

On the Reception of Vaughan Williams's Symphonies in New York, 1920/1–2014/15

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This article considers the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams's nine symphonies (and a few non-symphonic works) in New York City (and, occasionally, its suburban environs), from the American premiere of *A London Symphony* on 30 December 1920 to a performance of *Symphony No. 6* on 10 December 2014. The author argues that the reception rolls out across five distinct periods: (1) 1920/1–1922/3: the New York premieres of *A London Symphony*, *A Sea Symphony* and *A Pastoral Symphony* (in that order), all to greetings that were lukewarm at best; (2) 1923/4–1934/5: Vaughan Williams's reputation grew meteorically, and *A London Symphony* became something of a staple; during this period Olin Downes of the *New York Times* became Vaughan Williams's most ardent champion among New York's music critics; (3) 1935/6–1944/5: *Symphonies 4* and *5* made their New York debuts, and a rift opened between the pro-Vaughan Williams *New York Times* and the negative criticism of the *New York Herald Tribune*, one that would follow Vaughan Williams to the grave and beyond; (4) 1945/6–1958/9: premieres of *Symphonies 6*, *8* and *9*, as Vaughan Williams's reputation in

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This is the fifth and final instalment in a series of essays about the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams's music in New York. Parts 1–4 appeared as follows: (1) 'On the Reception of the *Tallis Fantasia* in New York, 1922–1929', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 48 (June 2010); (2) 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes: Newly Uncovered Letters', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 60 (June 2014); (3) 'Vaughan Williams: The New York Obituaries', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 64 (October 2015); (4) 'Vaughan Williams in the New York Crossfire: Olin and Harold v. Virgil and Paul, forthcoming in *The Musical Times*. It is a pleasure to thank those who have helped me shape the 'project' as a whole. First and foremost are three scholars and friends who were kind enough to read an early draft of Parts 3, 4 and 5, which were originally conceived as a single unit: Paula Higgins, Julian Onderdonk and Simon Wright. Three others who went well beyond the call of duty: Devora Geller, a doctoral candidate in musicology at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York, who helped with the research from beginning to end; and two associate archivists at the New York Philharmonic Archives, Gabryel Smith and his predecessor, Richard Wandel. Still further assistance came from: Chuck Barber, David Bojanowski, Zdravko Blažeković, Darren Britting, Bridget Carr, Hugh Cobbe, Jeni Dehmus, Rick Fox, Alain Frogley, Alan Gillmor, Susan Gonzalez, Glenda Goss, Jane Gottlieb, John Graziano, Richard Griscom, Barbara Haws, William Hedley, Mary Hubbel, Wayne Kempton, Marianne La Batto, Michael Maw, Izabella Nudellis, Julia Grella O'Connell, Carol Oja, María Ordiñana Gil, John Parkinson, Honora Rafael, Harold Rosenbaum, Edward Smaldone, Frank Staneck, Millicent Vollono, Janet Weaver, Channan Willner, María Edurne Zuazu and the two anonymous readers who reviewed the article for the *Research Chronicle*, all of whom contributed in important ways. Finally, twice during my last few semesters of teaching at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York (Spring 2012 and Autumn 2013), I was fortunate enough to lead seminars on Vaughan Williams. The 'seminarians' (I borrow the term from a friend and colleague, Barbara Hanning) were inspiring, and to say 'thank you' hardly hints at what they taught me: Adam Birke, Paulina Colón, Devora Geller, Julie Ann Hirsh, Mary Hubbell, Danya Katok, Melissa Khong, Dominique McCormick, Imani Mosley, Nils Neubert, María Ordiñana Gil, Austin Shadduck, Maksim Shtrykov and Serena Wang.

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New York reached its honours- and awards-filled zenith; and (5) the long period from 1959/60 to the present day, which can be described as 20 years of decline (1960s–1970s), another 20 in which his reputation reached rock bottom (1980s–1990s) and, since the beginning of the new millennium, something of a reassessment, one that is seemingly unencumbered by the ideologically driven criticism of the past. Finally, Appendix I provides a chronological inventory of all New York Philharmonic programmes (along with those of the New York Symphony prior to the two orchestras' merger in 1928) that include any music (not just the symphonies) by Vaughan Williams. Appendix II then reorganizes the information of the chronological list according to work, conductor, venue and premieres.

Keywords: Ralph Vaughan Williams; New York City; symphonies; reception; criticism

Introduction

What follows deals with the reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams's nine symphonies in New York City. The story begins with a bang on 30 December 1920 (the New York and US premiere of *A London Symphony*) and fades out quietly, though never entirely, during the decades after his death in August 1958 (the final performance cited is one of the Sixth Symphony on 10 December 2014).¹ It runs along two axes: (1) the New York Philharmonic, and (2) *The New York Times* (*NYTimes*) and the *New York Herald Tribune* (*NYHTrib*), though other orchestras – most notably the New York Symphony prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928 – and other newspapers and magazines make appearances. Finally, the story contains a 'political' subplot of sorts, one that centres mainly around the clashing ideologies of New York's music critics and resulted in idolization from some quarters, vindictive pot-shots from others.

Some background is needed. Although our story plays out mainly at New York's two great concert halls in midtown Manhattan, Carnegie Hall and (about a ten-minute walk uptown) the Philharmonic's home at Lincoln Center (initially called Philharmonic Hall at its inauguration in 1962, then Avery Fisher Hall as of 1973 and David Geffen Hall as of autumn 2015), there are occasional forays to other venues (and other genres), both in the city itself and across the suburbs. More pertinent, though, with respect to New York is this: to what extent does Vaughan Williams's reception in New York reflect his reception in the United States in general? I can offer two possible answers: (1) given the rather special place that New York has long held in the nation's concert life, there is no reason to assume that its reception of Vaughan Williams is replicated elsewhere;² (2) on the other hand, a more objective answer to the question is probably this: we simply cannot know, for until others have mined the concert programmes and criticism at this or that locale as I have for New York, any attempt to answer the question amounts to nothing more than guesswork.

1 A note on the numbering of the symphonies: only upon reaching his next-to-last symphony, No. 8, in 1955, which was originally called 'Symphony in D' (eventually D minor) and which would, therefore, have caused confusion with an earlier symphony so 'titled', did Vaughan Williams retroactively number those that came before it; prior to that point he had either assigned his symphonies programmatic titles or simply 'named' them by key. The symphonies are: *A Sea Symphony* (= No. 1); *A London Symphony* (= No. 2); *A Pastoral Symphony* (= No. 3); *Symphony in F minor* (= No. 4); *Symphony in D* (= No. 5); *Symphony in E minor* (= No. 6); *Sinfonia antartica* (= No. 7); *Symphony No. 8 in D minor*; and *Symphony No. 9 in E minor*; see Michael Kennedy, *A Catalogue of the Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1996), 220, note 1 (hereafter *Catalogue*).

2 One aspect of the 'New York experience' that could have played out elsewhere is that accorded the large-scale choral works, which, even in New York, were mainly the province of amateur choirs and community orchestras spread out through the Westchester and Connecticut suburbs (see §5d.iii, [Table 10](#)).

Until 1928, New York had long been a two-orchestra town (that is, two major, long-established orchestras).³ The older of the two was the 'Philharmonic Society of New York' (to use its official name), which made its debut on 7 December 1842 as a 60-musician 'co-operative' under the direction of Ureli Corelli Hill (1802–75). In 1878, it gained a rival, the New York Symphony (officially the 'Symphony Society'), founded by the German-born Leopold Damrosch (1832–85), upon whose death both directorship and baton passed to his son Walter (1862–1950). And though the Philharmonic had already absorbed two other local orchestras during the early 1920s – the City Symphony Orchestra and the National Symphony Orchestra (the latter together with its conductor, Willem Mengelberg) – it was in June 1928, on time for the 1928/9 season, that New York's concert life changed dramatically, as the Philharmonic and Damrosch's Symphony merged to form the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York (still the official name), known more generally as the New York Philharmonic, on which orchestra New York's symphonic spotlight has fallen ever since.

From the mid-1920s to 1950, New York City had seven daily newspapers that covered classical music on a regular basis (today there is only one, the *NYTimes*). The two most influential of these were the *NYTimes* and the *NYHTrib*.⁴ The older of the two is the *NYTimes*, published continuously since 1851 and generally considered to be the nation's 'newspaper of record'. By contrast, the *NYHTrib* was a relative newcomer. Born in 1924 of a merger between the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Herald*, it never matched the *NYTimes* in terms of circulation (or money in the bank), and it ceased publication in August 1966.⁵ And as noted in §3d, the two newspapers soon came to hold opposing views about Vaughan Williams: the *NYTimes* supported him (at least until a new generation of critics joined its staff after 1980), while the *NYHTrib* often leant hard the other way (especially from the early 1940s on).

Finally, there is the tricky business of Vaughan Williams, New York and 'politics' (which, as Thomas Mann reminds us, resides in 'Everything').⁶ Vaughan Williams was incredibly active in English musical life: composition teacher at the Royal College of Music, member of the British Council, the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, the Committee for the Promotion of New Music, the Home Office Committee for the Release of Interned Alien Musicians (among others), well connected at both the BBC and Oxford University Press, and recipient of the Order of Merit and Gold Medals from both the Royal Philharmonic Society and Royal Society of the Arts.⁷ In all, he was a 'political force' to be reckoned with, something that was occasionally resented by younger generations of composers.⁸

3 This paragraph draws upon Howard Shanet, *Philharmonic: A History of New York's Orchestra* (New York, 1974), *passim*, and Barbara Haws, 'New York Philharmonic', *Oxford Music Online*; note that all references to *Oxford Music Online* are specifically to the former *Grove Music Online*.

4 The other five were the *Brooklyn Eagle* (folded in 1955), *New York Journal-American* (1966), *New York Post* (current), *New York Sun* (1950) and *New York World-Telegram* (1966). They are listed, though without the years in which they ceased publication, in Suzanne Robinson, '“A Ping, Qualified by a Thud”: Music Criticism in Manhattan and the Case of John Cage', *Journal of the Society for American Music*, 1, no. 1 (2007), 79.

5 It lives on, as it were, through two still-flourishing offshoots: *The International Herald Tribune* (the name of which was changed to *The International New York Times* in 2013) and the widely read *New York [Magazine]*, which began life in 1963 as a Sunday magazine supplement to the *NYHTrib*.

6 He does so in *The Magic Mountain*, trans. Helen T. Lowe-Porter (New York, 1955), ch. 6, p. 515 (reference to the McGraw Hill edition); originally *Der Zauberberg* (Berlin, 1924).

7 See Michael Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1980), *passim* (hereafter *Works*); Julian Onderdonk, 'The Composer and Society: Family, Politics, Nation', in *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, ed. Alain Frogley and Aiden J. Thomson (Cambridge, 2013), 14, 20; Jenny Doctor, 'Vaughan Williams, Boulton, and the BBC', *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, 249–74; Simon Wright, 'Vaughan Williams and Oxford University Press', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 56 (February 2013), 3–15.

8 The situation is summed up concisely in Aiden J. Thomson, 'Vaughan Williams and his Successors: Composers' Forum', in *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, 299–300. On Britten and

Clearly, none of this obtains in the United States, where, as an outsider, he wielded no personal influence on the local musical scene.⁹

In New York, the ‘politics’ reside entirely in the critical reaction to the music itself, this being strongly shaped – and starkly divided – by competing ideologies. For Olin Downes and (to a somewhat lesser extent) Harold C. Schonberg, it was English folk song and the English countryside that formed Vaughan Williams’s ‘genius’ (Downes’s term, see §2a). For others, though – first Virgil Thomson at the *NYHTrib* beginning in the 1940s, and then for the post-1980 critics who succeeded Schonberg at the *NYTimes* – it was this very aspect of his music – that is, the nationalism/pastoralism – that made both the man and his music a relic of ‘Ye Olde Tea Shoppe’, as Bernard Holland put it in 1987 (§3c, Table 3). Not until the new millennium ushered in a new, seemingly more open-minded, less ideologically oriented group of critics at the *NYTimes*, did Vaughan Williams really begin to get an apolitical ‘fair shake’.

* * * * *

I have divided the story into five periods: §1. 1920/1–1922/3, during which seasons Vaughan Williams’s first three symphonies enjoyed their New York (in two instances US) premieres, and to lukewarm reviews at best; §2. 1923/4–1934/5, when *A London Symphony* in particular became something of a staple and Vaughan Williams’s reputation grew meteorically, thanks largely to the support of the *NYTimes*’s Olin Downes; §3. 1935/6–1944/5, a decade that included the first New York performances of the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies, adverse criticism from the *NYHTrib* and, as a corollary of that, the beginning of a 20-year rift between that newspaper and the *NYTimes* in their treatment of Vaughan Williams, both personally and with respect to his music; §4. 1945/6–1958/9, in which years Vaughan Williams reaped honours and awards as his reputation in New York reached its zenith; and §5. 1959/60 to the present, which I would describe as consisting of three stages: decline (1960s–1970s), rock bottom (1980s–1990s) and at least a hint of a comeback (2000s).

The main text is followed by two appendices: Appendix I, organized chronologically, accounts for all 107 programmes (these generally consisting of multiple performances of the same programme) on which Vaughan Williams has been represented at the New York Philharmonic, various Philharmonic ‘spin-off’ ensembles and the New York Symphony prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928. Appendix II then reorganizes the chronological list by work, conductor, venue and premieres. Finally, when, in the body of the text, I cite a Philharmonic programme, I refer to its entry in Appendix I.

§1. 1920/1–1922/3: The premieres of *London*, *Sea* and *Pastoral*

1(a). *A London Symphony*

Ralph Vaughan Williams’s impact on music in New York City properly begins at Carnegie Hall on 30 December 1920, when Albert Coates led the New York Symphony in the

Walton in particular, see also Paul Kildea, *Britten on Music* (Oxford, 2003), 20, 60, 171, 252, 272; Stephen Lloyd, *William Walton: Muse of Fire* (Woodbridge, 2001), 262–3.

⁹ I know of only one occasion on which Vaughan Williams might have pulled strings for someone in New York. On 12 January 1939 he wrote a letter to the influential *NYTimes* critic Olin Downes in which he introduced Julian Gardiner, ‘an accomplished tenor singer and a talented composer’ who was in the process of moving to New York. By the end of April, Gardiner had landed a position at the Cathedral of St John the Divine, with which church Vaughan Williams had a working relationship dating back to 1934; see Allan W. Atlas, ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes: Newly Uncovered Letters’, *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 60 (June 2014), 4. (Note that this journal adopted this title beginning with No. 46 [October 2009]; prior to which the title was *Journal of the RVW Society*).

American premiere of *A London Symphony* (App. I, no. 1). To some extent, the symphony had to share the spotlight with Coates himself, who was making his own much-heralded American debut and who, earlier that day, was the guest of honour at a reception at the Park Avenue residence of Harry Harkness Flagler, himself an important figure in the city's musical life.¹⁰

About the symphony itself, the *NYTimes* and the *New-York Tribune* (*N-YTrib*) were split. An unsigned review in the *N-YTrib* praised the work: 'The most imposing, most interesting work that has come out of England for a long time [...] written in the modern idiom but firmly molded, free from dissonantic meanderings, it is in the fullest sense music of to-day, music of blood and tears.'¹¹ Richard Aldrich, chief music critic at the *NYTimes*, was less impressed, though ultimately ambivalent.

The symphony is not, on the whole, pleasing: it is hardly beautiful but it is arresting and deeply felt, music of no common quality. It is not always perhaps scored with the greatest skill, but there are many passages, including the imitative ones – the concertina, the old musician's fiddling tune, the Coster girls' dance – that are singularly successful. The symphony is [...] too long. It would gain in power and in point by shortening. Mr. Williams has revised it once; he would do well to lay the blue pencil upon it again.¹²

Three points call for comment: (1) Aldrich's reference to the composer as 'Mr. Williams' shows that Vaughan Williams was anything but a household name; in fact, the unhyphenated, compound surname confused American critics (as well as some library cataloguers and the public at large) for years and even decades to come¹³; (2) Aldrich is wrong about the

10 The reception is mentioned under 'Social Notes' in the *NYTimes*, 30 December 1920, 11. Flagler (1870–1952), the only son of Henry Flagler (founder of Standard Oil and in large part responsible for the commercial development of Florida's Atlantic coast), was a major benefactor of musical life in New York; he served as President of the New York Symphony Society (1914–28) and then, when that orchestra merged with the New York Philharmonic in June 1928, headed the board of the newly formed Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York (1928–34). There is an appreciation of Flagler's contributions to the city's musical life in the *NYTimes*, 4 October 1932, 18. A useful compilation of excerpts concerning Flagler's music-related activities drawn from the New York press appears online at <http://www.drbronsontours.com/bransonharryflagler.html>. There is an unpublished letter from Vaughan Williams to Flagler dated 1 February 1921 in which the composer thanks Flagler for his (Flagler's) letter and then writes: 'I was indeed lucky to be presented to the New York public for the first time by such a great artist as Mr. Coates.' My thanks to Hugh Cobbe for sharing this letter with me, a copy of which is in the database of Vaughan Williams correspondence that he maintains and to which he provides generous access to fellow scholars. The original letter is at the Morgan Library and Museum (formerly the Pierpont Morgan Library), New York, MFC V371.F574.

11 Unsigned, 'Coates Appears as Guest Conductor of Symphony Society', *N-Y Trib*, 31 December 1920, 8.

12 Richard Aldrich, 'Mr. Albert Coates Conducts', *NYTimes*, 31 December 1920, 13. Aldrich (1863–1937) was chief music critic at the *NYTimes* from 1902 to 1923 after having served as an assistant to Henry Krehbiel at the *N-Y Trib* from 1891 to 1902 (about Krehbiel, see note 21); among the New York music critics of the time, Aldrich stood out for his sympathy towards contemporary music; see H.C. Colles and Malcolm Turner, 'Aldrich, Richard', *Oxford Music Online*.

13 Even the New York Philharmonic programme notes are occasionally guilty. Thus the notes for the performances of both the *Fantasia on Christmas Carols* on 22–23 and 25 December 1938 and *A Pastoral Symphony* on 16–17 February 1939 give the name as 'Williams' (App. I, nos 30–31, respectively). What is surprising in these two instances is that the conductor on both occasions was John Barbirolli, a long-time friend of Vaughan Williams and, at the time, the Music Director of the Philharmonic. It is possible, of course – perhaps even likely – that neither Barbirolli nor other music directors/conductors bothered themselves with such matters. On the Vaughan Williams-Barbirolli friendship, see note 51. Even the British occasionally slipped in this respect: (1) amidst a slew of references to 'Vaughan Williams' in Joseph Holbrooke, *Contemporary British Composers* (London, 1925), there is one reference just to 'Williams' (p. 105—my thanks to one of the anonymous *Research Chronicle* reviewers for

version of the symphony that he heard; it was already the second – not the first – revision¹⁴; and (3) Aldrich took the programmatic aspects of the work far too literally. Indeed, the programme, which was written especially for the New York premiere and haunted Vaughan Williams for years, calls for comment.

Though Vaughan Williams disliked programmatic interpretations of his symphonies and generally adopted a closed-mouth stance when asked about their ‘meaning’, he did offer his views about *London* on two occasions: first for a 1920 performance in London and then for one in Liverpool in 1925. Both times he was adamant that the symphony was not descriptive and that, as he put it in 1925, ‘it is intended to be listened to as “absolute” music’.¹⁵ Yet the audience in Carnegie Hall would never have guessed that. Rather they would have come away thinking that the symphony was a guidebook – and a rather exhaustive one at that – to London and those who live there, for that is the impression to be gleaned from the evening’s programme notes, which, though signed ‘A. C.’ (Albert Coates—see Figure 1), were (as she acknowledged) written by his wife Madelon.

Her description of the fourth movement begins and ends as follows:

The last movement deals almost entirely with the crueller aspects of London, the London of the ‘unemployed’ and unfortunate. After the opening bars, in which one feels a sharp note of tragedy, we hear the ‘Hunger-March,’ – a ghostly march past those whom the city grinds and crushes, the great army of those who are cold and hungry and unable to get work. [...]

There follows the Epilogue in which we seem to feel the great deep soul of London, – London as a whole, vast and unfathomable – and the Symphony ends as it began with the river; – old Father Thames flowing calm and silent, as he has flowed thro the ages, the keeper of many secrets, sh[rouded] in mystery.¹⁶

Upon learning about the travelogue-like programme, Vaughan Williams was aghast, and he explained the situation in some detail 20 years later in a letter of December 1940 to Olin Downes, who by then had been chief music critic of the *NYTimes* for 16 years (see below, §2b): ‘When Coates first wanted to do the symphony in America, he saw that the American public must [emphasis in the original] have a detailed programme or they would not listen to the work—& then his wife had written one. When I saw it I was horrified [...].’¹⁷ For her

calling this to my attention); (2) there is ‘Williams’ in the index of Imogen Holst, *Gustav Holst: A Biography* (London, 1938), 200. One still finds ‘Williams’ in American publications as late as Eric Walter White, *Benjamin Britten: his Life and Operas* (Berkeley, 1970) 256, where, as in Holst’s book, he appears as such in the index.

14 Completed in 1913, the symphony was revised three times: 1918, 1920 (the version heard at the American premiere in New York) and 1934, with each revision further shortening the work; see Kennedy, *Catalogue*, 67.

15 His programme notes for these occasions are printed in David Manning, ed., *Vaughan Williams on Music* (Oxford, 2008), 339–40.

16 The entire programme appears in *Symphony Society Bulletin*, 14, no. 6, 27 December 1920, [1–2] (see Fig. 1), issued by the Symphony Society of New York (the copy at the New York Philharmonic Archives appears online at <http://archives.nyphil.org/>). The programme is also included in Katherine Wright’s preview article about the symphony, ‘An Invasion of Conductors within Next Three Weeks’, *N-YTrib*, 26 December 1920, B5. More recently, it has appeared in three ‘concert guides’: Robert Bagar and Louis Biancolli, *The Concert Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to Symphonic Music* (New York, 1947), 779–81; Louis Biancolli, *The Analytical Concert Guide* (New York, 1951), 650–4, where it is interwoven with Biancolli’s own comments; Alfred Frankenstein, *A Modern Guide to Symphonic Music* (New York, 1966), 638–41, here fleshed out with music examples; it also appears in Atlas, ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes’, 12–13.

17 Though undated beyond month and year, the letter responds to and likely dates from soon after an article by Downes titled ‘Compositions with a Program’, which had appeared in the *NYTimes* on

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<p style="text-align: center;">CARNEGIE HALL HISTORICAL CYCLE</p> <p>Thursday Afternoon, December 30th AT THREE O'CLOCK</p> <p>Friday Evening, December 31st AT EIGHT FIFTEEN O'CLOCK</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Under the direction of ALBERT COATES <small>GUEST-CONDUCTOR</small> First Appearance in America <i>British Composers</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suite for Strings from the Dramatic Works <i>Henry Purcell</i> (1633-1695) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Introductory rondo II. Slow air III. Air (Allegro) IV. Minuet V. Allegro con brio; Largo <small>(Arranged and Edited by Albert Coates)</small> 2. Symphonic Variations "Enigma" <i>Sir Edward Elgar</i> (1857) 3. The "London" Symphony <i>Vaughan Williams</i> (1872) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Lento, leading to Allegro Risoluto II. Lento III. Scherzo (Nocturne) IV. Maestoso alla Marcia, leading to Epilogue in which the theme of the opening Lento recurs <small>(New—first time in America)</small> 	<p style="text-align: center;">Historical Cycle Sixth pair of Concerts</p> <p>Harold Bauer, pianist, Pietro Yon, organist, and René Pollain, viola, will be the soloists at the Carnegie Hall concerts, January 6 and 7 in a program consisting of the "Harold in Italy" symphony of Berlioz; Liszt's symphonic poem "Tasso"; Symphony No. 3 by Saint-Saens; and Cesar Franck's Symphonic Variations for Piano with Orchestra.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AEOLIAN HALL January 9th</p> <p>Albert Spalding will be heard in the Beethoven Concerto for Violin with orchestra. Other numbers on this program are Chausson's Symphony in B-flat, and Fontane di Roma, symphonic poem, by Respighi.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">AEOLIAN HALL Sunday Afternoon, January 2nd AT THREE O'CLOCK</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Under the direction of ALBERT COATES <small>GUEST-CONDUCTOR</small></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Soloist: SERGEI RACHMANINOFF</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Programme.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Symphony No. 1 in C minor <i>Brahms</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Un poco sostenuto; Allegro II. Andante sostenuto III. Un poco allegretto e grazioso IV. Adagio, più andante; Allegro non troppo <li style="text-align: center;">INTERMISSION 2. Concerto for Piano with Orchestra, B minor <i>Tschaikowsky</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I. Allegro non troppo e molto maestoso—Allegro con spirito II. Andantino semplice III. Allegro con fuoco <small>Mr. Rachmaninoff</small> 3. "Poème de l'Extase" <i>Scriabine</i>
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The London Symphony
Vaughan Williams
1st Movement

The first movement opens at day-break by the river. Old Father Thames flows calm and silent under the heavy grey dawn, deep and thoughtful, shrouded in mystery. London sleeps and in the hushed stillness of early morning one hears "Big Ben" (the Westminster Chimes) solemnly strike the half hour.

Suddenly the scene changes (Allegro); one is on the Strand in the midst of the bustle and turmoil of

morning traffic. This is London street life of the early hours—a steady stream of foot passengers hurrying, newspaper boys shouting, messengers whistling and that most typical sight of London streets, the Coster-monger. Coster-Arry, resplendent in pearl buttons and shouting some Coster song refrain at the top of a raucous voice returning from Covent Garden seated on his vegetable barrow, drawn by the inevitable little donkey. Buses, taxis, hawkers, flower girls—a gay and careless picture, pulsating with life.

Then for a few moments one turns off the Strand into one of the quiet little streets that lead down to

the river and suddenly the noise ceases, shut off as tho by magic. We are in that part of London known as the Adelphi, formerly the haunt of fashionable bucks and dandies about town, now merely old fashioned houses and shabby old streets haunted principally by beggars and ragged street urchins.

We return to the Strand and are once again caught up by the bustle and life of London;—gay, careless, noisy with every now and then a touch of something fiercer, something inexorable—as tho one felt for a moment the iron hand of the great city—yet nevertheless full of that mixture of good, human, animal

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spirits and sentimentality that is so characteristic of London.

2nd Movement

In the second movement the composer paints us a picture of that region of London which lies between Holborn and the Euston Road, known as Bloomsbury. Dusk is falling. It is the damp and foggy twilight of a late November day. Those who know their London know this region of melancholy streets over which seems to brood an air of shabby gentility,—a sad dignity of having seen better days. In the gathering gloom there is something ghostlike. A silence hangs over the neighborhood broken only by the policeman on his beat.

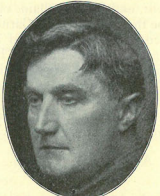
There is tragedy, too, in Bloomsbury, and the music takes on a note of suffering; for among the many streets between Holborn and Euston there are alleys of acute poverty and woe.

In front of a "pub" whose lights flare through the murky twilight stands an old musician playing the fiddle. His tune is a pathetic one (played in the orchestra by the viola). The little tune breaks off, and one can see the old musician blowing on his numbed fingers trying to warm them. In the distance the "lavender cry" is heard: "Sweet lavender, wo'll buy sweet lavender?" Up and down the streets the cry goes, now nearer, now further away.

The gloom deepens accentuating the deep melancholy, and the movement ends with the old musician still playing his pathetic little tune.

3rd Movement
(Scherzo-Nocturne)

In this movement one must imagine oneself sitting late on a Saturday night on one of the benches of the Temple Embankment (that part of the Thames Embankment lying between the Houses of Parliament and Waterloo Bridge). On our side of the river all is quiet and in the silence one hears from a distance coming from the other side of the river all the noises of Saturday night in the slums. (The "other" side, the south side of the river Thames is a vast network of very poor quarters and slums). On a Saturday night these slums resemble a fair; the streets are lined with barrows, lit up by flaming torches, selling cheap fruit, vegetables, produce of all kinds; the streets and alleys are crowded with people. At street corners Coster girls in large feather hats, dance their beloved "double-shuffle jig" to the accompaniment of a mouth organ. We seem to hear distant laughter; also every now and then what sounds



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like cries of suffering. Suddenly a concertina breaks out above the rest, then we hear a few bars on a hurdy-gurdy organ. All this softened by distance, melted into one vast hum, floats across the river to us as we sit meditating on the Temple Embankment.

The music changes suddenly and one feels the Thames flowing silent, mysterious, with a touch of tragedy. One of London's sudden fogs comes down making Slum-land and its noises seem remote. Again for a few bars, we feel the Thames flowing thro the night and the picture fades into fog and silence.

4th Movement

The last movement deals almost entirely with the crueler aspects of London, the London of the "unemployed" and unfortunate. After the opening bars, in which one feels a sharp note of tragedy, we hear the "Hunger-March,"—a ghostly march past of those whom the city grinds and crushes, the great army of those who are cold and hungry and unable to get work.

We hear again the noise and bustle of the streets (reminiscences of the first movement) but these now also take on the crueler aspect. There are sharp discords in the music. This is London as seen by the man who is "out and under." The man "out of a job" who watches the other man go whistling to his work, the man who is starving watching the other man eat—and the cheerful, bustling picture of gay street life becomes distorted, a nightmare seen by the eyes of suffering.

The music ends abruptly and in the short silence that follows one again hears "Big Ben" chiming from Westminster Tower.

There follows the Epilogue in which we seem to feel the great deep soul of London,—London as a whole, vast and unfathomable—and the Symphony ends as it began with the river,—old Father Thames flowing calm and silent, as he has flowed thro the ages, the keeper of many secrets, shrouded in mystery.

A. C.

Figure 1. New York Symphony programme booklet for the New York (and United States) premiere of *A London Symphony*, 30 December 1920. *Symphony Society Bulletin*, 14/6 (27 December 1920), [1-2].
Source: Reproduced with permission of the New York Philharmonic Archives.

part, Madelon Coates had already defended her work as far back as a letter of 28 August 1924 to Percy Scholes:

[the programme notes] were written by me according to the pictures which Vaughan Williams told us that he had in mind while composing. We dug the information out of him (it wanted some digging [...]). There is of course quite a lot in the notes that *I put in exclusively for Americans* [my emphasis] who don't know London [...].¹⁸

Thus the low regard in which Albert and Madelon Coates held their New York audience.

Two other reviews of the premiere warrant attention. After praising Coates, who had opened the programme with his own arrangement of excerpts from Purcell and followed it with a truncated version of Elgar's *Enigma Variations* ('some of which Mr. Coates was canny enough to delete'), the unidentified critic of *The Sun* complained that the symphony was 'as long as London is large' and that it had a theme for 'everything from Big Ben to Bloomsbury'.¹⁹ Finally, *Musical America* was even more negative: 'Vaughan Williams [...] basked in the glory of Mr. Coates. [...] The music [...] is, unfortunately, prolix and deficient in the powerful emotional appeal inherent in its pictorial basis.'²⁰

The symphony received two further hearings during our opening three-season period. The New York Symphony repeated the work on 30 January 1921 (App. I, no. 2), now under its own musical director, Walter Damrosch, while Coates returned to lead another performance with the orchestra on 28 January 1923 (App. I, no. 7). On both occasions, the reviews got stuck on the programmatic aspects of the work, especially as they concern the first movement: the *N-YTrib's* influential Henry Krehbiel thought such descriptive writing 'vulgar',²¹ while an anonymous reviewer for the same newspaper took issue with the 'materialistic din illustrative of the street life of the world's metropolis'.²²

Yet there was one review of the January 1921 performance that held out a glimmer of hope. Contrary to Krehbiel's verdict of 'vulgar', Aldrich wrote: 'To those who heard it a second time it may have seemed even a more profoundly felt and original expression than it did before' (and this after his very guarded reaction one month earlier). In fact, Aldrich had moved closer to Vaughan Williams's own conception of the work, for while Madelon Coates's detailed 'analysis' appeared in the programme booklet once again, the symphony now seemed 'not dependent on this visualization for its value as music'.²³ In all, for a work that

Sunday, 8 December 1940, 171. I give the entire letter in 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes', 5.

18 The letter is unpublished, and I thank Hugh Cobbe for bringing it to my attention and sharing it with me. The original letter is housed at the National Library of Canada, Ottawa, Percy A. Scholes Collection, about which see Maria Calderisi, 'An Unsung Treasure of the National Library of Canada: The Percy A. Scholes Collection', *Fontes artis musicae*, 41, no. 1 (1994), 53–65.

19 Unsigned, 'New Year's Gifts in Music World are Mostly Imported Conductors for Local Bands', *The Sun*, 31 December 1920, 4.

20 H.F.P., 'The New Symphony', *Musical America*, 8 January 1921, 4.

21 Henry Edward Krehbiel, 'Interpretation of City Life is not Real Music', *N-YTrib*, 31 January 1921, 6. One day earlier, Krehbiel had written about the work alongside Gustave Charpentier's opera *Louise* in an essay titled 'Street Cries of Two Great Capitals of the World', *N-YTrib*, 30 January 1921, B8. Krehbiel (1854–1923) was chief music critic at the *N-YTrib* from 1880 to 1923; very much a Germanophile, perhaps his most lasting contribution was the completion of the first English-language edition of Thayer's *Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*; see Joseph Horowitz, 'Krehbiel, Henry (Edward)', *Oxford Music Online*.

22 Unsigned, 'Tone Poem of London Played by Symphony', *N-YTrib*, 29 January 1923, 6.

23 Aldrich, 'The New York Symphony Orchestra', *NYTimes*, 31 January 1921, 10. Madelon Coates's programme was slow to disappear; it still appears verbatim as late as the Philharmonic programme notes for 8–9 February 1940 (App. I, no. 34), and it is still being cited (though now only indirectly by Edward O.E. Downes [see note 101]) in notes for concerts on 20–22 and 25 March 1980 (App. I,

would soon play a major role in establishing Vaughan Williams's reputation in New York, *London* got off to something of a rocky start.

1(b). *A Sea Symphony – A Pastoral Symphony*

Two other symphonies made their New York debuts during the course of these three seasons.

A Sea Symphony arrived first, on 5 April 1922, when the New York Philharmonic and the visiting Toronto Mendelssohn Choir joined forces under Herbert Austin Fricker in what constituted both the New York and the United States premiere (App. I, no. 5).²⁴ The reviews were not favourable. Krehbiel was even concerned about calling the work a 'symphony': 'We were not convinced [...] that the experiment of using a chorus was altogether a success. [...] Sometimes we wondered why the voices were used at all [...].'²⁵ Two reviewers found fault with the very idea of setting Whitman's poetry. Oscar Thompson: 'The ear cannot fail to sense the fundamentally unmusical character of Whitman's verse, the square corners of which – whatever the bigness of the poetic ideas – do not lend themselves to musical setting'²⁶, while for the critic at *The Sun*, identified only as 'The Listener': 'Mr. Williams has written a big, burly piece, often inspiring, though rarely inspired – a comment [...] often applied to Whitman, as well as to those who set him to music.'²⁷

Only the anonymous reviewer of the *NYTimes* had something favourable to say: 'It was a daring venture to attempt conventional symphonic form for [Whitman's] visions [...].' He then singled out three passages in particular: (1) the 'brilliant [...] trumpet calls alternating with shouts from the [chorus]' that open the first movement (surely one of the most arresting openings in the symphonic repertory); (2) 'the emergence of a solo soprano voice suddenly from the full chorus, like a star beacon at sea' (if the reference is still to the first movement, likely seven measures after rehearsal letter S, on the words 'Flaunt out O sea your separate flags of nations'); and (3) the 'sustained mood of beauty and solemnity' of the second movement, 'On the Beach at Night Alone'.²⁸ In any event, the Philharmonic has never again programmed *A Sea Symphony*, and it was not until 1960 that New York audiences had a chance to hear the work again. (Can it be that it's simply 'too big' for its own good?).²⁹

no. 88). Not until the programme for 24–28 February and 1 March 1994 (App. I, no. 95), for which the notes were written by David Wright, do all traces of Mrs Coates finally disappear. Note that the New York Philharmonic has not performed *London* since then (more than 20 years).

24 The Canadian-born Fricker (1868–1943) had already participated in two other notable performances of the work: he was choir master at the world premiere at the 1910 Leeds Festival (conducted by Vaughan Williams) and he directed the North American premiere in Toronto on 11 April 1921 with the Mendelssohn Choir and the visiting Philadelphia Orchestra. On the latter performance, see Edward Johnson, 'Stokowski and Vaughan Williams', *Journal of the RVW Society*, 24 (June 2002), 12, who, however, cites the year only; for the precise date I am grateful to Darrin T. Britting of the Philadelphia Orchestra.

25 Krehbiel, 'Toronto Choir Gives Williams's "Sea Symphony"', *N-YTrib*, 6 April 1922, 10.

26 Oscar Thompson (signed 'O.T.'). 'First Performance of "Sea Symphony" in Metropolis Proffered by Canadians', *Musical America*, 15 April 1922, 45. Thompson (1887–1945) began writing for *Musical America* in 1919 and edited the publication from 1936 to 1943; he also wrote for *The Sun* from 1937 to his death; his best-known work, of course, is *The International Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians*, which, first published in 1939, reached its 11th edition in 1985; see Ramona H. Matthews, 'Thompson, Oscar', *Oxford Music Online*.

27 'The Listener', 'R. Vaughan Williams's Sea Symphony for a First Time', *The Sun*, 6 April 1922, 20.

28 Unsigned, "'Sea Symphony' Given Here for First Time', *NYTimes*, 6 April 1922, 17.

29 As Cecil Gray (1895–1951) put it in writing about the symphony: '[Vaughan Williams] flounders about in the sea of his ideas like a vast and ungainly porpoise, with great puffing and blowing [...]', after which he continues: 'in the end, after tremendous efforts and an almost heroic tenacity, there emerges [...] a real lovable personality, unassuming, modest, and almost apologetic'; cited after

Completed in 1921, *A Pastoral Symphony* received its first performance in New York with the Philharmonic under the Czech-born Josef Stransky (Stránský) on 24 November 1922 (App. I, no. 6), just a few months after Vaughan Williams himself had led the American premiere at the annual Norfolk festival in Connecticut on 7 June 1922 (see below, §1c). The reviews of the New York premiere were not kind, none meaner than Richard Aldrich's in the *NYTimes*: 'The music suffers [...] from too great a prolongation of a single mood [...] the audience listened with an apathy almost complete.'³⁰ Both Thompson in *Musical America* and Gilbert Gabriel of *The Sun* concurred: Thompson – 'There is too little contrast between movements'; Gilbert – 'an almost monotonous contemplation [...]'.³¹ Clearly, there was more of the 'pastoral' than the critics could take.

These negative judgments notwithstanding, both Aldrich and the unnamed *N-YTrib* critic were astute enough to recognize that something interesting was going on. As the latter put it: 'Musically the past and future meet in it. The antique modes of its themes [...] are suggestive of the oldest English music, while its harmonic structure is free from classical restrictions [...]'.³² Yet without impugning the anonymous critic's ear, we may ask if he was really that sensitive a listener or whether he was simply parroting Lawrence Gilman's programme notes.³³ In the end, though, both *Sea* and *Pastoral* joined *London* in meeting with receptions that ranged from downright negative to tepid at best.

Yet in dealing with *Pastoral*, there was something that the critics, through no fault of their own, missed entirely. Neither they nor anyone else could know that beneath that 'monotonous contemplation' lay dark memories of the First World War; for only in 1964 did Ursula Vaughan Williams inform us that what Virgil Thomson would one day (20 years later) call a 'slight haze' over the 'English landscape' (see §3c) was a deeply felt recollection of the 'twilight woods at Ecoivres' (France), where Vaughan Williams had served during the First World War.³⁴

Hugh Ottaway, *Vaughan Williams' Symphonies*, BBC Music Guides (London, 1972), 14. As we will see in §5, though *Sea* has enjoyed some recent popularity in New York, it is due largely to the efforts of various choral groups, both professional and amateur.

30 Aldrich, 'The Philharmonic Society', *NYTimes*, 25 November 1922, 24.

31 Thompson, 'New English Symphony', *Musical America*, 2 December 1922, 33; Gilbert W. Gabriel, 'The Philharmonic Society', *The Sun*, 25 November 1922, 5. Stransky (1872–1936) conducted the New York Philharmonic from 1911 (he succeeded Mahler) to 1923, after which he became an influential art dealer (closely associated with the Wildenstein Gallery); see Michael Steinberg, 'Stransky, Josef', *Oxford Music Online*.

32 Unsigned, 'New Symphony of Williams is Played by Philharmonic', *N-YTrib*, 25 November 1922, 8.

33 These read, in part: 'The salient and distinguishing feature of the music of the symphony is the extent to which its melodic and harmonic structure has been influenced by the modal character of much of the English folk-music [...]. The influence of this old modal music is felt again and again [...] at the very beginning [...] where the first theme of the opening movement [...] is in the Mixolydian mode, to the dying song of the solo voice at the end of the symphony, which suggests the Æolian; elsewhere he throws in the "dorian".' Programme notes, Philharmonic Society of New York, 24 November 1922, [3–4] (New York Philharmonic Archives).

34 Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford, 1964), 134. Two important articles that deal with the tension between the 'pastoral' and other threads in the symphony are Eric Saylor, 'It's not Lambkins Frisking at All': English Pastoral Music and the Great War', *The Musical Quarterly*, 91, nos. 1–2 (2008), 39–59; Daniel M. Grimley, 'Landscape and Distance: Vaughan Williams, Modernism and the Symphonic Pastoral', in *British Musical Modernism*, ed. Matthew Riley (Aldershot, 2010), 175–96.

1(c). *Vaughan Williams's first visit to New York*

Vaughan Williams visited New York three times: May–June 1922; September–December 1932; and September–December 1954. The 1922 trip was made at the behest of Carl Stoeckel, who had invited Vaughan Williams to conduct the American premiere of *A Pastoral Symphony* at the music festival that he (Stoeckel) mounted each summer at his lavish estate in Litchfield, Connecticut.³⁵ Described by *The Hartford Courant* in its announcement of the visit as ‘the coming man in English music’³⁶, Vaughan Williams conducted *Pastoral* on 7 June 1922. The symphony was the featured work on the programme, and Vaughan Williams was ‘called back several times amid great applause’.³⁷

Two letters from New York shed light on the impression that the city made on Ralph and his wife Adeline. The first, written about 5 June 1922 from the posh Plaza Hotel, where the couple was staying, is from Vaughan Williams to Gustav Holst: he was overwhelmed by the Woolworth Building, then the tallest in New York, and found it more ‘terrify[ing] than Niagara Falls’³⁸; he then drew a row of five skyscrapers in order to give Holst an idea of the skyline, and told him that Stoeckel had put him and Adeline up in ‘the swaggiest Hotel in N.Y.’, where they had ‘a suite of rooms with 2 bath rooms with this wonderful view all over N.Y.’; further, ‘N.Y. is a good place but wants hustling badly – the busses are slow & stop wherever you like – Broadway is I believe easier to cross than High Street Thaxted’; and finally, he was scheduled to have four rehearsals with the orchestra, and found ‘many of the players v[ery] good but the back desks of the fiddles are not v[ery] good – & the Trombones have not much beef about them’.³⁹

The second letter dates from 14 June 1922, a week after the festival performance. Back in the Plaza Hotel, Adeline shared some impressions with her youngest sister, Cordelia Curle: Carl Stoeckel ‘sticks to us & pays for everything’; both she and Ralph like a kind of melon called ‘canterlope [sic]’, which is particularly good with ‘pink ice cream’; lunch is a two- or three-hour affair; and Ralph is ‘feeling restive & says he now knows how Mozart & his contemporaries felt living under a patron’.⁴⁰

Finally, there is a letter postmarked 25 August 1922 from Vaughan Williams (now back in England) to Daniel Gregory Mason (1873–1953) – composer, critic and, at the time, Assistant Professor of Music at Columbia University – that shows that he and Adeline had met Mason and his wife, perhaps in New York, perhaps at the festival, perhaps in both places.⁴¹

35 Stoeckel (1858–1925) and his wife Ellen founded the Norfolk Music Festival in 1900 (it appears to be the oldest such festival in the United States). Stoeckel was also the first recipient of a Doctor of Music degree from Yale University and its first Professor of Music; on Stoeckel’s patronage, see Paula J. Bishop, ‘Patronage [United States]’, *Oxford Music Online*.

36 Unsigned, ‘Vaughan Williams Guest of Honor—English Composer to Attend Norfolk Festival Next June’, *The Hartford Courant*, 19 March 1922, 10.

37 Philip Custiss, ‘R. Vaughan Williams’ Pastoral Symphony Wins Musical World’, *The Hartford Courant*, 8 June 1922, 1.

38 Completed in 1913, the Woolworth Building is located at 233 Broadway, in lower Manhattan, and stands 792 feet (241.1 meters) tall; it was superseded in 1930 by the Chrysler Building (1,046 feet = 365.8 meters) and then, a year later, by the Empire State Building (1,454 feet = 443.2 meters, and built in 410 days by some 3,400 workers!).

39 The references to Thaxted (Essex) and trombones were tailor-made for Holst, who had a cottage in Thaxted and was himself a professional trombonist. The entire letter appears in *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams, 1895–1958*, ed. Hugh Cobbe (Oxford, 2008), 132–33, no. 130.

40 *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 134, no. 131.

41 My thanks to Hugh Cobbe for sharing this unpublished letter with me. Daniel Gregory Mason represents the third generation of a musical dynasty: his grandfather, Lowell Mason (1792–1872) was a prolific composer of hymns; his father, Henry Mason (1831–1890), was a founder of the Mason & Hamlin piano company. Vaughan Williams maintained an on-again-off-again correspondence with Daniel Gregory Mason for years to come.

§2. 1923/4–1934/5: ‘A composer with genius came along’

2(a). *A London Symphony reconsidered*

Despite its poor initial reception, *London* was not to be denied. As noted above, Aldrich had already begun to form a more positive view of the work upon hearing it for the second time (just a month after the premiere). But it was Olin Downes’s review of a Damrosch-led performance on 25 January 1925 (App. I, no. 10) that altered perceptions: ‘No symphony could better illustrate the basic distinction between exterior “program” music and music inspired by an emotional poetic conception than this one’; and then, after describing the ‘pictures’ in the programme: ‘But these things pass by on the surface [...].’⁴² And three months later, in the course of reviewing another Damrosch performance of the symphony (App. I, no. 11): ‘a composer with genius came along [...] he felt deep in his heart the eternal tides of life [...] and he wrote a noble symphony.’⁴³ Here, then, was a critic who ‘got it’, one who could hear beneath Madelon Coates’s programmatic ditherings and fathom what Vaughan Williams was trying to express. And here, in fact, was the critic who would be Vaughan Williams’s greatest champion in the New York press for the next 30 years. Finally, there was another critic in the audience that evening who ‘got it’: Lawrence Gilman of the then one-year-old *NYHTrib*, who was even more to the point: ‘If there is a finer symphony than this in the post-Brahmsian list, we cannot think what it is.’⁴⁴

2(b). *Olin Downes*

Reference to Olin Downes requires a digression, since he was (as noted) the major advocate of Vaughan Williams’s music in New York for three decades.⁴⁵ Born in Evanston, Illinois, in 1886, Downes studied at the National Conservatory of Music of America in New York (of which Dvořák had been the head from 1892 to 1895) and then privately with a number of teachers in Boston. Drawn to music criticism, he wrote for the *Boston Post* from 1906 to 1924, in which year he succeeded Richard Aldrich as chief music critic for the *NYTimes*, a position that he retained until his death on 22 August 1955. And among composers who were roughly contemporary with Vaughan Williams, Downes held only one, Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), in greater esteem.⁴⁶ Perhaps Downes best sums up his feelings about Vaughan Williams’s music in a letter to the composer dated 23 August 1943: ‘What I really want you to know is how deeply I and so many others in America value your art and how much it has meant to us and how exceptional, to my mind, is the truly creative place that you have in the literature of contemporaneous music.’⁴⁷ Finally, the many years of friendship through correspondence were no doubt topped off – at least for Downes – when critic,

42 Olin Downes, ‘New York Symphony Orchestra’, *NYTimes*, 26 January 1925, 15.

43 Downes, ‘The New York Symphony’, *NYTimes*, 3 April 1925, 22.

44 Lawrence Gilman, ‘Walter Damrosch’s Fortieth Year as an Orchestral Conductor in New York’, *NYHTrib*, 3 April 1925, 12. Gilman (1878–1939) succeeded Krehbiel at the *N-YTrib* in 1923 and remained with its *NYHTrib* offspring until his death. He wrote programme notes for the New York Philharmonic and, prior to that, for the New York National Symphony Orchestra before its merger with the Philharmonic in 1921; see Wayne D. Shirley, ‘Gilman, Lawrence’, *Oxford Music Online*; Mark N. Grant, *Maestros of the Pen: A History of Classical Music Criticism in America* (Boston, 1998), 275–7 and *passim*.

45 I draw upon Irene Downes, ed., *Olin Downes in Music* (New York, 1957); Lloyd Weldy, ‘Music Criticism of Olin Downes and Howard Taubman in “The New York Times” Sunday Edition, 1924–1929 and 1955–1960’, PhD dissertation, University of Southern California (1965); Barbara Mueser, ‘The Criticism of New Music in New York, 1919–1929’, PhD dissertation, The City University of New York (1975); Glenda Goss, *Jean Sibelius and Olin Downes: Music, Friendship, Criticism* (Boston, 1994).

46 Downes published two books about Sibelius: *Sibelius* (Helsinki, 1945), a collection of articles about the composer, translated into Finnish by Paul Sjöblom, and *Sibelius the Symphonist* (New York, 1956). For his work on behalf of Sibelius’s music, Finland made Downes a Commander of the Order of the White Rose in 1937.

47 I provide the entire letter in ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes’, 6.

composer and their wives dined together in New York in early December 1954, at the end of Vaughan Williams's third and final visit to the United States (see §4f).

2(c). *London and Pastoral: some notable performances*

The 12 seasons that constitute our §2 saw three more notable performances of *London*: (1) on 18–19 and 21 October 1928 (App. I, no. 14), Damrosch included the first and second movements on a Philharmonic programme titled 'Five Cities Program: Music Inspired by Great Cities', in which, in addition to *London*, there was Respighi's *Fontane di Roma*, Johann Strauss Jr's *Geschichte aus dem Wienerwald*, John Alden Carpenter's New York-inspired *Sky-scrapers* and an aria from Charpentier's *Louise* to represent Paris; (2) the third movement only appeared as part of a Young People's Concert on 19 January 1931 (App. I, no. 17), the first time that Vaughan Williams was represented in this series, which the New Jersey-born conductor Ernest Schelling (1876–1939) had inaugurated in 1924; and (3) a programme conducted by the German-born Hans Lange (1883–1960), one of Toscanini's assistants, on 27 February and 1 March 1935 (App. I, no. 22) that, as Gilman noted, marked the first complete performance of the symphony by the post-merger New York Philharmonic. It led Gilman to describe Vaughan Williams as 'an intellectual patrician'.⁴⁸

After the negative reviews that attended the New York premiere of *A Pastoral Symphony* in November 1922, the symphony disappeared from the Philharmonic's repertory for more than a decade, not to be heard again until Hans Lange revived it on 21–23 and 31 December 1933 (App. I, no. 20). Downes loved it: '[...] this is the sheerest and purest music. Perhaps only Sibelius, among contemporaries of Vaughan Williams, has felt nature so deeply and purely and reflected its mystery with such originality [...]'.⁴⁹ Writing to Vaughan Williams some 20 years later about a performance of *A London Symphony* that he had recently heard, Downes had the following to say about *Pastoral*:

There is only one score of yours which goes deeper with me in enjoyment, than the 'London Symphony.' That is the 'Pastoral Symphony.' I have not yet fully absorbed the latter work, partly because it is too rarely played, and too rarely played, I fancy, because not every one in a predominantly urban civilization has gotten into touch with the true music of nature, which you have. But whatever the merits, or relative merits of these works may be, I say to myself when I hear them, always with renewed delight, 'They may or may not be perfect, they may or may not be immortal, but they are music, real music, and they kneel at the shrine of immortal beauty. Whatever else they are or are not—doesn't matter!'⁵⁰

Downes's unhappiness about the infrequent performances of *Pastoral* notwithstanding, he could not tell the Philharmonic what to play (though he seems to have tried to do just that in connection with the Fifth Symphony – see below, §3b), and *A Pastoral Symphony* has figured on only two subsequent Philharmonic programmes: 16–17 February 1939 (App. I, no. 31) and 25–26 February 1943 (App. I, no. 40), both conducted by Vaughan Williams's close friend, John Barbirolli (1899–1970), during and just after his tenure as music director of the orchestra (1936–42).⁵¹

48 Gilman, 'Hans Lange Conducts Vaughan Williams' "London Symphony"', *NYHTrib*, 28 February 1935, 12.

49 Downes, 'Hans Lange Triumphs with Philharmonic—Vaughan Williams Pastoral Symphony Revived', *NYTimes*, 22 December 1933, 24.

50 The entire letter, dated 18 August 1953, appears in Atlas, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes', 7–8.

51 On the 1943 performance, see below, §3c. On the Barbirolli-Vaughan Williams friendship, which extended to their families as a whole, see Kennedy, *Works, passim*, and *Barbirolli: Conductor Laureate* (London, 1971), 240–5; Harold Atkins and Peter Cotes, *The Barbirollis: A Musical Marriage* (London, 1983), 143–52. Vaughan Williams dedicated his Symphony No. 8 in D minor (1955) to Barbirolli,

2(d). Vaughan Williams's second visit to New York

Vaughan Williams spent a good part of the autumn 1932 academic semester in the United States, mainly in order to deliver the Mary Flaxner Lectures at Bryn Mawr College (just outside Philadelphia), out of which grew his 1934 publication, *National Music*.

Writing from Bryn Mawr (the eponymous town in which the college is located) around 21 October 1932, he told Holst that he will soon hear the New York Philharmonic (though none of his own music was on tap at the time)⁵²; a letter to Imogen Holst (Gustav's daughter) mentions that he will be in New York for two nights on 12–13 November, and that 'the chief thing I noticed as I passed through [earlier] was that the Woolworth B^{dg} is now quite insignificant'.⁵³ Rather more informative is a letter to the folk-song collector Maud Karpeles (1885–1976) written from the Biltmore Hotel, likely on the thirteenth:

I am for the moment in N.Y. staying surrounded by luxury at the expense of some old friends. I had a wonderful experience at the top of the 'Empire State' first sunset over the [Hudson] river & all the sky scrapers suddenly lighting up. Then all the street lights came out & the moon!

New York looks more classically & tragically beautiful than ever. I've got to come here next week to talk to the E.F.D.S. [the American branch of the English Folk Dance and Song Society] – I thought it was just to be a cosy little affair & now I find they've invited all the musicians of N.Y. & and I've got to talk for 3/4 of an hour! [...] I start home on Dec 3rd [...].⁵⁴

The 'evidence' seems unequivocal: Vaughan Williams enjoyed New York City, though it would be more than 20 years before he returned (in 1954).

There is a New York-related footnote to Vaughan Williams's 1932 visit and his lectures at Bryn Mawr in the form of a review of *National Music* by W.J. Henderson: 'This book of Vaughan Williams is one to provoke thought. It is the utterance of a musician of great talent [...] Every page is filled with the feeling which is found in the author's scores. He writes out of a fullness of deep conviction and with a confession of love in almost every sentence.'⁵⁵

Taken together, the 15 seasons from 1920/1 through 1934/5 (our §1–§2) saw Vaughan Williams represented on 23 New York Philharmonic/New York Symphony programmes, 12 of which featured one or another of the early symphonies: *London* = nine, *Pastoral* = two and *Sea* = one. The other 11 programmes break down as follows: *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* = eight, while *Job; a Masque for Dancing*, the Overture to *The*

inscribing the autograph score: 'For glorious John with love and admiration from Ralph'; two years later, in October 1957, Vaughan Williams added another tribute: the 59-bar-long *Flourish for Glorious John*, in honour of the opening of the Hallé Orchestra's one hundredth season (Barbirolli was its conductor at the time).

52 He mentions this again in a letter to Diana Awdry postmarked 24 October; both letters appear in *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 204–5, nos. 215 and 216, respectively.

53 *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 205, no. 217; see note 38 above.

54 *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 206, no. 218.

55 W.J. Henderson, Review of *National Music*, *The Sun*, 22 December 1934, 10. William James Henderson (1855–1937) wrote for *The Sun* from 1902 to his death; ever the journalist, he famously said: 'The critic [...] is but a polite newsmonger'; see Oscar Thompson, 'An American School of Criticism: The Legacy Left by W.J. Henderson, Richard Aldrich and their Colleagues of the Old Guard', *The Musical Quarterly*, 23, no. 4 (1937), 428–39; Stephen R. Greene, 'Visions of a "Musical America" in the Radio Age', PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh (2008); Lars Helgert, 'Criticism, §1', *Oxford Music Online*; a number of Henderson's non-journalistic publications have recently appeared online at 'Internet Archive', <https://archive.org>, and 'Project Gutenberg', <http://www.Gutenberg.org>.

Wasps and the *Fantasia on Christmas Carols* = one each. And though *Tallis*, which made its New York (and United States) debut on 9 March 1922 (App. I, no. 3), was also greeted with scepticism, it quickly (by the end of the decade) came to be recognized as a masterpiece. Reviewing a Philharmonic performance of 26 December 1929 under Willem Mengelberg, Downes called the piece 'noble, most beautiful, most mysterious music'.⁵⁶ In fact, *Tallis* and *London* would be Vaughan Williams's two most often-performed works in the Philharmonic repertory, with 28 and 19 programmes respectively (the Fourth Symphony is third with 17 programmes, after which the numbers plummet dramatically, with only two other pieces – the Overture to *The Wasps* and the *Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'* – appearing as many as four times).

Finally, we might put the 23 programmes in context by comparing Vaughan Williams's representation during this period with that of six roughly contemporary composers: Nielsen, Ravel, Respighi, Schoenberg, Sibelius and Stravinsky (Table 1). Once again, the numbers reflect programmes by both the New York Philharmonic and the pre-merger New York Symphony.

Two final notes: (1) that there was no lurking anti-British bias is evident from the 22 appearances of music by Elgar, and (2) since a reality check helps keep things in perspective: Beethoven's *Coriolan Overture* itself appeared on 21 programmes.

How might we spin these numbers? I would argue that Vaughan Williams holds his own nicely, especially since he did not make his New York debut until the very end of 1920, by which time the New York Philharmonic and/or the New York Symphony had already programmed Ravel's *Ma Mere l'oye* a half dozen times (either in its entirety or individual movements), Sibelius's *Swan of Tuonela* about a dozen times and Elgar's *Enigma Variations* 11 times, beginning with a performance on 23 March 1906 and ending (rather symbolically for our present purposes) on the very same programme on which Vaughan Williams's *London* was premiered. In all, Vaughan Williams had some catching up to do, and he acquitted himself nicely in the chase.

§3. 1935/6–1944/5: Symphonies 4 and 5 – Trouble at *The Trib*

In terms of Vaughan Williams's relationship with New York in general and with the Philharmonic in particular, the two outstanding events of the period bounded by the 1935/6 and 1944/5 seasons were the New York premieres of the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies in 1936 and 1944, respectively (the latter also the first performance in the United States). At the same time, two other features of this period catch our eye: (1) *London* and *Pastoral* continued to draw attention; and (2) the mid-1940s saw the noisy outbreak of a rift between the *NYTimes* and the *NYHTrib* with respect to their views about Vaughan Williams, one that would follow the composer to his grave and beyond.

3(a). *Symphony No. 4 in F minor*

The Fourth Symphony made its New York debut on 6 February 1936, Hans Lange conducting the Philharmonic (App. I, no. 27).⁵⁷ As had their English counterparts following the world premiere

⁵⁶ Downes, 'Philharmonic Plays Ancient Music', *NYTimes*, 27 December 1929, 28. On the reception of *Tallis* in New York during the 1920s, see my article, 'On the Reception of the *Tallis Fantasia* in New York, 1922–1929', *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 48 (June 2010), 8–11.

⁵⁷ The American premiere had occurred some weeks earlier, on 19 December 1935, with the Cleveland Orchestra led by Artur Rodziński; as we will see, it was also Rodziński who, after moving to New York and the Philharmonic, conducted the first United States performance of the Fifth Symphony.

Table 1. Vaughan Williams's representation at the New York Philharmonic and the New York Symphony from 1920/1 through 1934/5 compared with that of six roughly contemporary composers.

	20/21	21/22	22/23	23/24	24/25	25/26	26/27	27/28	28/29	29/30	30/31	31/32	32/33	33/34	34/35	TOTAL
Vaughan Williams (b. 1872)	2	3	2	-	4	-	2	-	2	1	2	1	-	2	2	23
Nielsen (b. 1865)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Ravel (b. 1879)	3	5	2	4	6	6	6	8	5	8	3	4	4	4	7	75
Respighi (b. 1874)	1	2	-	-	1	5	1	1	1	6	5	5	2	3	2	35
Schoenberg (b. 1874)	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	6
Sibelius (b. 1865)	3	7	-	3	1	1	6	-	-	1	9	4	9	4	7	55
Stravinsky (b. 1882)	2	1	-	5	15	6	8	4	2	8	4	2	2	3	6	68

Note: The numbers refer to programmes (as opposed to individual performances); the data is gleaned from 'New York Philharmonic—Performance History Search', online at <http://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program> (formerly <http://nyphil.org/carlos> in which 'carlos' commemorated Carlos Moseley [1914–2012], senior manager of the New York Philharmonic from 1961 to 1985).

some ten months earlier⁵⁸, the New York critics recognized that Vaughan Williams had turned a new stylistic page, at least *with respect to his symphonies* (I emphasize ‘with respect to the symphonies’ on the grounds that New York audiences and critics would already have heard stylistic ‘forecasts’ of the Fourth Symphony in such works as *Job*, which the Philharmonic performed in August 1931 [App. I, no. 18], and the Piano Concerto in C, which made its New York and United States debut with Harriet Cohen and the New York Orchestra [under Nikolai Sokoloff] at Carnegie Hall on 16 January 1931).⁵⁹ Irving Kolodin was succinct: ‘The principal impression [...] is the degree to which it deviates from [...] his two better known symphonies. [...] There is no programmatic basis [...] the talent of Vaughan Williams has taken a new direction [...].’⁶⁰ The *Musical America* critic, identified only as ‘C’, said the same: ‘[it] came as a startling surprise to those expecting another “Pastoral” or “London” symphony [...] a new Vaughan Williams quite unpredictably emerges’. ‘C’ then felt compelled to vouch for Vaughan Williams’s ‘sincerity and integrity of purpose’; in other words, he was not ‘undertaking to show his younger colleagues that he can meet them on their own ground and hold his own with them’.⁶¹ Gilman, after noting the ‘consternation’ of the English critics who had been expecting another *London* or *Pastoral* wrote: ‘But the heartless Mr. Williams gave them none of these things [...] This music is savagely challenging, dissonant, drastic. It disdains to woo the ear [...] But it is music of power and intensity, forcible, dynamic, ruthless.’⁶² Finally, there is Downes, who was expansive and whom I quote at some length:

This symphony, Vaughan Williams’s third [sic!] bears no title and is a complete departure from [...] the earlier scores [symphonies], which furnish little or no precedent for its consideration. The writer does not care to give an opinion of this work at a single hearing. [...]

Influenced, perhaps, by late evolutions of musical practice, Vaughan Williams seems here to be seeking new paths. His sincerity is beyond question. There are passages of atmosphere and of a rare beauty, such as the coda of the first movement, which, opening with immense energy and strife, closes in a mood of mystery and contemplation. Places in the scherzo appear, similarly, in sudden contrast to the harmonic bite and polytonal severity of the prevailing style. The orchestra

There is an announcement about Lange’s having secured rights to the symphony in ‘Hans Lange Returns: Brings Rights to Present New Vaughan Williams Work’, *NYTimes*, 17 August 1935, 18.

58 The Fourth was first performed at Queen’s Hall, London, on 10 April 1935, Adrian Boult leading the BBC Symphony Orchestra. For a survey of the reviews, which ranged from favourable (Edwin Evans and Eric Blom) through fence-sitting (H.C. Colles) to negative (Ernest Newman and Neville Cardus), see Kennedy, *Works*, 243–6. Though long thought to have been conceived in 1931 (the year of the earliest sketches), the symphony’s initial inspiration dates from the Beethoven Centenary in 1927; see Atlas, ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes’, 7.

59 Howard Taubman (signed ‘H.T.’), ‘Sokoloff Directs Williams Novelty’, *NYTimes*, 17 January 1931, 23, noted that the concerto ‘reveals the British composer in a different light from [...] his “pastoral” symphony’. Taubman (1907–96) enjoyed a long career with the *NYTimes*: music critic (1929–35), music editor (1935–55), chief music critic (1955–60), drama critic (1960–6), critic-at-large (1966–72); see Patrick J. Smith, ‘Taubman, H(yman) Howard’, *Oxford Music Online*; Weldy, ‘Music Criticism of Olin Downes and Howard Taubman’; Ellen P. Berk, ‘An Analysis and Comparison of the Aesthetics and Philosophy of Selected Music Critics in New York, 1940–1975’, PhD dissertation, New York University (1978). Note that the posts of ‘music editor’ and ‘chief music critic’ were distinct from one another at both the *NYTimes* and the *NYHTrib*.

60 Irving Kolodin (signed ‘I.K.’), ‘Vaughan Williams Symphony Played’, *The Sun*, 7 February 1936, 19. Kolodin (1908–88) wrote for *The Sun* from 1932 to 1950 (when the paper folded) and for the *Saturday Review* from 1947 to 1980; he was one of the first music critics to consider recordings and film music; among his many contributions there is *The Metropolitan Opera, 1883–1996: A Candid History* (4th edn, New York, 1966); obviously, the two better-known symphonies to which he refers are *London* and *Pastoral*.

61 ‘C’, ‘New Vaughan Williams Symphony Heard’, *Musical America*, 15 February 1936, 12.

62 Gilman, ‘Mr. Lange Presents New Music at the Philharmonic Concert’, *NYHTrib*, 8 February 1936, 8; Gilman also wrote the programme notes for the concert.

Table 2. New York Philharmonic programmes with performances of the Symphony in F minor, with month/year and conductor.

Month/Year	Conductor
Feb. 1936	Lange (27)
Jan. 1943	Mitropoulos (39)
Aug. 1945	Mitropoulos (44)
Dec. 1949	Mitropoulos (54)
Aug. 1951	Mitropoulos (56)
Apr. 1953	Mitropoulos (61)
Oct. 1954	Mitropoulos (66)
June 1955	Mitropoulos (67)
Sep. 1955	Mitropoulos (68)
Dec. 1955	Mitropoulos (68)
Jan. 1956	Mitropoulos (70)
Oct. 1957	Mitropoulos (71)
Oct. 1965	Bernstein (79 – subscription on 14 th -16 th /18 th)
Oct. 1965	Bernstein (80 – Young People’s Concert, 23 rd)
Oct. 1965	Bernstein (81 – ‘run-out’, Newark, NJ, 25 th)*
Jan. 1992	Leonard Slatkin (93)
Apr. 2008	Colin Davis (105)

Notes: The numbers in parentheses refer to Appendix I; * ‘Run-out’: usually a one-shot, out-of-town performance.

colors are not the lush colors of the romanticists or impressionists. Vaughan Williams, at the age of 60 – this symphony, allegedly in the key of F minor, was completed in 1934 – appears to be taking a leaf from the moderns. There is a passionate intensity in many pages of the music. Repeated hearings of the new work will afford each listener his own conviction as to whether the composer has climbed to a greater and whiter height than he ever before attained or whether he has exchanged a native birthright for an idiom and an artificial constructive purpose which is a delusion.⁶³

Quite aside from two outright errors: (1) the symphony is not the third (did Downes not know *A Sea Symphony*, which had last been performed in New York in 1922, while he was still with the *Boston Post*, or did he, like Krehbiel, have doubts about its being a ‘symphony’, or is it merely a slip of the pen?); and (2) in 1934 Vaughan Williams would have been 62 years old, Downes tells us far more about himself than he does about the music (is there ‘criticism’ – whether of the journalistic or academic variety – in which this is not the case?): he could not escape his strongly held notions that composers are born to a national style (‘native birth-right’) and that – anti-modernist that he was – excessive dissonance was both ‘artificial’ and ‘delusion[al]’. In the end, though, he was more perplexed than judgmental.

After the 1936 premiere, the Fourth Symphony disappeared from the Philharmonic’s repertory until 6 January 1943, when Dimitri Mitropoulos revived it (App. I, no. 39). And a brief digression in the form of Table 2 shows the extent to which Mitropoulos (1896–1960) – the orchestra’s music director from 1949/50 (sharing the post that first season with Stokowski) to 1957/58 (succeeded by Bernstein) – promoted the work and, as it were, made it his own.

Thus Mitropoulos conducted 11 (in succession) of the 17 Philharmonic programmes that included the symphony. No other conductor associated with the orchestra came even close to so identifying himself with a particular composition by Vaughan Williams. Moreover, Mitropoulos twice took the work to the annual Edinburgh Festival (August 1951 and September 1955) and conducted one of the two Philharmonic recordings of the work.⁶⁴

63 Downes, ‘Work by Williams has First Hearing’, *NY Times*, 7 February 1936, 15.

64 On Mitropoulos and Vaughan Williams’s Fourth, see William R. Trotter, *Priest of Music: The Life of Dimitri Mitropoulos* (Portland, OR, 1995), 159, 319, 366, 378. The Mitropoulos recording appears on

By the time Mitropoulos revived the work in 1943, there was a new and influential music critic on the scene: Virgil Thomson (1896–1989), who joined the *NYHTrib* in October 1940, remained there until the end of the 1953/54 season, and preferred to hire assistants who were themselves composers (or at least active musicians).⁶⁵ And in comparison to Downes's strictly-for-the-general-reader comments about the symphony's 'merciless severity of line' and 'savage brilliancy'⁶⁶, Thomson's review is more probing, rather negative and even somewhat mean-spirited (I give it almost in its entirety):

[...] the Vaughan-Williams [sic] Fourth Symphony is anything but a frivolous work. This does not mean that the writer considers Mr. Vaughan-Williams to be a very profound composer. He does not. But he esteems the work of this gifted Welshman [sic] as serious in intent and highly respectable in writing. If it fails to be wholly vivid, as it usually does, that lack of ultimate clarity is probably due to an incomplete objectivity in thought. I should not dream of reproaching a symphonist with having written inferior music, but I do regret that Mr. Vaughan-Williams is unable to describe his inner life in terms more convincing as to its continuity. His themes in this work are none of them first class, and the development of them is halting. Add to this laborious progress an orchestral emphasis out of all proportion to the musical significance, and you have a work that for all its evident sincerity and skill of expression is nevertheless turgid and lacking in expression. It is complex on the surface but not very communicative. It is morose rather than sad, jumpy rather than energetic. It is weighted down by its effort to seem to be saying deeper things than are really in it.

The piece is not, however, lacking in style. There is a gray-day fogginess about the orchestral sound of it that is consistent and impressive. There is a march in the last movement that is gay and buoyant, too. At this point the music starts moving along under its own momentum. Unfortunately, a fugato (there are several of these in the symphony, not one of which gets it anywhere) interrupts this charming moment; and the work ends as it began, pulled along from measure to measure by the composer and the conductor rather than moved by an inner propulsion.⁶⁷

This was not the last time that Thomson would rail against Vaughan Williams (see §3c-d).

3(b). *Symphony No. 5 in D*

Among the reviews that followed the 24 June 1943 premiere of the Fifth Symphony at a Promenade Concert at London's Royal Albert Hall (Vaughan Williams conducted the London Philharmonic Orchestra), one is particularly relevant to our story: Ferruccio Bonavia's piece in the *Daily Telegraph* (reprinted in the *NYTimes* on 15 August 1943), one phrase of

Columbia 5158 (1956), reissued on CD, Retrospective Records, RET 011 (2001); the other Philharmonic recording is by Bernstein: Columbia Masterworks MS 7177 (1965), reissued on CD, Sony Classical, 'Leonard Bernstein: The Royal Edition', No. 96 (1993). That Mitropoulos had a special affinity for the work is recognized in Howard Taubman's review of Mitropoulos's performance of the symphony at opening night of the Philharmonic's 1957 season: 'He evidently has a feeling of identification with it and communicates it through the orchestra to the audience', *NY Times*, 14 October 1957, 32.

65 On Thomson as critic, see Anthony Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle* (New York, 1997), 319–52; Grant, *Maestros of the Pen*, 226–56; Robinson, "A Ping, Qualified by a Thud", 79–139; Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of American Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley, 2000), *passim*; the Library of America has recently issued a generous (1,178 pages) compilation of Thomson's criticism for the *NYHTrib: Music Chronicles, 1940–1954*, ed. Tim Page (New York, 2013).

66 Downes, 'Mitropoulos Seen in a Double Role', *NYTimes*, 7 January 1943, 25; the 'double role' alludes to Mitropoulos as soloist in Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 3 in C, op. 26

67 Thomson, 'Music—Serious Workmanship', *NYHTrib*, 7 January 1943, p. 15A; Thomson refers to Vaughan Williams as a 'Welshman' and hyphenates the name on a number of occasions (this review does not appear in *Music Chronicles*).

which no doubt caught Olin Downes's eye: 'In this symphony Vaughan Williams reverts to his earlier style, the style that gave us the Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis [. . .].'⁶⁸ Now, whether Downes had seen a copy of the review prior to its appearance in the *NYTimes* (and, if so, could he have been responsible for getting it reprinted there?) or only after its publication, he set off the following sequence of events:

- (1) Downes wrote to Vaughan Williams on 23 August, telling him that he had seen Bonavia's review, and that Rodziński would present the American premiere if he could get the score and parts on time for the upcoming season (1943/44); in fact, Downes would urge Rodziński to place the work on the opening-night program (7 October); finally, he ends by expressing his pleasure that the Fifth Symphony looks back to the composer's earlier style;⁶⁹
- (2) A week later, Downes jumped the gun and, in describing the 1943/4 season, announced, quite prematurely, that Rodziński had 'secured' the work and would perform it;⁷⁰
- (3) On 25 September Vaughan Williams replied to Downes's letter of 23 August: it would not be possible to get score and parts to New York on time for a 7 October performance; further, he (Vaughan Williams) does not know if the work is a "reversion to my earlier style", but it is very simple'.⁷¹

Thus despite Downes's efforts, the Philharmonic would not perform the Fifth during the 1943/4 season. Rather, New York audiences had to wait another year to hear the work, the performance of which was announced in the *NYTimes* on 26 November 1944⁷² and took place a few days later, on 30 November, with Rodziński conducting (App. I, no. 43).

Having finally heard the work, Downes was in 'seventh (or was it "fifth"?) heaven':

This is the symphony of a poet [. . .] who communes with the ideal. [. . .] a distinct return to the poetry of Williams' earlier period, and not a continuation of his excursion, to us misguided, in the modernism of his Fourth Symphony. Here, in the Fifth, is the modal harmony and the archaic and haunting accents of English folk melody [. . .] reorganized according to Williams' unique and very personal genius.⁷³

Just what Thomson might have thought about the Fifth we do not know, since he assigned the review to one of his assistants, Paul Bowles. What Bowles thought is not pretty: 'The work

68 Ferruccio Bonavia, 'V. Williams' Fifth', *NYTimes*, 15 August 1943, X5. Bonavia (1877–1950) was born at Trieste and settled in England in 1898; after playing violin in the Hallé Orchestra and writing the occasional article for *The Manchester Guardian*, he became the music critic for the *Daily Telegraph* in 1920 and remained there until his death; see *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*. Centennial Edition, ed. Nicholas Slominsky and Laura Kuhn (New York, 2001), vol. 1, 387.

69 The entire letter appears in Atlas, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes', 7.

70 Downes, 'Philharmonic Season Outlook', *NYTimes*, 29 August 1943, X5.

71 I include the entire letter in 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes', 7.

72 Unsigned, 'In the World of Music: Premiere of Williams Fifth Symphony to be Given on All-British Program', *NYTimes*, 26 November 1944, X5.

73 Downes, 'Rodzinski Offers All-British Music: Works by Capt. Wooldridge, Williams, Walton and Elgar Performed', *NYTimes*, 1 December 1944, 28. An anecdote about Captain Wooldridge as passed down in both the *NYTimes* and *NYHTrib* reviews runs as follows. At the time of the concert, John Wooldridge (1919–58) was serving in the RAF (a wing commander); he and Rodziński had agreed that if he (Wooldridge) downed a given number of German aircraft within a specified amount of time, Rodziński would perform Wooldridge's *A Solemn Hymn*. Wooldridge did his part, Rodziński did his and the RAF granted Wooldridge a leave in order that he might attend the concert.

[is] reactionary in intent. It is anti-intellectual music, and as such is not of this century.⁷⁴ The arrogance is breathtaking.

3(c). *London and Pastoral*

Though it was the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies that garnered the most attention in terms of Vaughan Williams's representation during this period, both *London* and *Pastoral* held their own. *London* appeared on four programmes: (1) 2–3 January 1936 under Beecham, its first appearance at the Philharmonic in ten years (App. I, no. 24); (2) 19 December 1937, as part of an all-British programme at a Young People's Concert (App. I, no. 28); (3) 8–9 February 1940, Barbirolli conducting (App. I, no. 34); and (4) 9 July 1941, with Eugene Goossens at Lewisohn Stadium (App. I, no. 36).⁷⁵

Reviewing the 1936 Beecham performance, Downes, as he often did, viewed Vaughan Williams through a narrow, nationalistic/'racial' lens: '[. . .] the "London" symphony has irresistible pages, racial not only in idiom but in a melancholy known to the English mind [. . .]'.⁷⁶ And writing about Beecham in a longer-than-usual essay that dealt with problems faced by conductors, he reinforced that view of the work: the symphony has 'the most profound eloquence. Probably [. . .] in part due to a racial and temperamental sympathy on the part of the conductor [. . .]'.⁷⁷ Both reviews underscore a question that runs throughout the reception of Vaughan Williams in New York: nationalist or something more than that? We will return to the matter presently.

The *Pastoral* made two appearances during this stretch, both times, as noted above (§2c) under Barbirolli: 16–17 February 1939 (App. I, no. 31) and 25–26 February 1943 (App. I, no. 40). While both Noel Straus and Lawrence Gilman had nothing but praise for the work in 1939⁷⁸, the most interesting review is Virgil Thomson's of the 1943 performance. Thomson begins by calling it the 'least heavy-footed' of Vaughan Williams's works, melodically 'impeccable' and even 'graceful', but he could not let the compliments stand unqualified: the scoring is unimaginative, and the work as a whole 'lacks definition'. As for Barbirolli (never one of his favourite conductors), Thomson admits that 'with a new score or a British one, he gets everything right'.⁷⁹

74 Paul Bowles, 'Philharmonic Presents Works by Walton, Vaughan-Williams', *NYHTrib*, 1 December 1944, 19A. On Bowles (1910–99), who settled in Tangier in 1947 and became better known as a novelist than as a composer, see Gena Dagal Caponi, *Paul Bowles: Romantic Savage* (Carbondale, IL, 1994); *Paul Bowles on Music*, ed. Timothy Mangan and Irene Herrmann (Berkeley, 2003); Hubbs, *The Queering of American Music*, 103–16; Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson, passim*. Read against such analyses as those by Arnold Whittall, "'Symphony in D Major": Models and Mutations', in *Vaughan Williams Studies*, ed. Alain Frogley (New York, 1996), 187–212, and Julian Horton, 'The Later Symphonies', in *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, 204–6, Bowles's 'anti-intellectual' and 'not of this century' strike one as being even more off the mark than they already were in 1944.

75 On the history of the Lewisohn Stadium concerts, see Jonathan Stern, 'Music for the (American) People: The Concerts at Lewisohn Stadium, 1922–1964', PhD dissertation, The City University of New York (2009); see also the introduction to Appendix I.

76 Downes, 'Beecham Appears at Carnegie Hall', *NYTimes*, January 1936, 13.

77 Downes, 'Problems of Conductor: Sir Thomas Beecham Solves a Few as He Leads the Philharmonic Symphony', *NYTimes*, 12 January 1936, X7 (should the 'Conductor' in the title be plural or is the word 'a' before it missing?).

78 Noel Straus (signed 'N.S. '), 'Other Music: Philharmonic Concert', *NY Times*, 17 February 1939, 22; Gilman, 'The Other "Pastoral" Symphony', *NYHTrib*, 19 February 1939, E6. On Straus, who died on 6 November 1959 at age 78, see the notice by Harold Schonberg, 'Mr. Straus' "Book": Late Critic's Reviews Now Available in Two Scrapbooks at Public Library', *NY Times*, 26 February 1961, X11, who calls Straus 'one of the greatest of American music critics'.

79 Thomson, 'Pastoral Poetry', *NYHTrib*, 26 February 1943, 15A; on Thomson's mistaken reference to the work's 'English' landscape, see §1b and note 34.

Table 3. Post-1945 critical assessments of Vaughan Williams as nationalist.

Critic	Assessment	Source
Perkins	Fourth Symphony: 'a style that is definitely Vaughan Williams and also definitely English'	<i>NYHTrib</i> , 3 Apr. 1953, 15
Lang	Fourth Symphony: 'Vaughan Williams is a true interpreter of English music beyond the isles'	<i>NYHTrib</i> , 29 Oct. 1954, 15
Schonberg	In 'an appreciation': ranks Vaughan Williams with Bartók, Mussorgsky, Smetana, Dvořák and Ives, 'nationalist composers [who] transcended their nationalism'; then lists his favourite non-symphonic pieces: <i>Mass in G minor</i> , <i>Tallis</i> , <i>On Wenlock Edge</i> , <i>The Lark Ascending</i> and the opera <i>Hugh the Drover</i> (all of which lean on England in one way or another)	<i>NYTimes</i> , 15 Mar. 1964, X13
Holland	<i>Mass in G minor</i> : 'typical British courtesy and decorum'	<i>NYTimes</i> , 30 Jan. 1984, C14
Holland	<i>Tallis</i> : 'Ye Olde Tea Shoppe'	<i>NYTimes</i> , 28 July 1987, C16
Rockwell	André Previn conducting <i>Tallis</i> : 'that indefatigable Anglophile'	<i>NYTimes</i> , 15 May 1988, 55

Reading through Downes and Bowles on the Fifth, Downes on *London*/Beecham and Thomson on *Pastoral*/Barbirolli, one is struck by the references to musical nationalism that jump off the page: 'English folk melody', 'ancient England', 'racial', 'English mind', 'Thomas Hardy', 'folklore', 'English landscape', 'new score or a British one' (not all the terms are included in the excerpts cited above). At question, of course, is the view of Vaughan Williams as a rather limited and nationalistic purveyor of things English, a view that developed during the 1920s and 1930s, just when, as Alain Frogley observes, Vaughan Williams was writing – at least in terms of his major compositions – in a thoroughly international style.⁸⁰ Yet this is the view that prevailed – much to Vaughan Williams's detriment, especially after his death – among New York critics for decades to come. Table 3 provides a number of such post-1945 views and shows that even those who perform Vaughan Williams are stereotyped and drawn into the web.

3(d). *NYTimes* v. *NYHTrib*

One of the most interesting aspects of Vaughan Williams' reception in New York is the disparity with which he and his music were treated in the *NYTimes*, on the one hand, and in the *NYHTrib*, on the other.⁸¹

The rift began quietly enough when Downes and Jerome D. Bohm disagreed about the opera *The Poisoned Kiss*, which they saw at its American premiere – a student production at the Juilliard School – on 21 April 1937: Downes enjoyed the work; Bohm called it 'styleless'

80 Alain Frogley, 'Constructing Englishness in Music: National Character and the Reception of Ralph Vaughan Williams', in *Vaughan Williams Studies*, 18–19; see also Aidan J. Thomson, 'Becoming a National Composer: Critical Reception to c. 1925', and Kennedy, 'Fluctuations in the Response to the Music of Ralph Vaughan Williams', both in *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, 56–78 and 275–98, respectively.

81 This section draws upon my article 'Vaughan Williams in the New York Crossfire: Olin and Harold v. Virgil and Paul', forthcoming in *The Musical Times*.

and 'disappointing'.⁸² It gained momentum and volume with Thomson's reviews of the Fourth Symphony and *Pastoral* in 1943, and boiled over with those of the Fifth Symphony by Downes and Bowles. Next came the contrary opinions with respect to the New York (and United States) debut of *Sir John in Love*, which the Columbia University Opera Workshop mounted on 20 January 1949; Taubman liked it, while Thomson found fault.⁸³ Then, after a brief respite in connection with the Sixth Symphony in 1949 – Thomson and Downes both praised it (see §4a) – the two newspapers were back at it just a few years later, now in connection with the large-scale choral work *Five Tudor Portraits*, which Thomson deemed 'the least subtle work' that he had ever heard by Vaughan Williams, composed for a 'provincial English singing society' and a 'none too sophisticated one' to boot, whereas Harold Schonberg called *Portraits* 'one of the major choral achievements of our time'.⁸⁴

As it happens, the differences between the *NYTimes* and the *NYHTrib* followed Vaughan Williams to the grave and beyond, this notwithstanding the appearance of two new and influential critical voices at the papers. Upon Vaughan Williams's passing on Tuesday, 26 August 1958, Harold C. Schonberg (1915–2003), who had joined the *NYTimes* in 1950, rose to prominence after the death of Olin Downes in 1955 and assumed the post of the paper's chief music critic in 1960 (he was also the first music critic to win a Pulitzer Prize for Criticism when that award was extended to music critics in 1971), wrote a moving obituary notice in which he suggested that Vaughan Williams could claim a place alongside the likes of Bartók, Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Berg and Ives as one of the major composers of the twentieth century.⁸⁵

At the *NYHTrib*, Paul Henry Lang (1901–91) – on the faculty at Columbia University (1933–69) and editor of *The Musical Quarterly* (1945–73) – succeeded Virgil Thomson on time for the 1954/5 season. And though Lang did not go in for Thomson's stinging disdain, he sometimes substituted a kind of 'not-so-benign neglect': in connection with Vaughan Williams's death he wrote no obituary at all.⁸⁶ A few years later he added insult to injury. As one would expect, both Schonberg and Lang were part of the celebrity-studded audience at the inaugural concert of Lincoln Center's Philharmonic Hall on 23

82 Downes, 'Juilliard School Gives New Opera', *NYTimes*, 22 April 1937, 19; Jerome D. Bohm, "'Poisoned Kiss" in Premiere at Juilliard School', *NYHTrib*, 22 April 1937, 14; on Bohm, see Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson*, 324, 346–7, 353, 424–5.

83 Howard Taubman (signed 'H.T. '), 'Columbia Offers "Sir John in Love"', *NYTimes*, 21 January 1949, 24; Thomson, 'Charm and Jollity', *NYHTrib*, 22 January 1949, 9; Thomson specifically criticized Vaughan Williams's text-setting.

84 Thomson, 'Contemporary Festival in Pittsburgh', *NYHTrib*, 14 December 1952, D5 (a review of a concert by the Pittsburgh Symphony under William Steinberg); Harold Schonberg, 'Records: "Portraits"—Vaughan Williams Choral Work Utilizes Five Tudor Poems by John Skelton', *NYTimes*, 8 November 1953, X9 (a review of a recording of the very concert heard by Thomson). I consider the possible motives that may have contributed to Thomson's generally anti-Vaughan Williams stance in 'Vaughan Williams in the New York Crossfire'.

85 Schonberg, '1872–1958: World Loses a Genius in Vaughan Williams', *NYTimes*, 31 August 1958, X7. Among his many books are *The Great Pianists* (2nd edn, New York, 1987) and *Horowitz: His Life and Music* (New York, 1992); see Patrick J. Smith, 'Schonberg, Harold C(harles)', *Oxford Music Online*.

86 As I suggest in 'Vaughan Williams in the New York Crossfire', Lang may well have been on vacation and away from New York at the time Vaughan Williams died. Yet Lang surely recognized Vaughan Williams's importance: (1) bemoaning the number of composers who, he claims in the course of an editorial in the very next issue of *The Musical Quarterly*, were trapped in Schoenbergian 'doctrine', he names Vaughan Williams together with Bartók, Stravinsky, Ravel and others as having produced masterworks some 30 years earlier (vol. 44, no. 4, October 1958, 508); and (2) he opened the following issue of the journal with a moving appreciation of Vaughan Williams by the English critic A.E.F. Dickinson, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams', 45, no. 1 (January 1959), 1–7.

September 1962. The musical fare consisted of Leonard Bernstein, the New York Philharmonic, three choirs and an all-star cast of soloists performing the ‘Gloria’ of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*, Aaron Copland’s *Connotations* (commissioned for the occasion), Vaughan Williams’s *Serenade to Music* and Part I, ‘Veni sancte spiritus’, of Mahler’s Eighth Symphony (App. I, no. 76). To be sure, Schonberg had little to say about the *Serenade* – ‘quiet and lovely’ – but that was three words more than Lang said: he said nothing at all. It was as if the piece had not been performed.⁸⁷

Obviously, one might argue that the disparity between the newspapers is simply a function of the personalities of the critics as opposed to being a reflection of the two newspapers’ deeper musical/cultural outlook. And yet this would be only partially true. Rather, at least some of the critics at the *NYHTrib* subscribed to a music department-wide sense of superiority to and outright contempt for their counterparts at the *NYTimes*. As Bowles put it: ‘The *Times* had not a single good critic [...] One of them had been a weatherman.’⁸⁸ Certainly, the *NYTimes* was less interested in contemporary music; as one of its own critics, Ross Parmenter, said in explaining why covering such music usually fell to him: ‘Nobody else liked modern music [...] none of them wanted to bother with it [...].’⁸⁹

Clearly, there is a point at which critic and newspaper become one, especially if the relationship is a long one. And if Thomson and the composer-critics whom he hired gave the *NYHTrib* a rather Francophile, progressive character, Downes (who idolized Sibelius) and Schonberg (always wary of serialism) kept the *NYTimes* on a more conservative course, one tilted toward the Austro/German, Classical/Romantic tradition. Ironically, the two newspapers’ positions on music thus reversed their political leanings, for it was the *NYHTrib*, conservative and pro-big business, that was more at home at Republican golf and country clubs.

§4. 1945/6–1958/9: Symphonies 6, 8 and 9 – his reputation at its peak

Just as the premieres of the Fourth and Fifth Symphonies dominated the preceding period, so those of Symphonies 6, 8 and 9 represent the highpoints of this one. (Note that the *Sinfonia antartica* [No. 7] did not arrive in New York until 1970 – see Table 5 in §5a.)

4(a). *Symphony No. 6 in E minor*

If in the reception of Vaughan Williams’s symphonies in New York there is one evening that stands out as his greatest success, it must surely be that of 27 January 1949, when Leopold Stokowski and the New York Philharmonic treated the Symphony No. 6 in E minor to its New York premiere (App. I, no. 51 – thus five-and-a-half months after the first American performance, on 7 August 1948, with Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra at a Tanglewood concert, and nine months after the world premiere at London’s Royal Albert Hall on 21 April 1948, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra under Adrian Boult). Just as the English critics greeted the symphony with praise – Richard Capell described the final movement as being ‘like nothing else in music’⁹⁰ – so too did Virgil Thomson and Olin Downes,

87 Schonberg, ‘Music: The Occasion, Bernstein Conducts—Hall is Assayed’, *NYTimes*, 24 September 1962, 32; Lang, ‘There was Sparkle, there was Music in the Night’, *NYHTrib*, 24 September 1962, 1, 14.
88 Robinson, ‘“A Ping Qualified by a Thud”’, 86, citing ‘Paul Bowles Meets with Ken Smith and Frank J. Oferi’, *NewMusicBox*, 1 December 1999, online at <http://www.newmusicbox.org/article.nmbx?id=459>.

89 Robinson, ‘“A Ping Qualified by a Thud”’, 85, citing Leta A. Miller and Fredric Lieberman, *Lou Harrison: Composing a World* (New York, 1998). Parmenter (1912–99) was with the *NYTimes* from 1940 to 1966.

90 Cited after Kennedy, *Works*, 301, who summarizes the British reception in general (pp. 300–4).

who for once came down on the same side of the critical fence. For Thomson the piece had 'power and depth [...] a very personal and English beauty. [...] A lovely piece and one I should like to have heard right over again.'⁹¹ Downes thought it more than just 'lovely': 'one of the most [...] profoundly felt orchestra scores [...] in decades. [...] A noble and mystical symphony'.⁹² And if Downes thought it 'dangerous if not superfluous' to offer an 'interpretation' of the symphony, Miles Kastendieck of the *Christian Science Monitor* did not. Following the lead of the English critics, who associated the symphony with war (atomic), peace and desolation, he wrote: 'a miracle symphony [...]. He has heard the thunder of war, lived through the depths of despair, and perceived the notion of peace.'⁹³

Even Stokowski, who was also the first to record the symphony, chimed in:

The more I study Vaughan-Williams' Symphony in E minor, the more I have the impression that this is music that will take its place with the greatest creations of the masters. [...] in this Symphony the world of music has a true picture of today, expressing the turmoil, the dark despair, the aspiration of an ideal future. Every listener will find his own meaning in the unique finale of this Symphony – one of the most profound expressions in all music.⁹⁴

Two other major orchestras soon brought further performances of the Sixth to the city. On 16 October 1949, Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra reprised their Tanglewood performance (see earlier), which led Downes to exclaim that the symphony plumbs 'the inmost recesses of the consciousness'.⁹⁵ Then, two months later (12 December), came Ormandy and the Philadelphia. By now Downes had run out of his own superlatives, so he quoted the novelist-music critic Edward Sackville-West (5th Baron Sackville): 'like the final echo of a vanishing world', while the *NYHTrib*'s Francis Perkins, after referring to Vaughan Williams as the 'dean of English composers', focused on the finale: '[a] prolonged and philosophically melodic meditation'.⁹⁶

91 Thomson, 'English Landscape', *NYHTrib*, 28 January 1949, 14.

92 Downes, 'Stokowski Offers Premiere of Work – Leads Philharmonic in Debut Here of Sixth Symphony by Vaughan-Williams', *NYTimes*, 28 January 1949, 26.

93 Miles Kastendieck, 'Orchestras Stress New Compositions', *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 February 1949, 6. On those associations, see Kennedy, *Works*, 301–2. Moreover, the New York critics would have been aware of this interpretation, for on 30 May 1948 (shortly after the London premiere), the *NYTimes* ran an article titled 'Composer's Progress: A Retrospect of Vaughan Williams' Work, Including his Sixth Symphony', X7, by the British art and music critic Dyneley Hussey (1893–1972), where they would have read: 'The new work [...] states [...] what [Vaughan Williams] feels about the war and turns towards the end to a meditation upon an ideal and otherworldly peace.' On Hussey, see Martin Cooper, 'Hussey, Dyneley', *Oxford Music Online*. Kastendieck (1906–2001), who was the author of *England's Musical Poet: Thomas Campion* (New York, 1938—reprint: New York, 1963), wrote music criticism for the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *New York Journal-American*; see Andrew Friedman, 'Students and Teachers Say Goodbye to the Mr. Chips of Bay Ridge', *NYTimes*, 6 May 2001, CV10.

94 As quoted in Robert Bagar's programme notes for the Philharmonic concerts of 27–28 January 1949, New York Philharmonic Archives. Stokowski recorded the work in February 1949: Columbia Records, MM-838; reissued on CD: Retrospective Recordings RET 001 (2001).

95 Downes, 'Symphony of Era Concert Feature', *NYTimes*, 17 March 1949, 33.

96 Downes, 'Morini Violinist, Concert Soloist', *NYTimes*, 14 December 1949, 45 (the reference to 'Morini' is to the Austrian-born Erika Morini [1904–95], who settled in New York in 1938 and changed the spelling of her name to 'Erica'); Perkins, 'Concert and Recital: Philadelphia Orchestra', *NYHTrib*, 14 December 1949, 23. Perkins (1897–1970) joined the *N-YTrib* in 1919, became music editor of the *NYHTrib* in 1940 (thus when Virgil Thomson became chief music critic – see note 59) and retired in 1962; there is an unsigned obituary in the *NYTimes*, 10 October 1970, 25; his 1925 article 'Jazz Breaks into Society' is included in *Jazz in Print (1859–1929): An Anthology of Early Readings in Jazz History*, ed. Karl Koenig (Hillsdale, NY, 2002), 372–3.

One final accolade remains (even if it is not specifically New York-centric). In May 1949, *Musical America* announced the results of its Sixth Annual National Radio Poll, a poll decided by several hundred of the nation's newspaper music critics and editors. And though a performance of *Aida* by Toscanini and the NBC Symphony Orchestra was judged the outstanding musical event of the past year, Vaughan Williams's Sixth was voted the 'Outstanding New Work'.⁹⁷

4(b). *Symphony No. 8 in D minor*

On 25 October 1955, the *NYTimes* carried a London announcement that Vaughan Williams had completed his Eighth Symphony and that the first performance would take place on 2 May 1956 at Manchester, with Barbirolli conducting the Hallé Orchestra.⁹⁸ By the time the Philharmonic got around to the Eighth Symphony on 1 January 1959 (App. I, no. 74), it marked the work's third appearance in New York. Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra had presented the New York premiere on 9 October 1956, followed by Charles Munch and the Boston Symphony Orchestra on 16 November 1957. Reviewing the Philadelphians' performance, Howard Taubman noted that the Eighth was 'not one of [Vaughan Williams's] outstanding works'; it lacked the 'richness of thought or invention' of the earlier symphonies; and though the final movement makes 'a generous noise', it says 'nothing at all'. In the end, however: 'a man in his eighties is entitled to some fun with a big band, and Mr. Vaughan Williams may be indulged in this example of outright triviality'.⁹⁹ Lang, still a few years away from slighting Vaughan Williams by neither writing an obituary nor mentioning the presence of the *Serenade to Music* at Lincoln Center's opening night (see §3d), was more favourably inclined: 'It is vigorous, well made, and displays the accumulated wisdom and skill of a great musician. [...] Though somewhat debatable, this is an interesting score which deserves to be known.'¹⁰⁰

The sheen had not worn off 13 months later in the wake of Munch's performance. Perkins sensed a 'remarkable vitality', while the *NYTimes*'s 'E.D.' thought it 'jovial', though he did point out that it was not as 'ambitious emotionally as some of [the] earlier symphonies'.¹⁰¹ Schonberg, too, weighed in. Reviewing Barbirolli's recording of the symphony, he noted that 'Vaughan Williams could well be today's major symphonist. [...] he has a complete grasp of his material and can handle it as suits his fancy.'¹⁰²

Finally, as he had with the Sixth Symphony a few years earlier, Vaughan Williams garnered a prestigious award with the Eighth, this time an award that was as New York-centric as could be. In the Spring of 1957, the Music Critics' Circle of New York announced its choice for best new symphonic work performed in New York during the previous year. The winner: Vaughan Williams's Eighth Symphony.¹⁰³

97 Reported in the *NYHTrib*, 21 May 1949, 6.

98 Unsigned, 'Vaughan Williams Ends 8th', *NYTimes*, 25 October 1955, 37.

99 Taubman, 'A New Symphony – Vaughan Williams' 8th has Local Premiere', *NYTimes*, 10 October 1956, 46.

100 Lang, 'Philadelphia Orchestra', *NYHTrib*, 10 October 1956, 23.

101 Perkins, 'Boston Symphony Plays Vaughan Williams Work', *NYHTrib*, 17 November 1957, 62; Edward O.E. Downes (signed 'E.D.'), 'Boston Symphony Heard in Concert', *NYTimes*, 17 November 1957, 80. This Downes (1911–2001) was Olin's son, and succeeded his father as the Metropolitan Opera's Quizmaster during the intermissions of the Met's live Saturday afternoon broadcasts, which have been on the air continuously since 1931.

102 Schonberg, 'Records: Vaughan Williams' Eighth', *NYTimes*, 6 January 1957, D16.

103 Unsigned, 'Critics Honor American Opera and Vaughan Williams Work', *NYTimes*, 5 March 1957, 36; the opera to which the title refers was Carlisle Floyd's *Susanna*.

4(c). *Symphony No. 9 in E minor*

On 25 September 1958, just one month after Vaughan Williams passed away, Stokowski figured in another Vaughan Williams premiere, now leading the Contemporary Music Society Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall in the United States debut of the Ninth Symphony.¹⁰⁴ It was also a special evening for Stokowski, who was celebrating his fiftieth anniversary as a conductor, and who, during a break in the concert, received congratulatory messages from both President Eisenhower and Robert F. Wagner, Jr., who was then nearing the end of his first term (of three) as Mayor of New York City and was there in person.

Lang was unmoved: although the symphony is of a 'very high caliber [... it] never soars, though it never takes a crooked path either'.¹⁰⁵ Schonberg, on the other hand, leant the other way on two occasions: first in a review of the premiere: 'the Ninth Symphony is a masterpiece', and then in writing about Adrian Boult's recording (recorded just hours after Vaughan Williams passed away): 'It speaks directly from the heart [...] it will come to hold a very personal place in the hierarchy of the Vaughan Williams symphonies.'¹⁰⁶ And once again, as he had been for the Eighth Symphony, Vaughan Williams was honoured (posthumously) for the Ninth, as the Music Critics' Circle of New York voted to bestow 'a special citation in the orchestral category' upon it.¹⁰⁷

There is some irony in the awards and honours accorded the Sixth, Eighth and Ninth Symphonies, for despite the accolades, the New York Philharmonic has programmed the Sixth on only two subsequent occasions: January 1978 and September 1987 (App. I, nos 86 and 90, respectively); it has not repeated the Eighth, and it has never performed the Ninth (or, for that matter, the *Sinfonia antartica*, No. 7, about which see §5c.ii).

As a brief codetta to this section, we might note that three of the earlier symphonies kept up appearances at the Philharmonic: the Fifth (once = App. I, no. 47), *London* (twice = App. I, nos. 48, 65) and, thanks to Mitropoulos, the Fourth (ten times! = App. I, nos. 44, 54, 56, 61, 66–71). The critics, though, had nothing new to say.

4(d). *Other tributes*

New York bestowed a number of 'lifetime achievement' awards on Vaughan Williams during the last decade of his life.

- On 18 February 1949, the New York-based National Institute of Arts and Letters¹⁰⁸ named Vaughan Williams an 'honorary associate', one of five 'foreign artists distinguished in the arts' to be so honoured that year. (The other four were Pablo Picasso, Dame Edith Sitwell, Yasuo Kuniyoshi and Gian Francesco Malipiero, all of whom

104 The world premiere had taken place on 2 April 1958, at Royal Festival Hall, London, under Malcolm Sargent; the first performance in North America was at the Vancouver International Festival on 11 August 1958. An unsigned notice titled 'Ninth Symphony by Vaughan Williams Cheered at World Premiere in London', *NYTimes*, 3 April 1958, 22, provides snippets from the reviews that appeared in the British press following the London premiere.

105 Lang, 'Contemporary Concert', *NYHTrib*, 26 September 1958, 73.

106 Schonberg, 'A Vaughan Williams Premiere – Stokowski Leads Ninth Symphony in U.S. Bow', *NYTimes*, 26 September 1958, 22; 'Records: A Ninth—Last Symphony by Vaughan Williams Makes its Debut on New Label', *NYTimes*, 30 November 1958, X17; the new label to which Schonberg refers was Everest.

107 Unsigned, 'Music Critics Cite Piston and Moore', *NYTimes*, 21 January 1959, 25. The winners in the two main categories were Walter Piston for his Viola Concerto and Douglas Moore for the opera *The Ballad of Baby Doe*.

108 Founded in 1898, the Institute merged with the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1976 (thus forming a two-tier organization) and gave way to the latter entirely in 1993.

thus joined the likes of George Bernard Shaw, T.S. Eliot, Diego Rivera, Max Beerbohm and Heitor Villa-Lobos).¹⁰⁹

- The Schola Cantorum of New York (with ‘members of the Philharmonic’) observed Vaughan Williams’s eightieth birthday on 19 March 1952 (some seven months in advance) by offering the New York premiere of *Five Tudor Portraits* (App. I, no. 59 – and see §3d). The announcement in the *NYTimes* included a photo of the composer.¹¹⁰
- In Spring 1952, the International Contemporary Music Festival, which Roy Harris was organizing in Pittsburgh, conducted a poll in order to determine which contemporary composers would be represented there. A questionnaire was sent to 87 ‘distinguished composers, conductors, critics, theorists, and musicologists’, of whom 61 (some from New York) responded. The winner was Paul Hindemith, named on 41 ballots; Vaughan Williams came in fifteenth, with 24 nominations. Yet already the numbers said something about the future assessment of Vaughan Williams’s standing among twentieth-century British composers: Benjamin Britten tied for seventh with 32 votes.¹¹¹
- On 28 September 1952, Howard Taubman wrote an appreciative tribute in celebration of Vaughan Williams’s eightieth birthday. The concluding sentence reads: ‘At his best he has sung with a universal voice.’¹¹²
- The *NYTimes* celebrated the composer’s birthday on 12 October 1952 by reprinting an article by Ernest Newman in its Sunday Magazine section; concerned mainly with Vaughan Williams’s ‘Englishry’, it was accompanied by a photograph of the composer above a caption that – despite the indoor setting and the subject’s full sweater-and-suit attire – read: ‘He looks more like a farmer struggling with compost than a composer.’¹¹³
- In a ‘Special to the New York Times’ dated London, 8 February [1953], the newspaper announced the marriage of Dr Vaughan Williams to Mrs Ursula Wood, at St Pancras Church. It was the second marriage for both Vaughan Williams, whose first wife, Adeline, died in 1951, and Mrs Wood, whose first husband had been killed in World War II.¹¹⁴
- Finally, on 13 October 1957, Mitropoulos and the Philharmonic celebrated Vaughan Williams’s eighty-fifth birthday (the previous day) with a performance of the Fourth Symphony (App. I, no. 71).

Together with the honours accorded the Sixth, Eighth and Ninth Symphonies, these celebrations surely speak for the fondness and respect that New York felt for Vaughan Williams during the twilight of his career.

4(e). *Vaughan Williams’s third visit to New York*

Though the press announced what would be Vaughan Williams’s third visit to the United States in 1954 with some fanfare¹¹⁵, it concerns us a bit less than the first two visits, since he spent little

109 Unsigned, ‘National Arts Body Honors 5 Foreigners’, *NYTimes*, 19 February 1949, 12; note that the number of ‘foreign’ (defined simply as a non-USA citizen) honorary associates could not exceed 25 at any given time.

110 Unsigned, ‘British Composer at 80’, *NYTimes*, 16 March 1952, X7.

111 Unsigned, ‘World of Music: Chamber Groups – Small Ensembles Provide Foundation of Modest Summer Festivals’, *NYTimes*, 22 June 1952, X7; it was at the Pittsburgh Festival that Virgil Thomson heard and excoriated the *Five Tudor Portraits* (see §3d).

112 Taubman, ‘A Composer Nears 80: Vaughan Williams will be Feted Next Month’, *NYTimes*, 28 September 1952, X7.

113 Ernest Newman, ‘An English and Universal Music’, *NYTimes*, 12 October 1952, SM 20, 28.

114 Unsigned, ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams Weds’, *NYTimes*, 9 February 1953, 36. For the record, we might note that the *NYHTrib* announced none of these six events.

115 The *NYTimes* did so on three occasions: Unsigned, ‘Visit to U.S. Planned by British Composer’, 6 May 1954, 45; Downes, ‘Vaughan Williams: Great English Composer will Visit Here in Fall’, 23 May

time in New York City itself. The main reason for the trip was a residency at Cornell University (Ithaca, New York), around which there was a cross-country tour of the United States.

Yet two aspects of the visit merit a word. Having docked in New York on Sunday morning, 26 September, Ralph and Ursula (now Mrs Vaughan Williams) checked into their hotel, travelled to Brooklyn to see friends, and then, in the evening (together with two members of the Cornell music faculty, the English baritone Keith Falkner, a long-time friend of the composer, and Donald Grout), went up to the Empire State Building's 86th-floor observation deck. Looking out over the city, Vaughan Williams said, according to Ursula: 'I think this is the most beautiful city in the world.' The next morning Falkner and Grout drove the visitors to Ithaca.¹¹⁶

About the second event we can only speculate, and always with the knowledge that it was no doubt of greater import for Olin Downes than it was for Vaughan Williams. Having heard that Downes had passed away on 22 August 1955, Ursula Vaughan Williams sent a note to his widow, Irene. Dated 29 August 1955, it reads: 'We were both so very sorry to hear the sad news, and this is just a line to say that we are thinking of you so much. We were so glad to have had the chance of meeting you both when we were in New York, and that will always be a happy memory for us.'¹¹⁷ Ursula is surely referring to the 1954 tour, and the most likely time for such a meeting would have been during the week or so that the Vaughan Williamses spent in New York City before sailing for England on 4 December. For Downes, the meeting must have been one of the highlights of his career, the chance to meet at long last one of his musical Gods, the composer whom he called, in one of his last pieces about him: 'a precipitating force in contemporary music'.¹¹⁸

§5. 1959/60 – Present day: posthumous decline, rock bottom, turn around

Programming of Vaughan Williams symphonies by the New York Philharmonic began to decline almost immediately after his death. What follows measures and tries to account for the decline. Yet even within this decades-long period of overall decline, there are some bright spots: (1) visiting orchestras and other local ensembles picked up some of the slack; (2) other works and even genres as a whole came to the fore; and (3) the generation of post-Schonberg critics at the *NYTimes* who, as we will see, savaged Vaughan Williams in the 1980s and 1990s – in some respects more harshly than Thomson and Bowles had in the 1940s – eventually gave way to a still younger cohort at the turn of the new millennium, one that, I think, has begun to strike a balance in its critical thinking about the composer.

5(a). *Two measures of decline*

As noted (it bears repeating): after his death, Vaughan Williams's representation on New York Philharmonic programmes fell precipitously, with the symphonies being particularly hard hit. [Table 4](#), which includes the New York Symphony programmes prior to the 1928 merger, tabulates his representation on a decade-by-decade basis.

1954, X7; and Unsigned, 'In Honor of Briton', 26 September 1954, X9. The *NYHTrib* too announced his visit: Perkins, 'Vaughan Williams' Visit', 9 May 1954, D5.

116 Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.*, 348. Sir Donald Keith Falkner (1900–94) sang the role of the Constable in the first production of Vaughan Williams's *Hugh the Drover* (at the Royal College of Music, July 1924) and taught at Cornell from 1950 to 1960, after which he returned to England to head the Royal College of Music; see Unsigned, 'Falkner, Sir Donald Keith', *Oxford Music Online*, and Cobbe, *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 213.

117 See Atlas, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams and Olin Downes', 10.

118 Downes, 'Vaughan Williams: Great English Composer', X7 (note 115).

Table 4. Vaughan Williams's symphonies as programmed by the New York Philharmonic (and the New York Symphony before the 1928 merger) on a decade-by-decade basis.

Decades	Symphonies programmed									Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Symphonies	All works (including symphonies)
1920/21–1929/30	1	6	1							8 of	16
1931/32–1939/40		6	2	1						9 of	18
1940/41–1949/50		2	1	3	2	1				9 of	21
1950/51–1959/60		1		8				1		10 of	19
1960/61–1969/70		1		3						4 of	8
1970/71–1979/80		2					1			3 of	6
1980/81–1989/90							1			1 of	4
1990/91–1999/2000		1		1	1					3 of	9
2000/01–2009/10				1						1	6
2010/11–2014/15										0	0
Total for each symphony	1	19	4	17	3	3	0	1	0	48	107

The numbers speak for themselves. To some extent, though – and, some might say, a fairly generous one at that – a combination of visiting orchestras and other local ensembles have helped to fill the void (Table 5).

One cannot help but notice the pro-Vaughan Williams efforts of André Previn, ‘that indefatigable Anglophile’, as John Rockwell dubbed him¹¹⁹, and about whom Rockwell wrote again a year later: ‘Mr. Previn has made a specialty of lushly scored, late Romantic English music [...].’¹²⁰

In fact, if one considers the conductors who have been most active in keeping Vaughan Williams's symphonies and a few other orchestral works (mainly *Tallis*) alive before the New York public in recent decades, the list is heavy with those who are either from the United Kingdom or have had close ties with it (Table 6).

A second way to measure Vaughan Williams's decline at the Philharmonic is to compare the number of seasons within each decade in which Vaughan Williams was *not* represented at all (Table 7).

The difference between the decades before and after Vaughan Williams's death is striking.

5(b). *Two ‘friends’ lost*

Quite aside from the overall changes in musical tastes, fashions and ideologies that contributed to the general decline in Vaughan Williams's status after his death – he had come to be judged as little more than a hopelessly out-of-date fashioner of the English countryside (as, of course, was also his fate in England) – I would single out two specific ‘losses’ that hastened that decline in New York in particular; one has to do with the New York Philharmonic, the other with a changing of the guard among New York music critics. In both instances, Vaughan Williams lost a friend.

119 Rockwell, ‘Arnold Bax Dowdy, Yes, but Dazzling’, *NY Times*, 22 March 1987, 92. Rockwell (b. 1940) was associated with the *NY Times* in one capacity or another from 1972 to 2006, with a four-year sabbatical (1994–8) during which he served as the first director of the Lincoln Center Festival. Equally at home in both classical and popular music, he is the author of *Sinatra: An American Classic* (New York, 1984).

120 Rockwell, ‘Previn as Composer and Conductor’, *NY Times*, 15 May 1988, 55.

Table 5. New York performances of Vaughan Williams symphonies since 1969/70 by ensembles other than the New York Philharmonic.

Date	Symphony	Orchestra	Conductor	Reference in <i>NY Times</i>
3 May 1960	1	Oratorio Society of New York	T. Charles Lee	4 May 1960, 56
28 Feb. 1961	8	National Orchestra Society	John Barnett	1 Mar. 1961, 29
3 Mar. 1964	6	Houston Symphony	John Barbirolli	4 Mar. 1964, 32
10 May 1964	1	Oratorio Society of New York	T. Charles Lee	11 May 1964, 29
15 May 1965	4	BBC Symphony	Antal Dorati	17 May 1965, 43
30 Apr. 1969	4	Houston Symphony	André Previn	1 May 1969, 51
12 Apr. 1970	7	American Symphony Orchestra	Ainslee Cox	13 Apr. 1970, 51
24 Mar. 1971	6	Philadelphia Orchestra	André Previn	25 Mar. 1971, 43
3 Feb. 1972	5	London Symphony Orchestra	André Previn	5 Feb. 1972, 17
8 Mar. 1972	1	St. Louis Symphony	Walter Susskind	10 Mar. 1972, 45
13 Apr. 1973	3	London Symphony Orchestra	André Previn	14 Apr. 1973, 35
16 May 1985	1	St. Cecilia Chorus and Orchestra	David Randolph	19 May 1985, 70
1 Dec. 1989	5	St Martin-in-the-Fields	Neville Marriner	4 Dec. 1989, C14
27 Sep. 1990	5	Los Angeles Philharmonic	André Previn	29 Sep. 1990, 17
23 Feb. 1991	5	Cleveland Orchestra	Leonard Slatkin	25 Feb. 1991, C11
17 Dec. 1994	3	Carmagnole Orchestra	Barry Lawrence Stern	17 Dec. 1994, 20
18 Oct. 1995	5*	New York City Opera Orchestra	Robert Duerr	19 Oct. 1995, B14
2 May 1997	1	St. Cecilia Chorus and Orchestra	David Randolph	6 Apr. 1997, H33
30 Sep. 2005	6	London Symphony Orchestra	Colin Davis	4 Oct. 2005, E5
7 Apr. 2006	4	American Symphony Orchestra	Leon Botstein	10 Apr. 2006, E3
18 Apr. 2009	1	St. Cecilia Chorus and Orchestra	David Randolph	29 Mar. 2009, AR25
26 Mar. 2011	4	Toronto Symphony	Peter Oundjian	28 Mar. 2011, C3
10 Dec. 2014	6	American Symphony Orchestra	Leon Botstein	6 Sep. 2014, AR37

Notes: *3rd movement only – a memorial concert for Christopher Keene (1946–95), music director of the New York City Opera and co-founder of Spoleto USA Festival

5(b)(i). *Exit Bernstein*

When Leonard Bernstein stepped down as music director of the Philharmonic at the end of the 1968–1969 season, Vaughan Williams lost a sympathetic advocate. At the same time, it marked the end of a rarely broken tradition that had begun back in the 1920s. [Table 8](#) lists all those who held the title of ‘music director’ or ‘principal conductor’ at the Philharmonic from the early 1920s to the present day and shows their personal involvement with the music of Vaughan Williams while holding that position.

Though there is no way to know what direction Bernstein would have taken in connection with Vaughan Williams had he remained at the helm, it is notable – perhaps even astonishing – that not a single post-Bernstein director has ever programmed a work (not even *Tallis*) by Vaughan Williams. It would be difficult to imagine a more meaningful measure of Vaughan

Table 6. Conductors either from the United Kingdom or with close ties to it who have programmed Vaughan Williams in New York since 1959/60 either with the Philharmonic or with a visiting orchestra (listed alphabetically).

Conductor	Composition	Orchestra	Date
Barbirolli	Symphony no. 6	Houston Symphony Orchestra	Mar. 1964
	Symphony no. 2 (82)	New York Philharmonic	Apr. 1968
Davis, Andrew	Symphony no. 2 (88)	New York Philharmonic	Mar. 1980
	<i>Tallis</i> (89)	New York Philharmonic	May 1983
	' <i>Greensleeves</i> ' (97)	New York Philharmonic	Dec. 1994
	Oboe Concerto (98)	New York Philharmonic	Dec. 1995
	<i>Tallis</i> (98)	New York Philharmonic	Dec. 1995
Davis, Colin	Symphony no. 6 (90)	New York Philharmonic	Sep. 1987
	<i>Tallis</i> (101)	New York Philharmonic	Apr. 1998
Marriner	Symphony no. 6	London Symphony Orchestra	Sep. 2005
	<i>Tallis</i> (87)	New York Philharmonic	May 1978
	<i>Tallis</i>	St Martin-in-the-Fields	July 1987
Previn	Symphony no. 5	St Martin-in-the-Fields	Dec. 1989
	Symphony no. 4	Houston Symphony Orchestra	Apr. 1969
	Symphony no. 6	Philadelphia Orchestra	Mar. 1971
	Symphony no. 3	London Symphony Orchestra	Feb. 1972
	Symphony no. 2 (84)	New York Philharmonic	Jan. 1976
	<i>Tallis</i>	Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra	Nov. 1981
	Symphony no. 5	Los Angeles Philharmonic	Sep. 1990
	Symphony no. 5 (96)	New York Philharmonic	Dec. 1994
	<i>Tallis</i>	Orchestra of St. Luke's	Dec. 1996
Sargent	<i>Serenade to Music</i> (77)	New York Philharmonic	June 1964
	<i>The Lark Ascending</i> (78)	New York Philharmonic	June 1965
Slatkin	<i>Tallis</i> (91)	New York Philharmonic	Dec. 1987
	Symphony no. 5	Cleveland Symphony Orchestra	Feb. 1991
	' <i>Greensleeves</i> ' (93)	New York Philharmonic	Jan. 1992
	Symphony no. 4 (95)	New York Philharmonic	Feb. 1994
	<i>Tallis</i>	St. Louis Symphony Orchestra	Mar. 1994
	<i>Job</i> (99)	New York Philharmonic	Jan. 1996

Note: Numbers in parentheses refer to entries in Appendix I.

Williams's loss of stature at the New York Philharmonic over the course of the last 55 years (on the 19 performances by guest conductors, mainly British – see Appendices I and II and Table 6).

Table 7. Number of seasons within each decade in which Vaughan Williams was *unrepresented* at the New York Philharmonic (and the New York Symphony prior to the 1928 merger).

Decade	Number of seasons <i>unrepresented</i>
1920/1–1929/30	3
1930/1–1939/40	2
1940/1–1949/50	1
1950/1–1959/60	2
1960/1–1969/70	4
1970/1–1979/80	5
1980/1–1989/90	8
1990/1–1999/2000	4
2000/1–2009/10	6
2010/11–2014/15	5 (of 5 seasons)

Table 8. Conductors who held the title of ‘music director’ or ‘principal conductor’ of the New York Philharmonic from 1921/22 to the present day (that is, from the season in which the Philharmonic performed Vaughan Williams for the first time).

Director	Seasons	Works by Vaughan Williams
Joseph Stransky	1911/12–1922/3	Symphony No. 3 (6)
Willem Mengelberg	1922/3–1929/30	<i>Tallis</i> (16)
Arturo Toscanini	1928/9–1935/6	-----
John Barbirolli	1936/7–1941/2	<i>Job</i> (28) <i>Fantasia on Christmas Carols</i> (30) Symphony No. 3 (31) <i>Tallis</i> (32) Symphony No. 2 (34) <i>Tallis</i> (35)
Artur Rodziński	1943/4–1946/7	Symphony No. 5 (43)
Leopold Stokowski	1949/50	-----
<i>Comment:</i>	Though he presented the New York premiere of the Sixth Symphony with the orchestra during the 1948/9 season, at which time he did not hold the title; he would also conduct the American premiere of the Ninth Symphony in New York with the Contemporary Music Society Symphony Orchestra in September 1958.	
Dimitri Mitropoulos	1949/50–1957/8	Symphony No. 4 (56) Concerto in C for Two Pianos (58) Symphony No. 4 (61) <i>Tallis</i> (64) Symphony No. 4 (66) Symphony No. 4 (67) Symphony No. 4 (68) Symphony No. 4 (69) Symphony No. 4 (70) Symphony No. 4 (71) <i>Tallis</i> (72)
<i>Comment:</i>	On Mitropoulos and the Fourth prior to his directorship, see §3a and Table 2.	
Leonard Bernstein	1957/8–1968/9	<i>Tallis</i> (73) <i>Serenade to Music</i> (76 – inaugural concert Philharmonic Hall) Symphony No. 4 (79) Symphony No. 4 (80 – 4 th movement only – Young People’s Concert) Symphony No. 4 (81)
Pierre Boulez	1971/2–1976/7	-----
Zubin Mehta	1978/9–1990/1	-----
Kurt Mazur	1991/2–2001/2	-----
Lorin Maazel	2002/3–2008/9	-----
Alan Gilbert	2009/10– present	-----

Notes: The numbers in parentheses refer to the entries in Appendix I. (Here I do not include Damrosch and the New York Symphony prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928; nor do I include performances by the conductors listed when they were not the ‘principal conductor’. Note that there are instances in which two directors overlapped for a season; there was also the occasional short gap in which no one held the position officially.)

5(b)(ii). *Exit Schonberg*

When Harold Schonberg retired from his post as the *NYTimes* chief music critic in 1980, Vaughan Williams lost his second and final patron-in-the-press (the first being Olin Downes). Schonberg was succeeded in that position by (in chronological order): Donal Henahan (1980–91), Edward Rothstein (1991–5), Bernard Holland (1995–2000) and

Anthony Tommasini (2000 to the present)¹²¹, none of whom has been any more drawn to Vaughan Williams's music than were the music directors who succeeded Bernstein at the Philharmonic. In fact, whereas Bernstein's successors simply neglected Vaughan Williams, Schonberg's were downright hostile and rudely dismissive. Three examples, two of which deal with the Fifth Symphony, will stand for many.

- *Donal Henahan*, 'The Philharmonic: Bolet and Rex', *NYTimes*, 30 April 1982, C32: After stating that there are composers who both fail to move 'with the tide of history' and who do their own thing 'whether history likes it or not', Henahan lumps Vaughan Williams together with Zemlinsky (1871–1942), Schreker (1878–1934), Pfitzner (1869–1949) and Sibelius (1865–1957), and refers to the entire group as an early twentieth-century 'lost cause'. For Henahan, then, history is something as inexorable as the rising and setting of the sun. Surely he owes his readers an explanation: that is, that he speaks not for something called 'history', but only for himself.¹²²
- *John Rockwell*, 'Marriner and Academy', *NYTimes*, 4 December 1989, C14: Reviewing Neville Marriner's performance of the Fifth Symphony (see Table 6), Rockwell mentions that the symphony sounds 'undernourished [...] thin and aimless'; as for Vaughan Williams: 'not all of us understand his appeal'.
- *Bernard Holland*, 'Vaughan Williams Evokes What Never Was', *NYTimes*, 25 February 1991, C11: Reviewing another performance of the Fifth, this one by Slatkin and the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra (see Table 6), Holland begins by declaring that the early-music movement has 'no greater enemy' than Vaughan Williams; whereas the former gives us old music 'as we suppose it was', Vaughan Williams offers it 'as we wish it had been'; further, to 'believe' this symphony is to tolerate 'nostalgia's essential dishonesty'; finally, the work 'lets us pine [... for] a world that never was'.

What, I would ask, should we make out of Holland's musings? He is certainly far less to the point here than he would be in a later review, this one of a performance of the Fourth Symphony by Colin Davis and the New York Philharmonic on 3 April 2008 (App. I, no. 105), in which he informatively tells us that Vaughan Williams 'looks overweight, calm and slow-moving', and this after implying that he looks like his pet cat (which he decidedly does not).¹²³

5(c). *Two symphonic bright spots*

Despite the almost unrelenting gloom (yes – I am rooting for Vaughan Williams), there have been some notable bright spots, both in terms of performances and, with the new millennium, even critical assessment. In fact, perhaps there has even been the beginning of a turn-around in connection with Vaughan Williams in New York, though to catch a glimpse of it we will eventually have to look beyond the symphonies. First, though, two symphonies (and other genres) warrant our attention.

121 Helgert, 'Criticism, §5, Since 1960', *Oxford Music Online*.

122 Henahan (1921–2012) wrote for the *NYTimes* from 1967 to 1991; in 1986, he won a Pulitzer Prize for Criticism; see Robert D. McFadden, 'Donal Henahan, 91, Critic Who Liked to Spur Debate', *NYTimes*, 20 August 2012, B15.

123 Holland, 'Beethoven Sets the Stage for Gloomy Hues of War', *NYTimes*, 5 April 2008, B9. Holland (b. 1933) joined *The New York Times* in 1981 and remained there until he retired in 2008; see 'Holland to Retire', *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 15 May 2008, online at www.post-gazette.com (for which paper he wrote in 1979–80).

5(c)(i). *A Sea Symphony revived*

As noted in §1b, the New York Philharmonic programmed *A Sea Symphony* on 5 April 1922 (App. I, no. 5). New York audiences then had to wait until 3 May 1960, 38 years, to hear it again, now performed by the Oratorio Society of New York under T. Charles Lee at Carnegie Hall. As Taubman put it, the delay was 'difficult to credit for a composer of such stature and for a work of such breadth'.¹²⁴ Francis Perkins concurred: 'The "Sea Symphony" should not have to wait for another thirty-eight years before its next performance here'; he particularly liked the second movement, 'On the Beach Alone', which he called 'memorable for its lyric mediation'.¹²⁵

In fact, Perkins' wish was granted, and *A Sea Symphony* returned to New York just four years later, on 10 May 1964, once again with the Oratorio Society, its choir now some 200 strong.¹²⁶ Since then the symphony has come up for air on a number of occasions, first on 9 March 1972, when Walter Susskind led the St Louis Symphony Orchestra, the Rutgers University Choir and the soloists Benita Valente and Victor Braun at Carnegie Hall. It was an especially festive concert, as Ursula Vaughan Williams was in the audience. Yet even this relatively brief interval of only eight years was too long for Harold Schonberg, who, while noting that the decline in Vaughan Williams's reputation had already set in, wrote that the performance was 'one of the few occasions in this generation that a New York audience has had a chance to hear this work', which he judged 'impressive and even glorious [. . .] Perhaps the time has come for a reassessment of this composer. He yet may be recognized as one of the significant symphonists of the century.'¹²⁷

Just as the Oratorio Society has performed the work more than once, so too has David Randolph's St Cecilia Chorus and Orchestra: first on 16 May 1985 – drawing the following comment from Tim Page: 'a masterly, 65-minute affirmation of life [. . .]'¹²⁸ – and then

124 Taubman, 'Music: Song of Whitman', *NY Times*, 4 May 1959, p. 56. The event was scheduled as a benefit concert for the Society, with part of the proceeds going to 'commission new choral works by contemporary composers'; as it happens, the concert took place just two days shy of the sixty-ninth anniversary of the Oratorio Society's participation in the inaugural concert of the New York Music Hall (or Carnegie Hall, as it soon came to be known) on 5 May 1891; see Unsigned, 'Oratorio Society Plans a Concert in Carnegie Hall', *NYTimes*, 10 April 1960, 108.

125 Perkins, 'Oratorio Unit in Season's Last Concert', *NYHTrib*, 4 May 1960, 19. Both Taubman and Perkins state that the work had not been performed in New York since 1922. Yet on 29 May 1957, both the *NYTimes* and the *NYHTrib* announced that the Symphony of the Air would present *A Sea Symphony* during the 1957–8 season. According to the *NYTimes*, the orchestra would be joined by the Dessoff Choirs (founded in 1929), both ensembles under the baton of William Strickland (1914–91); the *NYHTrib* seems somewhat confused: the orchestra 'will accompany the Desoff [sic] Choirs under Paul Boepple and perform Ralph Vaughan Williams' "Sea Symphony" with the Oratoria [sic] Society under William Strickland' (two choirs and two conductors?). In any event, a search through the 1957–8 seasons of both the Symphony of the Air and the Dessoff Choirs has turned up nothing further about the concert. Unsigned, 'Symphony of Air Plans 8 Concerts: Orchestra's Programs for Next Season Listed – New U.S. Works Scheduled', *NY Times*, 29 May 1957, 25; unsigned, 'Symphony of Air Lists 10 Concerts', *NYHTrib*, 29 May 1957, 17 (note the discrepancy in the number of concerts cited). From 1937 to 1968, the Dessoff Choirs, which introduced a great deal of choral music both 'early' and new to New York, was directed by the Swiss-born Paul Boepple (1896–1970 – there is an obituary notice in the *NYTimes*, 22 December 1970, 36).

126 Schonberg, 'Music: "Sea Symphony" – Augmented Oratorio Society is Heard', *NYTimes*, 11 May 1964, 34.

127 Schonberg, 'Music: "Sea Symphony"', *NYTimes*, 10 March 1972, 45.

128 Tim Page, 'Music: Ensemble from St. Cecilia', *NYTimes*, 19 May 1985, 70; on Page (b. 1954), who served as music critic with the *NYTimes* (1982–7) and *Newsday* (1987–95) before moving to *The Washington Post* (in 1995) and who won the Pulitzer Prize for Criticism in 1997, see Helgert, 'Criticism: §5, Since 1960', *Oxford Music Online*.

again on 2 May 1997 and 18 April 2009.¹²⁹ Thus it has been two of New York's finest choral organizations that have done the most to keep the work alive in New York.

Yet given Vaughan Williams's commitment to grass-roots music-making, the performance that he might have prized above all others took place on 18 March 1972, when, after five months of rehearsals, students at Montclair High School (in suburban New Jersey) performed the work with a chorus of 225 and a 70-person orchestra that consisted of 40 students and 30 professionals. As one of the students put it: 'It's a great experience. I'll probably never have a chance to play this music again.'¹³⁰

5(c)(ii). *The Sinfonia antartica* premiered

On 12 April 1970, Ainslee Cox led the American Symphony in what seems to have been the first New York performance of the *Sinfonia antartica* (Symphony No. 7, composed 1949–1952), which began life as the soundtrack for the 1948 film *Scott of the Antarctic*. Henahan, though, did anything but welcome the work: the 'unremitting lugubriousness proved tiresome'.¹³¹

5(d). *Beyond the symphonies*

At the risk of going beyond what our title advertises, I would like to look at a number of non-symphonic works and genres that helped fill at least some of the void left by the diminished role of the symphonies: the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, the Sonata in A minor for violin and piano, the large-scale choral work *Dona nobis pacem*, the revival of the operas and, finally, the New York premieres of a number of early works that Vaughan Williams withdrew and that have only recently been published and performed.

5(d)(i). *Tallis*

If during the lean years of the 1980s–90s there was one piece that kept Vaughan Williams before the public in the concert hall it was surely the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. Table 9 lists the appearances of the work during the course of those two decades.

Two reviews – those by Allan Kozinn of Andrew Davis and the Philharmonic and James Oestreich of Slatkin and the St Louis Orchestra – can be disposed of quickly. For Kozinn, *Tallis* is 'meltingly beautiful'; for Oestreich, it is marked by 'antic melancholy'.¹³² On the other hand, Bernard Holland's review of Marriner and St Martin-in-the-Fields deserves just a little more attention: to say that the work 'hover[s] ambiguously between truth and falsity', to ask if its modality is 'a [...] too easily acquired identity, like one of the "Ye Olde Tea Shoppe" signs' seems to question Vaughan Williams's artistic integrity; as such it displays a

129 Announcements in *NYTimes*, 10 April 1997, H33, and 29 March 2009, AR25.

130 Josephine Bonomo, 'Amateurs to Play Montclair Concert: Laughter at Rehearsals—A 225-Voice Chorus', *NYTimes*, 11 March 1972, 94.

131 Henahan, 'Cox Leads American Symphony with Stephen Bishop as Soloist', *NYTimes*, 13 April 1970, 51. We can only wonder if Henahan might have heard things differently had he known Michael Beckerman, 'The Composer as Pole Seeker: Reading Vaughan Williams's *Sinfonia antartica*', *Current Musicology*, 69 (2000), 181–97, and Daniel M. Grimley, 'Music, Ice, and the "Geometry of Fear": the Landscapes of Vaughan Williams's *Sinfonia antartica*', *The Musical Quarterly*, 91, no. 1–2 (2008), 116–50.

132 Allan Kozinn, 'English Pastoral Style and Sugarplum Fairies', *NYTimes*, 22 December 1995, C39; James Oestreich, 'Classical Music in Review', *NYTimes*, 19 March 1994, 14. Kozinn (b. 1954) was on the staff of the *NYTimes* from 1991 to 2014; Oestreich (b. 1943) wrote for the *NYTimes* from 1989 to 2013 and served as editor of the Sunday Arts & Leisure section.

Table 9. Performances of the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, 1980s-1990s; numbers in parentheses are for programmes by the New York Philharmonic and refer to the appropriate entries in Appendix I.

Date	Orchestra	Conductor	Venue	Reference in <i>NY Times</i>
18 Nov. 1981	Pittsburgh Symphony	André Previn	Carnegie Hall	19 Nov. 1981, C29
<i>Comment:</i>	Part of a two-evening 'British Festival' that began with a recorded message from Margaret Thatcher			
11 May 1983	New York Philharmonic (89)	Andrew Davis	Avery Fisher Hall	13 May 1983, C30
26 July 1987	St Martin-in-the-Fields	Neville Marriner	Avery Fisher Hall	28 July 1987, C16
18 Dec. 1987	New York Philharmonic (91)	Leonard Slatkin	Avery Fisher Hall	19 Dec. 1987, 11
13 May 1988	Los Angeles Philharmonic	André Previn	Avery Fisher Hall	15 May 1988, 55
12 July 1993	Canadian Brass & Members of the New York Philharmonic brass section		Avery Fisher Hall	17 July 1993, L14
4 Nov. 1993	New York Philharmonic (94)	Christopher Keene	Avery Fisher Hall	6 Nov. 1993, 14
16 Mar. 1994	St. Louis Symphony	Leonard Slatkin	Carnegie Hall	19 Mar. 1994, 14
31 Jan. 1995	St. Cecilia Orchestra (Albany, New York)	Kenneth Kiesler	Miller Theater (Columbia University)	4 Feb. 1995, 15
13 May 1995	New Jersey Youth Symphony	George Marriner Maull	Princeton University	7 May 1995, NJ16
20 Dec. 1995	New York Philharmonic (98)	Andrew Davis	Avery Fisher Hall	22 Dec. 1995, C39
16 Dec. 1996	Orchestra of St. Luke's	André Previn	Carnegie Hall	21 Dec. 1996, 21
23 Apr. 1998	New York Philharmonic (101)	Colin Davis	Avery Fisher Hall	24 Apr. 1998, E7
<i>Comment:</i>	Part of a week-long series titled 'Variations on a British Theme'			

lack of knowledge about the man so profound as to render useless much (if not most) of what Holland writes about Vaughan Williams.¹³³

Though *Tallis* obviously belongs in the concert hall (or within the walls of an 'ancient' stone church), during the 1980s it twice made its way onto the stage. In fact, it had been there before. On 23 January 1969, the New York City Ballet premiered John Clifford's *Fantasies* at Lincoln Center's New York State Theater (since November 2008 the David H. Koch Theater), the choreography of which was set to the *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*. Clive Barnes was swept away by Vaughan Williams's music: 'one of the last masterpieces of its period [...] ideal for the ballet'.¹³⁴

133 Holland, 'Concert: Academy of St. Martin Plays at Festival', *NYTimes*, 28 July 1987, C16.

134 Clive Barnes, 'City Ballet Performs John Clifford', *NYTimes*, 24 January 1969, 24. Born in London, the influential Barnes (1927–2008) wrote drama and dance criticism for the *NYTimes* from 1965 to 1977; he moved to the *New York Post* in 1978, to which he continued to contribute reviews almost until his death. See William Grimes, 'Clive Barnes, who Raised the Stakes in Dance and Theater Criticism, Dies at 81', *NYTimes*, 19 November 2008, A41.

Clifford's *Fantasies* – and therefore Vaughan Williams's *Tallis* – appeared again on 8–10 February 1980, when the Long Island-based Eglevsky Dancers performed it at Hofstra University;¹³⁵ and on 16 May 1983, *Tallis* appeared in a new guise, now as the musical basis of Lynne Taylor-Corbett's *Estuary*, performed by the American Ballet Theater at the Metropolitan Opera House.¹³⁶ In addition, two other New York dance companies based ballets on other works by Vaughan Williams. On 25 April 1972, the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater premiered *The Lark Ascending* to Vaughan Williams's eponymous work, with Judith Jamison in the role of the metaphorical lark (she succeeded Ailey as the company's director when he died in 1989).¹³⁷ Twenty-five years later, on 25 February 1997, the Paul Taylor Dance Company drew on two pieces for its ten-dancer *Eventide: the Suite for Viola and Small Orchestra* (1934), to which Taylor 'append[ed]' for the final section of the ballet the luscious first movement, 'Eventide', of the *Two Hymn-Tune Preludes* for small orchestra (1936).¹³⁸

Finally, ballet adaptations of Vaughan Williams have continued into the twenty-first century. On 29 April 2003, the José Limón Dance Company premiered Adam Hougland's *Phantasy Quintet*, set to Vaughan Williams's 1912 chamber work for two violins, two violas and cello.¹³⁹ And more than 40 years after its premiere in 1972, Alvin Ailey's *The Lark Ascending* was revived by the Dance Theater of Harlem at Brooklyn's Prospect Park band shell on 31 July 2014. Gia Kouras's review, which, obviously, concentrated on the dance, did manage to find a one-word description of Vaughan Williams's music: 'romantic', with a lower-case 'r'.¹⁴⁰

5(d)(ii). Joseph Fuchs and the *Sonata in A Minor for Violin and Piano*

On 17 November 1969, the noted violinist and native New Yorker Joseph Fuchs (1899–1997) performed Vaughan Williams's *Sonata in A Minor* (1954) in Carnegie Hall, claiming that it was the first New York performance of the work in its 'revised form', a reference to the 'corrected' edition of the work that Oxford University Press issued in the autumn of 1968.¹⁴¹ Schonberg was taken by the work, stating that 'it clearly is a work of consequence', and, after mentioning its difficulty, calling Fuchs 'a brave man' for performing it.¹⁴² Fuchs was indeed brave, and he programmed the sonata at least twice more in New York recitals, first on 13 November 1972 and then on 19 November 1988.¹⁴³ Also in his repertory was the Violin Concerto in D minor ('Accademico'), which he performed at least twice in New York: on 9 December 1961, as part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art series called

135 Jennifer Dunning, 'Eglevsky Dancers at a Turning Point', *NYTimes*, 8 February 1980, C1.

136 Anna Kisselgoff, 'Ballet: A New Work by Miss Taylor-Corbett', *NYTimes*, 18 May 1983, C19.

137 Kisselgoff, 'Love is Theme in Two Alvin Ailey Dance Premieres', *NYTimes*, 27 April 1972, 48.

138 Kisselgoff, 'Expanding the Trite to Reveal New Poetry', *NY Times*, 27 February 1997, C13. The company revived *Eventide* on 2 March 2005; see *NYTimes*, 5 March 2005, B13.

139 Dunning, 'Pain Eased and Ennobled by Soaring Human Esprit', *NYTimes*, 2 May 2003, E5.

140 Gia Kouras, 'In a Swirl of Limbs, a Bird Takes Flight', *NYTimes*, 2 August 2014, C3.

141 My thanks to Alain Frogley for calling my attention to the revisions and to Simon Wright for bringing me up-to-date about the appearance of the corrected edition (communications of 30 August and 5 September 2014, respectively). The first New York performance of the original version of the work is likely to have been that by José Figueroa on 17 November 1957 at Town Hall; see W. F., 'Jose Figueroa in Violin Recital', *NYHTrib*, 18 November 1957, 16. On Fuchs, who co-founded and directed the Musicians' Guild from 1943 to 1956 (the Guild promoted chamber music) and taught at Juilliard from 1946, see Boris Schwarz, 'Fuchs, Joseph', *Oxford Music Online*.

142 Schonberg, 'Rare Vaughan Williams Sonata', *NYTimes*, 18 November 1969, 43.

143 Raymond Ericson, 'Fuchs and Sister Join in Mozart Sinfonia', *NYTimes*, 14 November 1979, 37; Schonberg, 'At 88, Fuchs is Still Going his Own Way', *NYTimes*, 13 November 1988', H23. Ericson (1915–97) wrote for the *NYTimes* from 1960 to 1990.

'Music Forgotten and Remembered', and then on 23 January 1979 at Carnegie Hall.¹⁴⁴ In fact, Fuchs became something of a cheerleader for Vaughan Williams. As he put it in an interview with the *NYTimes*'s Allan Kozinn in 1990: 'I keep pushing the music of Vaughan Williams [...] I knew the man [...] I think [his] day will come.'¹⁴⁵

Joseph was not the only member of the family who 'pushed' Vaughan Williams's music. His sister Lillian, an outstanding violist, was the soloist in *Flos campi* at another of the 'Music Forgotten and Remembered' concerts, this one on 19 November 1959.¹⁴⁶ Finally, on 26 January 1979, the sonata received a performance by another brother-sister team: Yehudi and Hepzibah Menuhin; about the work Schonberg now wrote: 'it is a powerful and introspective piece', and once again he acknowledged Joseph Fuch's role in keeping it in front of audiences.¹⁴⁷

5(d)(iii). *Dona nobis pacem*

As the Philharmonic scaled back its programming of Vaughan Williams's symphonies, another genre – the large-scale choral works – came to thrive, and did so with choral groups across the region; the *Dona nobis pacem* (1936) was a particular favourite. Table 10 lists all the performances of the work from 1980/1 to 1999/2000 that I have been able to glean from announcements and reviews in the *NYTimes*.

Twenty-five performances in 20 seasons – hardly a work that is 'not heard all that often', as Will Crutchfield wrote¹⁴⁸, though it is unlikely that he kept close tabs on things that were going on outside the city itself. Moreover, Vaughan Williams would have been pleased that his work was so often performed by 'community' choirs.

5(d)(iv). *Revival of the operas*

Still another genre that helped New York fill the increasingly 'symphony-less' void was the operas. The 1970s saw revivals of two Vaughan Williams operas: *Riders to the Sea* and *Sir John in Love*. *Riders* came first, on 27 January 1970, when Thomas Scherman and the Little Orchestra Society mounted the opera together with Gustav Holst's *At the Boar's Head*. For Schonberg, *Boar's Head* was just that: a 'bore'; on the other hand, *Riders* was 'bleak, strong, intense [...] an impressive and often beautiful work'.¹⁴⁹ Leighton Kerner of the *Village Voice* went even further: 'It is one of the most perfect operas of the century.'¹⁵⁰

144 Eric Salzman, 'Museum Concert Stars a Violinist', *NYTimes*, 11 December 1961, 43; John Gruen, 'Music: Weekend Events', *NYHTrib*, 11 December 1961; Rockwell, 'Recital Joseph Fuchs', *NYTimes*, 24 January 1979, C22. On Salzman (b. 1933), see James P. Cassaro, 'Salzman, Eric', *Oxford Music Online*; on Gruen (b. 1926), critic, photographer and author of *Callas Kissed Me—Lenny Too* (Brooklyn, 2008), see Ariella Budick, 'John Gruen, Whitney Museum, New York', online at <http://www.ft.com/cms/0/472d-11df-aade-00144/eabc0.html>.

145 Kozinn, 'Going on 90, Joseph Fuchs Goes on Playing the Violin', *NYTimes*, 1 February 1990, 15. Though Fuchs sheds no further light on his acquaintanceship with Vaughan Williams, the composer's 1954 visit would have been a likely time for a meeting (see §4f).

146 Schonberg, 'Lillian Fuchs is Viola Soloist', *NYTimes*, 29 November 1959, 35; on Lillian Fuchs (1902–95), who often performed the Mozart *Sinfonia concertante*, K.364(320d), with her brother, see Schwarz, 'Fuchs, Lillian', *Oxford Music Online*.

147 Schonberg, 'The Menuhins Play Music of Old Friends', *NYTimes*, 29 January 1979, C13.

148 Will Crutchfield, 'Choral Music: Oratorio Society', *NYTimes*, 8 May 1995, C10. Crutchfield has been director of the Caramoor International Music Festival since 1997; see Fletcher Artist Management at <http://www.fletcherartists.com>.

149 Schonberg, 'Double-Bill of English Operas: One-Acters by Holst and Vaughan Williams', *NYTimes*, 28 January 1970, 44; see also Ericson, 'National Orchestral Association Plays 2 Nonrepertory Novelties', *NYTimes*, 29 January 1970, 45.

150 Leighton Kerner, 'Two English Operas', *The Village Voice*, 12 February 1970, 32. Kerner (1927–2006) was the classical music critic for *The Village Voice* from 1957 to 1998; unsigned, 'Leighton Kerner, 91, Classical Music Critic', *NYTimes*, 4 May 2006, 29.

Table 10. Performances of the *Dona nobis pacem*, 1980/1–1999/2000, as recorded in the *NYTimes*.

Date	Ensemble	Venue	Reference in <i>NYTimes</i>
11 May 1980	Sarah Lawrence Chorus	Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY	11 May 1980, WC16
15 Nov. 1981	St. Bartholomew's Church	Park Avenue & East 51 st Street	13 Nov. 1981, C14
13 June 1982	St. Patrick's Cathedral	Fifth Avenue & East 51 st Street	11 June 1982, C2
21 Nov. 1982	Fairfield County Chorale Chamber Orchestra of New England	Old Norwalk High School, Norwalk, CT	21 Nov. 1982, CN30
20 Nov. 1983	Master Singers of St. John's Baptist Church	Stamford, CT	13 Nov. 1983, CN28
13 May 1984	Pleasantville Cantata Singers	Pace University, Pleasantville, NY	13 May 1984, N16
6 May 1985	Oratorio Society of New York	Carnegie Hall	8 May 1985, C19
2 Nov. 1985	New York Choral Society	Carnegie Hall	1 Nov. 1985, C32
17 May 1986	Westchester Chorale	Sarah Lawrence College	11 May 1986, WC10
25 Jan. 1987	Waldorf Chorale Society	Cathedral of the Incarnation Garden City, NY	25 Jan. 1987, LI16
15 May 1988	Central City Chorus	Central Presbyterian Church, Park Avenue & East 64 th Street	13 May 1988, C32
19 July 1988	Westchester Chorale	Hoff-Barthelsen School, Scarsdale, NY	26 June 1988, WC22
	<i>Comment:</i> A 'sing-in'		
3 Dec. 1988	Westchester Concert Singers	United Methodist Church, White Plains, NY	28 Nov. 1988, WE8
26 Feb. 1989	St. Cecilia Chorus	St. Bartholomew's Church	26 Feb. 1989, H45
2 May 1998	Fairfield County Chorale	Norwalk Concert Hall, Norwalk, CT	26 Apr. 1992, CN16
1 April 1994	First Presbyterian Church	Stamford, CT	27 Mar. 1994, 604 [sic]
	<i>Comment:</i> This was a very good Holy Week for Vaughan Williams in Connecticut: 27 March —(1) excerpts from <i>Five Mystical Songs</i> , Trinity Episcopal Church, Southport; (2) Mass in G minor, South Congregational-First Baptist Church, New Britain (part of the Woodland Concert Series of Hartford and Music Series of New Britain); (3) 'O How Amiable', South Congregational Church, Hartford (this anthem is from the music for <i>The Pageant of Abinger</i> , 1934 [Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 145-46]); (4) 'At the Name of Jesus', Christ Church, Greenwich (an original hymn tune by Vaughan Williams titled 'King's Weston' [Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 110]); 2 April —excerpts from <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> , St. Paul's Church, Woodbury; 3 April —excerpts from <i>Five Mystical Songs</i> , First Church of Christ, Hartford.		
7 May 1994	Westchester Chorale	Concordia College Bronxville, NY	1 May 1994, WC24
11 May 1995	Oratorio Society of New York	Carnegie Hall	7 May 1995, H40
13 Jan. 1996	New York Virtuoso Singers	Merkin Concert Hall	16 Jan. 1996, C16
	<i>Comment:</i> The concluding section only, perhaps the 5 th movement in its entirety, beginning with the baritone solo at 'And the Angel of Death'		
31 Mar. 1996	North Shore Ecumenical Chorus and Sinfonia Pacificam	Congregational Church, Manhasset, NY	31 Mar. 1996, LI13

(Continued)

Table 10. Continued.

Date	Ensemble	Venue	Reference in <i>NYTimes</i>
4 Apr. 1996	Irvington Presbyterian Church	Irvington, NY	31 Mar. 1996, WC21
8 Dec. 1996	Shrewsbury Chorale	St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Keyport, NJ	18 Dec. 1996, NJ14
18 Jan. 1997	Hudson Valley Singers	South Presbyterian Church, Dobbs Ferry, NY	12 Jan. 1997, WC12
<i>Comment:</i>	Accompanied by organ only.		
7 May 1998	Oratorio Society of New York	Carnegie Hall	7 May 1998, E6
<i>Comment:</i>	4 th movement only, 'Dirge for Two Veterans'		
5 Aug. 1999	Westchester Oratorio Society	South Salem Presbyterian Church, South Salem, NY	1 Aug. 1999, WE16
<i>Comment:</i>	A 'sing-in'		
4 Dec. 1999	Westchester Concert Singers	United Methodist Church, White Plains, NY	28 Nov. 1999, WE8

Notes: Where the name of the choir is simply that of the church, I cite the church and do not cite it again under 'venue'. If there is a clear indication that an organ replaced the orchestra, that too is noted.

Sir John came along in 1978, with a production by Michael Spierman and the Bronx Opera Company at Hunter College on 12–13 May. It was the first performance of the opera (at least in New York) since its United States debut at Columbia University in 1949.¹⁵¹ The main complaint had to do with the libretto. Bill Zakariasen: 'VW [sic] was a flabby librettist – as in his other operas, there isn't enough dramatic tension.'¹⁵² Andrew Porter: 'Vaughan Williams retained all twenty characters of "The Merry Wives" (Boito [...] reduced them to ten) [...] They crowd one another out [...] clutter and confusion.' Porter also took exception to the profusion of lyricism: 'The play can't get going [...] it keeps stopping for a song.'¹⁵³ Finally, Will Crutchfield had much the same to say a decade later after hearing the Bronx Opera Company's revival in January 1988.¹⁵⁴

In the end, it is no exaggeration to say that the Vaughan Williams operas enjoyed something of a 'mini-revival' in New York. Table 11 lists all New York performances of the operas of which I am aware.

5(d)(v). *Early works premiered*

Early in his career, Vaughan Williams withdrew a number of works with which he was not satisfied. These dated from the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of

151 The production consisted of three performances (20–22 January) by the Columbia University Opera Workshop under the direction of Willard Rhodes (best known in academia as an ethnomusicologist) and with a piano substituting for the orchestra. On Rhodes's less well-known activities in the field of opera, see David McAllester, 'Obituary: Willard Rhodes (1910–1992)', *Ethnomusicology*, 37, no. 2 (1993), 251–62.

152 Bill Zakariasen, 'Sir John Captivating', *New York Daily News*, 15 May 1989, 28; Zakariasen (1930–2004) was chief music critic at the *Daily News* from 1976 to 1993; he was a frequent contributor to *Opera News*, which noted his passing in vol. 69/7 (January 2005), 77.

153 Andrew Porter, 'Musical Events: Thunder to the Tune of "Greensleeves"', *The New Yorker*, 29 May 1978, 87–8. Porter (1928–2015) wrote for *The New Yorker* for 20 years, 1972–92.

154 Crutchfield, 'Opera: "Sir John in Love," at Lehman College', *NY Times*, 11 January 1998, C14.

Table 11. Vaughan Williams’s operas in New York, 1937–2012.

Date	Opera	Ensemble	Conductor	Venue	Reference in <i>NY Times</i>
22 Apr. 1937	<i>Kiss</i>	Juilliard Opera Company	Albert Stoessel	Juilliard	23 Apr. 1937, 19
	<i>Comment:</i>	United States premiere			
20 Jan. 1949	<i>Sir John</i>	Columbia University	Piano	Columbia University Opera Workshop	21 Jan. 1949, 34
	<i>Comment:</i>	United States premiere			
1 July 1952	<i>Hugh</i>	Punch Opera Company	2 pianos	Metropolitan-Duane United Methodist Church, 7 th Avenue and West 13 th Street	2 July 1952, 22
	<i>Comment:</i>	New York premiere			
28 Mar. 1957	<i>Riders</i>	Hunter College Opera Association	William Tarrasch	Hunter College	24 Mar. 1957, 125
	<i>Comment:</i>	New York premiere?			
18 Apr. 1959	<i>Kiss</i>	Light Opera Guild	2 pianos double bass percussion	Brooklyn College	18 Apr. 1959, 19
	<i>Comment:</i>	The four-piece ‘orchestra’ is described in the college’s student newspaper: Ellen Goldstein, ‘Dra-Musically Speaking ... Spicy “Kiss” by LOG’, <i>Kingsman</i> , 1 May 1959, 7			
27 Jan. 1970	<i>Riders</i>	Little Orchestra Society	Thomas Scherman	Philharmonic Hall	28 Jan. 1970, 44
12 May 1978	<i>Sir John</i>	Bronx Opera Company	Michael Spierman	Hunter College	14 May 1978, 49
17 Feb. 1982	<i>Riders</i>	Opera Ensemble of New York	2 pianos	Lili Blake School Theater (45 East 81 st St.)	20 Feb. 1982, 15
10 Jan. 1982	<i>Hugh</i>	Bronx Opera Company	Michael Spierman	Lehman College	10 Jan. 1982, TG3
	<i>Comment:</i>	Repeated 15–16 January at Hunter College			
9 Jan. 1988	<i>Sir John</i>	Bronx Opera Company	Michael Spierman	Lehman College	11 Jan. 1988, C14
	<i>Comment:</i>	Repeated 15–16 January at Hunter College			
26 Apr. 1990	<i>Hugh</i>	Juilliard Opera Center	Richard Bradshaw	Juilliard	29 Apr. 1990, 59
16 Jan. 1998	<i>Hugh</i>	Bronx Opera Company	Michael Spierman	John Jay College	19 Jan. 1998, F12
9 Dec. 2005	<i>Riders</i>	Manhattan School of Music	David Gilbert	Manhattan School Opera Theater of Music	9 Dec. 2005, E25
13 Sep. 2009	<i>Riders</i>	One World Symphony	Sung Jin Hong	Ansche Hased Synagogue	15 Sep. 2009, C3
	<i>Comment:</i>	The One World Symphony was founded in 2001; the Ansche Hased Synagogue, at 251 West 101 st Street, traces its history back to 1829..			

(Continued)

Table 11. Continued.

Date	Opera	Ensemble	Conductor	Venue	Reference in <i>NY Times</i>
25 Mar. 2011	<i>Riders</i>	Hunter Opera Theater	Paul Mueller	Hunter College	No notice
14 Jan. 2012	<i>Kiss</i>	Bronx Opera Company	Michael Spierman	Lehman College	16 Jan. 2012, C10
	<i>Comment:</i>	Repeated 20–21 January at Hunter College			
9 Dec. 2012	<i>Riders</i>	Juilliard Opera Center	Piano	Juilliard	11 Dec. 2012, C7

Notes: The abbreviated titles of the operas are:

Hugh = *Hugh the Drover*

Kiss = *The Poisoned Kiss*

Riders = *Riders to the Sea*

Sir John = *Sir John in Love*

(New York has yet to have a performance of Vaughan Williams's fifth and final opera, *The Pilgrim's Progress*).

For those productions that had more than one performance, I list only the opening night, unless subsequent performances were at a different venue. (Note that Brooklyn College, Hunter College, John Jay College and Lehman College are part of The City University of New York.)

Table 12. New York premieres of four early works by Vaughan Williams, 2006–14.

Date	Work	Ensemble	Venue	Reference
3 Dec. 2006 (App. I, no. 103)	Quintet in D for Clarinet, Horn, Violin, Cello and Piano	Members of New York Philharmonic	Merkin Concert Hall	New York Philharmonic programme
	<i>Comment:</i> Composed 1898 (Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 8), published Faber Music, 2002			
8 June 2008 (App. I, no. 106)	String Quartet in C minor	Members of New York Philharmonic	Merkin Concert Hall	New York Philharmonic programme
	<i>Comment:</i> Composed 1897 (Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 6), published Faber Music, 2002			
29 May 2014	<i>Harnham Down</i> and <i>Serenade in A minor</i>	Chamber Orchestra of New York	Weill Recital Hall	<i>NYTimes</i> , 23 May 2014, C17
	<i>Comment:</i> United States premiere for both works: <i>Harnham Down</i> – composed 1904–7 as No. 1 of <i>Two Impressions</i> (Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 23), published Oxford University Press, 2013 <i>Serenade in A minor</i> – composed 1898 (Kennedy, <i>Catalogue</i> , 7), published Oxford University Press, 2012			

the twentieth. Fortunately, he did not destroy the manuscripts, and upon his death in 1958, his widow, Ursula, donated them to the British Library, though with strict instructions that they not be published or performed. And so they remained until she had changed her mind in 1996, at which time she cleared the way for both Faber Music and Oxford University Press to begin issuing carefully edited editions that began to appear in 2002.¹⁵⁵ Since 2006, four of these works have enjoyed their first New York performances, two of them with the participation of ‘members of the New York Philharmonic’ (Table 12).

None of the three programmes was reviewed.

5(e). *Critical reassessment?*

We have seen that already in 1972 – with the memory of the awards and tributes that New York had bestowed upon Vaughan Williams in the late 1950s still relatively fresh in mind (but with the composer already unrepresented in five of the Philharmonic’s previous six seasons) – Harold Schonberg felt the need to call for a reassessment of what he had begun to view as Vaughan Williams’s fading reputation (see §5c.i, and note 127). What, then, would he have thought at the beginning of the new millennium, by which time his successors at the *NYTimes* had virtually ridiculed Vaughan Williams for the better part of two decades, while the New York Philharmonic had neglected him during 12 of the 20 seasons therein?

In fact, the reassessment for which Schonberg had called was beginning to take place, even if on a modest – very modest – scale and even if we must once again sometimes look beyond the symphonies. A series of four song recitals provides a good starting point. Reviewing the mezzo-soprano Stephanie Blythe’s performance on 16 January 2005 of *Songs of Travel*, the 1904 setting of poems by Robert Louis Stevenson, Tommasini referred to the songs as ‘wistful and elegant’.¹⁵⁶ Also drawing praise were two performances of *On Wenlock Edge*:

155 For the reasons behind her change in mind, see Cobbe, ‘The Vaughan Williams Charitable Trust’, *Ralph Vaughan Williams Society Journal*, 54 (June 2012), 16–17; Wright, ‘Vaughan Williams and Oxford University’, 14–15.

156 Tommasini, ‘Soaring with Abandon and a Touch of Impish Glee’, *NYTimes*, 18 January 2005, E5; Ms Blythe’s accompanist, Warren Jones, played the piano part by memory.

Holland, who, as we have seen, was not a great Vaughan Williams fan, nevertheless thought that the composer's settings gave A.E. Housman's verse 'a theatrical bigness'.¹⁵⁷ On 13 February 2007, the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center offered the second concert in its two-part series titled 'English Musical Renaissance'. Sharing the second half of the programme with Arnold Bax's *Elegiac Trio*, Wenlock drew the following response from Allan Kozinn: 'currents of introspection and intensity'; it was the only work on the programme, he wrote, that he would want to hear again.¹⁵⁸ But perhaps the most telling round of praise was the 'understated' (in fact, silent) one that followed Bryn Terfel's performance of *Songs of Travel* on 5 March 2002. Though the British-born Paul Griffiths could hardly find sufficient praise for Terfel's performance, there was not a word about the song cycle itself. Though I could well be wrong, I would like to think that Griffiths thought that there was no more reason to praise *Songs* than there is to validate a Beethoven or Brahms symphony that has been beautifully performed by a world-class orchestra.¹⁵⁹

To conclude, we might look briefly at the work of three members of the latest generation of *NYTimes* critics: Steve Smith (as of 2004), Vivien Schweitzer (2007) and Zachary Woolfe (2010). Writing about the performance of the rarely heard *Silence and Music* (1953) by the New Amsterdam Singers on 7 June 2007, Schweitzer commended the piece for its 'vivid word painting and rich, striking unpredictable harmonies'.¹⁶⁰

Quite different in both nature and intent is Steve Smith's contribution to a commemorative 'appreciation' triggered by the fiftieth anniversary of Vaughan Williams's death. He begins by recalling two 'memorable' concerts in which Colin Davis conducted the Sixth Symphony with the London Symphony Orchestra (September 2005, see Table 5) and the Fourth with the New York Philharmonic (April 2008, see App. 1, no. 105), both of which are 'terse enigmatic works [...] worlds apart from the wistful nostalgia that continues to define his reputation. [... he is] more than a writer of pastorals. [...] his mature compositional style [is] a distinctive musical language [...]'. Smith goes on to single out for special praise four symphonies that appear on the soundtrack of Tony Parker's DVD documentary *O Thou Transcendent: The Life of Ralph Vaughan Williams*: the 'bustling' *London*, the 'apocalyptic fury' of the Sixth, the 'desolate majesty' of *Antartica* and the 'melancholy aspect' of the Ninth, before concluding with a comment that those who love Vaughan Williams's music will applaud: '[...] "The Pilgrim's Progress" had an ecstatic aspect to rival Wagner's "Parsifal" and Messiaen's "St. François d'Assises"'.¹⁶¹

157 Holland, 'Ephemeral but Powerful, with Tinges of France', *NYTimes*, 15 March 2006, E5, reviewing a performance of the previous evening by Ian Bostridge, the Belcea Quartet, and the pianist Julius Drake.

158 Kozinn, 'Elegiac Trio and Song Cycles in Festival of English Music', *NYTimes*, 15 February 2007, E5. The performers were Russell Thomas, tenor; Gilbert Kalish, piano; and the Society's resident string quartet.

159 Paul Griffiths, 'Ringling in Words Along with Fierce Spirit', *NYTimes*, 9 March 2002, B 14; note that even Terfel can be kept waiting four days for a review. Griffiths (b. 1947) joined the *NYTimes* in 1997 after serving as music critic for *The New Yorker* (1992–7).

160 Vivien Schweitzer, 'The Dissonance of Everyday Life, the Harmony of Nature', *NYTimes*, 9 June 2007, B15. *Silence and Music*, for mixed *a cappella* chorus, is No. 4 in *A Garland for the Queen*, a compilation of music by ten British composers and poets in honour of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation in 1953; the words are by Ursula Vaughan Williams (then still Ursula Wood); see Kennedy, *Catalogue*, 214. *Silence and Music* is also the title of a collection of poems by Ursula Vaughan Williams (London, 1959). The performance on June 7th was likely a New York (and perhaps even a United States) premiere; I cannot find an earlier performance of the work.

161 Steve Smith, 'A Composer Forever English, Cows and All', *NYTimes*, 13 July 2008, 51. The Parker documentary is issued by Isolde Films/Voice Print Records, TPDVD 106 (2007). I might note that another celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Vaughan Williams's death took place on 14 November 2008 at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York: *Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–*

Finally, there is something of a ‘validation’ of *A Pastoral Symphony* – so beloved by Olin Downes and one of the works that contributed to Vaughan Williams’s early reputation in New York – in Zachary Woolfe’s review of Richard Hickox’s 2002 Chandos recording; he sums up as follows: ‘[...] his Third – subtle, gentle, troubled, reflective, imperfect – is movingly modest, considering the violence that begot it. The work’s calm, if calm it is, is hard won.’¹⁶²

Does all of this constitute a reassessment? Readers will have to judge that for themselves. I would, however, like to think that the pendulum has begun to swing, and that for now it seems to be heading in the right direction. Perhaps New York critics are finally getting it right, thanks to a combination of growing distance, lack of axe grinding (from any direction) and placing one’s ears before one’s ideologies. Perhaps they are finally coming to recognize the ‘real’ Vaughan Williams: clearly, he was not the heroic antidote to the Second Viennese School that both Downes and Schonberg wished him to be, but neither was he part of a ‘lost cause’, as Henahan claimed. Rather we might say that New York once again respects and still retains a place for the music of Vaughan Williams. And perhaps, then, after almost a century (I count from the premiere of *London* in December 1920), Vaughan Williams’s reputation in New York has found its proper place.

Notes on contributor

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APPENDIX I

New York Philharmonic (and New York Symphony) programmes with music by Vaughan Williams, 1920/1–2014/15: a chronological inventory

Appendix I provides an inventory (in chronological order) of the 107 New York Philharmonic programmes that included music by Vaughan Williams. It includes 11 programmes by the New York Symphony (always identified as such) prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928 (thus the Philharmonic’s ‘proprietary rights’), as well as four programmes by various Philharmonic-based chamber ensembles. Though the inventory is largely self-explanatory, some comments are in order.

Column 1 numbers all the programmes with music by Vaughan Williams, most of which consist of two, three or even more individual performances. (It is always the *programme*, not the individual performances, that is the unit numbered). Occasionally it is difficult to say just what counts as a single programme. Nos. 20 and 69–70 illustrate the problem: (1) I have counted as a single programme the four performances of *A Pastoral Symphony* presented on 21–23 and 31 December 1933, although the concert on the 31st, while identical for the first half of the programme, differed in the second; (2) on the other hand, I have counted as two separate programmes Nos. 69 and 70, on 29–30 December 1955 and 8 January 1956, respectively; although Symphony No. 4 appeared both times, that was the only common thread between the programmes.

Column 2 provides the dates (by season and precise dates within) for each programme; each season (in bold) remains in effect until cancelled by the next one. I have included those seasons in which Vaughan

1958): *Fifty Years On. Conference & Concert*. Eight papers spread across the morning and the afternoon by Stephen Connack, Julian Onderdonk, Bryon Adams, Deborah Heckert, Julian Rushton, David Stern, Eric Saylor and Alain Frogley were followed by an evening concert that featured the Sonata in A Minor for Violin and Piano, performed by two Graduate Center alumni, Yavet Boyadjiev, violin, and Jin-Ok Lee, piano.

¹⁶² Zachary Woolfe, ‘The Sadness of Bugles as Soldiers Head Home’, *NYTimes*, 22 June 2014, E22.

Williams was not represented in order to underscore the lack of representation as clearly as possible; such seasons are identified with the entry 'no RVW'. Consecutive dates are indicated by means of a hyphen; those separated by one or more days are signalled by an oblique slash.

Column 3 lists the work performed.

Column 4 records the orchestra: NYPhil = New York Philharmonic, NYSymph = New York Symphony. (For the sake of the inventory, I count the two orchestras as one). For Nos. 1–13, I distinguish between the NYPhil and NYSymph in each entry. Beginning with No. 14, all entries are for the NYPhil with the exception of Nos. 59, 100, 102, 103 and 106, which programmes involved NYPhil 'spin-off' ensembles. Although one might question my having retained the column once the two orchestras merged, I did so in order to have a ready-made place to list the chamber ensembles.

Column 5 lists the conductor for each programme by surname only, with first name and dates added in the Comments section upon his first appearance (and it is 'his' in every instance); for those conductors who are relatively little known, the Comments add a biographical detail or two, usually about his connection with the NYPhil.

Column 6 gives the venue of each programme, and uses the following abbreviations (unless otherwise noted, the venue is in Manhattan).

AeolH = Aeolian Hall

AFH = Avery Fisher Hall, Lincoln Center (this name replaced Philharmonic Hall in 1973 and has itself given way to David Geffen Hall as of the 2015/16 season)

BAM = Brooklyn Academy of Music

CarnH = Carnegie Hall

EdinUK = Edinburgh, Scotland

KaufA = Kaufmann Auditorium, 92nd Street 'Y' (= YM/YWHA)

LewS = Lewisohn Stadium

ManHS = Manhasset High School, Manhasset (Long Island), NY

MerkCH = Merkin Concert Hall

NewNJ = Newark, New Jersey (I have not distinguished between the Mecca and Mosque Theaters)

PhilA = Academy of Music, Philadelphia, PA

PhilH = Philharmonic Hall, Lincoln Center

PlazaHtl = Plaza Hotel

ProspectHS = Prospect Heights High School, Brooklyn, NY

SarS = Saratoga Springs, NY

SJD = Cathedral of St. John the Divine

TillC = Tilles Center for the Performing Arts, C.W. Post College, Long Island University, Greenvale, NY

Some geography and history

Aeolian Hall was located on West 42nd Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues (directly across from the New York Public Library and Bryant Park); it ceased functioning as a concert venue in 1926; its most famous concert took place on 12 February 1924; directed by Paul Whiteman and dubbed 'An Experiment in Modern Music', it featured the premiere of George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. From the mid-1960s to Autumn 2000 the site was occupied by The Graduate Center of The City University of New York; it currently houses the College of Optometry of the State University of New York.

Theresa L. Kaufmann Auditorium is located in the 92nd St. YM/YWHA (the 92nd St. 'Y'), at the corner of East 92nd Street and Lexington Avenue.

Lewisohn Stadium was built in 1915 and demolished in 1973; it was located on the campus of the City College of New York (founded 1866) at West 138th Street and Convent Avenue (one of twenty-four degree-granting institutions that now form The City University of New York) and was the site of many NYPhil summer concerts.

Merkin Concert Hall is part of the Kaufman Music Center on West 67th St. between Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue; the 449-seat hall opened in 1978 (not to be confused with the 'Theresa L. Kaufmann' auditorium: see above).

Philadelphia Academy of Music (also known as the American Academy of Music) is located on South Broad Street in the heart of Philadelphia's cultural centre; having opened in 1857, it was the home of the Philadelphia Orchestra from 1900 to 2001; the Academy still hosts opera and ballet productions.

Plaza Hotel is among New York's most up-scale hotels (though now with condominium apartments in addition to the hotel suites); located on the corner of Fifth Avenue and 59th Street (Central Park South), it has been featured in many films, among the most prominent being *Eloise* (1956), *North by Northwest* (1959) and *Scent of a Woman* (1991); it is also where Nick Carraway and Jordan Baker have a conversation in Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*. Vaughan Williams stayed there in June 1922 during his first trip to the United States (see §1c).

Saratoga Springs is about 180 miles north of Manhattan's Columbus Circle (from which point official distances from New York City are measured), and is most famous for its summer season of horse racing.

St. John the Divine is on Amsterdam Avenue, between West 111th and 112th Streets (near Columbia University).

Tilles Center is on the C.W. Post campus of Long Island University, approximately 25 miles east of the city (in suburban Nassau County)

Column 7 lists the type of concert, and uses the following abbreviations:

ChambMusC = Chamber Music Concert

CasSatC = Casual Saturday Concert

FestC = Festival Concert

PenFundC = Pension Fund Concert

PrivC = Private Concert

PromC = Promenade Concert

R-O = Runout (usually a single performance away from home)

SpecE = Special Event

StadC = Stadium (Lewisohn) Concert

StudC = Student Concert

Sub = Subscription

SumBrdcastC = Summer Broadcast Concert. (These ran from 1943 to 1947, and were carried across the country on the many local stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); they were generally broadcast from Carnegie Hall before a live audience, members of which could receive free tickets from the United Rubber Company, which sponsored the series.)

Tour = Lengthy tour

WorldF = World's Fair

YPC = Young People's Concert

Finally, the section headed 'Comments' is a grab-bag of sorts, with the most frequently cited items being reviews. If for a given programme there are reviews in more than one newspaper, and if those reviews appeared on the same day (as they usually do), the date precedes the papers in which the reviews appear; if, on the other hand, there is either a single review or two or more reviews that appeared on different days, the name of the newspaper appears before the date. For the non-daily *Musical America*, the title always precedes the date. I have not attempted to account for every review. In general, I have limited the citations to the two most influential – in musical/cultural terms – of the city's newspapers: *The New York Times* (*NYTimes*) and the *New York Herald Tribune* (*NYHTrib*); I cite other sources (titles always spelt out in full) when they have something useful to offer. (A reminder: the *NYHTrib* came about through the merger in 1924 of the *New-York Tribune* and the *New York Herald*; it ceased publication in 1966.)

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
1920/1						
1.	30–31 Dec.	Symphony No. 2	NYSymph	Coates	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> The programme marked the US debut of both the Symphony No. 2 and Albert Coates (1882–1953), an all-British programme with music by Elgar and Purcell in addition to RVW.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 31 Dec. 1920— <i>NYTimes</i> , 13; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 8; <i>The Sun</i> , 4; <i>Musical America</i> , 8 Jan. 1921, 6.						
2.	30 Jan.	Symphony No. 2	NYSymph	Damrosch	AeolH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> German-born (Breslau—now Wrocław, Poland) Walter Damrosch (1862–1950).						
<i>Reviews:</i> 31 Jan. 1921— <i>NYTimes</i> , 10; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 6.						

1921/1922

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
3.	9–10 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Damrosch	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First performance in the United States. <i>Reviews:</i> 10 Mar. 1922— <i>NYTimes</i> , 22; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 8; <i>New York Evening Post</i> , 7; <i>Musical America</i> , 18 Mar. 1922, 13.						
4.	26 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Damrosch	AeolH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Tallis is the only piece that this programme has in common with that of No. 3.						
5.	5 Apr.	Symphony No. 1	NYPhil	Fricker	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First US performance; the Canadian Herbert Austin Fricker (1868–1943) was director of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir, which provided the chorus for the performance; the NYPhil has never performed the work again; first performance in North America on 11 April 1921 in Toronto, with Fricker, the Mendelssohn Choir and the visiting Philadelphia Orchestra; Fricker was also the concert master for the 1910 premiere in Leeds, which was conducted by RVW. <i>Reviews:</i> 6 Apr. 1922— <i>NYTimes</i> , 17; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 10; <i>The Sun</i> , 20; <i>Musical America</i> , 15 Apr. 1922, 45 (which inexplicably identifies the orchestra as the NYSymph).						
1922/1923						
6.	24 Nov.	Symphony No. 3	NYPhil	Stransky	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First New York performance; Czech-born Josef Stransky (Stránský—1872–1936) was principle conductor of the NYPhil from 1911 (succeeding Mahler) to 1923; first performance in the United States on 7 June 1922, Norfolk Music Festival (CT). <i>Reviews:</i> 25 Nov 1922— <i>NYTimes</i> , 24; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 8; <i>The Sun</i> , 5; <i>Musical America</i> , 2 Dec. 1922, 33.						
7.	28 Jan.	Symphony No. 2	NYSymph	Coates	AeolH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 29 Jan. 1923— <i>NYTimes</i> , 10; <i>New-York Tribune</i> , 6.						
1923/1924 no RVW						
1924/1925						
8.	31 Oct.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Damrosch	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Both this programme and that of no. 4 on 26 March 1922 included both Tallis and Vincent d'Indy's <i>Istar Symphonic Variations</i> , Op. 42; did Damrosch discern a relationship between the two works (or is it merely a coincidence)? <i>Reviews:</i> 1 Nov. 1924— <i>NYTimes</i> , 10; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 10.						
9.	7 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Damrosch	AeolH	Sub
10.	25 Jan.	Symphony No. 2	NYSymph	Damrosch	AeolH	Sub
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 26 Jan. 1925, 15.						
11.	2–3 Apr.	Symphony No. 2	NYSymph	Damrosch	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> 3 Apr. 1925— <i>NYTimes</i> , 22; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 12.						
1925/1926 no RVW						
1926/1927						
12.	24 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Damrosch	CarnH	Sub

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
<i>Comments:</i> 25 Mar. 1927— <i>NYTimes</i> , 25; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 14.						
13.	3 Apr.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYSymph	Pollain	NewNJ	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> René Pollain (d. 1940), assistant conductor of the NYSymph, was substituting for Damrosch. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 4 Apr. 1927, 30.						
1927/1928 no RVW						
1928–1929 N.B.: As already noted, the NYSymph merged with the NYPhil on 8 June 1928 to form the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York (the New York Philharmonic). The ‘new’ orchestra began its career with the 1928–29 season. From this point on the orchestra is the NYPhil except for the few occasions (Nos. 59, 100, 102–3, 106) on which a programme featured a NYPhil ‘spinoff’ ensemble.						
14.	18–19/21 Oct.	Symphony No. 2		Damrosch	CarnH/ BAM	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> 18–19 Oct = CarnH, 21 Oct = BAM; part of a series titled ‘Five Cities Program: Music Inspired by Great Cities’: London – RVW’s symphony (1 st and 2 nd movements only), Rome – Respighi’s <i>Fontane di Roma</i> , New York – John Alden Carpenter’s <i>Skyscrapers</i> (music for a ballet), Paris – an aria from Charpentier’s opera <i>Louise</i> , Vienna – Johann Strauss Jr’s <i>Geschichten aus dem Wienerwald</i> ; concert of 21 Oct broadcast on local radio station WOR. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 19 and 21 Oct. 1928, 27 and 56, respectively.						
15.	25–26 Oct.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Damrosch	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Damrosch introduced the work with three strokes on a bell, for which he was reprimanded by the critics. <i>Reviews:</i> 26 Oct. 1928 – <i>NYTimes</i> , 30; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 20.						
1929/1930						
16.	26–27 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Mengelberg	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Willem Mengelberg (1871–1951), music director of the NYPhil 1922–30 (the last two years as co-director with Arturo Toscanini). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 27 Dec. 1929, 28.						
1930/1931						
17.	10 Jan.	Symphony No. 2		Schelling	CarnH	YPC
<i>Comments:</i> 3 rd movement only; it was the New Jersey-born Ernest Schelling (1876–1939) who introduced the idea of the Young People’s Concerts at the NYPhil in 1924; concert titled ‘Music by English and American Composers’, with additional works by Purcell, Delius, Elgar and the Americans Abram Chasins, Charles Tomlinson Griffes (his well-known <i>The White Peacock</i> , 1915 [originally for piano], orchestrated 1919) and Schelling himself. <i>Reviews:</i> 11 Jan. 1931— <i>NYTimes</i> , 31; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 22.						
18.	24–26 Aug.	<i>Job: a Masque for Dancing</i>		Lange	LewS	StadC
<i>Comments:</i> US premiere; the German-American Hans Lange (1883–1960) was Toscanini’s assistant; a choreographed performance by the Denishawn Dancers (Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn), scenes designed by John Vassos; Ted Shawn danced the role of Satan; the performance on the 25 th was rained out; this programme is not accounted for on the NYPhil’s ‘Performance History Search’ website (see Table 1), which does not list programmes at LewS prior to the summer of 1938.						
1931/1932						
19.	26 July	<i>The Wasps – Overture</i>		Coates	LewS	StadC
<i>Comments:</i> Not accounted for on the NYPhil’s ‘Performance History Search’ website (see no. 18). <i>Reviews:</i> 27 July 1932— <i>NYTimes</i> , 20; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 8.						

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
1932/1933 no RVW						
1933/1934						
20.	21–23/31 Dec.	Symphony No. 3		Lange	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Second half of programme on 21 st –23 rd differs from that of 31 st ; soprano soloist in final movement was Margaret Olsen.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 22 Dec. 1933— <i>NYTimes</i> , 24; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 17.						
21.	24 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on Christmas Carols</i>		Lange	CarnH	PenFundC
<i>Comments:</i> A programme of music for Christmas, with the New York University Glee Club and T.M. Everitt, baritone.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 25 Dec. 1933— <i>NYTimes</i> , 28; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 13.						
1934/1935						
22.	27 Feb. /1 Mar.	Symphony No. 2		Lange	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First NYPhil performance of the entire symphony since the merger with the NYSymph.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 28 Feb. 1935— <i>NYTimes</i> , 16; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 12.						
23.	2–3 Mar.	Symphony No. 2		Lange	CarnH	Sub/StudC
<i>Comments:</i> Except for the RVW symphony, programme of 2–3 Mar. differs from that of 27 Feb./1 Mar. (no. 22); the remainder of the 2–3 Mar. programme was devoted entirely to Bach in celebration of the 250 th anniversary of his birth; 2 Mar. = Sub, 3 Mar. = StudC.						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 3 Mar. 1935, N4; <i>NYHTrib</i> 4 Mar. 1935, 10.						
1935/1936						
24.	2–3 Jan.	Symphony No. 2		Beecham	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Thomas Beecham (1879–1961); except for the Mozart Symphony No. 31 in D, K.297, this was otherwise an all-British programme, with music by Ethel Smyth, Delius and Elgar in addition to RVW.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 3 Jan. 1936— <i>NYTimes</i> , 12; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 10.						
25.	4–5 Jan.	<i>The Wasps</i> — Overture		Beecham	CarnH	StudC/Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Concert on 4 Jan. called 'Popular Concert (Students)'.						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 6 and 12 Jan. 1936, 21 and X7, respectively; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 6 Jan. 1936, 11.						
26.	16–17 Jan.	<i>Norfolk Rhapsody No. 1</i>		Beecham	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Originally scheduled to be performed on 19 Jan. also, but Walton's <i>Façade</i> given in its place.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 17 Jan 1936— <i>NYTimes</i> , 14; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15; New York premiere on 13 Jan 1931, Philadelphia Orchestra, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, cond.; a review of that performance in <i>NYTimes</i> , 14 Jan 1931, 26.						
27.	6–9 Feb.	Symphony No. 4		Lange	CarnH	Sub/StudC
<i>Comments:</i> New York premiere (US premiere on 19 Dec. 1935, Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, Artur Rodziński, cond.); StudC on 8 Feb.						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 7 and 10 Feb. 1936, 15 and 13, respectively; <i>NYHTrib</i> 8 and 10 Feb. 1936, 6 and 8, respectively; <i>The Sun</i> , 7 Feb. 1936, 19; <i>Musical America</i> , 15 Feb. 1936, 12.						
1936/1937						
28.	26–27 Nov.	<i>Job, a Masque for Dancing</i>		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First 'concert' performance in United States (see no. 18 for an earlier, staged performance); John Barbirolli (1899–1970) was music director of the NYPhil 1936–1942 (succeeding Toscanini).						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 27 Nov. 1936, 26; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 27 and 28 Nov. 1937, 18 and 9, respectively.						
29.	19 Dec.	Symphony No. 2		Schelling	CarnH	YPC

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
<i>Comments:</i> 3 rd movement only; all-British programme, with music by Quilter, Purcell, Cecil Forsyth (who had moved to New York permanently in 1914) and Walton in addition to RVW.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 20 Dec. 1936— <i>NYTimes</i> , N3; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 16.						
1937/1938 no RVW						
1938/1939						
30.	22–23/25 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on Christmas Carols</i>		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Programme titled ‘Christmas Program’.						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 25 Dec. 1938, 16; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 23 Dec. 1938, 11.						
31.	16–17 Feb.	Symphony No. 3		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 17 Feb. 1939, 22; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 19 Feb. 1939, E6.						
32.	8/10 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 9 Mar. 1939— <i>NYTimes</i> , 17; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 13.						
33.	10 June	<i>Five Variants of ‘Dives and Lazarus’</i>		Boult	CarnH	WorldF
<i>Comments:</i> World premiere; Adrian Boult (1889–1983); ‘Great Britain Concert – New York World’s Fair Foreign Concerts Series’; music by Bliss and RVW, but also by three non-British composers: Weber, Ravel and Piston.						
<i>Reviews:</i> 11 June 1939— <i>NYTimes</i> , 14; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 39.						
1939/1940						
34.	8–9 Feb.	Symphony No. 2		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 9 Feb. 1949— <i>NYTimes</i> , 21; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 12.						
1940/1941						
35.	6–7 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 7 Mar. 1941— <i>NYTimes</i> , 17; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15.						
36.	9 July	Symphony No. 2		Goossens	LewS	StadC
<i>Comments:</i> Eugene Goossens (1893–1962).						
<i>Reviews:</i> 10 July 1941— <i>NYTimes</i> , 17; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 12.						
1941/1942						
37.	7–8 Mar.	<i>The Wasps – Overture</i>		Goossens	CarnH	Sub/StudC
<i>Comments:</i> Sub = 7 Mar., StudC = 8 Mar.						
<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 9 Mar. 1942, 13; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 8 Mar. 1942, 33.						
38.	11/13 Mar.	<i>Five Variants of ‘Dives and Lazarus’</i>		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 12 Mar. 1942— <i>NYTimes</i> , 24; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 14.						
1942/1943						
39.	6/8 Jan.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896–1960), music director of NYPhil 1949–58;						
<i>Reviews:</i> 7 Jan. 1943— <i>NYTimes</i> , 25; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15.						

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
40.	25–26 Feb.	Symphony No. 3		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Reviews:</i> 26 Feb. 1943— <i>NYTimes</i> , 16; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15.					
41.	6/8–9 Apr.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Walter	PhilA/ CarnH	R-O/Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> Bruno Walter (1876–1972); R-O on the 6 th . <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 9 Apr. 1943, 24.					
42.	29 Aug.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Mitropoulos	CarnH	SumBrdcastC
	1943/1944 no RVW 1944/1945					
43.	30 Nov./ 1–3 Dec.	Symphony No. 5		Rodziński	CarnH	Sub/StudC
	<i>Comments:</i> First US performance; Artur Rodziński (1892–1958), music director of NYPhil 1943–7 (it was for Rodziński that the title ‘music director’ was officially created); all-British concert, with Elgar, Walton and John Wooldridge (1919–58) in addition to RVW; StudC on 2 Dec. <i>Reviews:</i> 1 Dec. 1944— <i>NYTimes</i> , 28; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 19; <i>The Sun</i> , 35; <i>Musical America</i> , 10 Dec. 1944, 13.					
44.	12 Aug.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	SumBrdcastC
	1945/1946					
45.	14–15 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Walter	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Reviews:</i> 15 Mar 1946— <i>NYTimes</i> , 26; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 17.					
	1946/1947					
46.	5 Sep.	Violin Concerto in D minor (‘Accademico’)		Adler	SarS	FestC
	<i>Comments:</i> F(rederick) Charles Adler (1889–1959); concert at the Saratoga Spa Music Festival; violin soloist John Corigliano, Sr., NYPhil concertmaster, 1943–66, and father of the composer John Corigliano, Jr (b. 1938); ‘Accademico’ dropped in 1951 when RVW revised the concerto for Yehudi Menuhin.					
47.	13–14 Feb.	Symphony No. 5		Walter	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 14 Feb. 1947, 29; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15 Feb. 1947, 17.					
48.	28 July	Symphony No. 2		Herrmann	LewS	StadC
	<i>Comments:</i> Bernard Herrmann (1911–75), well-known composer of film music and, at the time, associated with the Columbia Broadcasting System. <i>Reviews:</i> 29 July 1947— <i>NYTimes</i> , 17; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 13.					
	1947/1948					
49.	25–28 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Stokowski	CarnH	Sub/StudC
	<i>Comments:</i> Leopold Stokowski (1882–1977), music director of the NYPhil 1949/1950 (shared with Mitropoulos); StudC on 27 th ; some changes in the programme on 28 th . <i>Reviews:</i> 26 Mar. 1948— <i>NYTimes</i> , 25; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 17.					
	1948/1949					
50.	12/14 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on a</i>		Walter	CarnH/ NewNJ	Sub/R-O

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
		<i>Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>				
		<i>Comments:</i> R-O in Newark on 14 Dec.				
51.	27–28/30 Jan.	Symphony No. 6		Stokowski	CarnH	Sub
		<i>Comments:</i> New York premiere (Stokowski was also the first to record the work—Feb 1949, Columbia Records, MM-838, 78 rpm; now on CD: Retrospective Recordings, RET 011 [2001]); first USA performance on 7 August 1948, Koussevitzky, Boston Symphony Orchestra, Tanglewood. <i>Reviews:</i> 28 Jan. 1949— <i>NYTimes</i> , 26; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 14; <i>The Sun</i> , 22; <i>Musical America</i> , Feb. 1949, 26.				
52.	9 Apr.	<i>Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'</i>		Stokowski	CarnH	YPC
53.	13 July	<i>The Wasps – Overture</i>		Boult	LewS	StadC
1949/1950						
54.	15–16/18 Dec.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
		<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 16 Dec. 1949, 37; although Virgil Thomson reviewed the concert in <i>NYHTrib</i> , 16 Dec. 1949, 25, he did not mention the symphony, devoting the entire review to Alban Berg's Violin Concerto as performed by Joseph Szigeti.				
55.	3 Apr.	<i>English Folk Song Suite</i>		Autori	PlazaHtl	PrivC
		<i>Comments:</i> Franco Autori (1903–90), associate conductor of NYPhil, 1949–59. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 4 Apr. 1950, 45.				
1950/1951						
56.	27 Aug.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	EdinUK	Tour
		<i>Comments:</i> Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama.				
57.	2/4 Sep.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Walter	EdinUK	Tour
		<i>Comments:</i> Same festival as no. 56.				
1951/1952						
58.	16–17 Feb.	Concerto in C for Two Pianos		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
		<i>Comments:</i> New York premiere of two-piano version; Arthur Whittimore and Jack Lowe, pianists (New York premiere of the original version for one piano on 16 Jan 1934, Harriet Cohen, New York Orchestra). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 18 Feb. 1952, 13.				
59.	19 Mar.	<i>Five Tudor Portraits and The Turtle Dove (arr. RVW)</i>		'Members of NYPhil Ross and Fenno	CarnH	SpecE
		<i>Comments:</i> New York premiere of both works; British-born Hugh Ross (1898–1990), director of the New York Schola Cantorum; Heath Fenno (1926–2008), director of Yale Glee Club; Nell Rankin, mezzo-soprano soloist in <i>Portraits</i> . <i>Reviews:</i> 20 Mar. 1952— <i>NYTimes</i> , X7; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 18.				
1952/1953						

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No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
60.	22. Feb	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYPhil	Walter	CarnH	Sub
61.	2–5 Apr.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> Concerts on 2 nd -3 rd in memory of Sergei Prokofiev, those on 4 th -5 th in celebration of Hector Berlioz's 150 th birthday.					
	<i>Reviews:</i> 3. April 1953— <i>NYTimes</i> , 19; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15.					
1953/1954						
62.	23 Oct.	<i>English Folk Song Suite</i>		Autori	ManHS	YPC
63.	3 Mar.	<i>English Folk Song Suite</i>		Autori	ProspectHS	YPC
64.	15–18 Apr.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> The programmes of 15 th -16 th and 17 th -18 th are slightly different.					
	<i>Reviews:</i> 16 Apr. 1954— <i>NYTimes</i> , 18; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 13.					
65.	8 July	Symphony No. 2		Boult	LewS	StadC
	<i>Review:</i> 9 July 1954— <i>NYTimes</i> , 23; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 11.					
1954/1955						
66.	28–29/31 Oct.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> In celebration of 'New York Philharmonic-Symphony Week'.					
	<i>Reviews:</i> 29 Oct 1955— <i>NYTimes</i> , 28; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 15.					
67.	21–22 June	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	LewS	StadC
	<i>Comments:</i> Performance on 21 st cut short by rain; performed the following evening in place of the scheduled Brahms Symphony No. 2.					
	<i>Reviews:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 23 June 1955, 24; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 22 June 1955, 23.					
1955/1956						
68.	5 Sep.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	EdinUK	Tour
	<i>Comments:</i> Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Dance (see nos. 56–7).					
	<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 6 Sep. 1955, 28.					
69.	29–30 Dec.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Reviews:</i> 30 Dec. 1955— <i>NYTimes</i> , 13; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 9.					
70.	8 Jan.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> Except for the RVW symphony, this programme differs from that on 29–30 Dec. 1955.					
	<i>Review:</i> <i>NYHTrib</i> 9 Jan. 1956, 10.					
1956/1957 no RVW						
1957/1958						
71.	13 Oct.	Symphony No. 4		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Comments:</i> Concert in honour of RVW's 85 th birthday; though originally scheduled as the opening concert of the season, labour strife caused a weeks-long delay.					
	<i>Reviews:</i> 14 Oct. 1957— <i>NYTimes</i> , 32; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 10.					
72.	8 Feb.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Mitropoulos	CarnH	Sub
	<i>Reviews:</i> 10 Feb. 1958— <i>NYTimes</i> , 26; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 12.					

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Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
73.	8 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Bernstein	CarnH	YPC
<i>Comments:</i> Leonard Bernstein (1918–90), music director of NYPhil, 1958–1969 (laureate 1969–90); programme titled ‘What Does Orchestration Mean?’; excerpt only. 1958/1959						
74.	1–3 Jan.	Symphony No. 8		Barbirolli	CarnH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> First performance by NYPhil (New York premiere on 9 Oct. 1956, Philadelphia Orchestra). <i>Reviews:</i> 3 Jan. 1959— <i>NYTimes</i> , 10; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 4.						
1959/1960 no RVW						
1960/1961 no RVW						
1961/1962						
75.	1–2/4 Mar.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Stokowski	CarnH	Sub
<i>Reviews:</i> 3 Mar. 1962— <i>NYTimes</i> , 12; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 6.						
1962/1963						
76.	23 Sep.	<i>Serenade to Music</i>		Bernstein	PhilH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Lincoln Center inaugural concert in PhilH; other works on program: ‘Gloria’ from Beethoven’s <i>Missa Solemnis</i> , Copland, <i>Connotations</i> (commissioned for the event) and Pt. I, ‘Veni sancte spiritus’, of Mahler’s Symphony No. 8. <i>Reviews:</i> 24 Sep. 1962— <i>NYTimes</i> , 32; <i>NYHTrib</i> , 1, 14 (which fails to mention RVW); <i>Musical America</i> , Nov. 1962, 18.						
1963/1964						
77.	6–7 June	<i>Serenade to Music</i>		Sargent	PhilH	PromC
<i>Comments:</i> Malcolm Sargent (1895–1967); programme titled ‘A Shakespeare Promenade’. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 8 June 1964, 34.						
1964/1965						
78.	15–16 June	<i>The Lark Ascending</i>		Sargent	PhilH	PromC
<i>Comments:</i> Ruggiero Ricci, violin; programme titled ‘Romantic Promenade’. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 16 June 1965, 46.						
1965/1966						
79.	14–16/18 Oct.	Symphony No. 4		Bernstein	PhilH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Third in a series titled ‘Symphonic Forms of the Twentieth Century’; on 16 th , Edward O.D. Downes (son of <i>NYTimes</i> critic Olin Downes) devoted the entire intermission of the NYPhil broadcast to the symphony. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 15 Oct. 1965, 49.						
80.	23 Oct.	Symphony No. 4		Bernstein	PhilH	YPC
<i>Comments:</i> 4 th movement only, as part of a programme titled ‘Musical Atoms: A Study in Intervals’.						
81.	25 Oct.	Symphony No. 4		Bernstein	NewNJ	R-O
1966/1967 no RVW						
1967/1968						
82.	4–6/8 Apr.	Symphony No. 2		Barbirolli	PhilH	Sub
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 5 Apr. 1968, 55.						

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
1968–1969 no RVW						
1969–1970 no RVW						
1970–1971 no RVW						
1971–1972 no RVW						
1972–1973 no RVW						
1973–1974 no RVW						
1974/1975						
83.	15 Mar.	Concerto for Tuba in F minor		Tilson Thomas	AFH	YPC
<i>Comments:</i> 2 nd and 3 rd movements only; Michael Tilson Thomas (b. 1944); Joseph Novotny, tuba; PhilH renamed AFH in 1973.						
1975/1976						
84.	22–24/27 Jan.	Symphony No. 2		Previn	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> André Previn (b. 1929). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 23 Jan. 1976, 19.						
1976/1977						
85.	16–18/21– 22 Dec	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Bernstein	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Irving Kolodin's programme notes err three times: 'first hearing under [...] Thomas Beecham [...] in 1909 [...] 8 solo parts'; the first performance was directed by RVW in 1910, and there are only four solo parts, those for the solo string quartet. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 17 Dec. 1976, 80.						
1977/1978						
86.	5–7/10 Jan.	Symphony No. 6		Kubelik	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Rafael Kubelik (1914–90). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 6 Jan. 1978, C16.						
87.	4 May	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Marriner	AFH	FestC
<i>Comments:</i> Neville Marriner (b. 1924); festival titled 'Music in May'; the programme notes perpetuate Kolodin's errors (see no. 85). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 5 May 1978, C13.						
1978/1979 no RVW						
1979/1980						
88.	20–22/25 Mar.	Symphony No. 2		A. Davis	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Andrew Davis (b. 1944). <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 21 Mar. 1980, C15.						
1980/1981 no RVW						
1981/1982 no RVW						
1982/1983						
89.	11–14 May	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		A. Davis	AFH	Sub

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
<i>Comments:</i> Kolodin corrects note about Beecham and date of first performance (see nos. 85, 87).						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 13 May 1983, C30.						
1983/1984 no RVW						
1984/1985 no RVW						
1985/1986 no RVW						
1986/1987 no RVW						
1987/1988						
90.	24–26/29 Sep.	Symphony No. 6		C. Davis	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Colin Davis (1927–2013).						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 28 Sep. 1987, C17.						
91.	17–19 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Slatkin	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Leonard Slatkin (b. 1944).						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 19 Dec. 1987, 11.						
92.	9/12 Mar.	Concerto for Tuba in F minor		Kruglikov	AFH	YPC
<i>Comments:</i> 2 nd movement only; Felix Kruglikov (b. 1953), assistant conductor NYPhil, 1984–6; Warren Deck, tuba.						
1988/1989 no RVW						
1989/1990 no RVW						
1990/1991 no RVW						
1991/1992						
93.	3–4/7 Jan.	<i>Fantasia on 'Greensleeves and Symphony No. 4</i>		Slatkin	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> The two pieces by RVW filled the entire second half of the programme.						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 6 Jan 1992, C16.						
1992/1993 no RVW						
1993/1994						
94.	4–6/9 Nov.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		Keene	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Christopher Keene (1946–95), co-founder of the Spoleto Festival USA (Charleston, SC) and general director of the New York City Opera Company (1989–1995), substituting for Erich Leinsdorf.						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 6 Nov. 1993, 14.						
95.	24–26/Feb. 1 Mar.	Symphony No. 2		Slatkin	AFH/TillC	Sub/R-O
<i>Comments:</i> TillC on 1 Mar.						
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 26 Feb. 1994, 18.						
1994/1995						
96.	15–17 Dec.	Symphony No. 5		Previn	AFH	Sub/CasSatC
<i>Comments:</i> Previn substituted for Roger Norrington; two concerts on 17 Mar, that in the afternoon being the CasSatC.						

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
97.	31 Dec.	<i>Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'</i>		A. Davis	AFH	PenFundC
<i>Comments:</i> 'New Year's Eve Pension Fund Gala'.						
1995/1996						
98.	20–22 Dec.	Concerto for Oboe and Strings and <i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>		A. Davis	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> Joseph Robinson, oboe. <i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> 22 Dec. 1995, C39.						
99.	4–6/9 Jan.	<i>Job, a Masque for Dancing</i>		Slatkin	AFH	Sub
<i>Review:</i> <i>NYTimes</i> , 8 Jan. 1996, 22.						
1996/1997						
100.	6 Apr.	<i>Four Hymns</i>		NYPhil	MerkCH	ChambMusC Ensembles
<i>Comments:</i> Version for tenor, piano, and viola obbligato (another version has string orchestra instead of piano).						
1997/1998						
101.	23–25 Apr.	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	NYPhil	C. Davis	AFH	Sub
<i>Comments:</i> All-British programme with Elgar and Tippett along with RVW; part of a week-long 'Variations on a British Theme'.						
1998/1999 no RVW						
1999/2000 no RVW						
2000/2001 no RVW						
2001/2002 no RVW						
2002/2003 no RVW						
2003/2004 no RVW						
2004/2005						
102.	10 Apr.	<i>On Wenlock Edge</i>		Musicians from NYPhil	KaufA	ChambMusC
<i>Comments:</i> Paul Groves, tenor						
2005/2006 no RVW						
2006/2007						
103.	3 Dec.	Quintet in D for Clarinet, Horn, Violin, Cello, and Piano		NYPhil Ensembles	MerkCH	ChambMusC
<i>Comments:</i> Both the Quintet in D and the String Quartet in C minor (see no. 106) date from 1898 and were subsequently withdrawn by RVW; both pieces were published by Faber Music in 2002.						
2007/2008						
104.	15 Dec.			Gier	AFH	YPC

(Continued)

Continued.

No.	Date	Work	Orch.	Cond.	Venue	Event
<i>Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'</i>						
<i>Comments:</i> Delta David Gier, assistant conductor, led all of the YPCs that season; since 2004/2005, music director of the South Dakota Symphony Orchestra.						
105.	3–5 Apr.	Symphony No. 4		C. Davis	AFH	Sub
<i>Review: NYTimes</i> , 5 Apr. 2008, B9.						
106.	8 June	String Quartet in C minor		NYPhill Ensembles	MerkCH	ChambMusC
2008/2009						
107.	25 May	<i>The Lark Ascending</i>	NYPhil	Robertson	SJD	SpecE
<i>Comments:</i> David Robertson (b. 1958), music director of the St. Louis Symphony; annual concert at St. John the Divine; Karen Gomyo, violin.						
<i>Review: NYTimes</i> , 27 May 2009, C1.						
2009/2010 no RVW						
2011/2011 no RVW						
2011/2012 no RVW						
2012/2013 no RVW						
2013/2014 no RVW						
2014/2015 no RVW						

Acknowledgements

The inventory draws upon 'New York Philharmonic: Performance History Search', which provides information about almost every one of the orchestra's programmes since its founding in 1842; it is online at <http://archives.nyphil.org/#program>. I am grateful both to Richard Wandel for having given me access to the information pertaining to Vaughan Williams even before the website was launched during the summer of 2009 and to Gabryel Smith for helping me solve some of its mysteries.

APPENDIX II

Four Variants of Appendix I

Appendix II rearranges the information of Appendix I into four categories, the first three of which are organized alphabetically, the fourth chronologically: (1) All Vaughan Williams works performed by the New York Philharmonic, various New York Philharmonic Ensembles and the New York Symphony prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928; (2) conductors; (3) venues; and (4) premieres, whether New York, United States, or world. The numbers after each entry refer to Appendix I.

1. Vaughan Williams works performed by The New York Philharmonic, various New York Philharmonic Ensembles and the New York Symphony prior to its merger with the Philharmonic in 1928

<i>Concerto Accademico</i> (see Violin Concerto in D minor)	
Concerto in C for Two Pianos	58
Concerto for Oboe and Strings	98
Concerto for Tuba in F minor	83, 92
<i>English Folk Song Suite</i>	55, 62, 63
<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	

	3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 32, 35, 41, 42, 45, 49, 50, 57, 60, 64, 72, 73, 75, 85, 87, 89, 91, 94, 98, 101
<i>Fantasia on Christmas Carols</i>	21, 30
<i>Fantasia on 'Greensleeves'</i>	52, 93, 97, 104
<i>Five Tudor Portraits</i>	59
<i>Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'</i>	33, 38
<i>Four Hymns</i>	199
<i>Job: a Masque for Dancing</i>	18, 28, 99
<i>Norfolk Rhapsody No. 1</i>	26
<i>On Wenlock Edge</i>	102
Quintet in D for Clarinet, Horn, Violin, Cello, and Piano	103
<i>Serenade to Music</i>	76, 77
String Quartet in C minor	106
Symphony No. 1, 'A Sea Symphony'	5
Symphony No. 2, 'A London Symphony'	1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 14, 17, 22, 23, 24, 29, 34, 36, 48, 65, 82, 84, 88, 95
Symphony No. 3, 'A Pastoral Symphony'	6, 20, 31, 40
Symphony No. 4 in F minor	27, 39, 44, 54, 56, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 81, 93, 105
Symphony No. 5 in D	43, 47, 96
Symphony No. 6 in E minor	51, 86, 90
Symphony No. 8 in D minor	74
<i>The Lark Ascending</i>	78, 107
<i>The Turtle Dove</i>	59
<i>The Wasps – Overture</i>	19, 25, 37, 53
Violin Concerto in D minor (‘Accademico’)	46

2. Conductors

Adler, F(rederick) Charles	46
Autori, Franco	55, 62, 63
Barbirolli, John	28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 40, 74, 82
Beecham, Thomas	24, 25, 26
Bernstein, Leonard	73, 76, 79, 80, 81, 85
Boult, Adrian	33, 53, 65
Coates, Albert	1, 7, 19
Damrosch, Walter	2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15
Davis, Andrew	88, 89, 97, 98
Davis, Colin	90, 100, 105
Fenno, Heath	59
Fricker, Herbert Austin	5
Gier, Delta David	104
Goossens, Eugene	36, 37
Herrmann, Bernard	48
Keene, Christopher	94
Kruglikov, Felix	92
Kubelik, Rafael	86
Lange, Hans	18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27
Marriner, Neville	87
Mengelberg, Willem	16
Mitropoulos, Dimitri	39, 42, 44, 54, 56, 58, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72
Pollain, René	13
Previn, André	84, 96
Robertson, David	107
Rodziński, Artur	43
Ross, Hugh	59
Sargent, Malcolm	77, 78

Schelling, Ernest	17, 29
Slatkin, Leonard	91, 93, 95, 99
Stokowski, Leopold	49, 51, 52, 75
Stransky, Joseph	6
Tilson Thomas, Michael	83
Walter, Bruno	41, 45, 47, 50, 57, 60

3. Venues

Note that four programmes, Nos. 14, 41, 50 and 95, were performed at more than one venue; I cite both venues in each instance.

Aeolian Hall	2, 4, 7, 10
Avery Fisher Hall (formerly Philharmonic Hall, renamed in 1973; in 2015 renamed David Geffen Hall)	83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 (also at Tilles Center), 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 105
Brooklyn Academy of Music	14 (also at Carnegie Hall)
Carnegie Hall	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14 (also at Brooklyn Academy of Music), 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 (also at Philadelphia), 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50 (also at Newark, NJ), 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
Edinburgh, UK	56, 57, 68
Kaufmann Auditorium	102
Lewisohn Stadium	18, 19, 36, 48, 53, 65
Manhasset High School	62
Merkin Concert Hall	100, 103, 106
Newark, NJ	13, 50 (also at Carnegie Hall), 81
Philadelphia Academy of Music	41 (also at Carnegie Hall)
Philharmonic Hall (so-called until renamed Avery Fisher Hall in 1973; renamed David Geffen Hall in September 2015)	76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82
Plaza Hotel	55
Prospect High School	63
Saratoga Springs	46
St. John the Divine	107
Tilles Center	95 (also at Avery Fisher Hall)

4. Premieres

The New York Philharmonic (and the New York Symphony prior to the merger in 1928) have been involved in thirteen premieres of works by Vaughan Williams: one world premiere, six United States (USA) and six New York (NY); they are listed here chronologically, with references to the appropriate entry in Appendix I, title, type of premiere and conductor.

Date	No. in App. I	Work	Type of premiere	Conductor
30 Dec. 1920	1	<i>A London Symphony</i>	USA	Coates
9 Mar. 1922	3	<i>Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis</i>	USA	Damrosch
5 Apr. 1922	5	<i>A Sea Symphony</i>	USA	Fricker
24 Nov. 1922	6	<i>A Pastoral Symphony</i>	NY	Stransky
24 Aug. 1931	18	<i>Job, a Masque for Dancing</i>	USA	Lange
6 Feb. 1936	27	Symphony No. 4	NY	Lange
26 Nov. 1936	28	<i>Job, a Masque for Dancing</i> (concert version)	USA	Barbirolli

(Continued)

Continued.

Date	No. in App. I	Work	Type of premiere	Conductor
10 June 1939	33	<i>Five Variants of 'Dives and Lazarus'</i>	World (World's Fair)	Boult
30 Nov. 1944	43	Symphony No. 5	USA	Rodziński
27 Jan. 1949	51	Symphony No. 6	NY	Stokowski
16 Feb. 1952	58	Concerto for Two Pianos in C major	NY	Mitropoulos
19 Mar. 1952	59	<i>Five Tudor Portraits</i>	NY	Ross & Fenno
19 Mar. 1952	59	'The Turtle Dove'	NY	Ross & Fenno