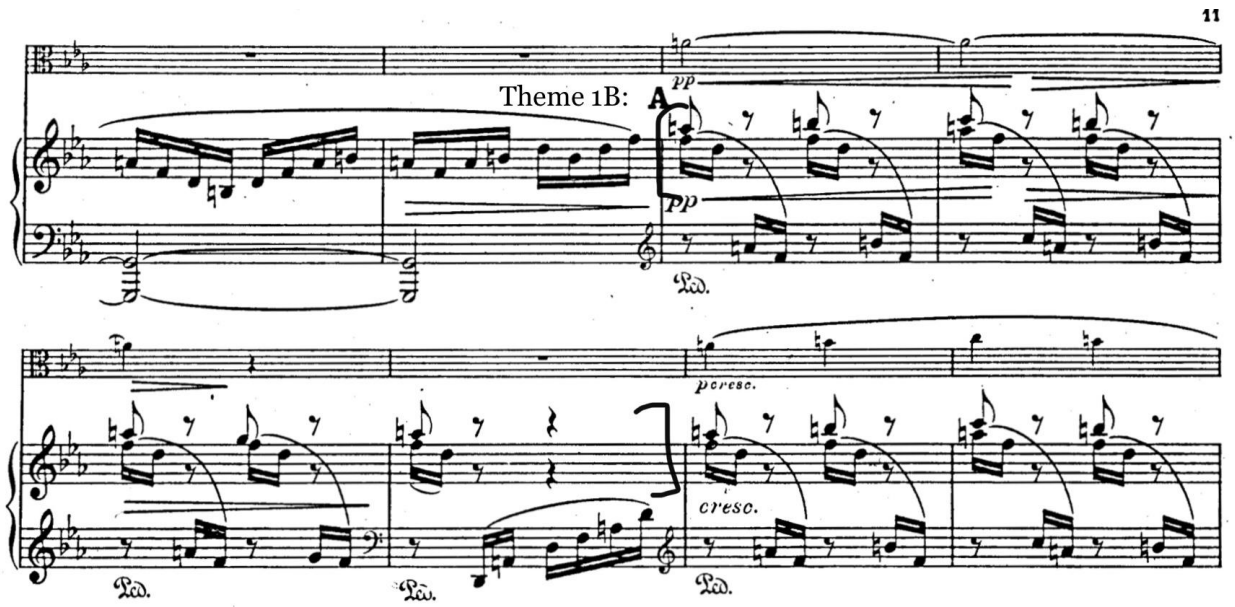

Figure 5. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, II. Allegro molto. Theme 1B, mm. 18–25.

Fox indicates a large break before Theme 2 (fig. 6) begins “un poco meno mosso” in measure 62. Again, the key area of Theme 2 is related to Theme 1 by a major third. The viola leads a full statement of this tuneful G minor theme which lasts until measure 93 – almost reminiscent of a vocal solo rather than a piece of chamber music. However, this theme begins to dissipate by measure 94. Fragments of Theme 2 are reiterated, but then dissolve into arpeggios in the piano, heralding the transition back to Theme 1.

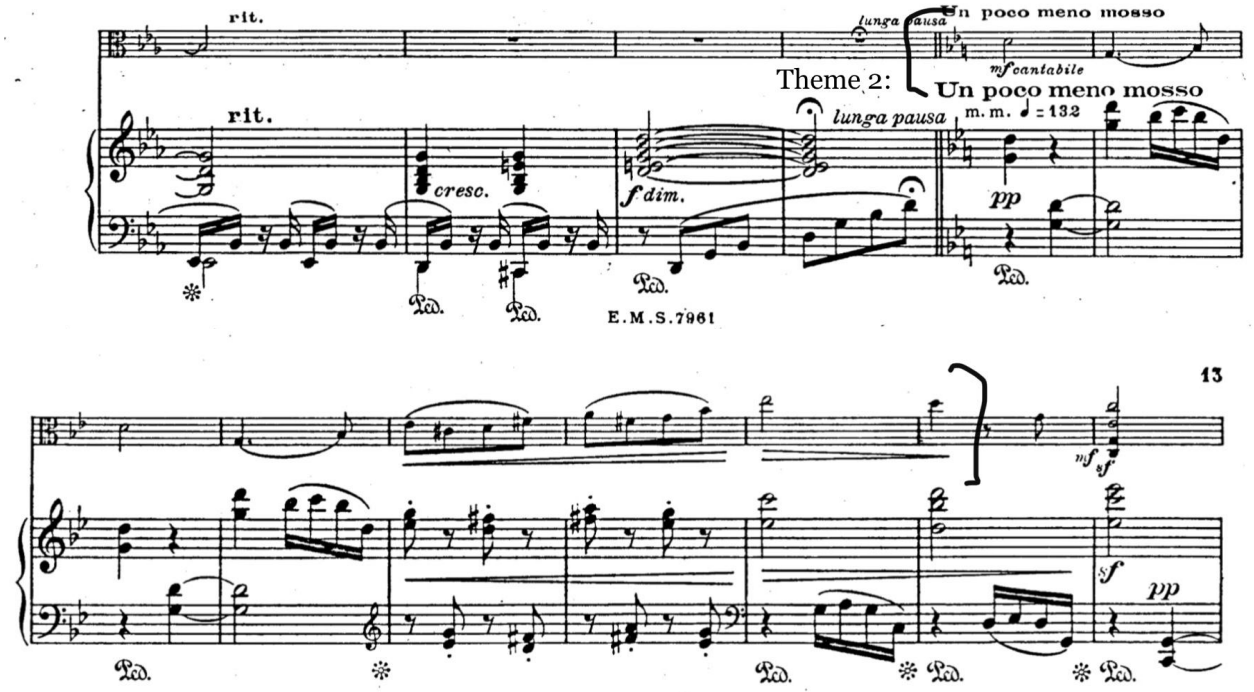

Figure 6. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, II. Molto allegro. Theme 2, mm. 58–70.

What follows is again an almost verbatim restatement of Theme 1A and 1B, with a few notable embellishments. Most significantly, the viola adds a dancelike counter-melody over the lyrical theme in Theme 1B, and the piano injects some rhythmic excitement into the final twenty measures by articulating only the first three sixteenths of each bar. These sixteenth-note punctuations to each downbeat give the ending stretch of the movement a sense of rising inevitability, making the penultimate chord feel like the snap of a rubber band, and the final chord a curious attempt at soothing the sting.

The third movement is the most reminiscent of the high romanticism of the mid-nineteenth century; and yet the rich counterpoint and singable melodies are punctuated by pungent chromaticism and flights of Debussy-esque fancy. A robust Theme 1A (fig. 7) is first stated in the piano with viola accompaniment, and is then restated in the viola with increasingly dense harmonies in the piano. In measure 11, the piano bursts out alone with a virtuosic passage in alternating sixteenth notes, which could be considered the second sub-theme or Theme 1B.

The viola rejoins in measure 15 with fragments of Theme 1A, accompanied by quickly modulating arpeggios in the piano which come to an abrupt halt in measure 25. This break heralds the beginning of Theme 2 (fig. 8), a simple, folk-like melody in E-flat major sung by the viola, undercut by steady chromatic chords in the piano.

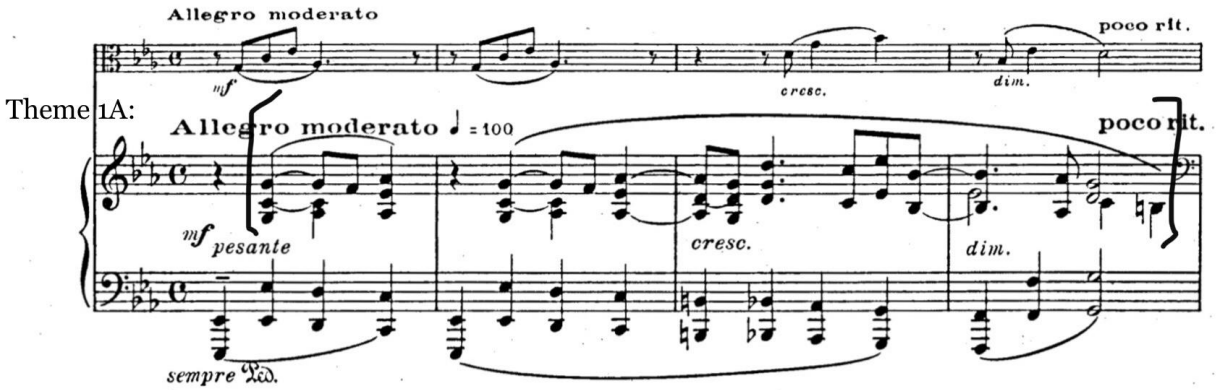

Figure 7. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, III. Allegro moderato. Theme 1A, mm. 1–4.

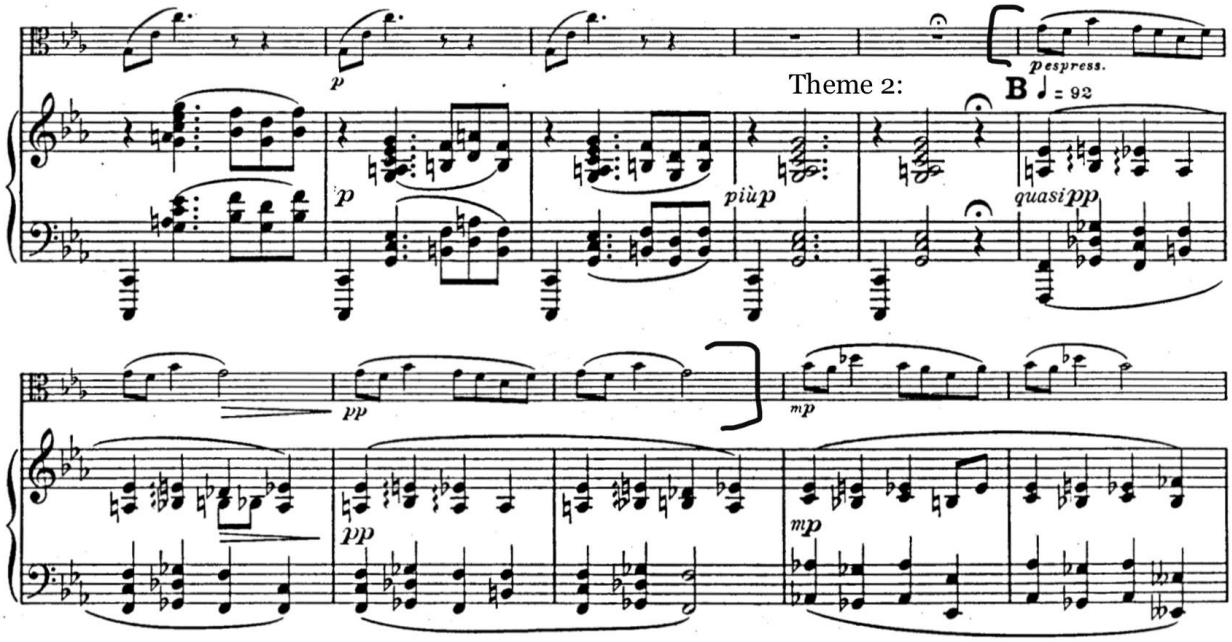

Figure 8. Kalitha Fox, Sonata for Viola and Piano, III. Allegro moderato. Theme 2, mm. 21–31.

Over time the second theme begins to rise in tessitura in both instruments, modulating to A-flat major and then, by measure 39, C major. The transition to the development is marked by

another return to fragments of Theme 1A in the viola, with more and more intense interjections from the piano paving the way for the stormy development section at measure 48. Marked "agitato," in this section Fox develops material from Theme 1B, which is also reminiscent of the first movement's Theme 1A – rising arpeggios in a lilting rhythm, in the first movement alternating quarters and eighths, here alternating dotted eighths and sixteenths. By measure 66 the arpeggios give way to a reimagining of Theme 2, now striving and intense in C-sharp minor. Fox also slightly transforms the Theme 2 melody for this new characterization; the perfect fourth in the opening figure is reduced to a major third. After forays into several other key areas, the viola returns to the familiar territory of rising arpeggios as the turbulence of the development comes to a close.

By measure 87 it seems that the storm is over; the piano plays the first few bass pitches of Theme 1A – but then stumbles, failing to reach high enough in the right hand and instead performing the melody at a sixth below the "correct" pitches. This false recapitulation carries on for several measures with the encouragement of the viola, which provides a pleasant descant in a few key moments. Another recapitulation attempt is made in measure 101, this time with the correct pitches in the piano, but it is too fast, lacking the stateliness of the original Theme 1A. Finally, both instruments declaim the true recapitulation in measure 105.

The recapitulation proceeds predictably up until measure 120, when the left hand of the piano introduces a triplet ostinato of alternating G-naturals and F-naturals, which has the effect of a dominant pedal. This suspense lasts for three measures; at measure 123 the piano seems to decide on a course of action and begins to play Theme 2, but this time a whole-step higher than in the exposition. Joining at measure 127, the viola modulates the melody ever higher at measure 131 and measure 135, before tumbling into the coda in C major at measure 137.

Both instruments explore a new melody derived from Theme 2 for several bars. It has something of a yearning character despite sitting firmly in C major, perhaps enhanced by the long held notes in the viola and the triplets in parallel thirds that occasionally burst from the piano. By measure 145 Fox widens the parallel intervals in the piano to a collection of parallel fourths topped by parallel thirds. The viola wisely gets out of the piano's way for this very impressionistic outburst, but reenters at measure 149 to get things back on track with arpeggios that lead to a final statement of Theme 1A. This final gasp runs out of steam by measure 153, and Fox ends the sonata on three huge F-sharp diminished chords in second inversion. Fox initially marks the final chord, which is meant to be arpeggiated by the pianist, at fortissimo, but indicates that it should fade to pianissimo by the final measure.

Those acquainted with the Clarke viola sonata will find the Fox sonata familiar in both form and content. Like the Fox, the Clarke is also in three movements with a scherzo in the central position. Both works are grounded in the aesthetic ideals of the early twentieth century English Musical Renaissance, which married modal English folksong to nineteenth-century German romanticism, often with inflections of the harmonic style of French composers like Debussy and Ravel.[1] Arguably, the longer Clarke sonata develops these elements with greater depth, but all are still clearly present in the Fox. In fact, each can be easily discerned in the third movement alone. The clear, strongly tonal counterpoint of the first theme recalls nineteenth-century German romanticism; the second theme has the contour and narrow range of an English folk song; and the climactic outburst from the piano at measure 145 has the open, modal harmony of French impressionism.

[1] Halstead, 77.

While Clarke was herself a violist, her writing for the piano in her viola sonata is virtuosic and requires advanced technical ability. Fox's social status as a gentleman's daughter, taken together with the fact that the majority of her music was written for the instrument, makes it likely that Fox was a pianist; so unsurprisingly she makes greater demands on the pianist than the violist in her sonata. Unlike Clarke, Fox is content to leave most of the virtuosity in the piano part. That is not to suggest that the viola part is undemanding; it has real difficulties, but it does not require the same soloist's bravura that is needed to perform the Clarke. Take for example the respective scherzos in each sonata. In the Clarke, the violist must rapidly alternate between several special techniques – pizzicato, harmonics, spiccato – before launching into dizzyingly quick and complex passagework which sits awkwardly in the hand and follows no particular scale or pattern. The Fox scherzo also requires a quick and accurate left hand, but all of the material is in regular and mostly predictable arpeggios. It is relatively easy to find a usable fingering, and the necessary shifting is not difficult. The first and third movements similarly present moderate difficulties, though nothing at the level of the Clarke's demands.

My instinct is to attribute this lack of virtuosity in the viola part to the fact that Fox was not a violist and was perhaps not familiar with the capabilities of the instrument. However, that would invalidate a suspicion about the relationship between Clarke and Fox that I am not yet ready to concede. Based on my research, we now know that Fox joined the SWM in 1923. Clarke, a founding member of the group, was more focused on her performing career by the 1920s, but still maintained ties within the SWM.[2] Fox had works performed in SWM concerts from the mid-1920s until her death a decade later, so she was an active member. With these

[2] Liane Curtis, "Rebecca Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance," in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*, 20.

circumstances in mind it seems impossible to me that Fox would be unfamiliar with Clarke, either as a virtuosic viola player, or as a composer of virtuosic viola music. I think it is very likely that Fox was aware of Clarke's viola sonata, and was perhaps even inspired by it. So even though the viola part in her sonata lacks virtuosity, I would argue that this is only partly because Fox was not herself a virtuoso violist; it is also a deliberate technical choice that aligns with her earlier compositions.

As detailed in Chapter Two, many of Fox's early publications were dedicated to women in her upper-class social circle. Though one of those women, Adelaide Vernet, was employed as a music teacher, other dedicatees were probably amateurs, women for whom music was a social accomplishment. These dedications to friends suggest that Fox originally conceived of these pieces as chamber music for her to play with said friends. She also dedicated several works to her father and brother. Notably, her *Chant Élégique* for cello and piano and her viola sonata were both dedicated to her brother Gerald Fox. Professionally Gerald was a schoolteacher and insurance underwriter,[3] but it is possible, given these dedications, that he was also a hobby violist or cellist. The *Chant Élégique* is accessible to a skilled amateur or an intermediate student; it contains some double-stopping and a few passages in tenor clef, but no extended thumb position or other advanced techniques. Because the viola sonata was also dedicated to Gerald, I propose that Fox may have written it with his skill level in mind for the viola part, and her own greater ability as a pianist in mind for the piano part.

That said, Fox does set off the viola skillfully, exploiting the instrument's most resonant tessiture and never allowing the piano writing to overwhelm the viola's notoriously dark sound.

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[3] "1939 England and Wales Register," digital image s.v. "Gerald H B Fox," *Ancestry.com.*

For this reason, and for its similarity to the Clarke in general outline and aesthetic, I believe that the Fox sonata has a place in the viola repertoire, especially in a pedagogical context. Students who are not familiar with early twentieth century English music's approach to tonality can use the Fox to develop their ear in preparation for tackling the more technically difficult Clarke. Furthermore, because the Fox sonata is succinct – a typical performance runs about 15 minutes – it is easier to program in the partial recitals that less advanced students often give than the 30-minute Clarke.

Chapter Four

"A woman is a very similar sort of animal to a man": Ruth Gipps's Life and Career

Born in 1921, the career of composer, conductor, and multi-instrumentalist Ruth Gipps spanned a turbulent period in the social, political, and musical history of Gipps's native Britain. While her early training was conducted in an environment that nurtured both her love for English folk music and her nationalist leanings, elite culture rapidly moved toward a pan-European modernist style after the Second World War, and Gipps's music was dismissed by the musical establishment, in particular the BBC, as retrograde and reactionary.[1] A self-identified outsider, Gipps refused to adapt her compositional style to reflect the values championed by the BBC and other arbiters of culture. Instead, when she saw that her status as a promising young composer was under threat, she turned to conducting. Perhaps a half-century later this would not be such an odd choice, but at the time, women orchestral conductors were unheard of. Even Gipps's closest associates discouraged her new career path on the grounds that women should not conduct publicly.[2] She ignored their advice. When orchestras would not hire her, she created her own ensembles. Over the latter decades of her life she founded and conducted the London Repertoire Orchestra and the London Chanticleer Orchestra, in addition to her many guest appearances with significant ensembles like BBC Promenade Orchestra and the London Symphony.[3]

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[1] Halstead, 77.

[2] Margaret Campbell, "Ruth Gipps: A Woman of Substance," *Maud Powell Signature* 1, no. 3 (Winter 1996), 20.

[3] Halstead, 44–46.

Citron claims that being an "outsider" can be good for a composer because it implies transcendence from mass culture.[4] During the six decades of her career, Gipps repeatedly confirmed her opposition to the mainstream. She not only maintained her own conservative compositional style, she decried modernism in all forms, calling avante-garde music "worthless nonsense,"[5] and insisted on making her criticisms as public as possible. In fact, she behaved just as a male composer fighting for his place in the canon might behave: she forged a stylistic path distinct from her peers, she conducted performances of her own music, and she was an outspoken critic.

According to Halstead Gipps conducted her private life in a way that was similarly "unfeminine" for the time. "When a man gets married," Gipps wrote in her unpublished autobiography, "he doesn't change his job or his career. A woman is a very similar sort of animal to a man; if she has any sense she doesn't change her life or her career either."[6] Gipps did just that, working full-time throughout her marriage and returning to the stage just weeks after giving birth to her son Lance in May 1947.[7] In March of that same year she took her D.Mus exam at Durham, and "the eleven other candidates, all men, averted their eyes,"[8] from Gipps's very apparent pregnancy. While this was an admirably progressive attitude for a woman of her generation, it was a view not shared by those who had the power to make or break Gipps's

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[4] Citron, 81.

[5] Ruth Gipps, "A Personal Credo," *Composer* 54 (Spring 1975): 14.

[6] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 67.

[7] Halstead, 31.

[8] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 30.

musical career. As Citron points out, being an outsider is well and good for a male composer, but female composers face the negative consequences of being a "doubled outsider."[9]

Gipps showed signs of her trademark stubbornness "as soon as she could talk." She apparently insisted that her given name, Ruth, be substituted with the nickname "Widdy" or "Wid" for short.[10] The headstrong Wid soon requested piano lessons, and by age six she had given her first public recital. This recital was quickly followed by engagements as a piano soloist with local orchestras, and "by the age of ten she had a full concert diary and commanded a regular fee of two guineas for each appearance."[11] She also published her first composition at eight, a piano solo called "The Fairy Shoemaker." This work was mistaken for the work of an adult, to the delight of Gipps's mother Hélène, who entered it in several competitions.[12] Wid's career as a pianist also continued apace, despite the interruption of illness and injury during her early teens, and family members began encouraging Wid to take the "established route"[13] of entering the Royal College, while Gipps "protested that [she] didn't want to be turned out a neat little College girl in a white frock!"[14]

This disdain for the Royal College did not dissipate when she entered the institution in 1937. Her attitude toward her fellow students was, by her own admission, "cold-blooded,"[15] and

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[9] Citron, 81.

[10] Halstead, 4.

[11] Ibid., 5.

[12] Ibid., 4.

[13] Ibid., 11.

[14] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 11.

[15] Ibid.

she was skeptical of criticism of her playing from her piano instructors.[16] This conflict with piano teachers in particular caused her to switch her primary instrument to oboe, the instrument on which she would go on to make a living as an adult. She also gave increasing focus to her composition studies, first with R.O. Morris, then with Gordon Jacob, and finally with Ralph Vaughan Williams.

Ralph Vaughan Williams, born into a family of minor gentry in 1872, was the most influential figure in British music during the first half of the twentieth century.[17] During his six-decade public career, he was a tireless advocate for the formation of a "School of English Music." This school, he believed, must be rooted in "the most perfect and the most beautiful form" of music, the folk song.[18] To Vaughan Williams, folk song was a living expression of the "national character"[19] and must therefore serve as the inspiration for English composers. He also encouraged his students to look to what he considered the last great era of English music, the Elizabethan period, and take to heart their artistic ethos, which he described in his essay "Elizabethan Music in Modern Times":

> The Elizabethan composers wanted just to express themselves and the words which they set for their neighbours to sing, with no thought of what the world would say or posterity might think, so that their works remained for years, forgotten and neglected, imprisoned in the dusty shelves of remote libraries, only to be rescued for our lasting delight by the untiring labours of a modern knight errant.[20]

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[16] Halstead, 14.

[17] Hugh Ottaway and Alain Frogley, "Vaughan Williams, Ralph," *Grove Music Online*.

[18] Ralph Vaughan Williams, "Who Wants the English Composer," in *Vaughan Williams on Music*, ed. David Manning (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 41.

[19] Vaughan Williams, "British Music," in *Vaughan Williams on Music*, 44.

[20] Vaughan Williams, "Elizabethan Music in Modern Times," in *Vaughan Williams on Music*, 70.

This insistence on the primacy of personal expression is a constant throughline in Vaughan Williams's writings; he is remembered as a nationalist, but even more important to him than nationalism was authenticity, in his words, "*real* music" (emphasis his). Gipps shared this conviction with her teacher; in her "Personal Credo" of 1975, she wrote that "all real music [comes] from inspiration." She also declared that she "would rather die" than write "in a style not [her] own," like serialism or pop music.[21]

While Vaughan Williams preached a sort of gentle nationalism – "artistic nationalism goes hand in hand with international unity and brotherhood between the nations," he wrote in 1933, "where every nation and community will bring to the common fund that which they, and only they, can create"[22] – Gipps was more direct. In her unpublished memoir she recalled

> I remember once when I was young (perhaps 10 or 12) I said the BBC was wicked because they broadcast jazz (which I always hated) and called it 'the music of the people'. The child me said firmly that 'the music of the British people is British folk music, which is beautiful and also easy to enjoy, and the BBC should broadcast that and not the music of the Negro people.[23]

This passage unearths the inherent weakness in Vaughan Williams's teachings; first, that they can be so easily twisted into outright racism, and second, that idea of a homogenous British or even English identity was always a fantasy. The "Negro people" that Gipps so disdained had lived in Britain since Roman times,[24] and many Black Britons had deeper roots in the country than the half-Swiss Gipps.

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[21] Gipps, "A Personal Credo," 14.

[22] Vaughan Williams, "Elizabethan Music in Modern Times," in *Vaughan Williams on Music*, 67–68.

[23] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 123.

[24] David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (London: Pan Books, 2016), 29.

Gipps was accepted into Vaughan Williams's studio in 1939, but he abruptly left to serve in the military at the outbreak of World War II; he returned for the 1940–41 academic year, however, and Gipps entered a "bumper period" of compositional success under his tutelage. [25] Significant compositions during this time included *Knight in Armour*, a symphonic tone-poem debuted on the BBC Proms in 1942,[26] her first symphony, which was awarded a Grade 5 prize at the RCM, and an oboe quintet that was accepted for completion of her B.Mus at Durham University.[27] During this period she also earned the admiration of the conductors Sir Henry Wood — who conducted *Knight in Armour* at the Proms — and Adrian Boult, as well as fellow composer Arthur Bliss. Bliss was an especially helpful ally during his brief tenure as BBC music director from 1942–1944, and was a valued friend and supporter of Gipps throughout her life.[28] [29]

By the 1950s Gipps had turned much of her energy to conducting. She founded the London Repertoire Orchestra in 1954,[30] and the London Chanticleer Orchestra in 1961.[31] These orchestras gave her the opportunity to build her reputation as a conductor, but they also, in Halstead's words, "allowed her to isolate herself from professional life more generally, a

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[25] Halstead, 23.

[26] Ibid., 20.

[27] Ibid., 23.

[28] Ibid., 24.

[29] See also Pamela Blevins, "Ruth Gipps and Sir Arthur Bliss," *British Music Society News* March 2005: 277–279.

[30] Halstead, 32.

[31] Ibid., 35.

position that eventually led to her being disregarded by the mainstream."[32] This professional isolation became apparent by the 1960s; between 1955 and 1965 the BBC did not broadcast any of her music at all.[33] Gipps blamed this on the makeup of the BBC's administration, which she claimed was full of "homosexual pacifists" who "overemphasi[zed]...Britten and Tippett."[34] Blatant homophobia aside, it is true, Halstead confirms, that beginning in the 1960s the BBC privileged modernist music and excluded "neo-Romanticism...that consistently sought to define itself in terms of Englishness rather than on an international stage."[35] This attitude continued as late as the 1980s; in 1985 Gipps's fifth symphony was rejected by the BBC because "they didn't broadcast that sort of music any more."[36]

Nearly fifty years after *Knight in Armour* was performed on the BBC Proms, Gipps won her first "real job" conducting an ensemble that she did not create. She was seventy years old, and the job was conducting the obscure Heathfield Choral Society. Nevertheless, Gipps was delighted.[37] Unfortunately, her health quickly declined over the next several years, and she died in 1997 at age 78.

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[32] Halstead, 36.

[33] Ibid., 36.

[34] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 80.

[35] Halstead, 80.

[36] Gipps, quoted in Halstead, 81.

[37] Halstead, 39.

Chapter Five

The Jane Grey Fantasy for Viola and String Orchestra

It was in the midst of her early flourish of success that Gipps composed her *Jane Grey Fantasy* for viola and string orchestra. This short, colorful piece, like many of Gipps's compositions, conveys Englishness through her musical language and through extra-musical context. In this case, the title and dedication of the piece center a particular, nationalist type of Englishness. Lady Jane Grey, or the "nine days queen" is something of a martyr in the Church of England, a pious, Protestant English Rose brutally cut down in the first blush of youth by the wicked Catholic Queen Mary. It is possible that Gipps also felt a personal connection to Lady Jane, a young woman thrust into a nest of vipers: for Jane, royal politics, for Wid, the post-RCM world of a musical professional. Halstead notes that much of Gipps's output at this time was "preoccupied with tracing experiences from a female perspective,"[1] and that these works also "contained much that was autobiographical."[2] Add to this the dedication to actress Nova Pilbeam, whose performance as Lady Jane in the 1936 film *Tudor Rose* inspired Gipps to write this piece;[3] Pilbeam was a child stage actress who had a brief career in British film in her teens and twenties. Perhaps Gipps saw herself in Pilbeam as well — after all, Pilbeam spent her childhood in the public eye, just like Gipps.

Lady Jane Grey, a great-granddaughter of Tudor dynasty founder Henry VII, was put forward as a potential successor to sickly boy-king Edward VI (only son of Henry VIII) by her

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[1] Halstead, 125.

[2] Ibid., 126.

[3] Campbell, 15.

father, the Duke of Suffolk, and her father in law, the Duke of Northumberland. In addition to strengthening their own power, Suffolk and Northumberland wanted Jane as Queen to continue the country's conversion to Protestantism that was begun by Henry VIII twenty years prior. When Edward died at age 15, Jane, then only 16 herself, was proclaimed Queen by Northumberland and his supporters. However, it quickly became clear to Northumberland and Suffolk that the Catholic Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's eldest child, had broad support from Parliament and the general population, so the royal council declared Mary Queen just nine days into Jane's reign. Jane, her husband Guildford Dudley, Suffolk, and Northumberland were all tried for treason and beheaded.[4] During the reign of Mary's successor, the Protestant Queen Elizabeth I, Jane became known as a Protestant martyr, appearing in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, an account of the "lives, sufferings, and deaths of the Christian martyrs"[5] in 1563; around this time ballads about her tragic end also became popular.[6] Jane continued to be a popular symbol of Protestant England well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several Italian operas about Jane were composed in the mid-1800s,[7] and by the time *Tudor Rose* was released in 1936 there had already been a silent film version of Jane's life in 1922. In 1986 Helena Bonham Carter

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[4] Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Lady Jane Grey."

[5] John Malham and T. Pratt, eds., *Fox's book of martyrs ; or, The acts and monuments of the Christian church : being a complete history of the lives, sufferings, and deaths of the Christian martyrs ; from the commencement of Christianity to the present period. To which is added an account of the Inquisition, the Bartholomew massacre in France [...]*, (Philadelphia: J. J. Woodward, 1829), 1.

[6] C. H. Firth, "The Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1909): 60.

[7] See Antonio D'Antoni, *Giovanna Gray* (1847), Nicola Vaccai, *Giovanna Grey* (1836), and Timoteo Pasini, *Giovanna Grey* (1853).

starred as Jane in *Lady Jane*, which, like *Tudor Rose*, casts the end of Jane's life as a tragic romance between Jane and her husband Guildford.

Tudor Rose is a mess of historical inaccuracies, but its core message is clear: Jane Grey was a true martyr, constantly manipulated by forces outside of her control while remaining pious, patriotic, and Protestant. "Cousin Mary," Jane implores after the new queen informs Jane that she and Guildford will be executed, "bear me no malice. In what I did, I meant you no harm."[8] While Mary does not seem inclined to believe her, the content of the film confirms Jane's story. To convince her to take the throne, Northumberland leads Jane to believe that civil war would break out if she declined. Jane is shown to be particularly susceptible to this threat – Mary also invokes the possibility of civil war to cow Jane into accepting her own execution. Because Jane knows that her highest duty is to her country, she always chooses to protect the people, even at the expense of her own life.

In her 1996 essay on Gipps, Margaret Campbell briefly describes the *Jane Grey Fantasy* as a tripartite composition: "Jane as a girl, as a queen, and on the scaffold."[9] I agree with Campbell that there are three clear thematic areas, but I do not find the correspondences she assigns to them convincing. Instead of being presented linearly as Campbell implies, these themes are actually all stated in the first thirty measures of the piece. From there, Gipps combines and manipulates all three to create a wide range of musical and emotional colors. To me, the three themes are more deeply connected to Jane's sense of self, instead of just narrating

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[8] *Tudor Rose*, directed by Robert Stevenson (Gainsborough Pictures, 1936), 1:08:23–1:08:36, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jHWhIze_JVQ.

[9] Campbell, 15.

the trajectory of her life. With the view that Gipps may have identified with Jane I believe this more personal reading is warranted.

The viola presents the first theme (fig. 9) almost virtually alone, with just a rumble of cello and bass tremolo on a G-natural to set the stage. It is by far the most ragged, disjointed material, leaping from one register of the instrument to another, with chromatic alterations that seem almost arbitrary. This represents Jane's inner life, the emotional turmoil under her gentlewoman's exterior. In *Tudor Rose*, Pilbeam shows emotion freely in her private life, but maintains a passive mask in court scenes. The second theme, which begins in the sixth measure, is Jane's noble façade. It is a gentle, lyrical theme, initially introduced by the viola and then stated in full voice by the first violins and accompanying strings. The key center is fairly clear as well, staying mostly within the confines of G minor without significant chromatic departures. As might be expected in two parts of the same person, these themes are related to each other by gesture and contour, and often interrupt one another without warning, fighting for dominance.

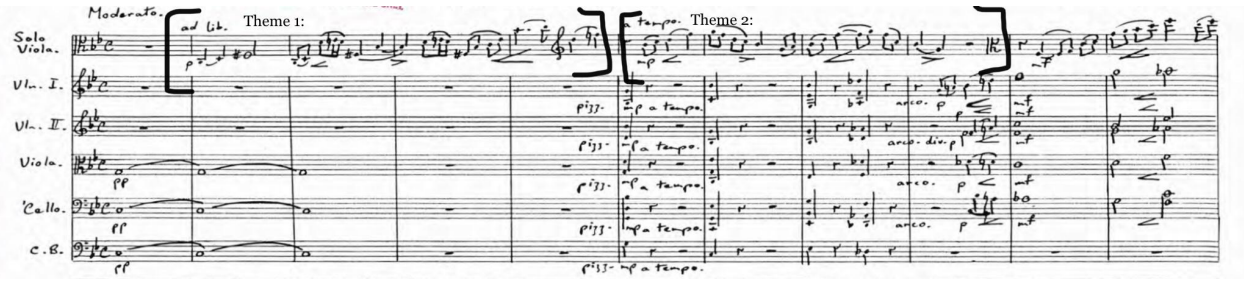

Figure 9. Ruth Gipps, *Jane Grey Fantasy*. Theme 1 and Theme 2, mm. 1–11.

In contrast to the first two themes, the third theme (fig. 10) represents the external forces in young Jane's life. It is a compound meter dance that again appears in the viola first, followed by the violins. This theme is grounded — one might even say "constrained" — by the cellos, who insist on staying in duple meter, with eighth notes on the second and fourth beats. Jane's life was battered by both religious and secular politics, and the pervasive power of this dance is an

apt metaphor for how those forces came to dictate her ultimate fate. Dance disciplines the body, forcing it into a certain pattern of steps and postures, just as Jane's body, with its all-important royal blood, was used as a pawn in a political game of chess. Dancing was a major part of the socio-political life of the major courts of early modern Europe, including England. In his 1531 *Boke named the Governour*, Thomas Elyot argues that learning to dance instills into English gentlemen many "vertues and noble qualities."[10] Elyot even relates the four steps of the basse-dance — a popular 16th century court dance in 12/8[11] — to four specific virtues, making it what sociologist Paul Filmer calls "an almost literal embodiment of the moral order."[12] The ability to execute dance steps reflects the virtue and nobility of the dancer, both traits strongly associated with Jane Grey.

Though there are no depictions of court dance in *Tudor Rose*, there is a brief scene midway through the film where Jane and Edward VI are entertained at dinner by a troupe of tumblers "from Hindustan." Jane eagerly asks her cousin if he could perform the same acrobatic feats, and the young king exclaims, "well, I've never tried," implying that he could if given the opportunity. "You couldn't do it as well as they do," Jane cautions him, reminding the viewer that Edward lacks humility, while Jane is both practical and idealistic.[13] She believes that her cousin is capable of great things, but worries that his hubris will hurt him, and possibly England.

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[10] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour* (1531; repr., London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1907), 96.

[11] Daniel Heartz and Patricia Rader, "Basse danse," *Oxford Music Online*.

[12] Paul Filmer, "Embodiment and Civility in Early Modernity: Aspects of Relations between Dance, the Body, and Sociocultural Change," *Body & Society* vol. 51, no. 1 (1999): 11.

[13] *Tudor Rose*, 0:37:42–0:38:40.

Overall *Tudor Rose* is lightly scored, but in this scene the lively music accompanying the performers dominates the soundscape.

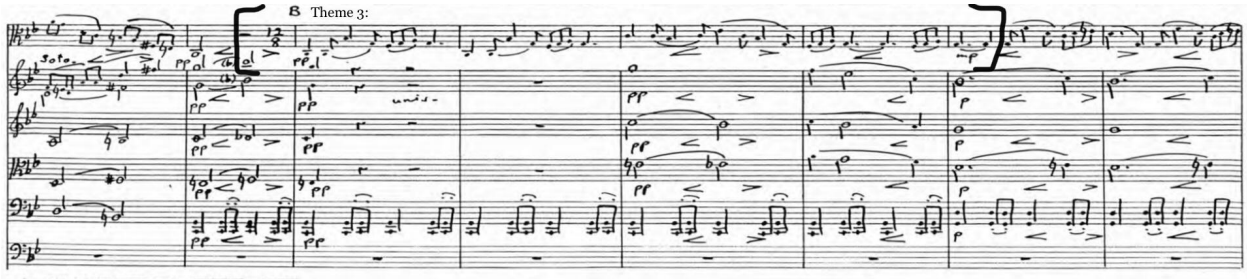

Figure 10. Ruth Gipps, *Jane Grey Fantasy.* Theme 3, mm. 22–29.

For the rest of *Jane Grey*, Gipps slowly subsumes Jane's inner and external selves into the dance. Even the section that sounds most regal and triumphant (fig. 11) is actually an example of her themes becoming subservient to the dance theme, incorporating the dance's triplets into the contours of inner Jane's turbulent feelings. However, this violent unity eventually unravels, and, in the cadenza, the viola skitters back and forth between the different themes while the cellos and basses hold a tremolo on G and D. After a last dramatic gasp, the viola drops out and each string section echoes the "regal" version of Jane's theme (fig. 12), before the viola rejoins with a final statement of the dance theme over a set of perfect fifths in the strings. The cadenza through the end of the *Fantasy* closely aligns with the way Jane's execution is shown in *Tudor Rose*. She walks to the scaffold accompanied only by her own thoughts, heard as snatches of dialogue from earlier in the film, and the steady beat of a drum; but as soon as the axe falls a choir begins to sing, and the camera pans to a dove – a clear symbol of innocence that the film repeatedly associates with Jane – startled from the roof of the Tower by a cannon fired at the moment of Jane's death.[14] The fortissimo sforzando cut off at the end of

[14] *Tudor Rose*, 1:12:05–1:16:24.

the cadenza is the cannon, and the recurrence of the regal theme, like the dove in the film, confirms that Jane was a worthy Queen and therefore a true martyr.

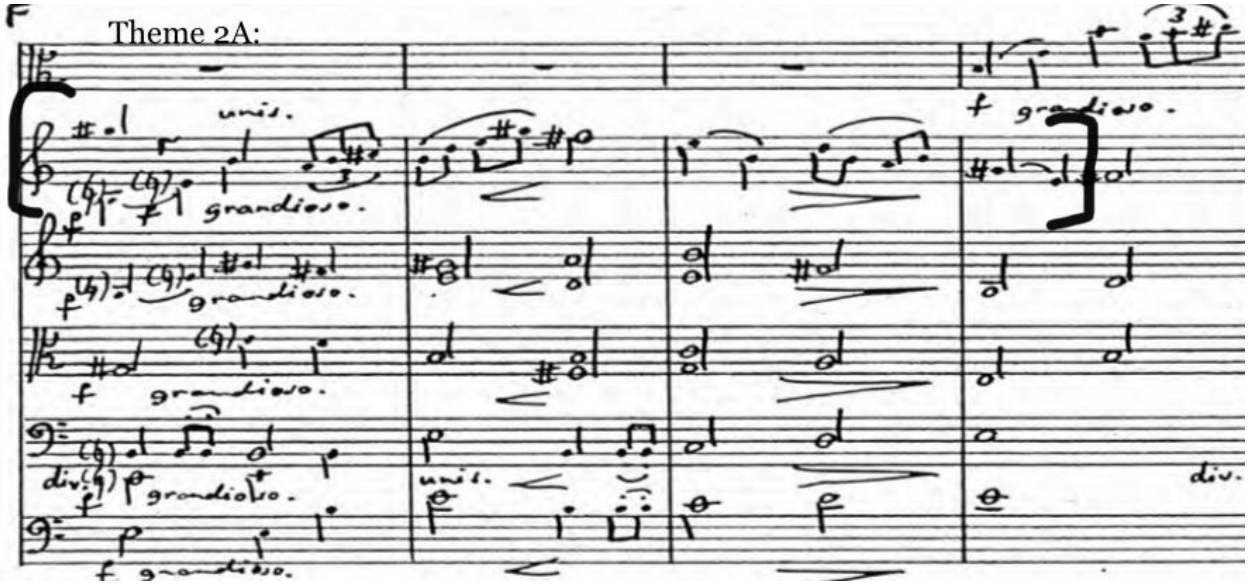

Figure 11. Ruth Gipps, *Jane Grey Fantasy* Theme 2A ("regal" theme), mm. 64–67.

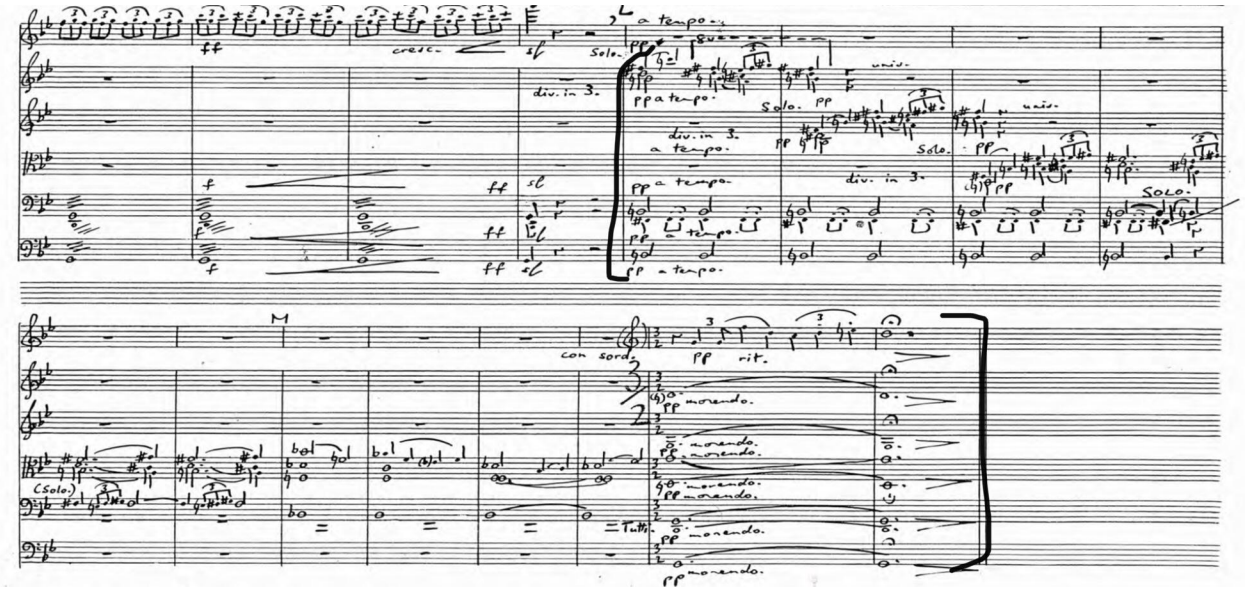

Figure 12. Ruth Gipps, *Jane Grey Fantasy* ending, mm. 147–162.

From a technical standpoint, *Jane Grey* would be a valuable addition to the viola repertoire. It requires the soloist to "get around" the instrument, from the lowest part of the viola's register to moderately high on the A string; it is also of intermediate difficulty, which is

frankly a rarity in the literature. The string orchestra parts are entirely sight-readable, including the concertmaster solos, and it is possible to perform the piece with as few as two or three players on each part. Additionally, Gipps's skillful orchestration means that the soloist is never in danger of being overwhelmed by the orchestra, which is a common problem in pieces for viola solo with ensemble, due to the viola's unique acoustic properties.

So I have to ask the obvious question: why has *Jane Grey* not found a place in the standard repertoire? Here we turn to Citron for answers. I have identified three clear barriers to canonicity that *Jane Grey* has not yet overcome; my hope is that describing these barriers will bring us closer to surmounting them.

The first barrier is publication. *Jane Grey* has never been printed by a major music publisher and exists only in manuscript holographs. It is available as score and parts by request from the Free Library of Philadelphia's Fleisher Collection, but as far as I am aware the library holds a limited number of copies, so it can only be used by one group of performers at a time. The copyright for the piece remains with Gipps's family, so any use outside the Fleisher Collection's narrow borrowing guidelines, including academic work, must be approved in writing by Gipps's son Lance Baker. Fortunately for me, Baker and his wife are generous and prompt with their approval.

Citron points out that a widely available printed document like a published score

> ...offers the work to the public in a way quite different from manuscript circulation or non-circulation: the potential for permanence and for broad recognition. What this means is that unpublished works of women (and men) elude the historical filters that depend on physicality for their source material. Without this the potential for canonicity drops markedly.[15]

[15] Citron, 109.

Recordings (or lack thereof) are a similar barrier, in that they are an example of a tangible object that can be historicized. After consulting several online databases,[16] I can safely conclude that commercial recordings of Gipps's music remain in the single digits, though new recordings have appeared as recently as October 2019.[17] The *Fantasy* has never been recorded. In fact, the only documented performances likely took place in the same year it was composed.[18]

Perhaps the most difficult hurdle for *Jane Grey* is that of genre. Music is sorted by publishers, critics, and anthologists into genres based on "parameters such as function, style, scoring, length, site of performance, intended audience, manner and nature of reception, decorum of the performative experience, and value."[19] Russ sees genre not only as a means of classification, but as a tool used to suppress female art. She calls it "Denial by False Categorization" (capitalization hers) and devotes a full chapter of *How to Suppress Women's Writing* to the subject.[20] Russ argues that "false categorization" speciously moves work by women and marginalized creators from "serious art" to "not serious."[21] In an example that applies neatly to Gipps, Russ contrasts critics labeling Willa Cather, whose novels were usually set in "several large, western states", a "regionalist" with the fact that that label is not applied to

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[16] AllMusic.com and Arkivmusic.com have proved the most reliable for this data.

[17] Ruth Gipps, "Piano Concerto in G Minor, Op. 34," with Murray MacLachlan (piano) and the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Charles Peebles, recorded April 24–25, 2019, tracks 12–14 on *Bright & Gipps: Piano Concertos*, Somm Recordings SOMMCD 273, CD.

[18] Halstead, 166.

[19] Citron, 122.

[20] Russ, 57.

[21] Ibid., 64.

William Faulkner, who focuses entirely on "one, small southern county."[22] In the context of the cultural turn away from consciously English music in the 1960s, it was easy to shove Gipps into the "regionalist" category, while her mentor Vaughan Williams is remembered as the founding father of British music. Vaughan Williams is of course strongly associated with Britishness, but by the same token he is not solely defined by it. Hugh Ottaway and Alain Frogley describe Vaughan Williams as "the most important English composer of his generation," but emphasize that his music transcends mere nationalism:

> That he re-created an English musical vernacular, thereby enabling the next generation to take their nationality for granted, and did much to establish the symphony as a form of significance for the English revival is historically important; but his illumination of the human condition, especially though not exclusively in those works commonly regarded as visionary, is a unique contribution.[23]

While the case of Faulkner and Cather has changed since Russ's book was published in 1983, the first best opportunity for Gipps's music to be recognized as more than "regionalist" was while she was active as a conductor and composer in the 1960s and 70s, so Russ's analogy remains pertinent.

Russ and Citron both believe that another danger of genre classification is what becomes of works that fall between genre lines. Citron argues that "classification validates and supports the right to existence of works within its boundaries," and warns that "works beyond tend to be excluded, ignored, and consequently devalued."[24] This devaluation, says Russ, can come about because works that are between genres and are arbitrarily assigned to one genre or another will

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[22] Russ, 62.

[23] Ottaway and Frogley.

[24] Citron, 122.

be called "an imperfect example" of that category.[25] *Jane Grey* occupies a decidedly extra-genre space. By 1941, the "fantasy" title merely meant that the musical structure was fluid. It could be called a tone poem for string orchestra, though the addition of a soloist blurs that categorization . It could also be called a viola concerto, though it is significantly shorter than a concerto "should" be. Then again, it does contain an extended cadenza, lending credence to the argument that it is, in fact, a viola concerto. The final nail in the coffin is how small the piece is: it lasts less than ten minutes, and is scored for a limited ensemble. "Size," Citron says, "has played a decisive role in the determination of value" since the nineteenth century.[26] Genres with less inherent cultural value usually have "fewer performers" and "shorter duration,"[27] both parameters that apply to *Jane Grey*.

There is a piece in the standard viola repertoire that faces the same genre classification issues as *Jane Grey*: Hindemith's *Trauermusik*. Written on the occasion of the death of King George V in 1936, *Trauermusik*'s genre markers are virtually identical to *Jane Grey*'s; it is about ten minutes long and scored for viola and strings. The only real structural difference is that *Trauermusik* has no long cadenza for the soloist.[28] Since this work is already frequently programmed for viola soloists, it would make sense for *Jane Grey* to join the repertoire as a companion piece to *Trauermusik*, or perhaps as an alternative. The American Viola Society also

[25] Russ, 63.

[26] Citron, 130.

[27] Ibid., 131.

[28] Technically, *Trauermusik* is divided into four movements, but they are performed without pause, rendering this distinction moot.

recently re-published the 1922 *The Dark Road* for viola and string orchestra by British violist-composer Cecil Forsyth;[29] all three works could be combined for a complete concert program.

[29] Cecil Forsyth, "The Dark Road for Viola and String Orchestra," 1922, edited by David Bynog (American Viola Society, 2013).

Chapter Six

Conclusion: Canons and Repertories

The currently accepted canon of "Western art music" – a fraught term in of itself! – needs to be reimagined. As it exists now, it routinely excludes the music of women and Black and Indigenous people of color. In his essay "Rethinking Musical Culture," Robert Morgan proposes a "set of multiple canons" understood by a broad community of musicians who would "mix them in polyglot combinations."[1] In principle I agree with this model, but I disagree that retaining the "canon" label is necessary. Morgan argues that the concept of the canon "[preserves] the core notion of canonic authority." To me the assertion that authority must be preserved immediately spurs the question, "whose authority?" In fact, I think the notion that canons are authoritative – morally, socially, aesthetically – gets at the core of the problem. For me, a better model would be based on a set of "repertories" rather than a set of "canons." "Repertory" suggests a set of works that are performed. As much as Western culture privileges physical objects, music is an ephemeral, temporal art that cannot be adequately represented solely by an anthology of printed material. Physical artifacts are necessary because classical music is partially a written form, yes, but in the end music must be transmitted by living people, either by teaching or performing, before it becomes real. Though Morgan proposed this approach in 1992, the older, monolithic model of a Western musical canon still prevails both in education and performance. According to

[1] Robert Morgan, "Rethinking Musical Culture," in *Disciplining Music*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 61.

the Institute for Composer Diversity, during the 2019–20 season, twelve long-dead white men made up nearly 40% of the music performed by the top 120 American orchestras.[2]

There are few repertories in the classical music world more ripe for reformation than that of the viola. Unlike the violin and cello, whose solo repertories extend into the Renaissance period, the viola was only taken seriously as a solo instrument beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Because violists have a dearth of solo music to perform, they are often willing to venture further afield from the so-called canonic composers than most performers. The rapid adoption of the Clarke sonata into the repertoire serves as an excellent example; despite the fact that Clarke was a complete unknown when she was rediscovered in 1976, her sonata was commercially recorded within a decade,[3] and as of 2020 it has been performed by all the major viola soloists and appeared on more than two dozen releases. Based on the success of the Clarke, my hope is that the information provided here will begin to help the Fox sonata and the Gipps *Jane Grey Fantasy* enter the viola repertoire.

That said, I am aware that further action is required. In the case of the Fox, a high-quality, widely available recording would vastly increase awareness that the piece exists. Fortunately, the sheet music, that all-important physical text, is easily accessible via the International Musical Score Project; in fact, that is how I initially came across it. The combination of a biography, a score, and a recording would give it at least the same chance as the Clarke to be accepted into the performance repertory. The Gipps *Fantasy* presents a bit more difficulty. First, it requires greater instrumental forces than the Fox, so a recording will be more

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[2] "Data Analysis of Orchestral Seasons 2019–2020," *Institute for Composer Diversity*, https://www.composerdiversity.com/orchestra-seasons.

[3] Rebecca Clarke, "Sonata for Viola and Piano," on *Rebecca Clarke: Music for Viola*, Patricia McCarty, viola, and Virginia Eskin, piano, Northeastern Records NR212, 1985.

challenging to produce. The other major issue is the score's public availability. It is technically possible for any interested party to obtain it from the Free Library of Philadelphia by writing to the curator there, but the process is slow, and, as I mentioned in Chapter Five, the score is still in manuscript form. A published and engraved score and parts would go a long way. There is also some evidence[4] that Gipps herself completed a piano reduction of the orchestra part, which would be a helpful addition to a publication and encourage a wider range of performances.

These are tasks that I can carry out as a performer and scholar, but even more important is the role I can play as a teacher. Once a piece's associated physical artifacts – scores, recordings, scholarship on the composer – are available, the responsibility lies with teachers, particularly artist-teachers at music schools and conservatories. If viola instructors teach the Fox and the Gipps, they will be played. The students I teach who play these pieces will go on to perform them and someday teach their own students; and then perhaps by the middle of the twenty-first century there will be two dozen recordings of the Kalitha Fox sonata.

[4] Halstead, 166.

Appendix A: List of Compositions by Kalitha Dorothy Fox

Title	Instrumentation	Date	Publisher	Notes
"Affliction – On the Death of my Mother"	piano	1906	W.H. Broome	"Arranged by L.L."
Fantasie in C♯ minor, Op. 2	piano	1910	W.H. Broome	
Minuet in G minor, Op. 3	piano	1910	Augener	Dedicated to Mrs. F.G. Dickinson
Scherzo in C, Op. 4	violin, piano	1910	Augener	Dedicated to Miss A.F. Vernet
Chant Élégiaque, Op. 6	cello, piano	1921	Bosworth & Co.	Dedicated to "my father and brother"
Suite for string orchestra	string orchestra	ca. 1925	Unpublished	Performed in London in 1925
Trio for violin, cello, and piano	violin, cello, piano	ca. 1926	Unpublished	Performed at SWM concert on July 10, 1926
Sonata for viola and piano, Op. 7	viola, piano	ca. 1927	Senart	Published in 1930
Kitten Scherzo, Op. 8	piano	1929	Senart	
Prelude, Op. 9	piano	1929	Senart	
Sonata for violin and piano	violin, piano	1931	Senart	May be Op. 10
Five pieces, Op. 11	piano	1931	Senart	Performed at SWM concert on July 11, 1931
Suite for flute, viola, and piano	flute, viola, piano	ca. 1932	Unpublished	Performed at SWM concert on July 9, 1932
Phantasy string quartet	string quartet	ca. 1934	Unpublished	Performed at SWM concert on July 13, 1935

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——. *Jane Grey Fantasy for Viola and String Orchestra*. 1942. Edwin A. Fleisher Collection of Orchestral Music. Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.

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