12 Vaughan Williams, Boult, and the BBC

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In many ways, Ralph Vaughan Williams's relationship with the BBC can be seen as ambivalent. Many of the BBC Music Department's policies, activities and aims were anathema to him, and nowhere more than in the realm of new composition. The BBC sought to commission new works, a venture that Vaughan Williams found counterproductive; the BBC aimed to explain music to its vast body of listeners, which Vaughan Williams thought unnecessary; the BBC's structure, and consequently its broadcasting practices, divided music into higher- and lower-brow classifications, following a discriminating principle that ran against Vaughan Williams's beliefs in the fundamental nature of music across its entire spectrum; and most important, perhaps, the BBC's purpose as a broadcaster promoted the musical experience as a passive pursuit for its mass recipients, negating Vaughan Williams's encouragement of active music-making as an essential human endeavour.

Nevertheless, the BBC played a vital role in Vaughan Williams's career. Of course, it offered him the obvious benefit of a modern platform for the dissemination of his works, as it did for most living composers, British and otherwise. But, as this essay will explore, Vaughan Williams's relationship with the BBC permeated deeper than that: the Corporation played a fundamental role in establishing his reputation and significance, both nationally and internationally. The BBC not only performed Vaughan Williams's new works as a matter of principle and interest, but it regularly repeated works from his 'back catalogue', reinforcing and amplifying on a national and imperial scale the spectrum of his output, across its many styles, genres and functions. Moreover, though it is hard to quantify precisely, much of this activity and interest would seem to have stemmed from the friendship and mutual admiration that existed between Vaughan Williams and a sensitive interpreter of his works, Adrian Boult (1889–1983). Boult served as the chief decision-maker in the BBC Music Department throughout the 1930s and was conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra from 1930 until his retirement in 1950. It was surely his influence that convinced the BBC to offer the virtual space in which Vaughan Williams would become truly known and appreciated, as the composer and his music reached across the British sphere and beyond.

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The 1920s

By the time the BBC was formed in 1922, Vaughan Williams was already 50 years old and established as a British composer of renown, celebrated not only for his highbrow symphonic works, but also for community-driven contributions to *The English Hymnal* and to the vocal sphere in general. His larger-scale works were aired in the very first season that the BBC initiated rare broadcast concerts of symphonic repertory. The first Vaughan Williams entry in the published Programmes as Broadcast records lists what was probably the earliest BBC performance of an orchestral work by him: *A Pastoral Symphony* (1916–21) was broadcast on 24 February 1924, in an afternoon 'Programme of Sacred Music' given from Southwark Cathedral, conducted by its noted organist, Dr E. T. Cook.[1] Not long afterwards, on 10 April 1924, a prime-time evening programme titled 'Living British Composers' – the earliest BBC series devoted to national art music – featured Vaughan Williams's vocal and chamber works.[2] The very first performance of his opera *Hugh the Drover* (1910–14) on 14 July 1924 was broadcast from His Majesty's Theatre, London, conducted by the young Malcolm Sargent. At that time, when many organizations and artists refused to broadcast, the British National Opera Company was a notable exception, offering to the BBC frequent performances that were generally transmitted in part.[3] Thus Act II was aired that evening, preceded by an introductory talk by BBC Music Critic, Percy Scholes.[4] Vaughan Williams's first talk over the airwaves also occurred that year, discussing folk carols before a late programme called 'Carols and Waits' on Christmas Eve.[5]

Thus Vaughan Williams's voice, both musical and literal, was heard across the UK from 1924 via broadcasting. His apparent enthusiasm for the new medium aligns with his belief in music's egalitarian place within society: 'music is able to grow out of our ordinary life in a way that no other art can . . . Music is above all others the art of the humble.'[6] Such social doctrines, alongside Vaughan Williams's 'distinctly nationalist agenda',[7] closely paralleled the commonality and democratic reach of the young BBC, set to disseminate music and cultural ideas every day across the nation, to make them audible to all at nominal cost, in ways that had previously been unimaginable.

It is impossible to know what conversations Vaughan Williams may have had when first establishing his relationship with the BBC Music Department and with radio generally. The earliest correspondence preserved at the BBC Written Archives Centre commences in 1928, confirming that the composer would conduct *A Pastoral Symphony* at that season's Promenade Concerts.[8] The following year, he agreed to conduct

in the Proms again, on condition that violinist Jelly d'Aranyi would be the soloist in his *Concerto Accademico* (1924–5).[9] Correspondence in the early 1930s often arranged for Vaughan Williams to conduct performances, to attend rehearsals, to approve suggestions for performers or, on occasion, to ask about new works that the BBC might broadcast. Most exchanges were with Music Department staff, but frequent letters were also exchanged with Adrian Boult, after he was appointed to a leading role in BBC music in 1930.

Vaughan Williams had a good and mutually beneficial working relationship with Boult. They were leading British musicians whose careers overlapped for more than forty years, yet the positive disposition of their relationship depended on more than synchronicity. They represented a particular kind of statesman who emerged from the Edwardian era and imparted Edwardian values – Boult even sported an Edwardian moustache. As he wrote of himself in a brief autobiographical description: 'On the rostrum he is an impressive figure, for he is over six feet tall, and has an upright, almost military bearing. He is economical of gestures, for his theory is that a conductor should not distract the attention of the audience.'[10] Moreover, the eulogistic words that Boult wrote of Vaughan Williams shortly after the composer's death paralleled what others might have written about himself: 'He was like many great men, approachable, sympathetic and of a piercing integrity. He was seen at any concert where an important new work was to be played.'[11] Although friends, they were never as close as Vaughan Williams had been with Gustav Holst, for instance;[12] yet the sense of integrity, musicianship and life values that these men shared served as common ground for mutual respect and a fruitful professional association. This bond resulted in a multitude of performances that spanned both their careers, and which we continue to listen to and admire on record today.

Though Vaughan Williams came from an elite, upper middle-class family background compared to Boult's more modest middle-class circumstances,[13] in both cases their families had enough money to support them through the early stages of their careers. Boult was seventeen years younger, yet Vaughan Williams's musical interests took longer to mature;[14] thus they both came of age musically during the Edwardian years, before World War I. Boult first encountered Vaughan Williams's music in 1909 while a student at Oxford, when he sang in a performance of *Toward the Unknown Region* (1907), conducted by his mentor, Hugh Allen.[15] He attended the first performance of *A Sea Symphony* (1903–9) in October 1910, and met the composer the following March, when he performed in its second performance at Oxford. During 1912–13 he studied in Leipzig with Nikisch, and after returning home his conducting

career burgeoned, from opportunities that he helped to create both financially and practically. When the First World War broke out, Boult was declared unfit for active service due to a heart condition, and instead served in the War Office, assisting with leather distribution, which gave him the flexibility to conduct concerts both in London and the north of England. Through these concerts he soon became noted for his promotion of English music; in particular, he became close friends with Holst, conducting the premiere of *The Planets* at Queen's Hall in September 1918.[16] Boult also established a warm alliance with Vaughan Williams, when he conducted *A London Symphony* (1911–13) at Queen's Hall in both February and March 1918. Although the February concert was 'rather spoiled by a Zeppelin raid',[17] the composer famously wrote to thank Boult:

> for giving such a fine performance – it really was splendid – you got the score right into you & through you into your orch:
>
> May I say how much I admired your conducting – it is real *conducting* – you get just what you want and *know* what you want – and your players trust you because they know it also.[18]

Before the March performance, Vaughan Williams 'came to my room in a distant outcrop of the War Office and sat among the samples of boots . . . and made some cuts in the score'.[19]

In 1919, one newspaper remarked that 'inside a year . . . Boult had risen from obscurity to a leading place among British conductors'.[20] He often featured Vaughan Williams's music in his concerts, both in London and in his role as conductor of the City of Birmingham Orchestra (1924–9). The spirit of musical understanding, admiration and trust described in Vaughan Williams's letter formed the basis for a long collaboration between composer and conductor, leading to the BBC partnership that is under particular scrutiny here.[21]

The 1930s

In May 1923, six months after its foundation, the British Broadcasting Company appointed as Music Director the eminent conductor Percy Pitt, known for his promotion both of British opera and of continental contemporary music. Pitt played a highly significant role during the 1920s in shaping the BBC's Music Department and musical output, but in 1929 he was forced to resign due to the BBC's new policy of retirement at age sixty – which may have been implemented with Pitt in mind.[22] After the BBC became a Corporation in January 1927, its musical ventures included taking over the Promenade Concerts in March of that year and the

creation of a permanent, contracted BBC Symphony Orchestra.[23] The Corporation was determined to create an ensemble that equalled, in eminence and quality, the best orchestras in Europe and the United States – with a conductor to match. Thomas Beecham was the first choice, but when negotiations with him irrevocably collapsed,[24] the BBC turned to Boult, who had served on the BBC Music Advisory Committee since 1928.[25] Boult was persuaded to return from Birmingham to become BBC Director of Music in May 1930; in October he launched the BBC Symphony Orchestra in its first season, and some months later was appointed as the orchestra's Chief Conductor.

Boult's assumption of these positions was propitious for many reasons. His background had prepared him well for the post, not least because of his close association with British music. But he also had sufficient interest in recent continental trends, music that BBC managers then symbolically valued as a means of 'carry[ing] into the greatest possible number of homes everything that is best in every department of human knowledge, endeavour and achievement'.[26] Boult demanded from his players the discipline, concentration and tenacity needed to pull off worthy performances of unfamiliar, difficult works within limited rehearsal time. Although less charismatic than leading European conductors, it was Boult's all-round, everyday skilfulness and intelligence, as administrator as well as daily broadcasting conductor, that certified him as the musician best suited to lead BBC music in that first decade; this was, after all, a critical period in the Corporation's development from pioneering corporation into top-level broadcaster, on a par with the best in Europe and North America.

The steady availability of a high-quality symphony orchestra emboldened the BBC to showcase orchestral works throughout the 1930s, including those by Vaughan Williams. In 1934, after the deaths of Elgar, Delius and Holst, he became known as the leading living British symphonist.[27] As the decade progressed, nationalist tendencies waxed in parallel with political tensions, and Vaughan Williams's works were regularly broadcast, generally planned and conducted with Boult's and/or his own involvement. The works most commonly broadcast in the early 1930s include *Flos Campi* (1925), *A Pastoral Symphony*, *A London Symphony*, the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* (1910)[28] and *Job* (1930), his 'masque for dancing',[29] while the mid-1930s added performances of *A Sea Symphony*, *Dona Nobis Pacem* (1936) and the Symphony No. 4 (1931–4). Much correspondence was exchanged arranging for the composer to attend rehearsals or concerts, or when he sent congratulations on successful performances, given not only domestically but also by BBC personnel overseas.[30] The BBC consistently sought opportunities for Vaughan Williams to

conduct his own works in broadcasts; for instance, he conducted at least one work in many of the Proms seasons.[31] Moreover, he was occasionally invited to conduct full concert broadcasts.[32]

An important occasion for the BBC was the celebration in 1938 of the jubilee of Henry Wood's conducting career, marked by a concert of combined forces – including three London orchestras and massed choirs – at the Royal Albert Hall on 5 October. At Wood's special request, Rachmaninov was invited to participate, and a commission to Vaughan Williams resulted in the *Serenade to Music* (1938) for sixteen solo singers and orchestra. Although the first half of the concert could not be aired, as Rachmaninov refused to broadcast live, the *Serenade* in the second half was transmitted on the BBC National Programme.[33]

The BBC competed fiercely for opportunities to give first European performances of Vaughan Williams's works, such as the Piano Concerto (1926–31) once it was completed.[34] In his negotiations with the Corporation, Vaughan Williams remained loyal to the performers with whom he associated specific works. The Piano Concerto is a case in point, as he wrote a confidential letter to Boult in 1935:

> I hear a rumour that my Pfte Concerto is to have a studio performance – In case there is any truth in this – I want it reserved for Harriet Cohen for once more partly because I like her playing of it and partly because she has been so adventurous in producing unknown works & deserves recognition for it.[35]

Boult clearly disagreed with Vaughan Williams, believing that

> It is surely common knowledge that Harriet Cohen's performance of [it] caused it to be completely dropped since it was first performed. The work . . . was laid out for a pianist of the Busoni calibre, and though she made a very valiant effort, she could get nowhere near the spirit of it or even the notes in many passages.[36]

Rather than confronting Vaughan Williams, Boult was among those who persuaded him to re-score the extremely difficult solo part for two pianos.[37]

In 1934, when Boult inquired about the work that turned out to be the Symphony No. 4 in F minor (1931–4), the composer responded:

> As regards my symphony – I have been writing it for about 3 years now & I believe it is finished – I have made a 2 pfte arrangement & will get that tried through to see if I can bear it . . . The bits I have shown to people they do not like – Gustav [Holst] heard it all in an early version on 2 pftes – & was puzzled by most of it & disliked the rest.[38]

Undeterred, Boult arranged for the BBC to give the first performance the next season, smoothing over the half-promise of the premiere that

Vaughan Williams had given to Malcolm Sargent.[39] While Boult prepared for the performance, a paragraph appeared in the *Radio Times* asserting that Arnold Bax and Sibelius were the 'greatest living symphonists'.[40] Boult was so annoyed that he wrote to the magazine's editor:

> I do not feel that a statement of that kind should ever be allowed to appear unsigned in the programme pages of The Radio Times. It surely represents in the minds of most people the corporate opinion of the B.B.C., and I think there are plenty of people inside the B.B.C. also who would consider that Vaughan Williams is a far greater symphonist than either Bax or Sibelius.[41]

He also wrote a letter of apology to Vaughan Williams, who took it in his stride.[42]

The following year, Boult wrote to Vaughan Williams to request 'a large and comprehensive lesson from you re the performance of sundry R.V.W. works – if you can be bothered – e.g. Sea Symphony. We are doing it at Queen's Hall in October, and if there was anything in the performance (if you heard it) that irritated you, I should much like to hear about it and put it right'.[43] Vaughan Williams asked to attend a rehearsal,[44] and the result was a performance that prompted an effusive letter from the composer:

> There seem to be two essentials of great conducting.
> (1) Faithfulness to the composer
> (2) The power of the conductor to express *himself* to the full *at the moment* – to feel himself in the music & the music in himself. . .
> Yesterday we had (1) + (2) – a great performance & great conducting for which I thank you from the bottom of my heart.[45]

The spirit of this letter would have been enormously gratifying for Boult.

On occasion, Vaughan Williams asked to attend BBC rehearsals of works by his contemporaries, such as Schoenberg's Five Pieces for Orchestra, broadcast on 18 November 1931,[46] and sometimes Boult served as liaison between Vaughan Williams and internationally acclaimed conductors who had engagements with the BBC. For instance, in May 1935 Boult arranged for the composer to meet both with Serge Koussevitzky and – at Vaughan Williams's request, as 'I should like so much to see how it is done' – Arturo Toscanini. Though 'practically everyone has been refused', Boult offered Vaughan Williams a choice of Toscanini rehearsals to attend.[47]

Given his standing with the BBC, Vaughan Williams sought opportunities also to promote the music of his pupils, such as when he conducted a studio broadcast in December 1934 featuring orchestral works by former students Elizabeth Maconchy, Grace Williams and Robin Milford, by RCM colleague R. O. Morris, and by himself.[48] He also found ways to

champion the music of Holst.[49] In the same way, Boult looked out for Vaughan Williams, determined to promote his lesser-known works; for example, in September 1933, he wrote: 'Hearing "The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains" . . . last week performed in a way which made a lot of it sound almost ugly, I felt I should very much like sometime to give a carefully prepared performance of it . . . Properly done I have known it to make a most profound effect.'[50]

Thus Vaughan Williams was increasingly associated with British radio of the 1920s and 30s, interacting frequently and cooperatively with the new medium as it developed. But alongside this ease of access, the composer began to develop misgivings that distressed him. In 1934, he wrote:

> A musical nation is not a nation which is content to listen. The best form of musical appreciation is to try and do it for yourself; to get really inside the meaning of music. . . The temptation to become a mere listener is nowadays very great. Gramophones and wireless have brought the world's riches to the doors of the humblest, but if we all become listeners there will soon be no one left to listen to.[51]

Interestingly, although Boult agreed that music-making was an essential activity, he distinguished between the music produced by amateur and professional musicians: '[amateurs] are the aristocracy of music, and it is for them that we professionals live and work, and through them that we get our audiences and most of our inspiration'.[52] Boult recognized that radio fostered new connections in the performer–listener relationship, amateur and professional musicians each serving as an incentive and inspiration to the other.

The war years

According to Ursula Vaughan Williams, 'the beginning of the war made Ralph feel desperate for useful work'.[53] The BBC provided an outlet for this, serving as an official body to which the composer could communicate his views, and, given his considerable connections there, he had confidence that they would be heard. On a number of occasions he challenged BBC policies or practices, or championed issues that paralleled the values that civilians or those serving in the armed forces daily risked their lives to protect. In other instances, he agreed to contribute to BBC-led schemes by arranging suites from his popular film scores, or composing occasional works to engage the attention and voices of the British people. As he said in a broadcast talk soon after the war started:

> The composer feels that he would like to be able to serve the community directly through his craft if not through his art . . . Are there not ways in which the composer without derogating from his art, without being untrue to himself, but still without that entire disregard for his fellows which characterizes the artist in his supreme moments, [might] use his skill, his knowledge, his sense of beauty in the service of his fellow men?[54]

Interactions with the BBC offered Vaughan Williams ways to achieve exactly that, amplified through radio transmission to reach homes across the nation and internationally.

In September and October 1939, Vaughan Williams joined with Henry Wood and other leading musicians in voicing objections to the music that the BBC chose to broadcast in the initial weeks of the war. As the Corporation effected its difficult and cumbersome evacuation from London, cinema-organ music was aired for hours at a time. Vaughan Williams, apparently with Boult's encouragement,[55] wrote a long and passionate letter to the Director-General:

> In times like these when so many people are looking for comfort & encouragement from music . . . surely we ought to give them something that will grip. I believe that really great music, especially if it is familiar[,] will grip everybody (in a category of great music I include a Beethoven Symphony, a Schubert song and a fine marching tune)[.] I admit that very bad music does grip certain minds but this halfway-house stuff grips nobody . . . Are we not missing a great opportunity which may never recur?[56]

Vaughan Williams wrote on in support of the many musicians who would lose their livelihoods through lack of work, as had occurred during the First World War.[57]

In those early months, Vaughan Williams offered the BBC assistance in two other ways that reflected his social convictions. Firstly, he gave a talk, 'Making Your Own Music', on 3 December 1939,[58] encouraging active music-making as a response to national crisis: 'If we neglect the amateur side of music and become a nation of mere passive listeners all the life will go out of our art – Art must be creative if it is to be vital.'[59] Secondly, he worked closely with BBC staff to build two half-hour programmes, recommending 'such folksongs as he considers would be very suitable for marching purposes';[60] he prepared scripts to explain these 'tunes with real blood in their veins and real muscles in their limbs. I don't believe that you could help stepping out to them even when you are tired after a long day's march.'[61]

As the war developed, Vaughan Williams's own works, such as *Flos Campi*, the *Wasps* overture (1909), *Job*, the *Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'* (1939) and the Mass in G minor (1922), were broadcast, often with Vaughan Williams's and/or Boult's involvement. A year after the

war's commencement, the Ministry of Information suggested that the Corporation develop a 'scheme for commissioning patriotic songs',[62] and Vaughan Williams was invited to compose a 'song or lay hymn, with orchestral accompaniment, the theme patriotic but not necessarily war-like'; the text should avoid 'the word "England" . . . as a synonym for Britain'.[63] He set a W. E. Henley poem for baritone solo, double chorus, unison voices and orchestra, sending a draft version to Boult and others for criticism in late October 1940,[64] and soon after, submitting the work to the BBC. Imprudently, Vaughan Williams had set Henley's 'England, my England', but Boult was untroubled by the text: 'it seems to me to hit every nail on the head, except . . . the prejudices of Wales and Scotland, and I really do not think we can worry about this'.[65] The BBC lost no time in arranging the work's premiere, planned for broadcast on 4 April 1941.

In March, however, Vaughan Williams wrote an angry letter to the Director-General, protesting against the banning from broadcasts of works by the composer Alan Bush, who was a member of the Communist Party. Though he did not share Bush's political views, Vaughan Williams 'wish[ed] to protest against this victimization of private opinion' by withdrawing the commissioned work.[66] The question of the BBC's policy towards 'artists holding certain religious or political opinions' was raised in the House of Commons,[67] and the Corporation soon reversed its position;[68] Bush's compositions were no longer banned. Once the furore died down, Vaughan Williams's publisher wondered if plans for the premiere might be resumed,[69] but only in the autumn did the BBC again consider a broadcast. By this time 'Vaughan Williams himself . . . regretted very much that other circumstances, not connected with the song itself, prevented the original arrangements with the B.B.C., being carried out'.[70] The first domestic broadcast,[71] on 14 December 1941, took place in a programme 'Spirit of the Empire', presenting 'four songs by British composers inspired by this war'.[72] A subsequent performance in February 1942 disappointed the composer. 'I was particularly sorry because the tune is rather a ewe lamb of mine & I feel that if it got a proper send off it might hit the nail on the head – But I felt on Sunday night that it had been strangled at birth.'[73]

In the meantime, wartime conditions made it too difficult logistically for Boult to hold both his BBC positions. From April 1942, Arthur Bliss, a long-time friend and colleague of both Boult and Vaughan Williams, took over the duties of Director of Music,[74] while Boult carried on as Chief Conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra. The BBC continued to broadcast Vaughan Williams's works, such as *The Poisoned Kiss* (1936),[75] a suite of film music from *49th Parallel* (1940),[76] and the 'Pavane' from *Job*, the latter ending a programme to celebrate Empire Day 'on a note of slow dignity'.[77] The

noteworthy Vaughan Williams event of 1942, however, was his seventieth birthday, which the BBC marked vigorously with 'a week's celebration – one programme each evening, ending on the Saturday with a broadcast of the Celebration Concert by the Royal Philharmonic Society', which presented '"birthday gift" compositions' by friends and colleagues.[78] About all these broadcasts, Vaughan Williams wrote to Gerald Finzi: 'The more I hear my own stuff the more I dislike it – where I shall be at the end of the week I don't know – & I shan't have the courage not to listen'.[79] Boult too was unhappy,[80] as, of the major works, he was scheduled to conduct only *A Pastoral Symphony*.

> May I in all humility remind the great of the Music Department of the B.B.C. that *Job* is dedicated to me; that I conducted the first performance of the F minor symphony; that I was intimately concerned with the first performances of 'The Shepherds of the Delectable Mountains'; that 'Sancta Civitas' is Vaughan Williams's favourite work; and that Tertis has urgently asked me to allow him to take part in a performance of 'Flos Campi'.[81]

To placate him, Boult was invited to conduct the Fourth Symphony in a November broadcast.[82]

In spring 1943, Vaughan Williams worked on incidental music to a radio production of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*.[83] In February, while working on that score, Vaughan Williams wrote to tell Henry Wood that his new symphony 'must now go forward "for better, for worse"', and Wood accepted the Fifth Symphony sight unseen for the 1943 Proms.[84] In that wartime season, the Proms concerts were patriotically filled with works by living allied and Empire composers, and a new Vaughan Williams symphony provided a substantial homeland contribution. Despite overstretched resources, Boult offered: 'We should be most happy to put aside a rehearsal as soon as you like to go through the work and enable you to test the Parts, etc.'[85] The private play-through took place on 25 May 1943 at the BBC's Maida Vale studio. A number of guests were invited to attend, 'a good indication of those who were musically closest to Vaughan Williams at this time'.[86] The first public performance was scheduled for the Proms on 24 June in the Royal Albert Hall, conducted by the composer.[87] Boult was pleased with the performance, particularly given wartime concerns:

> Everything seemed clear and well balanced, & I thought the orchestra played very finely: on the top of their form (which doesn't often happen nowadays) . . . It isn't for me to judge compositions but . . . its serene loveliness is completely satisfying in these times & shows, as only music can, what we must work for when this madness is over.[88]

In the final eighteen months of the war, works by Vaughan Williams were frequently aired, many conducted by Boult, including *Job* and the Fourth

and Fifth Symphonies.[89] In February 1944, Vaughan Williams was asked to give a talk about Elgar for the tenth anniversary of his death, but the composer declined: 'I had very little personal acquaintance with Elgar – I used to meet him for a few minutes once a year at the 3 Choir Festivals – he was always very kind & friendly – but we were never intimate.'[90] Interestingly, Vaughan Williams agreed to write and record four short talks for WQXR, the New York station, in December 1944.[91]

Meanwhile, several years before the end of the war, the War Office and BBC wanted to be ready with material with which to greet the peace. The BBC commissioned Vaughan Williams to write a ten-minute Victory Anthem for mass consumption, to be sung at Westminster Abbey,[92] and he composed a work for soprano solo, large chorus, children's chorus, full symphony orchestra, organ and narrator. *Thanksgiving for Victory* was pre-recorded on 4 November 1944, conducted by Boult and in the composer's presence, 'for immediate use when the moment comes ... We would presumably have to [have the right forces ready] when it comes to a grand performance in the Albert Hall in the presence of Their Majesties on some special occasion later on.'[93] Copies of the discs were distributed internationally for overseas use, with strict injunction that they not be aired until after the official first broadcast, once peace was declared.

The first performance took place in a service of thanksgiving on the Sunday after Victory in Europe day (13 May 1945). After all the planning and promises, the work's public emergence was awkwardly subdued. Boult believed that the problem was in part technical: 'the recording ... utterly failed to place the various levels of tone in proper perspective.'[94] By this time, Victor Hely-Hutchinson had succeeded Bliss as the BBC Director of Music, and he attributed the problem to lack of public awareness, 'express [ing his] profound regret at the complete absence of publicity for it in the "Radio Times"'; the music broadcasts for Victory Week were to have been introduced in an article that was omitted due to space restrictions.[95] Others took up the cry for a live broadcast with full forces as part of the victory festivities, but a live performance was not mounted by the BBC until the 1945 Proms.[96] During that Promenade season, three concerts presented major works by Vaughan Williams, and the first public performance of *Thanksgiving for Victory* took place on 14 September.[97]

After the war

In the years after the war the BBC, like Britain generally, was musically behind the times, as a function of conservative attitudes among the staff members in decision-making positions. Music for general audiences

continued to be broadcast in the Home Service; in addition, the pioneering Third Programme was launched in September 1946 as an evening radio canvas dedicated to exploring all aspects of the fine arts, old and new. Even with the Third Programme, the Corporation was slow to follow Europe musically on the wave of new developments stemming from serialism, not investing in it wholeheartedly until later in the decade; nevertheless, the BBC's attitude towards Vaughan Williams in those conservative years was surprisingly restrained. He was lauded at major birthdays, he took his stand at the podium during Proms seasons, and his symphonies and other popular works were broadcast on a regular basis. But the unceremonious, creative partnership between Corporation and composer became a thing of the past.

Vaughan Williams's seventy-fifth birthday in October 1947 was celebrated in style. The composer conducted *A London Symphony* in the Royal Albert Hall for the opening of that season's Symphony Concerts, broadcast on the Home Service on 15 October.[98] He conducted a repeat performance from a studio the following evening, when the Music Department held a party in his honour.[99] Each evening of the birthday week, *This Week's Composer* presented a gramophone recording retrospective of his best-known works.[100] At the composer's request, *Sancta Civitas* was featured in a Third Programme studio concert on 13 October.[101] On the birthday itself (the 12th), *Music Magazine* included tributes by Harriet Cohen, Constant Lambert, Vaughan Williams's friend and admirer Alan Kirby, and Boult.[102] Boult gave homage to Vaughan Williams as 'the undisputed leader of English musical life', but, interestingly, also addressed the issue of international recognition:

> Perhaps the insular position and attitude of England makes all our work less apt for export. It is indeed probable that there are a number of his works which no one could expect a foreigner to understand unless he already knew some of Vaughan Williams's preceding output and could have some idea of the development of his, and our, musical language.[103]

Pre-recorded in English, German and Italian, the different versions of this talk were broadcast on the BBC's European Service on Vaughan Williams's birthday.[104]

However, after the 1947 birthday celebrations, the strength of the BBC's commitment to Vaughan Williams's music began to decline. His standing as the leading living British composer prompted those in authority to take notice at important moments, but otherwise musical attention was turned sharply on the younger generation – particularly on Britten, after *Peter Grimes* achieved such outstanding success just as the war ended.[105] Vaughan Williams continued to loom, but it was not long

before the ideals he championed – in particular, music for the people, heartily expressed in choral settings or large-scale symphonic landscapes – came to seem uncomfortably outdated, relics of a war-torn time from which people so painfully wished to disconnect; that is, his causes were increasingly out of step with a post-war musical environment that, as the 1950s unfolded, looked increasingly to Europe's art-for-art's-sake milieu for inspiration.

Yet Vaughan Williams's *oeuvre* still fitted well within post-war BBC programming schemes, in that the Music Department liked to broadcast sets of works. Thus all the Vaughan Williams symphonies to date were given in the 1946 Proms, with the composer conducting *A London Symphony* on 31 July.[106] The Corporation also continued to take interest in first performances. In 1948, the composer offered to the Third Programme the premiere of his Partita for Double String Orchestra, which was broadcast on 20 March[107] and 'diagonalized' on the Home Service the day after;[108] the work was given its first concert performance on 29 July in the 1948 Proms, conducted by the composer. Moreover, the Corporation continued to promote new Vaughan Williams symphonies. The Music Department urgently wished to broadcast the first performance of Symphony No. 6 in spring 1948. Boult had been invited to a piano play-through at the Royal College of Music on 5 June 1947,[109] and an orchestral run-through took place on 16 December,[110] conducted by the composer with Boult assisting; a BBC recording was made for Vaughan Williams's private use.[111] The first performance, conducted by Boult, was given on 21 April 1948 on the Home Service, diagonalized on the 24th on the Third Programme, and repeated on 11 May on the Home Service to promote greater comprehension through repetition – and to arouse further attention and acclaim for the BBC. The symphony was performed again on 4 August, in the 1948 Proms, conducted by Basil Cameron.

The 1949–50 season was marked by the BBC's choosing *Hugh the Drover*, alongside Verdi's *Falstaff*, 'as repertory productions for the whole winter season'; as a result, six broadcasts of Vaughan Williams's opera were given between October and May on the Third Programme.[112] The composer was present for rehearsals leading to the initial broadcasts, and even for subsequent rehearsals, 'simply for the pleasure of the thing'.[113] In August 1950, Vaughan Williams expressed interest in writing incidental music for a series based on Thomas Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*;[114] he subsequently arranged some of the music into an orchestral Prelude, and made this available to the BBC in September 1952.[115] The following year, he was invited to write incidental music for Hardy's *The Dynasts*, but declined the invitation.[116] Throughout this

period, Vaughan Williams continued to work on his *Pilgrim's Progress* opera, and when the BBC Director of Music, Steuart Wilson, asked if it would be ready for performance in the 1951 Festival of Britain, Vaughan Williams immediately sent the score.[117] The opera was given its first performance and broadcast on 26 April 1951 from the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden,[118] and a second broadcast aired on 30 April.

From around this time, Vaughan Williams's interactions with the BBC became fewer and less personal, undoubtedly due to the fact that Boult was no longer on the staff there. Boult had left his position as BBC Director of Music during the war, and ultimately, in April 1950, he left the Corporation altogether. He retired from his position as Chief Conductor ostensibly due to the BBC's mandatory retirement age; as when Percy Pitt had been forced to leave under the same rule twenty years before, however, the matter was handled disagreeably, leaving a bitter aftertaste.[119] After Boult's departure, Vaughan Williams works were still broadcast – four of the symphonies were given at the 1951 Proms, for instance – but he was rarely invited to conduct. The BBC began to treat Vaughan Williams and his music monumentally, broadcasting major works of the past, rather than recognizing an individual whose outlook and musical language continued to develop and change.

Concerning Vaughan Williams's eightieth birthday in October 1952, the BBC Head of Music, Herbert Murrill, asked: 'What are we going to do about Vaughan Williams? . . . Although he is not a controversial figure in the Schönberg manner he seems to me to deserve some considerable gesture.'[120] The full set of six symphonies was presented at that summer's Proms, with the Fifth on 3 September conducted by the composer.[121] A retrospective of choral works and songs was proposed for the Third Programme in the final quarter of the year,[122] but the idea was dropped: 'if the symphonies are given at the Promenade concerts . . . I rather doubt if it is right to do much more than this'.[123] For the birthday itself, Murrill first considered a studio production of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, as it 'represents a crystallization of the composer's thought and style over thirty years or more';[124] but that plan also proved too onerous to realize, and instead a performance of *On Wenlock Edge* was broadcast in a late-night Third Programme recital.[125] The String Quartet in A minor aired on the Third Programme on 13 October, and the Home Service carried 'a symphony concert of the composer's best-loved works', conducted by Malcolm Sargent.[126] Thus the five years that had passed since the war were telling; whereas the BBC celebrated the composer's seventy-fifth birthday heroically, with all stops pulled out, the Corporation approached his eightieth reductively, as a 'best-loved' anachronism.

In this vein, the first performance of *Sinfonia Antartica*, given in Manchester on 14 January 1953 by the Hallé Orchestra, conducted by Sir John Barbirolli, was not at first going to be broadcast; though 'something of an event in British music',[127] a new Vaughan Williams symphony no longer warranted BBC attention. Two regional Home Services, however, bravely decided to broadcast the first performance,[128] and the Third Programme aired the Hallé's second performance the next night; it was diagonalized from London on the basic Home Service on 21 January. The Corporation mounted its own broadcast in a BBC Symphony Concert conducted by Sargent on 11 March, with a studio repeat diagonalized the following night.[129] The Light Programme wondered whether it might approach Vaughan Williams about a broadcast talk, 'to get him to illustrate his new symphony for a popular audience ... with the object of getting him to bridge the gulfs between the great masses who cannot read a score and the musical cognoscenti'.[130] But the Music Programme Organiser reported: 'V.W. summed up "All my life I have refused to talk about my own music and I'm certainly not going to start at 80". He loves us very much – but not that much.'[131]

The major event of 1953 was of course the coronation, and Vaughan Williams's *A Sea Symphony* was included in the Coronation Concert on 27 May 1953, an all-British event that received major coverage on the BBC Home Service.[132] A profound broadcasting effect of the coronation was that it was televised, bringing the phenomenon of television more firmly into the nation's sitting-rooms. It is interesting, then, that around that time the BBC proposed to televise a performance of *The Bridal Day*, a ballet written by Vaughan Williams in 1938–9 to a libretto by Ursula Vaughan Williams, based on Spenser's *Epithalamion*.[133] When the composer rediscovered the score in 1952, he sent it to Stanford Robinson, who wondered whether it could 'be done twice in the Great Hall at Hampton Court, by the London Opera Club, during the Coronation Season'. Kenneth Wright, then head of music for television, believed that 'a new work, with visual possibilities, by our greatest composer, and based on a great Elizabethan poet, might be an attractive idea'.[134] The first performance was televised from a London studio on 5 June 1953, narrated by Cecil Day Lewis and conducted by Robinson. Ursula Vaughan Williams later recalled:

> Neither of us was happy about its performance on the screen, where dances that seemed spacious in a hall became a congested muddle, unrelated to the music. There was only one day of rehearsal in the studio with cameras, lighting, and costume, so it was too late for suggestions. The music was well sung and played, but we were embarrassed by the performance and both felt that television was not for us – and certainly not for this work which needed, we saw, a stage performance.[135]

In 1955, BBC radio featured several first Vaughan Williams broadcasts,[136] but the most significant transmissions of his music that year featured all seven symphonies, given between February and June on the Home Service by the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. 'They represent in a way easily discernable by the average music-lover the process by which a seer-composer of wide sympathies and great mental power assimilates the major experiences of life through music.'[137] The performances aired on Sunday evenings, each introduced by Frank Howes. Vaughan Williams conducted *A Sea Symphony* in the first concert on 6 February; Boult was invited to conduct No. 5 and *Job* in a concert on 1 May, and the final concert with *Sinfonia Antartica* on 19 June; and the rest were conducted by Rudolf Schwarz.

Nevertheless, declining interest in Vaughan Williams resulted in there being no *Radio Times* promotion for the first performance and broadcast of the Symphony No. 8 from Manchester, given by the Hallé Orchestra, conducted by Barbirolli, on 2 May 1956. Similarly, the *Radio Times* issue for the first Proms performance on 29 August, given again by Barbirolli and the Hallé, offered no special coverage of the symphony.[138] Thus it is not surprising that for Vaughan Williams's eighty-fifth birthday in October 1957, the BBC's plans seem rather thin and obligatory, reflecting minimal enthusiasm. The plans included a tribute in *Music Magazine* (6 October) and part of a Royal Philharmonic Society concert (9 October), conducted by Boult;[139] the *Songs of Travel* were aired on the birthday itself, but at the rather subdued hour of 9.25 a.m. When chastised for this half-hearted effort, the BBC explained, 'we do not normally celebrate half-decades – we are saving up for 1962!'[140] The composer's publisher found this all 'rather grim', particularly as the BBC was 'not broadcasting any work later than 1922'.[141] The Corporation did rustle up a further performance on 17 October, presenting the Fifth Symphony.[142]

In spring 1958, Vaughan Williams invited the BBC's Eric Warr to a run-through of Symphony No. 9 at St Pancras Town Hall on 21 March,[143] at which the work was played twice.[144] Despite the 'coolness of the critics' reception of the music',[145] the first performance on 2 April, given by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sargent, was broadcast on the Home Service with adequate BBC promotion. Sargent and the BBC Symphony Orchestra gave the work again on 5 August at the Proms, with the composer in attendance.[146] Following the composer's death on 26 August 1958 – the day that Boult was scheduled to record the Ninth Symphony – the commemorations started, and the following year all nine symphonies were done at the Proms.[147]

Epilogue

In a world that relied more and more on modern technologies for musical experience, Vaughan Williams's passion for music as 'the art of the common man'[148] was played out through a process that was largely dependent on the BBC's partnership, particularly when directed by Adrian Boult. During his fifteen years in leading roles with the Corporation, the conductor contributed enormously to modern music of his time, especially contemporary British music. But what he did for Vaughan Williams, in particular, can be attributed not only to his fundamental belief in his music, but also to a number of profound convergences in their musical, spiritual and political viewpoints.

Boult frequently wrote, taught and lectured about conducting as a fundamentally pragmatic art;[149] yet, his performing aspiration emerged from a more essential source. In effect, his basic view on musical performance complemented Vaughan Williams's own. Vaughan Williams maintained that

> The composer has a vision and he wants others, out of earshot, to share that vision; so he crystallizes that vision into definite musical sounds. Then he devises a series of black dots, circles, and so on which will explain what sounds must be made in order to realize his vision . . . Those who are going to translate these black dots into sound . . . must learn to realize, when the sounds are made, the connection between the various notes which they produce and the ultimate meaning of it all. Then, and then only, can they realize in sound the vision that has passed through all these stages and back again.[150]

From his point of view as a conductor, Boult heartily agreed about his deferential role within that connective process:

> The Conductor's real job is to convey the message that lies inside the music, to make his listeners catch the thrill that the composer felt when he first wrote it, for music surely grows in a composer's mind, not just as sound, but as the deeply felt impression of something that cannot be conveyed in words . . . With the right keenness from everyone, we conductors can feel deeply privileged as we get ourselves keyed up again and again . . . ready for the great work of helping to summon up and renew the wonderful sounds once heard by a Bach or a Beethoven, and to live again the thrill that they must have felt when these great ideas were first sent to them, to put on paper for us all.[151]

Vaughan Williams and Boult thus held in common this fundamental view of music-making.

Spiritually, Boult retained a religious belief that Vaughan Williams, as an agnostic, denied. In one of his writings, the conductor stated baldly:

'Music is the language of God . . . Surely it is not possible for the mystery that is music to have evolved naturally without some commanding authority.'[152] Nevertheless, the two musicians shared an understanding of music's spiritual function. For Vaughan Williams, 'music is not only a form of enjoyment, it is also a spiritual exercise in which all have their part'.[153] Boult went further in his view: 'music opens up immense spiritual and psychological resources in the task of lessening some of the misunderstandings which result in political conflicts and their attendant social disasters'.[154] Throughout his long career, Boult published articles and gave lectures and radio talks about his musical perceptions and experiences, relating his conviction that music performance at its best provided a framework for tapping spiritual resources:

> Beneath [the music's structure] there is a spiritual unity which seems to hold the work up – this tenuous stream of sound which passes so quietly through our consciousness – and, after the experience of performance is over, sustains it before us as a whole, like a great piece of architecture. As we contemplate it, it lifts us off our feet with its ennobling power just as the first sight of a great landscape or of a great building can purify us.[155]

Thus at music's foundation was a unity that spiritually purified and fortified the human condition.

Both Boult and Vaughan Williams lived through two world wars, which had an immense impact on their political perceptions of the world. When the threat of war re-emerged in the 1930s, Vaughan Williams became profoundly attracted to an organization that seemed to offer a solution. The Federal Union advocated 'democratic self-government for the prevention of war, the creation of prosperity and the preservation and promotion of individual liberty'.[156] Vaughan Williams set up a branch of the Federal Union in Dorking, acting 'not [as] an authority on F.U. only [as] a layman who strongly believes in it'.[157] Boult came through World War II also believing in this kind of political unity as the way forward for modern Europe. He was a delegate at the Congress of Europe in May 1948, a 'gathering of Europe's finest citizens and most prominent statesmen', coming together to explore the convictions of 'the European Union of Federalists, along with Mr. Churchill's "United Europe" and other movements'.[158] When the Korean War became a further threat, Boult spoke out in support of international political unity as the only viable path.[159] Although Vaughan Williams pursued these views less actively late in his life,[160] on the first anniversary of his death a Royal Festival Hall concert was held in support of the Federal Trust, an educational offshoot of the Federal Union. In Boult's introduction to the concert, he made particular reference to Vaughan

Williams's belief that 'politically the world lacks a fresh vision of its own unity and that it is often for the artist to show the way'.[161]

It is clear, then, that in a variety of important ways, Vaughan Williams and Boult shared world-views that underpinned their long bond of friendship. Forged during the first decade of the twentieth century and lasting until Vaughan Williams's death over forty years later, their alliance was characterized by a number of vital elements: a shared sense of musical principles in the realm of music-making, a shared sense of music in relation to the spiritual, and a shared sense of music in relation to the political – core values that fundamentally framed their artistic identities. In part due to Boult's lifetime of performances and his strong influence at the BBC, Vaughan Williams continues to be remembered today as – in Boult's words – 'one of [the] great men – some of us would say [the] very greatest man'[162] of British music of the mid-twentieth century.

Files of unpublished documents held at the BBC Written Archives Centre

[abbreviations used in footnotes appear to left]

RVW1	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer, 1a (1928–33)
RVW2	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 1b (1934–8)
RVW3	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Artists 1 (1930–40)
RVW4	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 2a (1939–41)
RVW5	R41/241, PCS, Ralph Vaughan Williams (1939)
RVW6	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Artists 2 (1941–55)
RVW7	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 2b (1942–3)
RVW8	R19/921, Features, 'Pilgrim's Progress' (1936–54)
RVW9	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 2c (1944–6)
RVW10	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 3 (1947–51)
RVW11	RCONT1, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Composer 4 (1952–62)
ACB1	S32/7, Special Collections, Boult, Autobiographical Material (1928–65)
ACB2	S32/26, Special Collections, Boult, Articles: Ralph Vaughan Williams (1958–62)
ACB3	S32/12, Special Collections, Boult, Conducting (1946–61)
ACB4	S32/10/1–2, Special Collections, Boult, Thoughts on Conducting & Trumpet
ACB5	S32/30, Special Collections, Boult, Lectures (1929–61)
ACB6	S32/31, Special Collections, Boult, Lectures – The Broadcasting of Music (1932)
ACB7	S32/32/1–5, Special Collections, Boult, Scripts
ACB8	S32/32/2, Special Collections, Boult, Scripts (1944–50)
ACB9	S32/24, Special Collections, Boult, Articles (1928–67)

Notes

1 Performed by the LSO; *BBC Programme Records, 1922–1926*, 50.
2 Performed by baritone Gilbert Bailey with pianist Maurice Cole and the Snow String Quartet; *BBC Programme Records, 1922–1926*, 59.
3 See Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922–1936* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 63.
4 *BBC Programme Records, 1922–1926*, 74.
5 *Ibid*., 102.
6 Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'National Music: VIII. Some Conclusions' (1934), in *NM*, 63. Vaughan Williams first published such egalitarian ideas in his article, 'Who Wants the English Composer?', *The RCM Magazine* 11/1 (Christmas Term 1912), 12–15.
7 Byron Adams, Introduction to *VWE*, xvii.
8 Queen's Hall, 4 October 1928; letter, Kenneth A. Wright to Vaughan Williams, in RVW1, 14 July 1928.
9 Queen's Hall, 26 September 1929 (later renamed Concerto in D minor for violin and string orchestra). Vaughan Williams also conducted songs from *Hugh the Drover*, sung by Walter Widdup; RVW1, 27 May–5 June 1929.
10 'Sir Adrian Cedric Boult' [autobiography, typescript], in ACB1, 11 October 1962.
11 'Dr Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M.', [typescript], in ACB2, 1 October 1958.
12 Vaughan Williams wrote to Boult consistently as 'Dear Adrian' rather than 'Dear Boult', as he did to professional associates at the BBC, so their relationship was clearly a friendship.
13 Boult's father, Cedric Randal Boult, was an oil merchant; Michael Kennedy, *Adrian Boult* (London: Papermac, 1987), 3.
14 For a brief description of Vaughan Williams's life up to World War I, see Hugh Cobbe, 'Earliest Letters (*c*. 1895) to the Outbreak of the First World War: 1895–1914', in *LRVW*, 8–12.
15 Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, 41.
16 *Ibid*., 62–6.
17 Adrian Boult, *My Own Trumpet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973), 35.
18 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, 20 February 1918, in *LRVW*, 119.
19 Adrian Boult, 'Tributes to Vaughan Williams', *MT* 99 (October 1958), 536.
20 Paraphrased in Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, 68.
21 Drawing on many of the same BBC files used as sources for this essay, Duncan Hinnells has cogently argued that institutions such as the BBC and Vaughan Williams's publisher, Oxford University Press, helped to construct Vaughan Williams's nationalist image. See Duncan Hinnells, 'The Making of a National Composer: Vaughan Williams, OUP, and the BBC' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1999).
22 Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 153–4.
23 Nicholas Kenyon, *The BBC Symphony Orchestra* (London: BBC, 1981), 15–48.
24 *Ibid*., 32–4.
25 Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 392.
26 J. C. W. Reith, *Broadcast Over Britain* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924), 34.
27 Arnold Bax was also recognized as a British symphonic composer of significance.
28 Vaughan Williams campaigned tirelessly for the title of this work to be shown correctly in the *Radio Times* and other BBC publicity; e.g. see letter, Vaughan Williams to Concert Organiser, in RVW2, where he complains that a recent BBC advertisement for a performance of the work has substituted the word 'Variations' for 'Fantasia' [undated, April 1938].
29 Interestingly, a performance of Vaughan Williams's *Job* was televised on 11 November 1936 (performer details unknown); *BBC Programme Records* [television], 283.
30 For example, *A Sea Symphony*, conducted by Boult, broadcast from Stockholm, 19 January 1939 (see *LRVW*, 271); also the first performance of *Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'*, conducted by Boult, in a programme of new British works, New York World's Fair, June 1939; RVW4, 13 January, 6 February and 4 April 1939. See also Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, 185.
31 Vaughan Williams conducted Proms in 1930 (*A Pastoral Symphony*), 1931 (*Flos Campi*), 1933 (*A Pastoral Symphony*), 1934 (*A London Symphony*, *Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'* and *Running Set*), 1935 (*A Pastoral Symphony*), 1937 (Symphony No. 4), 1938 (*A Pastoral Symphony*), 1943 (Symphony No. 5), 1945 (Suite: *Story of a Flemish Farm*), 1946 (*A London Symphony*), 1948 (Partita and *A London Symphony*), 1950 (Symphony No. 5), 1952 (Symphony No. 5); Proms Archive database, www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive (accessed 30 August 2012). Aborted performances include the *Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'* on 15 September 1939 (season cancelled once war was declared) and the first performance of *Six Choral Songs to be Sung in Time of War* on 10 September 1940 (season cancelled after 7 September, due to heavy bombing).
32 Sunday Orchestral Concert, 18 February 1934, London Regional programme; RVW3, 11

January–4 February 1934. BBC Northern Orchestra, 25 February 1939; RVW3, 6–9 January 1939.
33 'Broadcasting: Sir Henry Wood's Jubilee', *The Times*, 5 October 1938, 5E.
34 Letter, Kenneth A. Wright to Vaughan Williams, in RVW1, 20 November 1931. First performance: Harriet Cohen (piano), BBC SO, conducted by Boult, 1 February 1933.
35 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW2, 27 September 1935.
36 Memo, Boult to Arthur Bliss, in RVW7, 15 September 1942, reprinted in *LRVW*, 346. Thanks to Byron Adams for reminding me of this significant letter.
37 *KW*, 263.
38 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW2, 19 August 1934.
39 Queen's Hall Symphony Concert, 10 April 1935, in RVW2, 11 September 1934, 4–19 March 1935.
40 *Radio Times*, 1 March 1935.
41 Memo, Boult to Maurice Gorham, *Radio Times* Editor, in RVW2, 4 March 1935 (misfiled among papers from March 1936).
42 Letters, Boult to Vaughan Williams, in RVW2, 7 and 14 March 1935.
43 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, RVW2, 6 August 1936.
44 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, [undated], and response from Mrs Beckett (Boult's secretary), in RVW2, 15 October 1936.
45 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, *c.* 22 October 1936, in *LRVW*, 245–6. The broadcast concert opened that season's Wednesday night BBC Symphony Concerts, Queen's Hall, 21 October 1936, featuring the BBC Symphony Orchestra and BBC Choral Society, with Noel Eadie (soprano) and William Parsons (baritone); *BBC Programme Records, 1936*, 218.
46 Letter, Owen Mase to Vaughan Williams, in RVW1, 31 October 1931.
47 Letter, Mrs Beckett to Vaughan Williams, 20 May 1935, Vaughan Williams's response [undated] and Mrs Beckett's return, in RVW3, 21 May 1935.
48 Programme included: Maconchy's *Comedy Overture*, Williams's Two Psalms for soprano and chamber orchestra, Morris's Concertino, Milford's Two Pieces for orchestra and Vaughan Williams's *Five Mystical Songs* for baritone, chorus and orchestra; BBC 'Programmes as Broadcast' record, National Programme, 28 December 1934; see also RVW3, 31 October–21 December 1934.
49 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW2, [undated, *c.* 29 July 1934]. *The Planets* was scheduled for that season's Wednesday Symphony Concerts, while the Scherzo of Holst's unfinished symphony was planned for a later date. Vaughan Williams typically requested that the latter be presented, 'not at a memorial concert . . . but for its own sake at an ordinary concert'.
50 Memo, Boult to Kenneth Wright, in RVW1, 12 September 1933.
51 Vaughan Williams, 'National Music: VIII. Some Conclusions' (1934), in *NM*, 67–8.
52 Lecture II, Birmingham University, in ACB5, 1944, 13.
53 *UVWB*, 229.
54 'The Composer in Wartime, 1940', in Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst, *Heirs and Rebels: Letters Written to Each Other and Occasional Writings on Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 92. This article was first published in *The Listener* 23 (1940), 989, reprinted in *VWOM*, 83–6; the original script has not been traced.
55 Boult sent a telegram stating, 'Grateful if you would write Director-General'; in RVW4, [17?] October 1939.
56 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Ogilvie, 18 October, and the BBC's response, 23 October 1939, in RVW5; both letters reprinted in *LRVW*, 290–1.
57 In fact, to avoid such hardship, the government stepped in from 1940 to fund programmes such as the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) and Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) which kept artists employed and encouraged the British public and the troops through musical and dramatic entertainment.
58 Sir Walford Davies, then Master of the King's Music, launched the idea; letter, Davies to Vaughan Williams, in RVW3, 9 November 1939.
59 BBC Written Archives Centre scripts, Ralph Vaughan Williams, 3 December 1939 [microfilm of typescript], 2–3. Although less formal and differently structured, this script is related to the lecture of the same name, published as the Epilogue of *The Making of Music* (1954), reprinted in *NM*, 237–42.
60 Letter, P. S. G. O'Donnell, director of the BBC Military Band, to R. S. Thatcher, Deputy Director of Music, in RVW4, 9 October 1939. The programmes aired on 2 January and 27 March 1940. See also correspondence, in RVW3, 6 October 1939–29 March 1940, and in RVW4, 9 October 1939–20 March 1940.
61 From script for the second programme, in RVW3, 27 March 1940, reprinted in *LRVW*, 298–9. The script for the first programme has not been found.

62 Memo, B. E. Nicolls, Controller (Programmes), to Deputy Director of Entertainment, in RVW4, 17 August 1940.
63 For the commissioning letter, see Boult to Vaughan Williams, in RVW4, 2 September 1940, and Vaughan Williams's response, [undated], both letters reprinted in *LRVW*, 304–5.
64 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW4, 26 October 1940, reprinted in *LRVW*, 309–10. For detailed responses, see Boult to Vaughan Williams, in RVW4, 31 October and 12 November 1940.
65 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, in RVW4, 31 October 1940.
66 Letter, Vaughan Williams to the BBC Director-General, in RVW4, 9 March 1941, reprinted in *LRVW*, 314; see also 'Dr. Vaughan Williams', *The Times*, 15 March 1941, 6F.
67 'Broadcasting of Opinions', *The Times*, 13 March 1941, 2E. For further discussion about this policy debate, see Chapter 1 in this volume, 21.
68 'BBC and People's Convention: Ban on Artists Removed', *The Times*, 21 March 1941, 4E; see also 'Parliament: B.B.C. Ban Lifted', *The Times*, 21 March 1941, 2A.
69 Letter, Hubert Foss of OUP to R. S. Thatcher, and Thatcher's response, in RVW4, 4 and 8 April 1941.
70 Letter, Foss to B. E. Nicolls, in RVW4, 26 September 1941.
71 First broadcast: 16 November 1941, broadcast to Sweden, programme celebrating the opening of the extended Swedish Service; see letter, Leonard Isaacs, European Music Supervisor, to Vaughan Williams, in RVW4, 26 November 1941.
72 Memo, R. S. Thatcher to B. E. Nicolls, in RVW4, 10 October 1941. The other patriotic songs included were George Dyson's 'Motherland', Roger Quilter's 'A Song of Freedom', and John Ireland's 'O Happy Land'.
73 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW4, [*c.* 10 February 1942], reprinted in Jerrold Northrop Moore (ed.), *Music & Friends: Seven Decades of Letters to Adrian Boult from Elgar, Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bruno Walter, Yehudi Menuhin and Other Friends* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979), 138 (Moore mistakenly places the letter in response to the first performance).
74 Arthur Bliss returned to the UK from California in March 1941, when he began working as BBC Assistant Director of Overseas Music. The Corporation had attempted to recruit him for the Director of Music post since 1933, but he had always turned it down, as he believed it would disrupt his creative work. During the early 1940s, he agreed to it as a contribution to the war effort.
75 Letter, Stanford Robinson to Vaughan Williams, in RVW4, 14 November 1941. About this broadcast (Home Service, 28 November 1941), Robinson wrote: 'The reports of our Listening Research Department . . . were very encouraging as to the number of people who listened to it and so I hope to broadcast it again next year', in RVW4, 24 December 1941, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW7, 4 January 1942, reprinted in *LRVW*, 333.
76 Letter, Leonard Isaacs, European Music Supervisor, to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW4, 26 and 27 November 1941.
77 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW7, 30 April and 2 May 1942.
78 Memo, Kenneth Wright, in RVW7, 29 June 1942, reprinted in *LRVW*, 341. Devised in collaboration with Hubert Foss of Oxford University Press, the planning of this week, 11–17 October 1942, spanned eight months; see RVW7, 25 February–17 October 1942. Performances included: the Hallé Orchestra, conducted by Malcolm Sargent (Tallis Fantasia); BBC Orchestra, conducted by Adrian Boult (*The Lark Ascending* and Piano Concerto); BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Henry Wood (Symphony No. 4 in F minor); BBC Northern Orchestra, conducted by Boult (*Magnificat*, *Four Hymns*, *Benedicite*); BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Ian Whyte (*Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'*); a vocal concert (*On Wenlock Edge*); and the BBC Military Band and Theatre Orchestra (smaller-scale works). On 12 October, the concert included new works by Gordon Jacob, Elizabeth Maconchy, Edmund Rubbra, Alan Bush, Robin Milford, Constant Lambert and Patrick Hadley. Memo, Assistant Director of Music to Director of Music, in RVW7, 3 September 1942.
79 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Gerald Finzi, in RVW7, 13 October 1942, reprinted in *LRVW*, 350.
80 Memo, Boult to Arthur Bliss, and Bliss's response, in RVW7, 15 and 16 September 1942, both reprinted in *LRVW*, 346–7.
81 Memo, Boult to R. S. Thatcher, in RVW7, 13 October 1942, reprinted in *LRVW*, 347.
82 On 15 November 1942; memo, Herbert Murrill, Director of Music, to Music Library, in RVW7, 21 October 1942.
83 Programme aired: 5 September 1943, with John Gielgud playing Christian. For details, see Eric Saylor's essay in this volume. Vaughan Williams continued to work on *The Pilgrim's*

Progress as a morality stage work, largely completed in 1947–8 and performed at Covent Garden in 1951. Nathaniel G. Lew, '"Words and Music that are Forever England": *The Pilgrim's Progress* and the Pitfalls of Nostalgia', in *VWE*, 184.

84 Letters, Vaughan Williams to Henry Wood, in RVW7, 5 and 9 February 1943, reprinted in *LRVW*, 356.

85 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response accepting the offer, in RVW7, 11 February and 1 May 1943, reprinted in *LRVW*, 357.

86 *LRVW*, 358. For the list of invitees, see letters from Vaughan Williams to Mrs Beckett, Boult's secretary, in RVW7, 6 and 21 May 1943; the latter reprinted in *LRVW*, 358; see also letter from Mrs Beckett to Vaughan Williams, in RVW7, 21 May 1943, summarizing guests whom Boult invited, and two additional names from Vaughan Williams, in RVW7, 23 May 1943.

87 Letter, Arthur Bliss to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, agreeing to conduct, in RVW7, 7 and 10 May 1943. Since May 1941, when Queen's Hall was bombed, the Prom seasons had taken place in the Royal Albert Hall.

88 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, in RVW7, 27 June 1943, reprinted in *LRVW*, 359–60.

89 Memo, Boult to Kenneth Wright, Assistant Director of Music (Programmes) about *Job*, in RVW7, 18 October 1943. Fourth Symphony: Royal Albert Hall, conducted by Boult, 12 May 1944; 'Concerts', *The Times*, 10 May 1944, 6G. Fifth Symphony: broadcasts 22 March and 1 August 1944; letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, 6 March, and memo, Boult to Wright, in RVW9, 4 August 1944.

90 Letter, Vaughan Williams to George Barnes, Director of Talks, in RVW6, 8 February 1944.

91 Memo, Philip Bate to Arthur Wynn, 27 November 1944, and contract, in RVW6, 4 January 1945.

92 Memo, Kenneth Wright to J. G. Roberts, Administrative and Establishment Officer (Programmes), in RVW7, 13 September 1943.

93 Memo, Wright to Music Booking Manager, in RVW9, 23 August 1944.

94 Memo, Boult to Victor Hely-Hutchinson, in RVW9, 14 May 1945.

95 Letter, Victor Hely-Hutchinson to Vaughan Williams, in RVW9, 14 May 1945, and memo, Hely-Hutchinson to Editor, *Radio Times*, in RVW9, 15 May 1945; see also letter, Hely-Hutchinson to Vaughan Williams, 25 May 1945, for a complete explanation of what happened.

96 For example, see memo, Rev. J. W. Welch, Director of Religious Programming, to Controller (Programmes), in RVW9, 15 May 1945. An earlier performance was given (but not broadcast) by the Luton Choral Society on 26 June 1945; letter from Oxford University Press to Hely-Hutchinson, in RVW9, 21 June 1945.

97 Elsie Suddaby (soprano) and Valentine Dyall (speaker). Letter, Hely-Hutchinson to Vaughan Williams, and letter, Mrs Beckett to Vaughan Williams, in RVW9, 22 May and 24 August 1945. Other Vaughan Williams Proms works: Suite from *Story of a Flemish Farm* on 31 July, conducted by Vaughan Williams, and the *Five Tudor Portraits* on 30 August.

98 Memo, W. W. Thompson, Concert Organiser, to Herbert Murrill, and memo, Kenneth Wright to Boult, in RVW10, 9 and 30 April 1947.

99 Letter, Wright to Vaughan Williams, in RVW10, 7 October 1947.

100 *Radio Times*, 10 October 1947.

101 Letter, John Lowe, Third Programme, to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW10, 19 and 21 February 1947, both reprinted in *LRVW*, 410–11. Memo, Lowe to Wright, letter, Wright to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW6, 1, 23 and 31 May 1947; see also further correspondence, in RVW10, 5 June–30 September 1947. Other works performed: *Flos Campi*, Suite for viola and small orchestra (1934) and *Four Hymns* for tenor, viola and strings (1914), Lionel Tertis (viola) and Eric Greene (tenor).

102 Letter, Julian Herbage to Vaughan Williams, in RVW10, 6 October 1947.

103 Boult, 'R. Vaughan Williams, O.M., Mus. Doc.', script for *Music Magazine* contribution, in ACB8, 12 October 1947, 1–2.

104 The talk was not given in French, but a letter written by Edward Lockspeiser, the French music expert in the Overseas Music Department, to the British Council sheds light on the BBC's influence. Apparently Irène Joachim was so impressed with *A London Symphony* that she was going to recommend it to the French conductor Roger Désormière, who 'could do more in the interests of Vaughan Williams in France than anyone else.' Letter, Edward Lockspeiser to Miss Seymour Whinyates, in RVW10, 20 October 1947.

105 The opera was first performed at Sadler's Wells in June 1945.

106 Letter, Victor Hely-Hutchinson to Vaughan Williams, in RVW6, 6 May 1946; see also Alison Garnham, 'The BBC in Possession:

1949–59', in Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (eds.), *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 145.
107 Letter, John Lowe to Vaughan Williams, in RVW10, 18 January 1948.
108 'Diagonalization' was a BBC practice in which a work would be broadcast on either the Home Service or the Third Programme, often from a public concert, and repeated the next evening in a studio performance broadcast on the opposite network. This allowed the public to hear important works more than once, and was inexpensive to produce, as the second broadcast required no rehearsal.
109 Letters, Vaughan Williams to Boult, [both undated], and Mrs Beckett's responses, in RVW10, 20 February and 16 May 1947. The play-through was given by Vaughan Williams's former pupil, Michael Mullinar.
110 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Boult, in RVW10, 30 July 1947, reprinted in *LRVW*, 416.
111 Letter, Boult to Vaughan Williams, memo, Boult to Assistant Director of Music, and letters, Mrs Beckett to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams to Mrs Beckett, in RVW10, 11, 17, 27 December 1947 and 22 January 1948.
112 'The Third Programme Plans for 2 October–31 December 1949', quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the BBC Third Programme and Radio 3* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), 98.
113 Letter, Vaughan Williams to Stanford Robinson, in RVW10, 16 November 1949.
114 Memo, Frank Gillard, Head of West Regional Programmes, to Herbert Murrill, Director of Music, in RVW10, 8 August 1950. See Eric Saylor's Chapter 8 in this volume for details about this production.
115 Memo, Frank Gillard to Acting Controller, Home Service, in RVW11, 15 September 1952.
116 Letter, Douglas Cleverdon, producer, to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW10, 9 and 11 March 1951. Vaughan Williams suggested that the BBC approach Gerald Finzi, but in the event, Anthony Smith-Masters composed the required music; memo, Cleverdon to Music Booking Manager, WAC R19/290/2, Entertainment/The Dynasts 2 (1947–54), 13 April 1951.
117 Letter, Steuart Wilson to Vaughan Williams, in RVW10, 5 August 1948. The work was given a private run-through by the Arts Council on 2 December 1948; letters, Eric W. White, Arts Council, to Wilson, in RVW10, 20 and 24 November 1948.
118 Lew, 'Words and Music', 190. This article describes the Covent Garden production in 1951 in detail.
119 Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, 214–18.
120 Memo, Herbert Murrill to Controllers, Home Service, Third Programme and Light Programme, in RVW11, 7 January 1952.
121 Letter, Eric Warr, Acting Head of Music, to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW11, 8 and 16 April; letter, W. W. Thompson, Concert Organiser, to Alan Frank, Oxford University Press, 25 April; letter, Thompson to Vaughan Williams, 25 July 1952.
122 Memo, Leonard Isaacs to Harman Grisewood, Controller, Third Programme, in RVW11, 10 January 1952.
123 Memo, Grisewood to Isaacs, in RVW11, 16 January 1952.
124 Memo, Herbert Murrill, in RVW11, 7 January 1952.
125 On Wednesday, 15 October, at 10.25pm, by René Soames and the Hirsch String Quartet. Memo note, Lindsay Wellington to Murrill, and memo, Isaacs to Grisewoood, in RVW11, 9 and 16 January 1952.
126 On Sunday, 12 October, on the Home Service; programme: the Tallis Fantasia, *A Pastoral Symphony* and *Sancta Civitas*. Memo, Eric Warr to Herbert Murrill, 18 January, and memo, Peter Crossley-Holland to Malcolm Sargent, in RVW11, 31 March 1952.
127 Memo, Peter Crossley-Holland to Godfrey Adams, in RVW11, 6 June 1952.
128 The North of England and Northern Ireland Home Services; memo, Leonard Isaacs to Maurice Johnstone, and Johnstone's response, in RVW11, 9 and 13 June 1952.
129 Letter, Eric Warr to Vaughan Williams, and Vaughan Williams's response, in RVW11, 26 and 23 [i.e. 27?] May 1952.
130 Memo, Kenneth Adam, Controller, Light Programme, to Warr, in RVW11, 18 August 1952.
131 Memo, F. O. Wade to Kenneth Adam, in RVW11, 4 September 1952. In the 1950s, Vaughan Williams occasionally gave broadcast talks on music by others, for example on Bach for the composer's bicentenary (pre-recorded 13 July, broadcast 28 July 1950, Third Programme), a tribute to Sibelius on the composer's 85th birthday (pre-recorded 23 November, broadcast 10 December 1950 in *Music Magazine*, Home Service); on the Stanford centenary (pre-recorded 13 August, broadcast 30 September 1952, General Overseas Service, and subsequently

domestically); on the teaching of Parry and Stanford (recorded 17 November 1955 live at the Composers' Concourse, broadcast 1 January 1956, Third Programme) or on the Elgar centenary (unscripted talk, pre-recorded 21 March 1957, Home Service); correspondence and contracts in RVW6. Scripts, for these and other Vaughan Williams radio talks, survive at the BBC Written Archives Centre.
132 The *Sea Symphony* was followed by the Walton Viola Concerto and Holst's suite from the ballet *The Perfect Fool*.
133 Performance plans were interrupted by the war; memo, Desmond Osland to Leonard Isaacs, in RVW11, 13 October 1952.
134 *Ibid*.
135 *UVWB*, 335.
136 First London performance: Christmas cantata *Hodie* ('This Day'), 19 January 1955, by the BBC SO, Chorus and Choral Society, conducted by Sargent; letter, Alan Frank, OUP, to Johnstone, and Johnstone's response, in RVW11, 25 March and 14 April 1954. First broadcast: The *Prelude on Three Welsh Hymn Tunes*, pre-recorded by the Salvation Army International Staff Band, broadcast 11 March 1955; Vaughan Williams had planned to attend the pre-recording, but had to cancel through illness; memo, Rodney Pelletier, and memos, Harry Mortimer, in RVW11, 8 December 1954, 24 February and 2 March 1955. First broadcast: Tuba Concerto, 25 July 1955, Philip Catelinet (tuba) and the BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by John Hollingsworth; letter, Assistant Concerts Manager to Vaughan Williams, in RVW11, 13 July 1955.
137 Memo, John Lowe, in RVW11, 31 August 1954.
138 Letters, Assistant Concerts Manager to Vaughan Williams, in RVW11, 10 July and 4 September 1956. Other Vaughan Williams works at the Proms that season: the Tallis Fantasia, *A London Symphony* and the *Sinfonia Antartica*. The following year the same works were given, except the *Wasps* overture was given in place of the *Fantasia*; letter, Assistant Concerts Manager to Vaughan Williams, in RVW11, 17 June 1957.
139 The programme included *A Pastoral Symphony* and the orchestrated version of *On Wenlock Edge*, performed by the London Philharmonic Orchestra.
140 Letter, Maurice Johnstone to Alan Frank, OUP, in RVW11, 23 August 1957.
141 Letter, Frank to Johnstone, in RVW11, 28 August 1957.
142 Letter, Johnstone to Frank, in RVW11, 2 September 1957.
143 Letter, Ursula for Vaughan Williams to Eric Warr, in RVW11 [undated, February 1958].
144 Alain Frogley, *Vaughan Williams's Ninth Symphony* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 20.
145 *Ibid*.
146 *Ibid*., 21.
147 Memo, Maurice Johnstone to T. M. Whewell, in RVW11, 19 November 1958.
148 *NM*, 63.
149 Adrian Boult, *Thoughts on Conducting*; Boult, 'On Conducting', in *Boult on Music*, 123–50; numerous typescripts of talks and drafts survive at the BBC Written Archives Centre, including in ACB2–ACB7.
150 *NM*, 216.
151 Boult, 'For Cyril Taylor, Royal School of Church Music' [lecture typescript], in ACB5, 27 May 1954, 2.
152 Boult, 'Music, a Definition', [article draft, undated], in BL Add. MS 72660, Boult Papers, Writings (1909–73), f. 51.
153 *NM*, 67–8.
154 Boult, [untitled article draft, October 1949], intended for *European Affairs*, in ACB9.
155 Boult, 'Music and Religion', talk given at Leeds, 2 December 1948, in BL Add. MS 72661, Boult Papers, Writings (1908–1976), f. 45.
156 Clarence K. Streit, *Union Now: A Plea for the Union of the Democratic Nations* (London, 1939), quoted in *LRVW*, 290.
157 *LRVW*, 290, and letter, Vaughan Williams to an unidentified correspondent, 12 June 1940, in *LRVW*, 300.
158 Boult, [untitled draft article], 10 January 1951, in BL Add. MS 72660, Boult Papers, Writings (1909–73), f. 165.
159 Boult, [untitled draft article], 10 January 1951, in BL Add. MS 72660, Boult Papers, Writings (1909–73), f. 164.
160 Cobbe, 'The Second World War: September 1939–May 1945', in *LRVW*, 282.
161 Vaughan Williams, quoted in Boult, [draft introductory talk to concert by Phyllis Sellick and Cyril Smith, 'A Concert in Aid of the Federal Trust', Royal Festival Hall], 12 October 1959, in ACB5.
162 Boult, 'Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M.', [typescript], in ACB2, 1 October 1958.