UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
Department of Music

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

"In His Master's Steps He Trod"
Alan Rawsthorne and Frederic Chopin:
The Piano Ballades

Alan Rawsthorne is a difficult to place as a composer. To many, his work seems conservative, even academic. Yet in 1937, Patrick Hadley recommended him to Cecil Gray as one of the most 'modern' composers of his generation. This thesis examines the question of Rawsthorne's attitude to contemporary composition, through the lens of his engagement with Chopin. I examine both Rawsthorne's well-known second Ballade (1967) and his comparatively unknown first Ballade (1929), comparing one with the other and analysing them for traces of Chopin's iconic works in the ballade form. I also draw on Rawsthorne's own analysis of the Chopin ballades.

Rawsthorne's ballades are clearly a kind of homage to Chopin, insofar as they travel a similar narrative path. It seems, however, that a deeper similarity exists. Like Chopin – who wrote his ballades in a time of great political uncertainty – Rawsthorne turned to the ballade during periods of turbulence and unrest in the world around him (i.e., the late 1920s and the late 1960s). In Rawsthorne's case, he wrote music about liberation, which seemed to take on a special meaning for him. In my reading, Rawsthorne's ambivalent approach to tonality and tonal structure, for instance, indicates a kind of troubled search for freedom; equality in a multi-culturalist community and a search for liberty of mankind. Thus, Rawsthorne appears to contribute to the ballade that Chopin created. Parakilas identified Chopin's ballade as a European genre, but Rawsthorne's efforts broaden this concept; he sought to create a ballade that could represent a greater diversity of cultures and people. Rawsthorne's re-articulation of Chopin's ballade and his attraction to its non-nationalist narrativity reflects his time and place. Unlike other musical modernists, he was able to make strikingly new music based firmly on past Romantic model.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, **Abdullah E M J Khalaf**, declare that the thesis entitled

"In His Master's Steps He Trod", Alan Rawsthorne and Frederic Chopin: The Piano Ballades

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
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- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission

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Date:

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This work is dedicated to my mother

Azzah Abdo Omar

Introduction

This thesis brings a new understanding to the ballades of the English composer, Alan Rawsthorne (1905-1971).[1] By examining the socio-political beliefs and commitments that he demonstrated during his life, I intend to demonstrate the importance of the ballade genre borrowed from Chopin and a comparable one that Rawsthorne used, notably at two crucial dates – namely 1929 and 1967. Moreover, by understanding Chopin's concept of the ballade (and examining the socio-political background within the genre), I will identify the 'voice' in Rawsthorne's ballades. Rawsthorne's article on the ballades of Chopin (written in 1966), is a key text that will inform this analysis.[2]

Unlike other English composers of his generation – such as William Alwyn, Constant Lambert, Walter Leigh and Michael Tippett – Rawsthorne did not begin musical study and education until he was 19. He enrolled at Liverpool University to read Dentistry in 1922, and within a year he had switched to study Architecture. Rawsthorne's elder sister, Barbara, notes that "this, of course, was a very great improvement to dentistry".[3] Rawsthorne soon realized that music was the subject to which he wanted to dedicate his life. He subsequently began his studies at the

[1] In this thesis I will be using 'ballade' with a lower case when referring to the genre in general or a collection of ballades, and 'Ballade' with an upper case when referring to a specific work of this genre.
[2] Alan Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', in Alan Walker (ed.) *Frederic Chopin: Profiles of the Man and Musician* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966).
[3] Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne: The Fish with an Ear for Music', in Simon Wright (ed.), *The Creel: Journal of the Alan Rawsthorne Society and the Rawsthorne Trust*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2005/6, 34.

Royal Manchester College of Music in January 1925.[4] Constant Lambert pointed out that, because of this late start:

> [Rawsthorne] as a composer does not belong to the frivolous, aesthetic '20s, but to the nearest and slightly forbidding '30s. He is to be classed not with Walton or myself but with such composers as Benjamin Britten and Elizabeth Maconchy.[5]

Witnessing some of the most pivotal events of the twentieth century left a deep impression on Rawsthorne's social philosophy, that is, both World Wars, the October Revolution, the Great Depression, the Civil Wars, Hiroshima, the Holocaust, and the protest movements of the 1960s. They all contributed to a sharpened awareness of the socio-political landscape. Consequently, Rawsthorne was motivated to actively participate on many socio-political occasions. His political voice carries into areas of pacifism, Czech Independence, the Spanish Civil War, the British Labour Party, Workers' movement, Suffrage movement, and perhaps above all, a hope for a classless society. On a national scale, the twentieth century brought Britain's 'long march' toward modern democracy, starting with the "arrival of manhood suffrage and partial female suffrage in 1918" and reaching its climax with the events of the 1960s.[6] This movement toward democracy supported human rights and dignity, thus achieving a collective satisfaction in the state. As I will argue later, this contributed to Rawsthorne's modernist musical aesthetic.

This thesis focusses on two specific periods around Rawsthorne's career; the years around 1930 and the late 1960s. It was in those two periods that Rawsthorne

[4] The Royal Manchester College of Music: now known as the Royal Northern College of Music.
[5] Constant Lambert, 'The Younger English Composers: IV. Alan Rawsthorne', in Simon Wright (ed.), *The Creel: Journal of the Alan Rawsthorne Society and the Rawsthorne Trust*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2005/6, 19.
[6] David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* (London: Phoenix, 2008), 3-4.

composed his two and only piano ballades. Both periods play a substantial role in Rawsthorne's importance as an English composer. According to Sebastian Forbes:

> Alan Rawsthorne emerged as a decisive force in British music in the late 1930s and, despite the severe disruption of World War II, became recognized as a central figure even into the modernistic 1960s.[7]

In this thesis, I examine Rawsthorne's critical engagement with Chopin's ballade genre. Comparisons are drawn between Rawsthorne's relatively well-known second Ballade (1967) and his relatively unknown first Ballade (1929), analysing them for traces of Chopin's iconic ballades using Rawsthorne's own critical writing on the Chopin ballades. The second chapter focusses on Rawsthorne's 1966 article on Chopin's ballades; a very important and neglected piece of twentieth-century Chopin analysis that represents Rawsthorne as an important Chopin critic. This also emphasises further the link between both composers' ballades (addressed in Chapter 3). The second and the third chapters will prepare the ground for the last chapter's presentation of Rawsthorne's second Ballade as a conversation with Chopin.

Three previous claims have been made that suggest a general link between Chopin's and Rawsthorne's second Ballades. Frank Dawes' and Karl Kroeger's writings really only hint at a possible link between these works, but James Gibb highlights a similarity in a particular passage in Chopin's (bar 47) and Rawsthorne's (bar 38) second Ballades.[8] Furthermore, Stephen Rees provides a greater degree of detail

[7] Sebastian Forbes, 'John McCabe, Alan Rawsthorne: Portrait of a Composer', *Manchester Sounds*, Vol. 1, Edited by David Fallows and Rosemary Williamson (Manchester: Journal of the Manchester Musical Heritage Trust, 2000), 113.
[8] Frank Dawes, 'New Piano Music', *The Musical Times*. Vol. 110, no. 1511, 1969, 67-69; James Gibb, 'The Piano Music', in Alan Poulton (ed.) *Alan Rawsthorne: Essays on the Music: Vol. 3*.

about the connection between these two works.[9] This quoted passage along with a selection of other musical materials, contributes to my presentation of Rawsthorne's second Ballade as a conversation with Chopin. Accordingly, the copied particular passage represents Chopin's voice in this context. None of the four scholars mentioned Rawsthorne's first Ballade; their work was written and published prior to its discovery in 1999.

My reading, therefore, offers a new perspective with which to examine this connection. I analyse Rawsthorne's two ballades with reference to Chopin's ballades in general, concentrating on a broader perspective. Account is also taken of the historical and the socio-political associations that are present within the genre, and this allows me to consider Rawsthorne as a modernist proponent of the Romantic Movement. By coupling his admiration of Chopin with a socio-political concern for issues such as human rights and dignity, Rawsthorne was able to situate elements of both romanticism and modernism within a political context. Indeed, Chopin's ballades have often been regarded as a musical version of Adam Mickiewicz's literary ballads representing a heroic figure standing for a national freedom.[10] According to James Parakilas, Chopin's genre represents a broader significance than that of Mickiewicz's national ballade.[11] Chopin widens this genre's value to cross the

(Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1986), 54-66; Karl Kroeger, 'Ballade by Alan Rawsthorne' *Music Library Association*, 26 (2), 1969, 364.

[9] Stephen Allison Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne*, Ph.D. thesis (Washington, DC, 1970), 17.

[10] Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1954), 16.

[11] James Parakilas, *Ballade without Words: Chopin and the Tradition of the Instrumental Ballade* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1992), 26

national border and to become representative of European ideals.[12] Unlike Chopin's ballades, Rawsthorne's ballades can be construed as appealing to broader, perhaps even 'universal' human values. Rawsthorne, by universalizing this genre, achieved a modern romanticism demonstrating a special approach to this heroic genre. Rawsthorne's ballades represent, as it will appear later, modernity because he universalized it. According to Alexandra Harris "modernism was cosmopolitan".[13]

Yet, in many ways, the process of the reappearance of the piano ballade genre during the twentieth century does not differ from the circumstance of its initial appearance after the efforts of many German writers, such as the philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder who circulated the literary ballad genre in the late eighteenth century.[14] Similarly, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, there were musical efforts to revive the folksong, including ballades, in England.[15] It was during the so-called 'English Musical Renaissance' (EMR) that these attempts took place, and reached their climax around the time of Rawsthorne's birth.

Composers in this period were heavily influenced by the EMR and their music was coloured by the style of English folksongs and Tudor polyphony. This influence can be seen in the works of E. J. Moeran (1894-1950), who became a folksong collector; Gerald Finzi (1901-1956), the epitome of English pastoral music; Edmund Rubbra (1901- 1986), who was influenced by Tudor polyphony; Grace Williams (1905 [Sic]–

[12] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 26.
[13] Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginias Woolf to John Piper* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2010), 291.
[14] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 3*, 120-123.
[15] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840–1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 75–78.

1977), [16] a pupil of Vaughan Williams who was inspired by Welsh folk music; Michael Tippett (1905-1998), who was influenced by both the Tudor motet and the English folksong; and Arnold Bax (1883-1953), whose affection for Irish literature, legend and landscapes influenced his works.[17] This movement seems to have inspired composers to write piano ballades. In 1929, John Ireland wrote his first piano Ballade not dissimilar to Rawsthorne's.[18] He also wrote another ballade called *Ballade of London Nights*, which was composed later and is not dated.[19]

Constant Lambert contended that the only common ground between Rawsthorne and the 1920s was "a freedom from any of the traditional English influences".[20] Rawsthorne rarely wrote any musical piece that readily identified him as an English composer except for the following example. Rawsthorne used the theme of the famous English Christmas Carol *Good King Wenceslas* (GKW) as a basis for a variation-like ballade.[21] It is very characteristic of a period when folksongs were so influential. However, Rawsthorne's choice for this particular carol will prove his rejection of the EMR and sympathy for influences of the Victorian era. Moreover, this Christmas Carol presents the Czech character of King Wenceslas; thus it is not purely English. Given that his first Ballade was written in the shadow of the Great Depression of 1929, Rawsthorne's selection of this English carol which presents a Czech character seems to have a special significance. This work will be addressed in

[16] The date of birth is wrong in Burton, *The Story of British Classical Music*, 2006, which stated that she was born in 1905. According to the online Grove Dictionary she was born in 1906.
[17] Burton, *The Story of British Classical Music*, 72-85.
[18] Rachel O'Higgins, *The Correspondence of Alan Bush and John Ireland* 1927-1961 (England: Ashgate, 2006), 22. Footnote no. 4.
[19] Ireland never finished this work and it was completed after his death by Alan Rowlands. *Ibid*.
[20] Constant Lambert, 'The Young English Composers: IV. Alan Rawsthorne', 20.
[21] Alan Poulton, 'Biography', in Alan Poulton (ed.) *Alan Rawsthorne Biographical Essays. Vol.2*. (Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1984), 13.

detail in the first chapter of this thesis, and the significance of Rawsthorne's choice will also be considered.

As a result, this thesis aims to provide two different readings of Rawsthorne's ballades in order to demonstrate Rawsthorne's understanding of Chopin's ballade genre and his contribution to broadening its significance.

The first chapter of the thesis is historical. It focuses on Rawsthorne's political profile. His participation in, and contribution to, contemporary events will be presented, and will be examined against the socio-political backdrop of the late 1920s and 1960s. Accordingly, I argue that Rawsthorne's first Ballade can be seen to respond to the socio-political situation in the late 1920s. Rawsthorne's adaptation of socio-political themes will also be examined in the context of major events in the 1960s; the findings from which will play an important role in the final chapter.

The second chapter is analytical. It demonstrates not only Rawsthorne's importance as a critic of Chopin's ballades but also his profound understanding of Chopin's compositional processes. I also consider the influence of the famous English analyst, Donald Francis Tovey, on the analysis of Rawsthorne. The third chapter, following Rawsthorne's analysis of the genre, presents a comparative study between Rawsthorne's and Chopin's ballades, and highlights the main similarities between them.

In the last chapter I consider the historical and philosophical dimensions of the genre as a concept. I will assess the influence of eighteenth-century German philosophies on the form, and how they may have propelled artists along particular compositional paths. This chapter will contrast the romanticism of Chopin and the modernism of Rawsthorne, and the way in which the ballade genre appears to reflect the principles of both ideologies. I will also attempt to identify the socio-political 'voice' in these works according to the analysis of the concept of this genre.

The ballade genre appears to present a storyless narrative that extols ideas of some notion of freedom.[22] It is in this respect that the ballade genre becomes capable of representing individual voices, without limitation of themes or nationalities, unlike Chopin's national music such as the Mazurkas and the Polonaises. In this sense, Rawsthorne's re-articulation of the ballade form and his attraction to its non-nationalist narrativity appears to reflect his time and place. Unlike other musical modernists, he was able to compose strikingly new music based firmly on Chopin's Romantic model of the ballade. This thesis concludes by presenting Rawsthorne's second, modernist Ballade as a conversation with the Romantic ballades of Chopin.

The overarching aim of this thesis, then, is to aid in the understanding and appreciation of Rawsthorne's music – the ballades in particular – from a new perspective. It will also demonstrate the historical importance of the piano ballades by Rawsthorne that have, until now, lain unexamined, whilst not excluding

[22] 'Storyless' is a term that I will be using to illustrate Chopin's invention of the instrumental Ballade form for having a story line that tells no specific story. It is like having an empty notebook between the hands of a writer or a blank sheet of music in the hands of a composer, so they starts to fill these empty lines, each one, according to his own experience and desire.

Rawsthorne's political profile and the largely unrecognised influence that it has had on the creative processes underpinning the composition of his ballades. After such analysis, I hope, Rawsthorne's ballades can finally occupy a secure and rightful position in the repertoire of piano music and, in time, the pages of books on music history and analysis.

Chapter I

Chapter 1: Alan Rawsthorne: The Man and the Musician

Introduction

This chapter provides a context for my argument that a meaningful link exists between the ballades of Chopin and Rawsthorne. It seems that Rawsthorne, like Chopin – who wrote his ballades at times of great social and political uncertainty – turned to the ballade genre at moments of turbulence and unrest in the world around him. In the case of Rawsthorne, these times were the late 1920s and the late 1960s.

In order to demonstrate this link, I will draw on existing critical literature relating to Chopin's ballades (from Schumann's writings through to Jonathan Bellman's book) – [1] which has already established that the works are political in nature – to further address the political and artistic circumstances surrounding Chopin's creation of the piano ballade. After that, the relationship between Chopin, Mickiewicz and Byron will be highlighted, following by an examination of the way Chopin expressed his desire for freedom using the image of the Byronic revolutionary hero.

To complete the link between the two composers, Rawsthorne's political interests and views will be addressed. He appears to have been an active participant in socio-political events of the late 1920s and late 1960s, particularly those that revolved

[1] Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*. Translated by Paul Rosenfeld (New York: Norton, 1969); Tad Szulc, *Chopin in Paris: The Life and Times of the Romantic Composer* (New York: Da capo Press, 1998), 97-98; Jonathan Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade: Op. 38 as Narrative of National Martyrdom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

around issues of freedom and democracy. The link between Chopin, Rawsthorne and the so-called Romantic hero will be further reinforced through analysis of the poems that Rawsthorne chose for his music. Finally, after confirming Rawsthorne's connection with the Romantic hero, I will present his first Ballade as a reaction to the 1929 Great Depression. This chapter acts as a foundation on which to build the primary assertion of the last chapter, i.e., that Rawsthorne's social philosophy seemed to reflect his modernist attitude to the socio-political situation in the world and exerted significant influence on his compositional process and output. This chapter will also help me to make a case for my argument that a 'conversation' of sorts exists between Rawsthorne's second Ballade and Chopin's ballade genre.

1.1 Frederic Chopin: Politics and the Byronic hero

Chopin was – as many scholars have convincingly argued – a model Polish patriotic artist.[2] His father was originally French, but became a firm Polish patriot very soon after moving to Poland, where he "changed his first name to the Polish 'Mikolaj' and volunteered for the service in the Warsaw National Guard in the course of that uprising".[3]

Chopin's works, diary entries and letters offer compelling evidence that this patriotism extended from father to son. In his letters, Chopin made frequent reference to events in Poland.[4] He seems to have been far from happy; he was anxious about his country and his family; he hated the fancy life of dinners, concerts

[2] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 9-12.
[3] *Ibid*., 28.
[4] Frederic Chopin, *Chopin's Letters*. Collected by Henryk Opienski and Translated by E. L. Voynich (New York: Dover, 1988), 149.

and dances; he felt sad "but pretended to be calm and returning home thunder[ed] at the piano".[5] His diary entries also suggest a lively interest in nationalist politics, and goes some way to explaining his decision to use music (specially, the piano) as a means of expressing his anger. For example, after Warsaw was capture by the Russian forces on the 8th of September 1831, Chopin – in Stuttgart at the time – wrote:

> Oh God, do You exist! You're there, and You don't avenge it – How many more Russian crimes do You want ... My poor father! The dear old man may be starving, my mother not able to buy bread? Perhaps my sister have [*sic*] succumbed to the ferocity of Muscovite soldiery let loose! … And I here, useless! And I here with empty hands! … sometimes I can only groan, and suffer, and pour out my despair at the piano![6]

However, as Adam Zamoyski suggests, Chopin's political sensitivity was not always so acute. In his early years, Chopin's closest friends were not "revolutionaries but poets".[7] After many of his close friends and colleagues in Warsaw became interested in politics, however, he became part of it.[8] The situation in Warsaw is described by Szulc as follows:

> In Warsaw young people – among them Chopin's friends and colleagues – began conspiring against the Russian rule, planting the seeds for the uprising that would burst forth the following year… Chopin managed, however, to spend long hours at the Dziurka ("the Little Hole" in Polish) coffee house where young artists, journalists, and inspiring politicians talked about the future of Poland – and the future of art. Rebellion against the status quo in politics and the arts was becoming fused with the advent of Romanticism in Poland as in Western Europe, and Chopin was determined to be part of it. The talk was about Byron and Schiller – and national freedom.[9]

[5] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 23.
[6] Chopin, *Chopin's Letters*, 149.
[7] Adam Zamoyski, *Chopin: Prince of the Romantics* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 45.
[8] *Ibid*., 66-67.
[9] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 45.

Chopin's admiration of Byron is further substantiated by his decision to dislocate his heart.[10] When the body of Percy Bysshe Shelley – a close friend of Byron's – was cremated following his death in 1822, Shelley's heart "somehow escaped the fire".[11] Byron (who died two years after Shelley) also requested that his own heart be removed from his body before cremation, a decision that Chopin similarly made later in his life.[12] It seems likely that Chopin was expressing his admiration for Byron through imitation of an arguably Romantic gesture.

Byron became a powerful influence for artists during the Romantic period. His idea of the fighter for independence – known as the "Byronic hero" –[13] inspired many poets, musicians, and even painters:

> Eugene Delacroix achieved the Romantic breakthrough as early as 1824, when his Massacre at Scio, his homage to the Greek independence fighters and Byron, was presented at the official annual salon in Paris, ending the dictates of classical rule.[14]

Byron as a fighter for independence was seen as a crucial figure of romanticism.[15] Although I will argue the following point in more details later in this thesis, it is worth mentioning here. The adoption of this Romantic, heroic ideal within works of art at the time can reasonably be construed as emblematic of the artistic departure from the restrictive rules of the Classical period and a subsequent move toward the creative and cultural Romantic freedom championed by German philosophers of the eighteenth century.

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[10] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 50.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] Chris Baldick, *Oxford: Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 44.
[14] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 55.
[15] *Ibid*., 50-52.

Many scholars – notably Szulc and Parakilas – have highlighted Chopin's early interest in the poetic ballads of Adam Mickiewicz, a Polish patriot writer, whose *ballads and romances* were published in 1822 and were "a genre of poetry then unknown in Poland".[16] Chopin purchased a copy of these when he was 16 years old, long before 1832 when he met Mickiewicz in Paris. Furthermore, Mickiewicz's admiration of Byron was well known: "Byron became for Mickiewicz the model of a modern poet-fighter for freedom".[17] Mickiewicz's poem *Konrad Wallenrod* of 1828 is well known for its association with Chopin's first Ballade and is considered to be one of the most important works that illustrates the influence of the Byronic hero on the ballads of Mickiewicz.[18] The poems of Mickiewicz are therefore a crucial part of the cultural fabric that connects Chopin's and Byron's ideas of national freedom.

Following his departure from Poland in November 1830, Chopin settled in Paris, and composed his ballades in the period that followed, i.e., from 1831 to his death in October 1849. Tired of his nomadic life, Mickiewicz also settled in Paris at roughly the same time, and the two soon became friends. As Szulc notes:

> The Romance Fryderyk Chopin found in Paris was also history in the making and soon he, too, became part of it. This was a time in Europe when art and politics – and culture and history – influenced and redefined each other in an unprecedented fashion … it was the crucible of the Romantic Age.[19]

The meeting of these two patriotic Polish artists effectively in exile is certainly of interest. The political current in Paris was very different to that of Poland, and Chopin had already been influenced by Mickiewicz's literary works. More

[16] Mieczyslaw Jastrun, *Adam Mickiewicz* (Poland: Polonia Publication House, 1955), 13.
[17] Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1954), 16.
[18] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade,* 27.
[19] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 50.

pertinently, for this thesis at least, is the fact that Alan Rawsthorne was aware of the influence that a connection such as the one between Chopin and Mickiewicz could have on a composer. In his essay about the ballades, Rawsthorne quotes Robert Schumann:

> Chopin was inspired or stimulated … by the poems of Mickiewicz when composing his Ballades. Such literary and pictorial associations, or even origins, were, of course, very much in vogue at the time. They were an almost essential feature of the Romantic climate … Both Chopin and Mickiewicz were moving in this climate, which pervaded the intellectual life of Paris in those days. (And what days they must have been!)[20]

Rawsthorne goes on to reminisce about the periods of composition in which he followed Schumann's writing by the phrase: "and what days they must have been!".[21] Indeed, Rawsthorne understood the climate of the Romantic period in Paris and this helped him to draw a picture of the influence of Mickiewicz on Chopin.

In this respect, it seems that participating in politics from Chopin's and Mickiewicz's point of view was to care about human freedom. Thus, if – as Zamoyski argued – Chopin was not interested in politics in his early years because his friends were poets, he seems to neglect those poets' interests and the topics they were writing about. Chopin did not need to be a friend of politicians to appear political to us. As already pointed out, the Romantic period was the time when politics, culture, art and philosophy were integrated with each other under the umbrella of human freedom and Byron's ideal is one of the examples.

[20] Robert Schumann in Alan Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', in Alan Walker (ed.) *Frederic Chopin: Profiles of the Man and the Musician* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1966), 49.
[21] *Ibid*.

This triangular relationship between Chopin, Mickiewicz and Byron was the inspiration that led Chopin to the idea of the piano ballade genre; not just as a musical work, but – akin to Mickiewicz's renditions – as a socio-political message that could speak of national freedom and human liberty. Chopin's piano version of Mickiewicz's literary ballad illustrates his tendencies to the idea of freedom rather than being politically involved in a particular party; this piano version of Chopin will be deeply examined in the following chapters. Now, was Chopin concerned with Polish freedom, European freedom, or perhaps an even more expansive understanding of freedom? And did Rawsthorne, in his ballade, followed Chopin's idea of freedom, or perhaps expanded it? These questions will be examined in greater detail in the final chapter.

Having sketched the artistic and political relationships between Chopin, Mickiewicz and Byron, we can now move from Chopin – whose politics are perhaps better understood – and proceed to examine Rawsthorne's political profile. I will argue that, through his music and early literary production, he played an active role in the socio-political events and movements of his time. Rawsthorne's general interest in socio-political issues will be addressed in a chronological order, starting with his juvenilia and early beliefs and moving on to his participation in the Labour Party pageants – during the 1930s and 1940s – arranged by his friend Alan Bush. These beliefs and participation will help to define Rawsthorne's social philosophy, which will be applied in my reading of his ballades.

1.2 Alan Rawsthorne: The political profile

As a political figure, Rawsthorne appears hard to define. Even close friends viewed him in different lights. John McCabe and John Belcher, for example, labelled him an "anarchist",[22] while his close friend, Gordon Green, described him as being "firmly on the left" and as a socialist.[23] Furthermore, Rawsthorne was a close friend with Alan Bush, an English communist composer with whom he frequently collaborated.

I will start with Rawsthorne's upbringing which provides a launch pad for analysis of his political persona. It left a deep impression on his personality, and subsequently shaped his social philosophy. The discussion will then move to a boyhood poem that encapsulates his early socio-political knowledge and pacifist views. After that, I will address Rawsthorne's left-wing leanings, and his collaboration with Bush.

1.2.1 The early formation of Rawsthorne's social philosophy

Alan Rawsthorne was born on the 2nd May 1905, at Deardengate House, his family's home in Haslingden, in Lancashire.[24] From his earliest stirrings of political awareness, Rawsthorne seemed to be occupied by the idea of a voluntary, self-governed, and classless society.[25] According to the Rawsthorne scholar, John McCabe:

> Rawsthorne's political philosophy was basically anarchistic, but not in the sense of violent overthrow of authority. Conradian spies and bombs would have seemed ludicrous to him. Though politically he was a left-winger, his

[22] John McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne: Portrait of a Composer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 73-74; Simon Wright, *The Creel*, 6 (1) *Journal of the Rawsthorne Trust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21.
[23] Poulton, 'Biography', 25.
[24] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 1.
[25] Poulton, 'Biography', 25.

> real belief was in a society based on voluntary co-operation, allied to the association of individuals and groups.[26]

Rawsthorne's early beliefs in a classless society stemmed from his feelings of inequality amongst his own society that emerged as a result of his upbringing. Rawsthorne's family had a private income sufficiently large that his father, Hubert – who had qualified as a doctor – never practiced.[27] Hubert's family had an extensive history of suffering from tuberculosis and, as his father's only survivor, he inherited sufficient wealth to provide financial security for his family.[28]

Alan's elder sister, Barbara, wrote a number of letters describing the happy childhood that she and her brother enjoyed.[29] According to Barbara, Rawsthorne's life was not only financially secure but also emotionally stable. Such privileged upbringing left Rawsthorne with a sense of guilt when it came to those less well-off than himself and this no doubt contributed to his politically left-wing leanings in later life.[30] Furthermore, it drove Rawsthorne's advocacy for human equality and democracy. Such beliefs are evidenced by his choice of texts for his vocal music (especially works written during the mid-1960s), a topic covered in detail later in this chapter.

[26] Poulton, 'Biography', 25.
[27] Tim Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne: The Fish with an Ear for Music', in Simon Wright (ed.), *The Creel: Journal of the Alan Rawsthorne Society and the Rawsthorne Trust*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2005/6, 31.
[28] The inheritance included a country house and a number of small farms; *Ibid*.
[29] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne,* 2.
[30] Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne: The Fish with an Ear for Music', 32.

Consequently, Rawsthorne grew up accustomed to a relatively wealthy and leisurely way of life (He was even given a Bechstein baby grand piano for his 21st birthday).[31] Mottershead argues that some people might even exaggerate and say that Rawsthorne was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Mottershead continues:

> [Rawsthorne was] perhaps unaware just how privileged his upbringing was at the time, [but] he must surely have realized later on. Some contemporaries have suggested that he may subsequently have harboured some light embarrassment, or even guilt, about his upbringing, especially given his left- wing leanings in later life.[32]

So, it seems unlikely that Rawsthorne felt any pressure to earn money. Even when he decided to take his first full-time job, he did so according to his beliefs:

> In 1932 Rawsthorne took up the only full-time job of his life, as pianist and composer at the school of Dance-Mime at Dartington Hall in Devon, the famous liberal arts school founded in the 1920s by Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst, who wanted to establish a centre for a new classless society based on ideals of community, progressiveness, and radical political and creative thought.[33]

Such a decision arguably demonstrates the degree to which Rawsthorne followed his principles; he sought a peaceful and classless society, and was a supporter of the working class. Rawsthorne did not really need money from this job. Rawsthorne spent the first two years after the Wall Street Crash in 1929 travelling for lessons, i.e., from June to August 1930 he went to Zakopane in Poland to study with the great pianist Egon Petri. Mottershead noted that when he was not studying, Rawsthorne spent much time at dance parties and playing tennis with Petri. Such activities would seem to reflect a financial secure way of life during this hard period.

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[31] Simon Wright, *The Creel*: *Journal of the Alan Rawsthorne Society and the Rawsthorne Trust*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Oxford: The Rawsthorne Trust, 2005/6), 32.
[32] Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 3, 32.
[33] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne,* 17.

A year later he resumed studies with Petri, this time in Berlin. In a letter to his cousin Elizabeth Bridge, Rawsthorne wrote:

> I don't do anything very exciting here: I do go to see one or two friends and occasionally I visit the pictures. I drink much beer, but otherwise my life is very sedate … of course I go to a great many concerts and see all manner of curious people, most of whom are like myself trying to become musicians.[34]

Thus, it does not appear that the Rawsthornes ever suffered financially, even during the Great Depression. He seems to have had time and money enough to enjoy activities that were far from essential. Perhaps, as a result, his awareness of the struggles of those around him was heightened.

Here and elsewhere, Mottershead makes a compelling case for the argument that Rawsthorne's later views – and his sympathy for the less well-off – were profoundly affected by his upbringing and the lifestyle of his formative years. His later sympathies with political groups such as Czechs seeking independence, the Republican side in the Spanish civil war, the British Labour Party, and Ernest Toller's prison years,[35] will help us to bring nuance and detail to our picture of his socio-political commitments. I will now present, in chronological order, the most notable of Rawsthorne's socio-political contributions and engagement; crucial evidence that will support my reading of his second Ballade and also help to identify the concealed socio-political 'voice' in this genre.

[34] Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 3, 39.
[35] Ernest Toller is a German-Jewish left-wing poet. Toller wrote a set of poems – which Rawsthorne used – whilst serving five years in prison; a sentence handed down for taking part in the 1919 Munich Revolution.

1.2.2 Rawsthorne's 'juvenilia', boyhood poems and the influence of Bernard Shaw

Rawsthorne's early interest in politics can be seen in the juvenilia of his literary production. According to Geoffrey Thomason, Rawsthorne's writings mainly consist of two groups: a group that includes verse, prose and parodies; and another group containing a number of what can be named 'free compositions' in prose, verse, or set out as a short plays.[36]

Rawsthorne and his sister Barbara shared an interest in self-publishing magazines. In it, they both demonstrated their interest in the current socio-political topics. For example, Barbara was concerned with the 'Votes for Women' campaign,[37] and she paraphrased it in her newsletter as a 'Pocket for Women'.[38] Rawsthorne also shared Barbara this similar interest. His later contribution to the Labour Party – a party that gave Britain a female cabinet minister for the first time in any party –[39] demonstrate his interest and support for this issue. Rawsthorne's interest in such topic will support my reading of his second Ballade – in the last chapter – as a work that represents mankind's search for freedom and human dignity.

[36] Geoffrey Thomason, 'Poems and Parodies: Some Unpublished Rawsthorne Juvenilia at the RNCM', *The Creel*, 4 (4), (Oxford: The Rawsthorne Trust, 2002), 16.
[37] Published by the BBC in 1998, "Women were enfranchised 80 years ago, on February 6, 1918. The Representation of the People Act gave the vote to women over 30 … but it was not until 1928 that the voting age for women was lowered to 21 in line with men. The campaign for female suffrage began in earnest in the mid-19th century", http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/53819.stm (Accessed 08-03-2011).
[38] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 5.
[39] John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 257.

Unfortunately, only a small amount of materials survives from their first journal, *Nurseryites Society*.[40] However, the Royal Northern College of Music holds a complete issue of their next journal *The Pip* (April 1917, 1st quarter).[41] In the following argument, I will provide examples that serve as evidence that this surviving issue demonstrates how Rawsthorne was interested in politics from early in his life, and this was reflected in "the range of literature to which he was exposed at school and in the home".[42]

In this surviving issue of *The Pip* resides Rawsthorne's play, *King George V* (1917), a parody of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The play was, according to McCabe:

> an extraordinary work, filled with topical references to the First World War, at its height at this time, and demonstrating an acute awareness of political trends as well as the personalities involved in the war.[43]

When he started writing this parody, Rawsthorne was only 11 years old, and Barbara was studying *Henry V* at school. She, too, was aware of prodigiousness of her brother's young political mind, calling the work "a remarkable production for a boy of that age".[44] She goes on to highlight the numerous references in Rawsthorne's parody to contemporary current affairs of the time, including "the Irish Home Rule Question, the Miners' unrest, Mr Asquith and his 'wait and see' policy".[45] What is even more interesting is that the First World War breaks out and ends in the play. This demonstrates Rawsthorne's early concern about socio-

[40] A home magazine *Nursery Tit-bits*, published between 1911- 1914. Thomason, *The Creel,* 4 (4), 16.
[41] Alan Rawsthorne, *The Pip* [periodical], AR/2/3 (Manchester: RNCM Library/ archive, 1917).
[42] Thomason, *The Creel,* 4 (4), 20.
[43] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 5.
[44] Poulton, 'Biography', 7.
[45] *Ibid*.

political subjects and also his rejection of the war and some of the country's leaders.

The play is written in Shakespearian meter,[46] an early indication of the ease of narrative fluency with which Rawsthorne approached the ballade genre. The following example is typical of the style:[47]

Scene Two
The Presence Chamber

[Enter King George; My Lord Balfive; David Lord Lloygius; Rt. Hon. Mr. Quithquas and Horatio, the King's Jester]

King George: My lords, the men of Ire have sent ambassadors.
They do proclaim that they must have home rule,
And if they do not get it they will fight us.
What, good my lords, am I to do?

D. Lord L: My lord,
The men of Ulster have also sent petitions
They see that they will governed be by us,
And if they rest of Ire it gets home rule,
They will make war, and we shall feel a fool.

Lord Bal: Alas, we are undone, O woe is us,
O Cuss the men of Ire with a big Cuss!

K. Geo: Right Honourable Quithquas. What's your plan?

R. H. Quith: My liege, here is my counsel unto you,
Just wait and see

King Geo: See what?

R. H. Quith: Don't ask me that!
My liege, your honour saved, just wait and see!

Horatio: Most honoured sit, how do you make that out?

[46] Further example for his admiration to Shakespeare is a version of the Casket Scene adapted from *The Merchant of Venice*, as well as a parody to *Hamlet*.
[47] Poulton, 'Biography', 7-8.

For if we wait, perchance the men of Ire
Will sear our eyes out with their swords and guns,
And then sir, having waited, we'll not see
Or, seeing first, to wait will be not good.

Quith: O wait and see, O wait and see, O wait and ….
K. Geo: Let me not here [sic] you say again "O wait and see"

Quith: (in a whisper) O wait and see, O wait and see, O …..

K. Geo: Thou art dismissed from all my royal service!
Thy disobedience to my royal word
Unpardonable is. Go thou

Quith: I have been slighted, years and years a go,
Curzy-Wurzy thou hast knighted, but not me
Grey he had a title, but not me,
Cliffy is thus honoured, but not me

K. Geo: Go, base knave, for ever from my sight (exit Quith)
David, good my lord, wilt take his place?

Dav: Liege, right honoured shall I be to accept.

K. Geo: Your counsel sir must quickly be obtained
For these same men of Ire grow wrath all quick.

Lor Bal: Aye, and too quick, my lord [A motor horn heard]

All: What's that?

Hor: A motor horn! Odds boddikins, some news!
[Enter motor dispatch rider]

M.D.R.: My lords, a packet for his royal majesty!

k. Geo: Odds fish! A telegram from uncle of Exeter!
Hor: An' wot dost'ur uncle say to 'ee, my liege?

K. Geo: By my faith! Sad news indeed for me!
Cousin the count of Hoen hath declared
A war on France, and that he may invade
That fair countree he hath marched through the land
Of Albert, King of Bell. My uncle of Exeter
Adviseth me in strong, potential language,
For to declare a war on him in turn.
Nichol, the grand Duke of Russ doth march

Against my cous, whom I did think was nice,
Lords, good is uncle Exeter's advice [Exeunt]

In this example, Rawsthorne uses 'Pig Latin' to partially conceal the names of – and to mock – the political personalities who are the subject of his parody.[48] For example: Rawsthorne's Quithquas is originally Herbert Henry Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1908 to 1916; Lloygius is Lloyd George, Chancellor from 1908 to 1915 and Prime Minister from 1916 to 1922; Curzy is George Curzon, who served as leader of the House of Lords in 1916, and opposed – dissimilar to Rawsthorne – the women's suffrage movement; Balfive is Arthur Balfour, who was the First Lord of the Admiralty in the First World War coalition, remembered for the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which promised the Zionist movement a homeland in Palestine.[49] This scene from *King George V* provides even more evidence of Rawsthorne's extraordinarily keen understanding of politics and other contemporary socio-cultural events for a boy of his age.

Rawsthorne's pacifism also emerges from his boyhood poetry. For instance, in *Triolets: To Persuade you that I am Clever*, written a few years after the end of the First World War – when he was in his early teenage years – Rawsthorne wrote:

'Tis mere thirst for glory
Gives power of excelling;
"Pro patria mori—"
'Tis mere thirst for glory,
It is the same story
Unchanged in telling;

[48] According to The Oxford English Dictionary it is "An invented or modified version of a language; spec. a systematically altered form of English used as a sort of code, esp. by children. In extended use: excessively convoluted language. The most common form is produced by transferring the initial consonant or consonant cluster of each word to the end of the word and adding a vocalic syllable", http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/143708?redirectedFrom=pig%20latin# (Accessed 08-03-2011).
[49] Keith Laybourn, *British Political Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary* (California: ABC-Clio, 2001).

'Tis mere thirst for glory
Gives power of excelling.[50]

This poem hints at the misgivings that Rawsthorne had about wars and warfare. The Latin phrase "Pro patria mori" – "die for your country" – had a paradoxical significance at the time of the First World War.[51] Although used in an early-twentieth-century context originally as an exhortation for men to go willingly into war, it was subsequently used ironically by Wilfred Owen, one of the most famous poets of the First World War, for an opposite purpose.[52] Owen famously referred to the phrase as "the old lie".[53] Here Rawsthorne says "it is the same story, Unchanged in the telling". Owen pointed out that "the famous Latin tag means of course *It is sweet and meet to die for one's country*. Sweet! And decorous!".[54] Owen – after his close encounter with Beaumont Hamel –[55] believed that it would be better to live in a peaceful society with no wars, instead of dying. Rawsthorne's treatment of the phrase in his boyhood poem demonstrates a mature and perhaps similar pacifist point of view.

Rawsthorne also wrote an anti-war article sometime after the outbreak of the Second World War echoing the same sentiments.[56] This writing shows Rawsthorne

[50] Alan Rawsthorne, *'Alan Rawsthorne's Prose & Poetry'* (RNCM Archive, 1917-1920).
[51] Rawsthorne might not be quoting Wilfred Owen's poem *'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori'*, ('it is sweet and convenient to die for your own country'), he might be referring to the original Latin version by the Roman poet Horace. Owen quoted it from Horace's Carmen IX in George Long edition, and published it in 1920. Rawsthorne may have known the original Latin version because he had a good Latin education, and may not even have known the Owen's version at this date; George Long, (ed.) *Quinti Horatii Flacci: Opera Omnia* (London: Whittaker and Co, 1853), 168.
[52] Dominic Hibberd, *Owen the Poet* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 114.
[53] Dominic Hibberd, *Wilfred Owen: A New Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002), 276.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] A very close battle field to the front lines during the First World War
[56] Alan Rawsthorne, 'Outbreak of War: An Article in Draft', *The Creel*, 6 (1) *Journal of the Rawsthorne Trust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21.

as a more established pacifist; although he wanted a free society, equality and the good for his country, he only wanted to achieve them through a non-violent revolution. In conversation with the editor of the *Creel*, John Belcher said of Rawsthorne's article:

> This is Alan at his portentous best, echoing the style of his juvenilia – overwritten, in love with language … Beneath the florid style there is an angry response to the times in which it was written and it betrays his anarchistic and anti-war leanings.[57]

George Bernard Shaw also came to represent a significant influence on the formation of Rawsthorne's political outlook. Shaw was one of the pioneers of the Fabian society, whose aim was to achieve democratic socialism through pacifism and not revolution, in contrast to the communism of the time.[58] Shaw's ideas left an indelible mark on Rawsthorne: "They laid the foundation for the left-wing ideals and principles to which he adhered all his life".[59] Shaw's politics were very much left-wing; he campaigned on many social issues, including poverty under capitalism, worker's compensation, wages, the conditions of employment, rural de-population, public health, school nurseries and women's rights.[60] It is therefore unsurprising, given Shaw's influence, that Rawsthorne felt politically motivated to a similar extent and in a similar direction.

Rawsthorne's left-wing sympathies are clearly evident in *Left, Left*: a suite for two pianos composed in 1940. (Unfortunately, the autograph of this piece does not

[57] Simon Wright, *The Creel*, 6 (1) *Journal of the Rawsthorne Trust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21.
[58] Marquand, *Britain Since 1918*, 3.
[59] Poulton, 'Biography', 9.
[60] Jim McKernan, 'George Bernard Shaw, the Fabian Society, and Reconstructionist Education Policy: the London School of Economics and Political Science'. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 2 (2), 2004 [Online] Available at: http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=34 (Accessed 21-05-2011).

survive).[61] The piece is a two-piano setting of five famous songs that are closely connected to the Republican opposition to General Franco in the Spanish Civil War. "Like most of his closest friends," argues Gibbs, Rawsthorne "was a committed enthusiast for the Republican cause".[62] The work consists of five movements: *Carmagnole*, *Bandiera Rossa*, *United Front*, *Whirlwinds of Danger*, and *Solidarity Forever*. These titles are certainly politically charged.

A *Carmagnole* was a short jacket worn by the working class in Carmagnola in Italy, and also refers to a French song that was used during the French Revolution.[63] It might also be a reference to Alessandro Manzoni's tragedy, *The Count of Carmagnola and Adelchis*, as it carried a patriotic message.[64] *Bandiera Rossa* (Italian for Red Flag), is a revolutionary Italian song for the leftist Labour movement that took place in Italy in the early twentieth century. It is worth noting that Rawsthorne used it for the first time in the last movement of his second piano concerto of 1939. According to Allison Rees Stephen:

> The composer at the time of writing this work [second piano concerto] was concerned with the Spanish War, and the rise of Fascism. He did not want to compose an Italian dance movement without political protest.[65]

The *Red Flag* is also a protest song related to left-wing politics, and is considered in Britain as one of the Labour Party's national anthems.[66] *A United Front* is a

[61] It is not in the catalogue or Dressler's list of RNCM holdings, and Alan Poulton does not list a source for it. However, a recording by Geraldine and Mary Peppin (c. 1940) is the only surviving reference for this work.
[62] James Gibbs, 'The Piano Music', in Alan Poulton (ed.) *Alan Rawsthorne: Essays on the Music: Vol. 3* (Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1986), 66.
[63] Michael Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 130.
[64] Alessandro Manzoni, *The Count of Carmagnola and Adelchis* (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 14.
[65] Stephen Allison Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne*, Ph.D. thesis (Washington, DC, 1970), 17.

communist tactic and was adopted by the revolutionaries in Russia. The *Whirlwinds of Danger* was originally a Polish revolutionary song that was then adopted by Russian workers, and after that spread to many different countries. In Spain "it became the anthem of the anarchists under the title *A Las Barricadas*. In English it is known as *Whirlwinds of Danger*".[67] *Solidarity Forever* is a union song written by Ralph Chaplin and became the anthem of the American Labour movement in the early twentieth century.[68]

In this work Rawsthorne makes a political argument and stated his beliefs and hopes regarding the events that surrounded him at that time in which the work demonstrates Rawsthorne's support to socio-political issues, including the worker class, Left Labour movement in Italy, Britain and the United States, and anarchism. Were these pieces simply musical works to Rawsthorne? Or did they, in fact, represent a cultural weapon with which he sought to defend the beliefs and rights of himself and others? In order to answer these questions, we turn now to yet more evidence of Rawsthorne's participation in politics.

1.2.3 Rawsthorne and Alan Bush: The socio-political contributions

The collaboration between Rawsthorne and Alan Bush, another British composer famous for his political commitment (and with similar political interests to

[66] David Rubinstein, *The Labour Party and the British Society: 1880-2005* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), 82.
[67] Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unraveling Britain* (London: Verso, 1999), 137-138.
[68] Zoe Trodd, (ed.) *American Protest Literature* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006), 116-118.

Rawsthorne), is well documented.[69] Bush organized a large number of pageants to support the socio-political events between 1920 and 1950. He also contributed a chapter to a book – entitled *The Mind in Chains* – edited by the left-wing poet C. Day Lewis and published in 1937. Bush concluded this chapter with a call for musicians to study the political, social and economic changes in England.[70] He believed that this would assist with the establishment of a socialist society:

> They should join any political or cultural organization which in their opinion is working in the right direction … they should place their talents and training at the service of working-class music organizations and work with them to build up an art which springs from their struggle against the capitalist forces. Let music do its part alongside of philosophy to change the world.[71]

It seems from Bush's suggestion that the situation in England at that time was somehow similar to the Romantic climate that Chopin found in Paris when politics, art, culture and philosophy were feeding each other.

On paper, Rawsthorne's presence on the socio-political scene is hard to deny. According to Rawsthorne's close friend Gordon Green – to whom Rawsthorne's first Ballade is dedicated – Rawsthorne had no problem in showing his interest in politics in this period:

> During the rise of Fascism and the Spanish Civil War he was firmly on the left and involved himself in providing 'occasional' music for the socialist movement in this country.[72]

[69] Julie Waters, 'Proselytizing the Prague Manifesto in Britain: The Commissioning, Conception, and Musical Language of Alan Bush's "Nottingham" Symphony', *Music & Politics*, Winter 2009, 1.
[70] Alan Bush, 'Music', in C. Day-Lewis (ed.), *The Mind in Chains: Socialism and the Cultural Revolution* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1937), 143.
[71] *Ibid*., 143-144.
[72] Poulton, 'Biography', 25.

Rawsthorne's collaboration with Bush – in full awareness of Bush's politics – suggests that he held similar beliefs. Bush's wish, as detailed in his writings of 1937, came to fruition in the social movements of the 1960s, in which various groups were able to use music as a form of protest.[73] Rawsthorne's contribution to the social, cultural, and political life in the 1960s will be discussed later in this chapter. Following the publication of *The Mind in Chains* in 1937, Rawsthorne took an active part in various pageants, and these contributions came to play an important and influential part in the dialogue between music and politics in England. On 15th June 2002, BBC Radio 4 broadcast a programme about the subject of music and political protest. The programme considered works by Rutland Boughton, Michael Tippett, and Alan Bush. Through this musical lens, the programme examined the British Labour movement between the two World Wars.[74] The programme outlined Bush's contribution alongside those of his contemporaries (including Tippett, Rawsthorne, Rubbra and Williams)[75] to the pageant *Music and the people* that supported the Labour movement.[76]

Two examples illustrate Rawsthorne's participation in this movement. The first is the pageant *Music and the People*, which premiered on the 1st of April 1939. The second is the pageant *Salute to the Red Army*, which premiered on the 21st of

[73] Martin Klimke and Joachim Schaloth, (ed.) *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
[74] The programme was produced by Nigel Atchison and introduced by Gerry Kennedy; Rachel O'Higgins, July 2002, available at: www.alanbushtrust.org.uk (Accessed 22-03-2011).
[75] Joanna Bullivant interestingly connects Bush's political views with his musical modernism. She assumes that Bush's compositional style is a reflection to his political view; Joanna Bullivant, 'Modernism, Politics, and Individuality in 1930s Britain: The Case of Alan Bush'. *Music & Letters*, 90 (3), 2009, 432-452 Oxford Journals [Online].
[76] John Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne: A Bio-bibliography* (London: Praeger, 2004), 107.

February 1943. Both were premiered at the Royal Albert Hall, London.[77] It is worth noting in this context that Randall Swingler, the communist poet, and Rawsthorne were also on the organizing committee of these pageants.[78]

Rawsthorne's *Homeland Mine* and *Prison cycle* (both composed in 1939) were a contribution to the first pageant.[79] Swingler provided the text for *Homeland mine*,[80] and this was the first collaboration between Swingler and Rawsthorne.[81] The work is an arrangement of the Czech National Anthem.[82] The author Guido Fackler, in a recent article about music in concentration camps between 1933 and 1945, noted that the Czech National Anthem was one of the songs that prisoners used to sing whilst marching to the gas chambers in Birkenau's concentration camp: "In this way

[77] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne,* 23, 107.
[78] Andy Croft, 'Poet and Composer: Randall Swingler and Alan Rawsthorne', in Simon Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 1 (Oxford: The Rawsthorne Trust, 2003), 7.
[79] Poulton, *A Catalogue of His Music: Vol. 1*, 27.
[80] Swingler was "the best-known communist writer in London – a poet, novelist, playwright, critic, and editor of *Left Review*, publisher of Nancy Cunard's famous *Authors Take Sides* questionnaire on the Spanish Civil War, editor (with Alan Bush) of the Left Book Club's *Left Song Book* (1938), author of the Unity Theatre hit *Spain*, and literary editor of the *Daily Worker*"; Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 1, 7.
[81] It seems that musicians of that period were in competition to work in partnership with such poets. Swingler was one of the most preferable poets to work with. His name is to be found alongside all famous musicians of that period. Yet his *Music for the People* pageant presents all the names in which he cooperated with each of "Vaughan Williams, Arnold Cooke, Elizabeth Lutyens, Victor Yates, Edmund Rubbra, Erik Chisholm, Christian Darnton, Frederic Austin, Norman Demuth, Alan Bush, Elizabeth Maconchy and Alan Rawsthorne"; John McIlroy, Kevin Morgan, and Alan Campbell, (ed.) *Party People, Communist Lives: Explorations in Biography (*London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2001), 175.
John Ireland also worked together with Swingler on his *Ways of Peace* dated 1936. According to Alan Bush Music Trust there are about 15 collaborations between Bush and Swingler, in which most of them were composed in the period between 1928 until 1945. Bush also co-operated with C. Day Lewis. Benjamin Britten was an active composer on that period and he collaborated with Swingler on his *Ballad of Heroes*, op.14, composed in 1939, as well as his *Advance Democracy* of 1938.
Further example from Rawsthorne's generation is the English composer and conductor William Alwyn (1905-1985), who according to Grove Dictionary collaborated with MacNeice in his *Slum Song*.
[82] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 107.

they expressed their protests, and showed that they had not been broken".[83] I am not claiming that Rawsthorne's use of the anthem was an attempt to directly reference what was happening in the concentration camps – something about which he might have not known – but it is clear that the Czech National Anthem was somehow 'in the air'.[84] Rawsthorne's lack of knowledge of the exterminator camps makes his choice even more interesting. The Czech Anthem seems to be a universal sign of protest as it will appear later in this chapter.

The second collaboration between Rawsthorne and Swingler also contained Czech references. It is a part-song called *A Rose for Lidice* composed in 1956.[85] Lidice was a small Czech village that in 1942 was completely destroyed by the Nazis, as payback for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich: one of the chief architects of the holocaust.[86] Rawsthorne's first Ballade also has a Czech reference, but this will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.[87]

Rawsthorne's second contribution to the pageant *Music of the People* was *Prison Cycle*. It is a collaborative work between Rawsthorne and Bush and consists of five songs. The text is from *Schwalbenbuch – The Swallow Book* – by Ernst Toller, a German-Jewish left-wing poet.[88] Toller wrote this set of poems whilst serving five

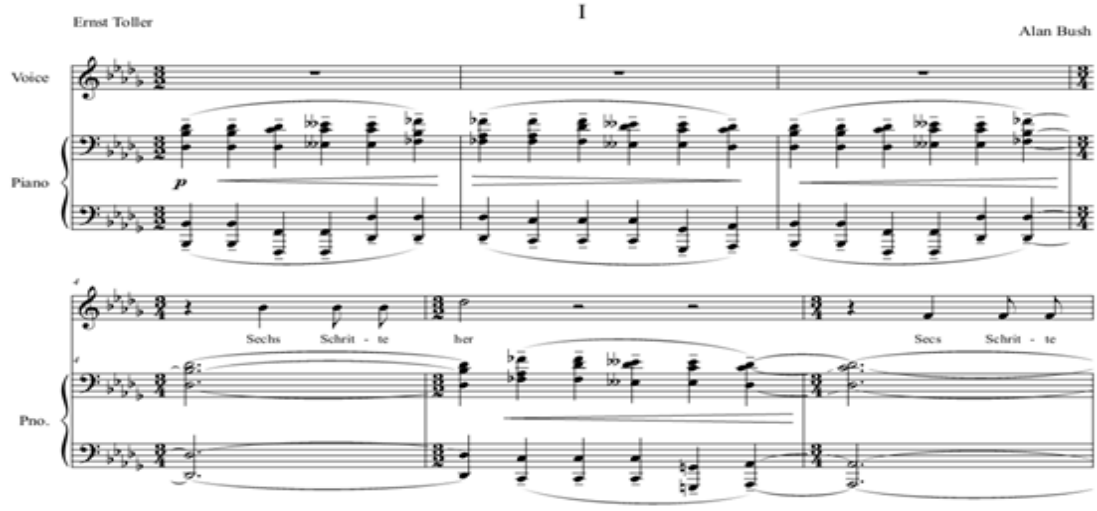
[83] Guido Fackler, 'Music in Concentration Camps 1933-1945', *Music and Politics*. 1 (1), 2007, 17 [Online]. Available at: http://www.music.ucsb.edu/projects/musicandpolitics/archive/2007-1/fackler.html (Accessed 29-03-2011).
[84] This could be a possible subject for a further research.
[85] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 82.
[86] "Nearly two hundred adults, including all the men in the village , were executed; the women and the children were sent to concentration camps; only four women survived"; Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 1, 9.
[87] Poulton, 'Biography', 13.
[88] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne,* 73.

years in prison, a sentence handed down for taking part in the 1919 Munich Revolution. From this volume, Rawsthorne and Bush chose three poems:

I.	Introduction *"Sechs Schritte her"*	(Alan Bush)
II.	Song *"Die Dinge"*	(Alan Bush)
III.	Interlude *"Sechs Schritte her"*	(Alan Rawsthorne)
IV.	Song *"über mir"*	(Alan Rawsthorne)
V.	Epilogue *"Sechs Schritte her"*	(Alan Bush)

The introduction (Bush), and the interlude (Rawsthorne) contain similar settings of *Sechs Schritte her*. It is not known if they worked on them together, or whether Rawsthorne adopted Bush's introductory idea. However, both setting seems to be very natural and logical according to the actual text of *Sechs Schritte her.*[89]

Sechs Schritte her	Six steps forward
Sechs Schritte hin	Six steps back
Ohne Sinn	Without purpose
Ohne Sinn	Without purpose

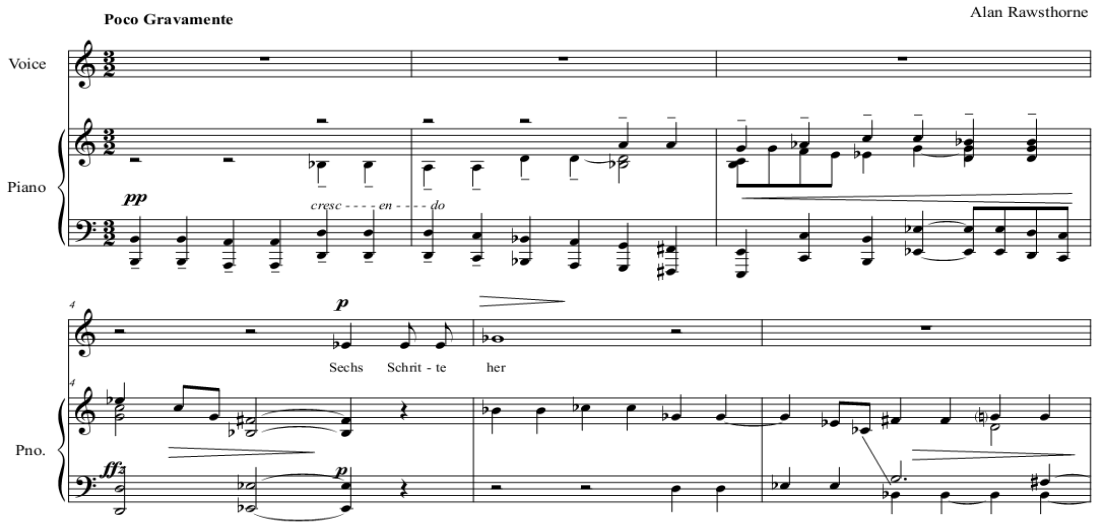


Ex. 1.1, Prison Cycle I, bars 1-6

Both Rawsthorne and Bush use a triple time signature, undoubtedly in reference to the 'six steps'. As a musical introduction, Bush (Ex. 1.1), starts with six steps forward

[89] Translated by Edith Wilson; Alan Bush and Alan Rawsthorne, *Prison Cycle: for Mezzo-Soprano (or Baritone) and Piano,* Music score (Manchester, Forsyth Brothers Ltd, 2002).

and then descends six steps back as a representation of the text. The singer enters after another six steps forward and then again after another six steps back. Bush refrains from attaching any musical material to the words *'Without purpose'* until the second half of the piece. In comparison, Rawsthorne (Ex. 1.2) introduces the entirety of the text in the musical introduction (i.e., the first 4 bars).



Ex. 1.2, Prison Cycle III, bars 1-6

Rawsthorne starts with six steps forward and then six back (bars 1-2), as Bush did, but then he carries on with another two bar phrase that steps forwards and back. He concludes with a minor sub-dominant, providing a mysterious feeling of instability, probably in an effort to depict the failure of the steps to achieve anything (as per the text: *'Without purpose'*). Trevor Hold – a contributor to Rawsthorne's journal the *Creel* – said that Rawsthorne's setting "although only thirteen bars long, is most impressive in the way it captures the poet's mood of frustration and despair".[90]

[90] Hold, 'The Solo Vocal Music', 73.

The ending of the interlude leads harmonically to the fourth song *über mir*. Rawsthorne's unstable ending on the submediant (G major), leads into the beginning of the fourth song which starts on B minor, acting as a tonic to the G major of the interlude. When considering Hold's suggestion of the six steps as "a solemn funereal tread", it is worth noting that the link between the interlude and the fourth song (G major to B minor) recall the beginning of Chopin's *Funeral March*, Op. 35 (G flat major to B flat minor).

Surprisingly, although Bush was the chief musical mover of the Workers' Music Association, the *Prison Cycle* remained unpublished for many years. It was eventually revived in 1977 by the baritone Graham Titus and the pianist Erik Levi.[91] In contrast, Rawsthorne's *Homeland Mine* was published by the Workers' Music Association in 1940.

Bush's second pageant, *Salute to the Red Army* (1943), includes two songs by Rawsthorne entitled *Ode to the Red Army* for soloist, chorus and orchestra.[92] Both songs are set to texts by the left-wing Irish poet Louis MacNeice. Along with contemporaries W.H. Auden, C. Day Lewis and Stephen Spender, MacNeice is considered to be one of the so-called 'Thirties Poets'.[93] Rawsthorne's *Ode to the Red Army* was commissioned by the British Ministry of Information to celebrate the 25th

[91] This is according to the notes in the music score; Alan Bush and Alan Rawsthorne, *Prison Cycle: for Mezzo-Soprano (or Baritone) and Piano*, Music score (Manchester: Forsyth Brothers Ltd, 2002).
[92] According to McCabe and Dressler, the score of this work had disappeared; McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 79; Dressler, Alan Rawsthorne, 23.
[93] Rawsthorne worked together with C. Day Lewis in his tenor and orchestra piece *The Enemy Speaks* of 1936; Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 96; Valentine Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

anniversary of the establishment of the Red Army of workers and peasants on 23 February 1918.[94] Unfortunately, the score of this work has disappeared.[95] The second work is *The Story of My Death* a "tribute to anti-Fascist martyrs".[96]

After examining Rawsthorne's political commitments – as reflected in his compositions – it is clear that he was a man of politics, and this is underscored by his political elements of his early literary works. He took an active part, through his music, in the political currents and movements of his time, and used his musical talent (along his understanding of politics) to comment on the unrest in the world around him. Rawsthorne's permanent search or freedom and equality are evident in his contributions. His political voice carries into areas of pacifism, Czech Independence, the Spanish Civil War, the British Labour Party, suffrage movement, Toller's prison years and, perhaps above all, a hope for a classless society. In this respect, he is similar to Chopin; a non-violent advocate of liberty, rather than a violent revolutionary politician.

Having provided a broad sketch of the relationship between Rawsthorne's beliefs and those of Chopin, and also demonstrated Rawsthorne's general engagement with contemporary socio-political issues, I shall now move to a narrower context. I will present Rawsthorne's contribution to the socio-political movements especially through his piano ballades of 1929 and 1967. This section will consider the political climate and the changing social circumstances that existed at the times of their

[94] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 23
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] *Ibid*., 24.

composition. It will become evident that there are points of intersection between Rawsthorne's beliefs concerning human and social values (discussed in the previous part) and the events occurring around 1929 and 1967. In order to argue this, each period of time will be considered separately. This will help to identify the motivation that promoted Rawsthorne to reference Chopin's piano ballade genre at each of these times. I will present two case studies: one relating to the 1929 Ballade, and the other to the 1967 Ballade. This discussion will start chronologically with the first Ballade by considering the situation in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

At the junction of the 1920s and 1930s, 1929 was a crucial year. One of the most important events in this period was the Wall Street Crash of October 1929 – only two months before Rawsthorne wrote his first Ballade – causing an economic depression that lasted throughout the 1930s. Although the event is well known, a brief illustration is provided here to highlight its direct and strong link with Worker's Movement and also Rawsthorne's first Ballade. There follows an example of how the event made people politically conscious; Rawsthorne's support of the Labour Party is a case in point.

Rawsthorne's first Ballade will be discussed as an artistic answer to the events of late 1920s after demonstrating Rawsthorne's association with the heroic idea in the end of this chapter. Therefore, the discussion will move to address the situation in the 1960s, a time when music played an important role in the protest movement. Scholars such as Peddie, Eyerman and Jamison, Klimke and Joachim, and Kurlansky

discuss this issue in detail.[97] Rawsthorne's contribution to the movement will be illustrated by examining his three mid-1960s vocal pieces, *He does not Die*, *Streets of Laredo* and *God in the Cave*. The ideas within the chosen texts for these three works will demonstrate Rawsthorne's preoccupations that preceded his second Ballade, and also illustrate his social philosophy in this period.

1.3 The 1929 socio-political situation and Rawsthorne's contribution

Constant Lambert noticed the difference between the 1920s and 1930s by pointing out that "they are as sharply differentiated as the '90s and the Edwardian epoch".[98] Matthew Riley noted that "the 1930s witnessed a growing interest in 'applied' music that served a social or political purpose".[99] Certainly the working class was already suffering and frustrated during the period that preceded the Wall Street Crash, and it seems that the May General Strike was an attempt to force the government to act against wage reduction.[100] The workers were already primed to rebel against the regime should any further financial shock take place.

Rawsthorne's guilt about his upbringing in comparison to that of those around him – discussed previously – is strongly evident in this period.[101] Workers as a demographic were financially suffering, and high unemployment levels caused civil

[97] Ian Peddie, *The Resisting Muse: Popular Music and Social Protest* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006); Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Tradition in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Klimke and Schaloth, *1968 in Europe*; Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (London: Vintage, 2004).
[98] Wright, *The Creel*, vol. 5, no. 3, 19.
[99] Matthew Riley, 'Introdiction', in Mattew Riley (ed.) *British Music and Modernism, 1895-1960* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 11.
[100] Keith Laybourn and Dylan Murphy, *Under the Red Flag: A History of Communism in Britain* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 53-75.
[101] Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne: The Fish with an Ear for Music', 32.

unrest at the time when Rawsthorne was travelling around Europe, enjoying parties, playing tennis, watching films, and generally remaining immune to the effects of the Great Depression. Gordon Green reflected that his and Rawsthorne's "awareness of unemployment and malnutrition at home and of the ominous rise of fascism in Europe marred our felicity".[102] Perhaps, then, this is the reason why, in 1932, Rawsthorne joined Dartington Hall in Devon; a centre whose philosophy was geared towards a new classless society. Moreover, Rawsthorne's song *We're Low* – published by the Workers' Music Association in 1939 – demonstrates his empathy with the aims of the Chartist movement.[103] Rawsthorne, by adopting this traditional Chartist song about hundred years after the actual date of this movement, shows that he was not just actively involved in current political events, but also shouldered a responsibility to react against any injustice for the rest of his life. Indeed, such action means that Rawsthorne was acting according to his beliefs for a better society and to enhance human dignity and not just following the mainstream beliefs of his time.

The differences between the late 1920s and 1930s were fundamentally linked to the 1929 Wall Street Crash. The reasons for many political actions in the early 1930s or later on were, in fact, a direct consequence of the situation in the late 1920s. Many scholars and writers have discussed the seismic shift in popular thinking during this period and how many people rapidly became politically conscious as a result. *Nobody Talks Politics*, a polemical novel by Geoffrey Gorer – published in 1936 – echoes this shift. The book's idea can be summed up as follows.

[102] Green, in McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 27.
[103] Dressler, Alan Rawsthorne, 109.

In the twenties, nobody talked politics at all. Then, the main character, Freddie, had an accident that left him in a coma for ten years. He wakes up from the coma and finds everybody talking about politics. "It seems to me since I've come back to life as if everybody has turned monomaniac. Isn't there any other subject to discuss?",[104] said Freddie, and he carried on:

> before I was bitten we used to talk about art, and sex and other people; but since I've recovered I've heard nothing but politics … I went to see the girl I was engaged to and found her all mixed up with communism and strikes and German refugees … and then in my way home I met Cyprian Queane who tried to convert me to the Labour Party … and now when I come home in the hope of a little rest I find I can't hear myself drink my soup because two conservatives are getting cross with one another. What has happened to the world?".[105]

Another character replied:

> I should say four things had happened to the world which have made people politically conscious … the failure of the League of Nations and the disarmament conference with the consequent ever growing menace of war … the economic and financial crisis with the terrific unemployment and distress, which didn't much touch the people not immediately affected and the pound going off gold which disturbed everyone; and finally the relative success of communism in Russia and of fascism in Germany which very much involved a great number of people's hopes or fears.[106]

Later in the book, the influence of these surrounding waves is applied to the painter, the musician and also the biologist.

Without a doubt, to deny the big shift of interests in Britain from the 1920s, when politics was not a common topic of discussion, to the 1930s, when political topics became highly important seems as bizarre as pretending that the French Revolution

[104] Geoffrey Gorer, *Nobody Talks Politics* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1936), 75.
[105] *Ibid*., 75-76.
[106] *Ibid*., 76.

had not happened. This is how a crucial event can change a whole nation's interest and make a big shift in their thinking.

Due to the support that Rawsthorne would later give to the Labour Party, their achievements in the period that precedes his first Ballade of 1929 will be examined.[107] In 1924, the Labour Party won the General Election for the first time, under Ramsay MacDonald.[108] In 1929, a few months before Rawsthorne's first Ballade was composed, the Labour Party swept into the House of Common and became the largest party in Britain, winning the majority of seats in Parliament for the first time.[109] Also under MacDonald, Britain saw a female cabinet minister for the first time in any party.[110] It is worth remembering that Rawsthorne was also a supporter for the women's suffrage movement.

As representatives for and supporters of the working class and the women's suffrage movement, the Labour Party seems to gave succour to Rawsthorne's beliefs, encouraging and enabling action that had potential to lead a classless society and a collective equality. The Labour Party was not the hope only for Rawsthorne, but also for many of his contemporaries such as Bush, who had

[107] Interestingly, as Rawsthorne did in 1929, John Ireland similarly composed two piano ballades, one in 1929 and the other ballade one year later. Ireland's second Ballade was not finished and he did not give it any date, According to Norah Kirby "it was in loose (numbered) sheets scattered about in a drawful of MSS', and after Ireland's death 'a great thrill it was to find them page by page up to p. 10'. The final page was completed by Alan Rowlands (piano), which is 'now published, and sounds logical & good". Ireland's first Ballade seems to be one of his closest pieces, in which he once described it as "Dark, but which had deep personal significance for him"; Rachel O'Higgins, *The Correspondence of Alan Bush and John Ireland* 1927-1961 (England: Ashgate, 2006), 22. See footnote No. 4.

[108] David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* (London: Phoenix, 2008), 81.

[109] Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History, 1867-2001: Democracy and Decline* (London: Routledge, 1992), 266.

[110] Shepherd, *George Lansbury,* 257.

organized the aforementioned pageants specifically for the Labour Party; a pageant to which we know Rawsthorne had been an important contribution.[111]

Political and social life in Britain in the period between the 1920s and 1930s was a source of inspiration and motivation for many artists. Rawsthorne was on the left of the political spectrum, along with the Labour Party, as well as most of his musical contemporaries. The Labour Party's victory brought with it the promise of increased rights for workers and democratic rights for women.

It seems that as with Chopin, Rawsthorne used the ballade genre as an artistic expressing of social changes emerging from civil unrest and, in Rawsthorne's case, perhaps as a show of solidarity with the working class during the difficult times.

Rawsthorne's response to the events of 1929 will be dealt with at the end of this chapter, after an exploration of his association with Romantic ideas of heroism; the context within which his first Ballade is to be analyzed. It will appear that this Ballade's hero is a kind of a saviour, striving to prevent hunger and poverty of the sort that was prevalent in the late 1920s. Having described the situation in 1929, and considered the relationship between Rawsthorne and the Labour Party, the discussion will now move ahead to the 1967 socio-political situation.

[111] See section 1.2.3

1.4 The 1967 socio-political situation and Rawsthorne's contribution

The compositions of Rawsthorne and his contemporaries became increasingly politicized after the 1920s, and thus the link between the musicians, their compositions and the political scene in the 1960s becomes more understandable. It is clear that such practice increased during each decade between the 1920s and the 1960s. As already noted, Rawsthorne contributed to many socio-political occasions, and participated in them musically during all stages of his life through works such as *Homeland Mine* (1939), the *Prison Cycle* (1939), *We're Low* (1939) *Left, left* (1940), *A Rose for Lidice* (1956) and many others. Rawsthorne remained politically active until the end of his life.

This section will consider three of Rawsthorne's mid-1960s works that preceded his second Ballade of 1967. Their texts have a socio-political association that deals with the relationship between man and his environment and also human values. These works are *He does not Die* (1964), the *Streets of Laredo* (1965) and *The God in the Cave* (1966).[112] I will base the discussion on the themes that are present within the music. They are centred mostly on social issues such as the relationship between politics and the human condition and the possibility of peaceful society. Indeed, to adopt such ideas during the climate of the 1960s means more than just a taste. For this, I will apply a methodology used by Jerrold Northrop Moore in his 1984 study that sought to understand Elgar's religious beliefs.[113]

[112] Dressler, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 318-319.

[113] Moore pointed out that "The fortunes of Elgar's faith can be traced in the subjects he chose for his major religious choral works, his treatment of those subjects, and how they intertwined with the more purely literary heroes for the compositions, also of his own choosing"; Rachel Cowgill, 'Elgar's

1.4.1 Mid-1960s works: *He does not Die* (1964)

The first song *He does not Die*, is for mixed chorus and two pianos.[114] Rawsthorne used a text by Hilaire Belloc, the French poet, journalist and political thinker who became a naturalized British subject in 1902.[115] According to Bernard Stevens – another British composer with similar socio-political interests to Rawsthorne's and also a friend of Alan Bush and Randall Swingler – the poem presents the idea that "Immortality is to be found in the influence a man leaves on his environment".[116] Although this could be interpreted as a manifestation of a Christian belief system, Rawsthorne was not a religious person. He did not even follow his parents' Swedenborgian beliefs.[117] Therefore, Rawsthorne's choice represents his understanding of the importance of human existence, which is enhanced by the individual's contribution to achieving a healthy collective society. Influential thinkers always considered this a noble goal to keep in mind, for instance, Albert Einstein said:

> Strange is our situation here upon earth. Each of us comes for a short visit, not knowing why, yet sometimes seeming to a divine purpose. From the standpoint of daily life, however, there is one thing we do know; that we are here for the sake of others…for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day, I realize how much my outer and inner life is built upon the labors of people, both

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War Requiem', in Byron Adams, (ed.) *Edward Elgar and his World* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), 318.

[114] Part of the poem: "He does not die who can bequeath Some influence to the land he knows, Or dares, persistent, interwreathe Love permanent with the wild hedgerows; He does not die, but still remains Substantiate with his darling plains"; Hilaire Belloc, *Complete Verse* (London: Pimlico, 1954), 99.

[115] Mohit Ray, (ed.) *The Atlantic Companion to Literature in English* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2007), 44.

[116] Bernard Stevens, 'The Choral Music', in Alan Poulton (ed.), *Alan Rawsthorne: Essays on the Music, Vol. 3* (Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1986), 42.

[117] This Christian belief system was based on "the teachings of the scientist, philosopher, and prophet Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whose missionary work and interpretations of biblical revelation achieved a wide following in Europe and America, outlining a Christianity of liberalism and community fellowship"; McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 11.

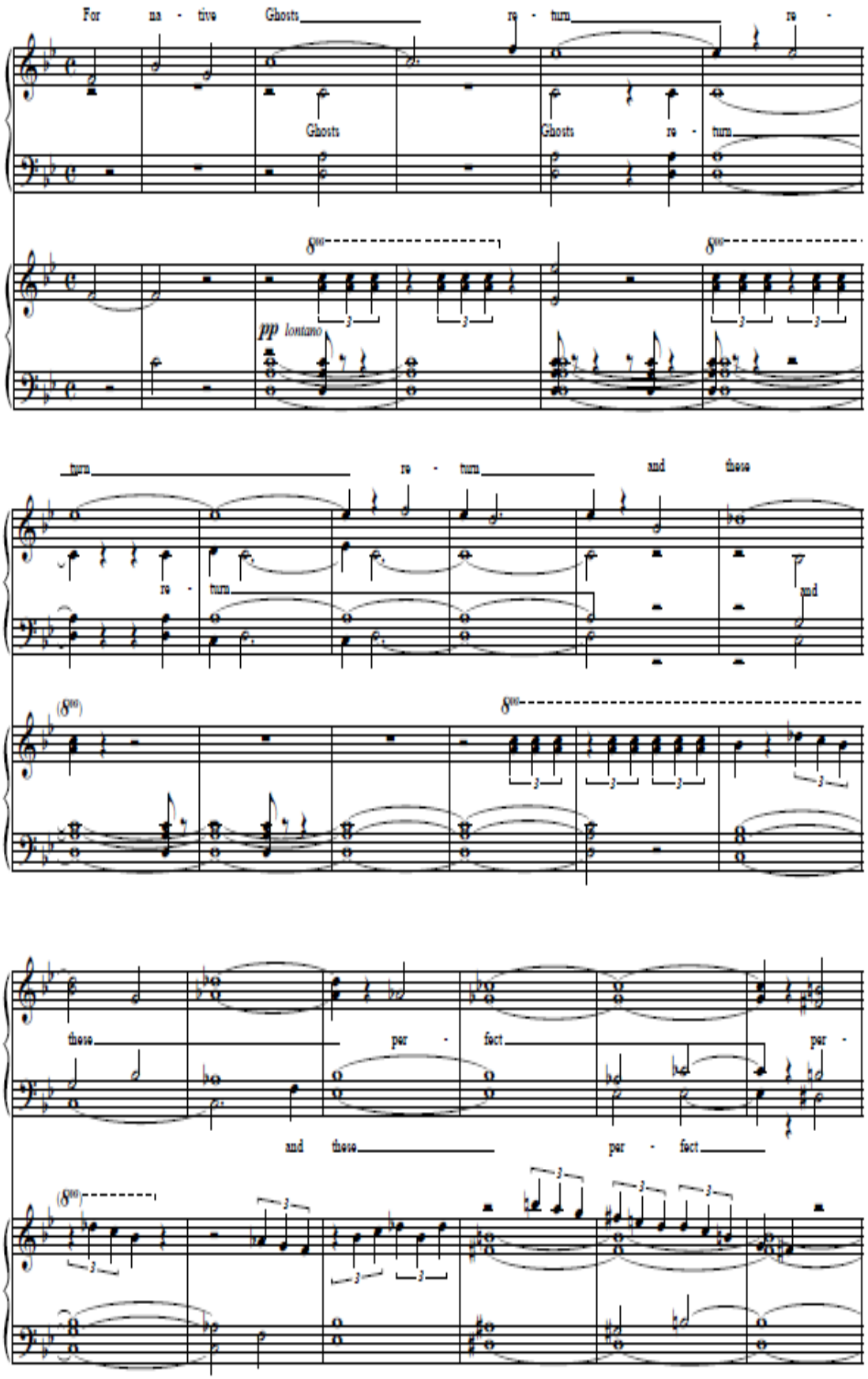
> living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received.[118]

Einstein's comments are not dissimilar to the idea presented by Rawsthorne in *He does not Die*. The title itself immediately conjures up notions of immortality, and further inspection reveal this to be particularly about a person who leaves a contribution that can improve collective life practically or theoretically. Stevens commented on this poem by saying "It is set simply, even didactically, with a suggestion of heroism".[119] Rawsthorne adopted a Romantic conception of the hero, and his treatment of the subject here seems heroic because of the use of an 'echo strategy'. He repeats many words more than once (Ex. 1.3). Then with every appearance of the word "returns" the dynamic indication changed from *pp* to *crescendo*. This louder volume supports the "return"; when something is returned it becomes more obvious in terms of image, and louder in terms of volume.

Commenting on the heroic line in this work, Stevens proposes:

> After the bold affirmation of the main concept by the full choir, mostly note against note, the accompaniment subsides into a gently flowing and lyrical middle section in which Nature is heard echoing the Hero's name…The declamatory character of the opining gradually re-asserts itself and, after a powerful climax in the pianos, the piece ends with a quiet coda in which Nature bestows a peaceful benediction on the Hero.[120]

[118] Eldon Taylor, *What If?: The Challenge of Self-Realization* (USA: Hay House, 2011), 95.
[119] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 42.
[120] *Ibid*., 43.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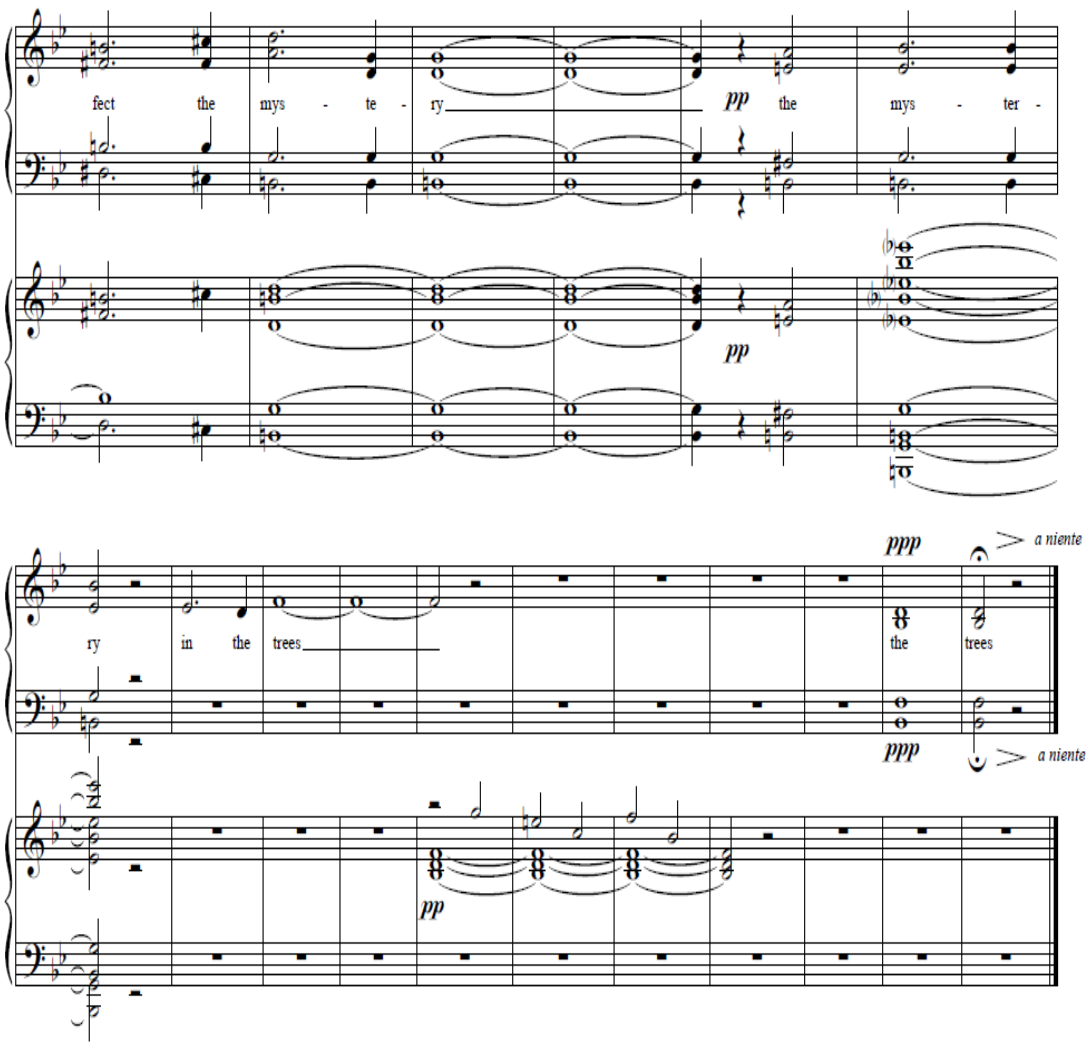
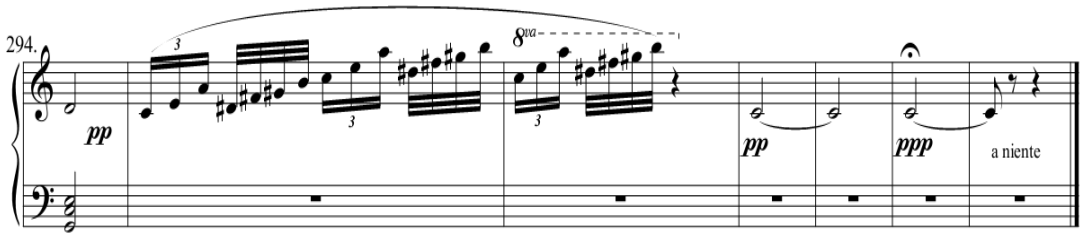


Ex. 1.3, He does not Die, bars 143-177

The way Rawsthorne applies the idea of the hero within this work suggests the concept of the unforgettable hero. As Stevens points out: "nature is heard echoing the Hero's name", which I take to mean that his name left an echo in our life, thus cementing the idea of immortality.[121] Rawsthorne concluded the work with almost unavoidable voices that seems to whisper the hero's name from everywhere. The fact that the song ends with a *fermata*, *ppp*, *decrescendo* and a *niente* indication contributes to the fadeout of the whispering voices. Rawsthorne used similar techniques in the ending of his second piano Ballade (Ex. 1.4).

[121] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 43.



Ex. 1.4, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 294-300

In *He does not Die* it could be said that the hero is someone who leaves a memorable contribution to those who follow, and that this contribution lives on after the hero's death. Thus, the contribution of individuals could last forever and help to improve our collective life as time goes on. In other words, the individuals' contribution forms the whole. This concept will be considered in detail in the last chapter in order to identify the 'voice' in, first Chopin's, and then, Rawsthorne's ballades.

1.4.2 Mid-1960s works: *Streets of Laredo* (1965)

The second work from the same period is the *Streets of Laredo* (1965) for soprano, tenor and guitar. Although this song is known originally as a traditional American cowboy song, David Wilson argued that:

> Much of the American music that is so popular today was itself influenced by earlier Irish traditions, and is thus not quite as 'foreign' as it may first appear. A classic example is "The Cowboy's Lament," better known as "The Streets of Laredo." Although it seems to be a quintessentially American cowboy song, it actually originated in eighteenth-century Ireland as "The Bard of Armagh," and was integrated into the Irish nationalist tradition as "Bold Robert Emmet" before crossing the Atlantic.[122]

[122] David A. Wilson, 'Ulster Loyalism and Country Music', in Ed. Charles K. Wolfe and James E. Akenson, *Country Music Goes to War* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 194.

The work remained unpublished and the manuscript has been lost. All that remains is a gramophone recording.[123] The use of this poem – written by Louis MacNeice – raises many questions, particularly because of its overt patriotism. The poem makes reference to people such as Sir Christopher Wren. Here, it seems that MacNeice used the famous English architect's name as a hero who is ready to rebuild anything destroyed by the enemy. The text is as follows:

> At which there arose from a wound in the asphalt,
> His big wig-a-smoulder, Sir Christopher Wren
> Saying 'Let them make hay of the streets of Laredo;
> When your ground-rents expire I will build them again'.[124]

MacNeice also refers to Bunhill Fields,[125] John Bunyan, an English writer who served in the English Civil War,[126] and the Romantic revolutionary English writer William Blake. In stanza number six he wrote:

> Then twangling their bibles with wrath in their nostrils
> From Bunhill Fields came Bunyan and Blake:
> Laredo the golden is fallen, is fallen;
> Your flame shall not quench nor your thirst shall not slake.[127]

The Poetry Foundation commented on MacNeice's setting by pointing out that "the streets of Laredo become the bombed streets of London after the war, and last two stanzas are whispered in the singer's ear by the Angel of Death".[128] In this respect, the poem seems to be like an elegy to the bombed streets of London, yet provides hope of metaphorical reconstruction, perhaps by Christopher Wren. Rawsthorne's

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[123] Hold, 'The Solo Vocal Music', 84.
[124] Jon Stallworthy, (ed.) *The Oxford Book of War Poetry: Second Reissue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 251-252.
[125] A cemetery used by Nonconformists between the 17th and 19th century which includes the bodies of many famous people; Clifton Bryant, *The Handbook of Death and Dying: Vol. 1* (California: Sage, 2003), 804.
[126] Daniel Burt, *The Biography Book: A Reader's Guide to the Nonfiction, Firctional, and Film Biographies of more than 500 of the Most Fascinating Individual of All Time* (Connecticut: ORYX Press, 2001).
[127] Stallworthy, *The Oxford Book of War Poetry*, 251-252.
[128] http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/louis-macneice (Accessed 07-05-2011).

decision to choose this poem represents his identification with England and also demonstrates Rawsthorne's admiration of the heroic character.

Christina Hunt Mahony's claim that MacNeice's streets of Laredo have a "jingly near pop-song quality" opens another door of discussion.[129] Rawsthorne's choice of a poem that had a pop-song quality in the mid-1960s is more than just a matter of personal taste, it contains a message. Pop music played an important role in the protest movement in the United Kingdom, Europe and the United states during this period.

1.4.2.1 The pop-song quality of the *Streets of Laredo* and the 1960s protest movement

From the early 1960s, "beat" music was seen as a medium capable of delivering revolutionary messages and one way for people to express their feeling of dissatisfaction with regard to the social and political situation.[130] Due to economic growth in the mid-twentieth century, pop culture emerged, and the profusion of rock bands, vinyl records, live music clubs, magazines, televised music programmes, and radio stations helped to spread it.[131] Protest songs and movements achieved

[129] Christina Mahony, 'London Meets Laredo, a Nightmare: Louis MacNeice's Irish War'. *Irish University Review*, 25 (2), 1995, 205 *JSTOR* [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25511496 (Accessed 06 May 2011).

[130] Detlef Siegfried, 'Music and Protest in 1960s Europe', in Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (ed.) *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 57

[131] "Places such as the Cavern Club (Liverpool) and the Star-Club (Hamburg), two of the original venues of beat music, offered an ambience of deviance from social conventions that could also be seen as protest. The 1960s saw the emergence of other venues such as the Club Voltaire (Frankfurt), which offered jazz and beat music, art exhibitions, film screenings, readings and political events, thereby merging oppositional culture and politics into a new kind of events concept… Televised music programs played a pivotal role in global youth culture; though initially apolitical… The United

commercial success, thus reaching as large and varied audience – especially young people who were keen to embrace pop culture – and both allowed and encouraged them to engage with social movements.

This move away from 'classical' forms tallies with Rawsthorne's openness to a wider cultural awareness. It seems that, in 1965, his selection of a poem that has a pop-song quality might be based on a desire to engage with protest movements in a more fashionable style. William Walton and Constant Lambert used the jazz medium to indicate a willingness or even a desire to engage with a larger public. However, it was Rawsthorne's choice of this poem that helped him to widen his audience and support the protest movement, rather than returning to his established musical style. This is because Rawsthorne, unlike Lambert and Walton, did not find a "place for [electronic technology and jazz elements] in his style. He saw his music as suited to the concert hall and he had little time for esoteric groups and coteries".[132] However, in the *Streets of Laredo* he used acoustic guitar with solo voices, a combination very much in fashion during the 1960s.

The guitar and banjo played a very important role in folk and protest music in the 1960s, including activity by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which was originally founded by an older generation of left-wingers.[133] The importance of the

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Kingdom had an early start with programs like *Six-Five Special* (1957), *Oh Boy!* (1958), and *Ready, Steady, Go!* (1963)… Pop music became far more wide-spread in radio than in television… Radio Caroline and Radio London were launched in 1964"; Siegfried, 'Music and Protest in 1960s Europe', 60-61.

[132] Francis Routh, 'Rawsthorne's Instrumental Style' *The Musical Times*. 125 (1693), 1984, 144 *JSTOR* [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/963011 (Accessed 05 October 2009).

[133] Klimke and Scharloth, *1968 in Europe*, 65-66.

acoustic guitar in this movement can also be seen in the output of American folk star Bob Dylan. As Jerry Rodnitsky points out:

> Dylan made the first important move against [this association with protest movement]. He suddenly stopped writing protest songs of any kind and, at about the same time, switched from acoustic to electric guitar.[134]

In this respect, through Rawsthorne's choice of instrument, the *Streets of Laredo* ends up sounding in many ways like a piece of protest music from the climate of the mid-1960s.

1.4.3 Mid-1960s works: *The God in the Cave* (1966)

The God in the Cave was Rawsthorne's final collaboration with his old communist friend Swingler. It would also be Rawsthorne's last choral work. It is a three-movement cantata for contralto and baritone soloists, mixed chorus and orchestra, and one for which Rawsthorne chose an unusual and interesting topic as we are about to examine. There are some common elements with *A Canticle of Man* (1952), his first collaboration with Swingler, and also with *Carmen vitale* (1963). For instance, "the relation of man with nature, the potential destruction, the possibility of peace" occupies all three works.[135]

A Canticle of Man deals with the idea of mankind's evolution from genesis to the current condition,[136] and offers a perspective of mankind's future state.[137] It seems

[134] Jerry Rodnitsky, 'The Decline and Rebirth of Folk-Protest Music', in Ian Peddie (ed.) *The Resisting Music: Popular Music and Social Protest* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006), 17.
[135] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 239.
[136] Maarten Surtel, 'A Guide to the Choral Music', in Tony Hodges (ed.) *The Creel: Journal of the Alan Rawsthorne Society and the Rawsthorne Trust*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Oxford: The Rawsthorne Trust, 1999), 17.

that Rawsthorne's measure of art in this period is identified by the presence of human associations. Perhaps, this is not surprising because of the human rights movements that dominated the 1960s in Europe and to which Rawsthorne demonstrated a great support.

The God in the Cave was commissioned by Edinburgh University's Madrigal Society, and its first performance was given shortly before its poet's death in 1967. Swingler wrote this poem during his visit to the Lascaux caves in France, about 20 years earlier. *The God in the Cave* deals with the relationship between man and nature in which it tells the story of a primitive caveman and the psychological urge to create cave-art as a symbol to highlight this relationship.[138] As Swingler described the god in this poem:

> The god is both the force of fertility and life-death in the prehistoric cave with its magical wall-paintings, and the new life in the individual spirit today which must be evoked by a deepening consciousness of man's place in the world, in society, and of his own essence.[139]

Rawsthorne's choice of texts during the social movement and human rights protests demonstrates commitment to the cause. I would even venture to argue that this association might represent a revival of the Renaissance movement toward studies of the human condition. Law pointed out:

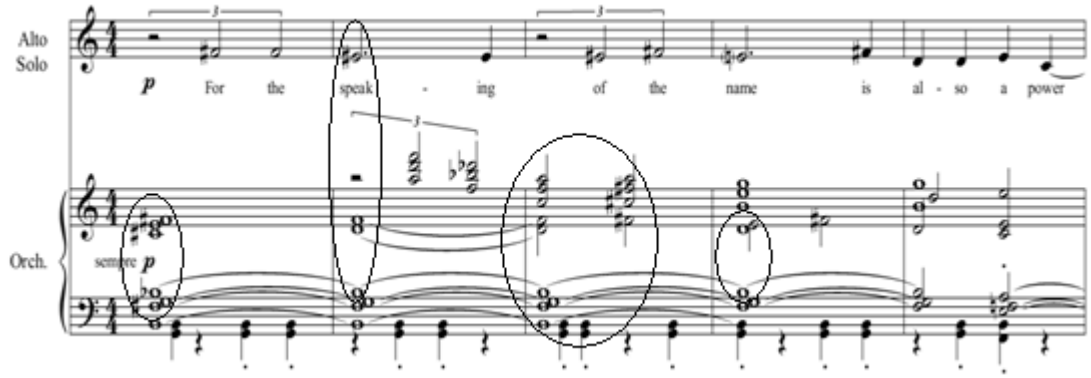
> The movement was partly brought about by a renewed interest in Classical thought. Leonardo da Vinci's (1452-1519) studies of human physiognomy, which informed his artistic portrayal of the human form, merely illustrate

[137] This idea is strongly connected to Freidrich Nietzsche's *Ubermensch* (super-human or upper-man), *eternal recurrence*, and some other writings such as *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, however, this thesis will not examine this connection. This, of course, can be a possible topic for future research.
[138] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 238.
[139] Randall Swingler, *The God in the Cave* (London: FORE Publication Limited, 1950), Cover slip.

> the way in which the study of the human and human culture came much more to the fore during the Renaissance.[140]

Rawsthorne, thus, seems to bring forward the idea that dominated renaissance thinking in a time when human rights movements were very much on the scene during the 1960s. Rawsthorne, in this sense, modernized the interpretation of human association with art. His return to the ancient caveman who existed before the emergence of boarders, discrimination, or class, suggests a new point of departure.

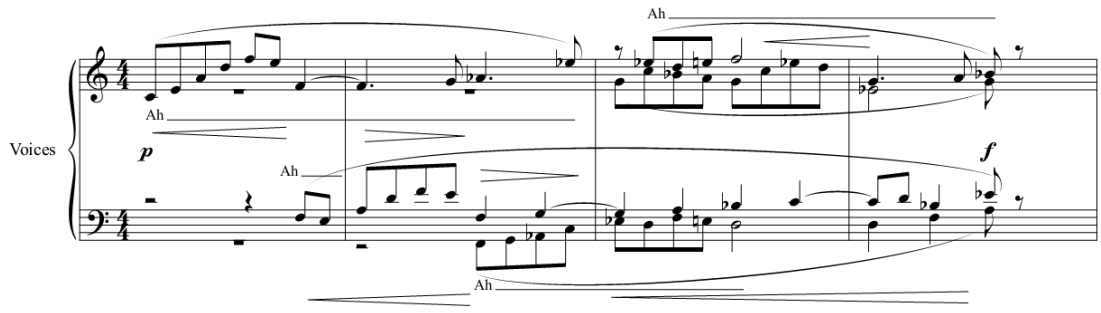
In a similar way to *A Canticle of Man*, the first movement of *The God in the Cave* starts by presenting the idea of the birth of mankind ('*Out of the womb man emerges*'),[141] and then man's struggle with nature in prehistoric times, and also struggling with the 'cave' of his mind.[142] Example 1.5 demonstrates Rawsthorne's use of a dissonant harmonic language (including augmented fourths), which perhaps helps to describe the dual conflict between man and nature.[143]



Ex. 1.5, The God in the Cave, bars 115-119

[140] Law, *Humanism*, 15-16.
[141] Swingler, *The God in the Cave*, 16.
[142] Surtel, 'A Guide to the Choral Music', 24.
[143] Stevens comment supports this analysis in which he noted that the musical language is often very dissonance "with super-imposed perfect and augmented fourths"; Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 46.

Moreover, the contralto soloist seems to articulate the primary idea of the story, which in this song presents the man's voice (Ex. 1.5), while the chorus (Ex. 1.6), as Stevens points out, seems to "diffuses it as if in fear".[144]



Ex. 1.6, The God in the Cave, bars 120-123

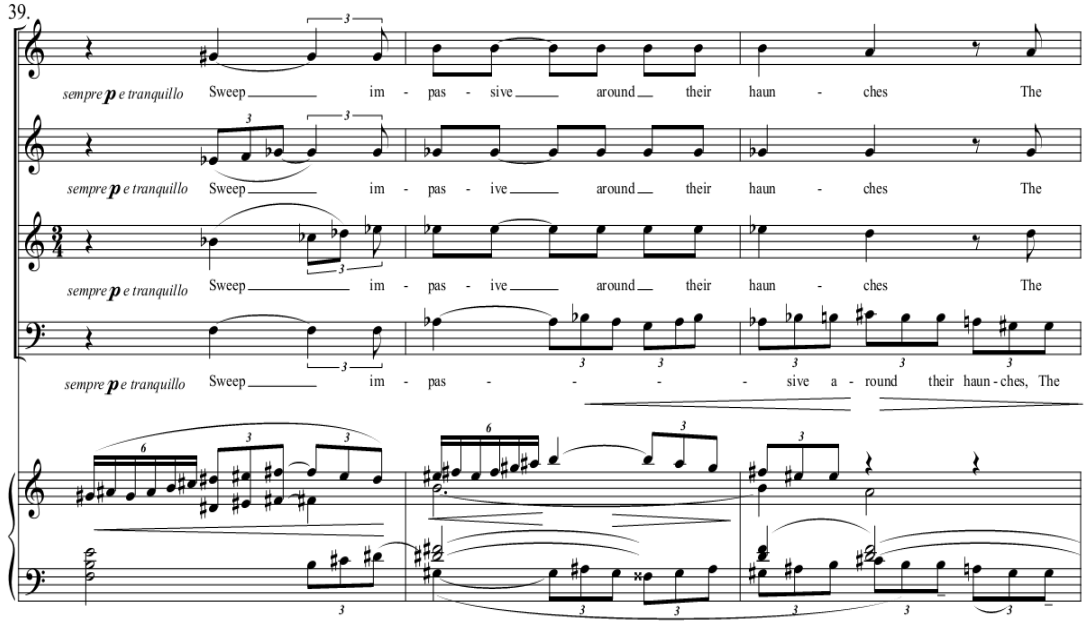
This pattern of dividing the roles between the solo voice and the chorus is another example of Rawsthorne's presentation of dualism and an attempt to toy with the "two separate planes of representation" that according to Parakilas is directly associated with Chopin's ballade genre structure.[145] As we will see in Chapter 2, the first and the second voices in Chopin's second Ballade will each represent a different idea in which they are both in conflict with each other, and the ensuing victory is for the stronger.

In the second movement, the man in the cave is trying to imagine his enemy in whatever form he might appear: "tufted bison or bellowing bear, so that he may know his fear".[146] His imagination prepares him for combat with this enemy. In the first strophe, the narrator of the story is stating this fact about the man "so he may know his fear", while in the second we hear it from the man himself: "Keep me

[144] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 46.
[145] James Parakilas, *Ballade without Words: Chopin and the Tradition of the Instrumental Ballade* (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1992), 286.
[146] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 47.

mine enemy before mine eyes, That I may know my fear".[147] Indeed, another example of Rawsthorne's two planes of representation in this work.

The last movement addresses the idea of the fear of the unknown and the sleeping beast, with references to the idea of struggling between man and nature ('*Like the Primeval struggle between these two*').[148] Here we can see Rawsthorne using the same echoing structure that he used in *He does not Die*. While the contralto and mixed chorus sings the phrase "Sweep impassive around their haunches" (bars 39-41), the baritone sustains the word "impassive" (bar 40) and then carries on (bar 41) as an echo to the other voices, (Ex. 1.7):



Ex. 1.7, The God in the Cave, bars 39-41

This work ends in "a dying away into silence"[149] manner, similar to both *He does not Die* and also Rawsthorne's second Ballade. This manner of conclusion seems to be common amongst Rawsthorne's later works. It is, perhaps, a musical gesture that

[147] Swingler, *The God in the Cave*, 17.
[148] *Ibid*., 19.
[149] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 48.

demonstrates the end of conflict. The conclusion material in Rawsthorne's second Ballade appears to represent a similar, end of conflict, idea. However, as discussed in Chapter 4 – in Rawsthorne's second Ballade case study – this feature will be seen to represent the end of the Rawsthorne and Chopin dialectical argument.

Rawsthorne's chosen topic of *The God in the Cave* that deals with the idea of a man who is struggling with nature and the sleeping beast that has the physical power recalls Wagner's *Siegfried*, the legendary dragon-slaying hero. At this point, it is worth pointing out that the Siegfried that Rawsthorne admired was not the *Siegfried* of Wagner's opera, but the character that Rawsthorne encountered his own early studies:

> I once started to write an opera when I was about eleven but I didn't get very far. It was on the subject of Siegfried and I suddenly found that Wagner had already written an opera called Siegfried so I abandoned mine and I've never written an opera since.[150]

Rawsthorne's affection for heroes seems to pervade his works from beginning to end. The first Ballade's hero is an early example of this affection and is addressed in the conclusion section of this chapter. Rawsthorne's 1960s works represents his later adaptation of this heroic idea.

1.4.4 Other considerations that influenced Rawsthorne

Swingler's poem, *The Map,* was written in 1967 but did not enter the public domain until the publication of Croft's article in 2001. This poem seems to influence Rawsthorne's thinking. McCabe notes that: "One of Rawsthorne's closest

[150] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 7.

friendships, from the 1930s on, was with … Randall Swingler, whose views had great influence on him".[151] Hence, this close relationship, without doubt, influenced Rawsthorne's creative process.

In *The Map*, Swingler approached a new level of political argument that seemed to develop from his earlier work *A Canticle of Man* and *The God in the Cave*. Perhaps Rawsthorne's choice of *The God in the Cave* in 1966 was the result of Swingler's influence. Rawsthorne and Swingler shared similar political views. Swingler believed that politics was an important part of the human condition and therefore, any explanation of the human social condition whether "saga, epic, drama, novel" was considered absolutely political.[152] In this sense, Rawsthorne's works that represent the theme of the human condition are also political.

This kind of political association is what Chopin and many other artists, who did not believe in violence, were practicing; the main goal of their participation was to enhance the life of the human being and to reach a complete freedom of mankind. This non-violent resistance formed part of their modern socio-political awareness. Later in Chapter 4, I will argue that Rawsthorne's ballades constitute a 'universal' genre that seek to assist in the creation of – or at least aspire to – a better society and greater liberty.

[151] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 28.
[152] Andy Croft, 'The Cartography of Despair: Randall Swingler's The Map'. *Textual Practice*, 15 (2), 2001, 284 [Online]. Available at: http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/867297_751318978_929181160.pdf (Accessed 06-05-2011).

It seems that ideas drawn from *He Does Not Die* – such as the relationship between a man and his environment and immortality of heroes – were adopted later in Rawsthorne's life. *Streets of Laredo* demonstrates the development of other ideas such as the hope for a peaceful society. It also links these visions of peace to names like Christopher Wren who, in this case, was a national hero standing for his country by reconstructing any destruction in which in this case it was the bombed streets of Laredo.

Indeed, there seems to be a clear parallel between the development of Swingler's writing and Rawsthorne's choice of texts. During his last years, Rawsthorne seems to return to his earlier themes like heroism, the relationship between humans and their society, and moralism that date back to his unfinished opera *Siegfried* and also his first Ballade. These themes, which can be "considered implicitly political", seem to be his main concern in his late works.[153]

In the light of the previous analyses I will now turn to the connection between Rawsthorne's compositions and the idea of the Romantic hero. These often suggest a Byronic-like hero, similar to the ideal linked to Chopin's ballade genre. By highlighting this connection, the next section will consider Rawsthorne's contribution to the events of 1929 through his first Ballade.

[153] Croft, 'The Cartography of Despair', 284.

1.5 The return of the Romantic hero

From the previous analysis it seems that social movements often start in literature and then move to other branches of the Arts. As we have seen in Chopin's case, the idea of the piano ballade derived from the literary work of Mickiewicz. Mickiewicz also adopted the heroic idea of Byron's earlier literary works. Thus, Chopin built his piano ballade genre in earlier literary ideas. The texts of Rawsthorne's vocal music – already discussed – provided some evidences of such influence. As we are about to see in the following section, Rawsthorne also seems to adopt a similar heroic idea from his close relationship with many poets such as Swingler. I will examine this relationship in depth in an attempt to place Chopin, Rawsthorne and the so-called Romantic hero in a common cultural space.

The ballades of Chopin have been examined by many scholars – such as Bellman and Chen –[154] and are often considered to be works that reflect a national hero standing for Poland's independence. Others – like Parakilas –[155] interpreted them as a European genre rather than just a Polish one. I argue, however, that Rawsthorne's ballades represent neither English nor European form; instead, they address humanity as a whole, without distinction. Rawsthorne – by universalizing this genre – achieved a modern interpretation of the ballade, especially in an internationalist and multi-culturalist world.

In the previous discussion, I argued the existence of Rawsthorne's interest in the idea of heroes through both his early knowledge about Siegfried, and also his

[154] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*; Chen, *Narrative in the Ballades of Fryderyk Chopin*.
[155] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 24-31.

chosen themes for his vocal works. In this section, I aim to illustrate his interest in the Romantic hero, which might be again, like Chopin, a Byronic one.

I will start by demonstrating Rawsthorne's exposure to the Byronic hero via the literary Romantic movement. I will look at the relationship between the poets with whom he collaborated, and with their relationships to literary Romanticism. Then, I will examine the influence of this movement on Rawsthorne through his setting of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*, one of the fathers of this movement. I will argue, finally, that it makes sense to consider Rawsthorne's ballade in the context of literary Romanticism.

As previously discussed, poets such as Belloc, Swingler, and MacNeice, concerned themselves with specific themes like the relationship between man and nature, politics as a part of the human condition and heroism. Swingler's interest in heroes can be seen in works like *The God in the Cave* and *Ballad of Heroes*, whilst MacNeice's *Streets of Laredo* suggests heroic figures by mentioning, Blake and Wren directly, and also by referring to the Bunhill Fields. On the other hand, Stevens, as mentioned earlier, pointed out that Belloc proposes a hero in *He does not Die*, along with the relationship between this hero and nature.

Those poets were not using a fresh perspective to address political subjects in their literary works, but were instead adopting the English Romantic poets' manner of treating such subjects, presenting a heroic character in their works in order to

express their own opinions. Peter Thorslev argues for the importance of heroes to English Romanticism:

> A far more important reason for the popularity of these heroic tales was that since the age was one of rebellion – social, moral, and philosophical – it was also an age of heroes. These poems and novels therefore satisfied the taste of the age: they gave it a surfeit of heroes, all passion and fiery energy, all moral, intellectual, and political rebellion.[156]

This is to say that the works of Rawsthorne's poets reflect the influence of a great figure like Coleridge, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Blake and Byron; poets who considered beliefs – whether social, moral, or political – through their engagement with the Romantic hero.

This approach is crystallized in the so-called "supernatural" thinking. According to Ernest Bernbaum:

> The Romantics were keenly conscious of the difference between two worlds. One was the world of ideal truth, goodness, and beauty: this was eternal, infinite, and absolutely real. The other was the world of actual appearances, which to common sense was the only world, and which to the idealist was so obviously full of untruth, ignorance, evil, ugliness, and wretchedness, as to compel him to dejection or indignation.[157]

According to Bright, the first of those two worlds is associated with "supernatural" thinking. Blake, Shelley, Wordsworth, Keats, Coleridge and Byron are among those whose works involve the "supernatural" ideology. Poets connected to this movement believed that they were "apart from ordinary men… and has a religious aura".[158] Blake comments about the poets in this poem demonstrated this belief:

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[156] Peter Thorslev, *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), 15-16.
[157] Ernest Bernbaum in, Michael Bright, 'English Literary Romanticism and the Oxford Movement'. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40 (3), 1979, 387 *JSTOR* [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2709244 (Accessed 12-05-2011).
[158] Bright, 'English Literary Romanticism', 389.

"Hear the Voice"

Who Present, Past, & Future, sees;
Whose ears have heard
The Holy Words
That walk'd among the ancient trees….[159]

Blake's point here is that the poet is a kind of divine human being who knows the past, present, and future. Wordsworth illustrated the uniqueness of poets by stating that "the poet is like other men in kind … he is generally superior in thought and feeling".[160] From this point, it is possible to connect this behaviour common to poets of that period with Thorslev's discussion about individualism:

> To speak of the Romantic Movement as the "Age of Heroes", of course, is to say also that a key characteristic of Romanticism is individualism, that this lies at the heart of the movement and is the reason of this preoccupation with the heroic…Both Romantic poets and their heroes were isolated from the society of their day; they were all in some degree rebels and outsiders.[161]

Thorslev argued that the Byronic hero is the abstract of all types of Romantic hero.[162] For example, Shelley's heroic idea resulted from the influence of Coleridge's presentation of human nature as a mixture of good and evil. Byron followed Shelley's hero and developed it.[163] Thus, Byron's hero – that gave attention to "society and social value" –[164] is considered as the outcome of this Romantic Movement. Twentieth-century poets – such as Swingler and MacNeice – referred to this heroic image in a time of civil unrest in the world. Rawsthorne – as Chopin did

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[159] Bright, 'English Literary Romanticism', 389.
[160] *Ibid*., 389-390.
[161] Thorslev, *The Byronic Hero*, 17.
[162] *Ibid*., 4.
[163] Review by Jonathan Gross on; William Brewer, *The Shelley-Byron Conversation* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1994).
[164] Frederick Garber, 'Self, Society, Value, and the Romantic Hero'. *Comparative Literature*, 19 (4), 1967, 322 *JSTOR* [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1769491 (Accessed 11-05-2011).

with Mickiewicz – adopted this heroic idea in his music in order to comment on the socio-political landscape of his time.

To sum up, the poets whose poems Rawsthorne chose to set were influenced by the English Romanticism. They believed, in particular, in the Byronic hero. Through their works they expressed their unique idea as poets and used heroic figures to express their messages of protest or dissatisfaction. Swingler, Belloc and MacNeice each had a hero and this might be one of the reasons why Rawsthorne was interested in their poems. This is likely to be in addition to his close friendship with Swingler and MacNeice, which must also have influenced him.[165] The discussion will move to examine the influence of Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* on Rawsthorne.

1.5.1 Rawsthorne and Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*

The poem *Kubla Khan* had a particular impact on Rawsthorne. It was written in 1798 and remained unpublished until Byron promoted its publication in 1816.[166] Byron made it available to the public because he admired it, and Rawsthorne seems to share this admiration and thus set it to music.

Rawsthorne predictably chose Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* in 1940, during the Second World War as the text of a cantata for mixed voices, percussion and strings orchestra.[167] The poem deals with one of Rawsthorne's favourite themes, the

[165] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 39.
[166] http://feeds.bbc.co.uk/dna/mbiplayer/plain/A493959 (13-05-2011).
[167] "Fortunately the vocal score – chorus parts with a piano reduction of the orchestral parts – survives"; *The Creel*, 2001, 7. The original score of *Kubla Khan* was lost in the 1940 bombing in the flat shared by the Rawsthornes and Sidonie Gossens and her husband Hyam Greenbaum, "The air

relationship between human beings and nature, and also the struggle between the human psyche and the landscape. It is worth noting that Swingler's *The God in the Cave* and *The Map* also represented a similar idea. The third movement of *The God in the Cave* centres on landscape, and the second movement of *The Map* is also set in a landscape. Both poems are attempts to describe the struggle between the human and the landscape. Thus, Rawsthorne was not the only artist who focused on these ideas; it was also common amongst the poets with whom he worked.

With regard to Rawsthorne's setting of *Kubla Khan*, Stevens points out that:

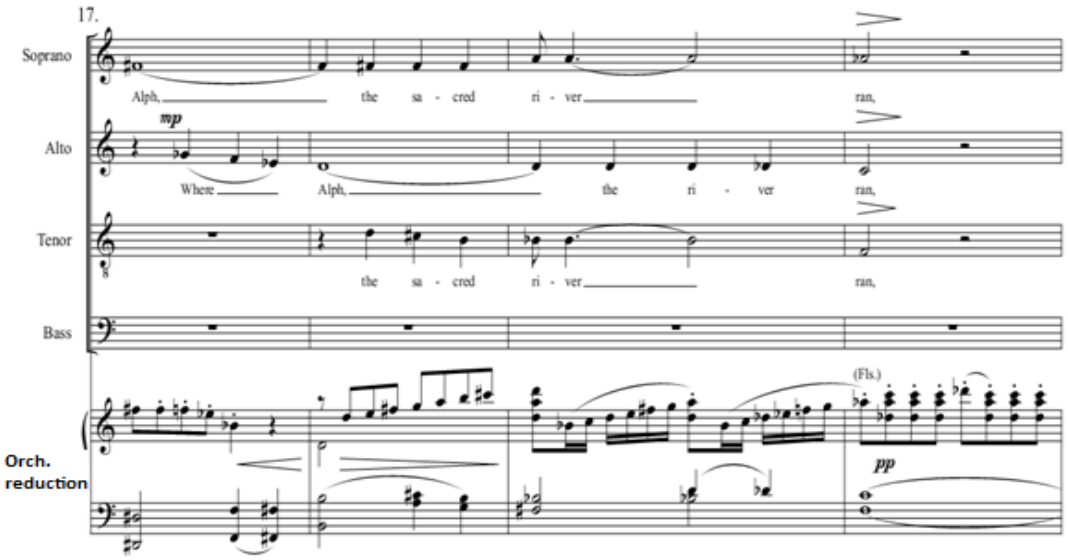
> The opening section evokes a strange and remote landscape by giving an incantational quality to the exotic words 'Xanadu', 'Kubla Khan', 'Alph', 'Sinnons', 'Manyan', etc., by repetition and overlapping imitative phrases, including simultaneous singing of different words.[168]

In this poem, Coleridge compares human life to the birth and death of the river Alph.[169] Thus, this river is a representation of the heroic character in this context. Rawsthorne uses the same echo strategy to affirm the exotic words that represent the hero as he did previously in *He does not Die*. In (Ex. 1. 8), he repeats the word "Alph" – the metaphoric hero – (bars 17- 18) and then he does the same with the words "sacred river" (bars 18-19).

raid occurred as the Rawsthornes were having a celebratory drink with friends, possibly to mark either the premier of the choral work *Kubla Khan*, which had taken place earlier that day, or the completion of the *First Violin Concerto* sketch"; McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 74.

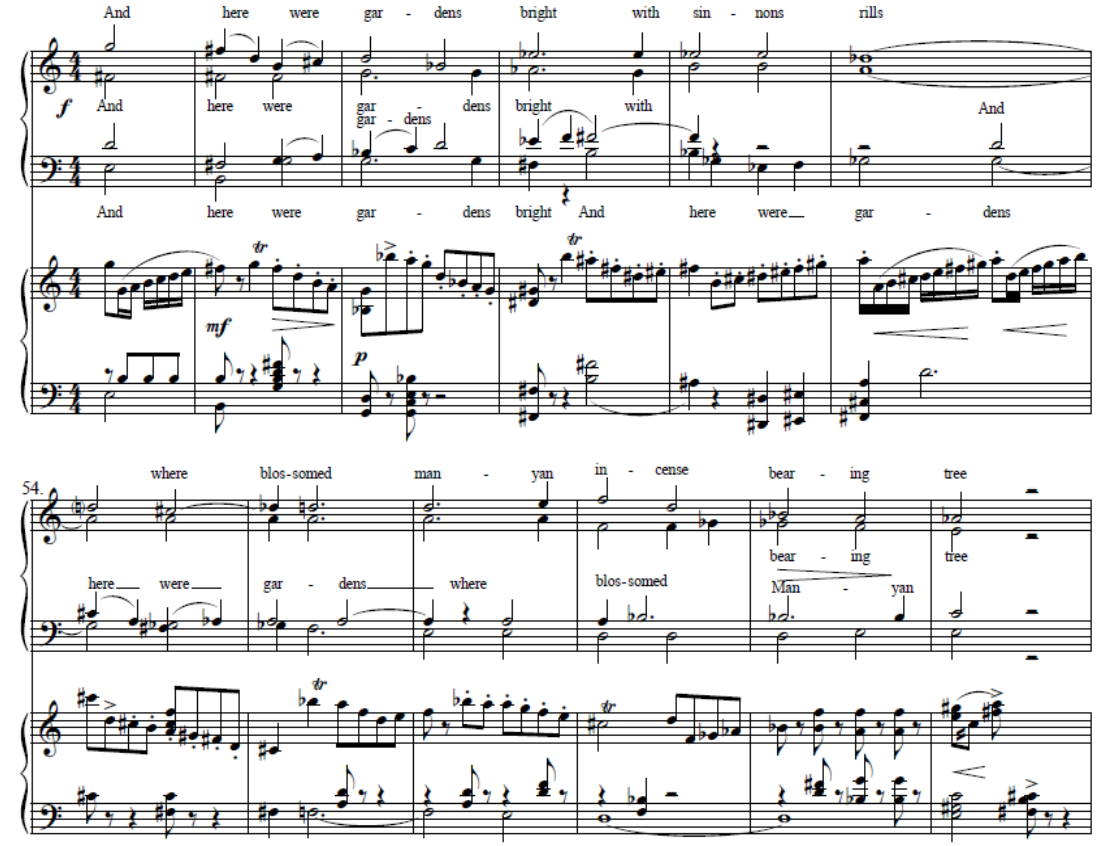
[168] Stevens, 'The Choral Music', 40.

[169] http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A493959 (Accessed 13-05-2011).



Ex. 1.8, Kubla Khan, bars 17-20

Maarten Surtel points out that by singing different words at the same time the text is no longer clear,[170] (Ex. 1.9, bars 48-59):

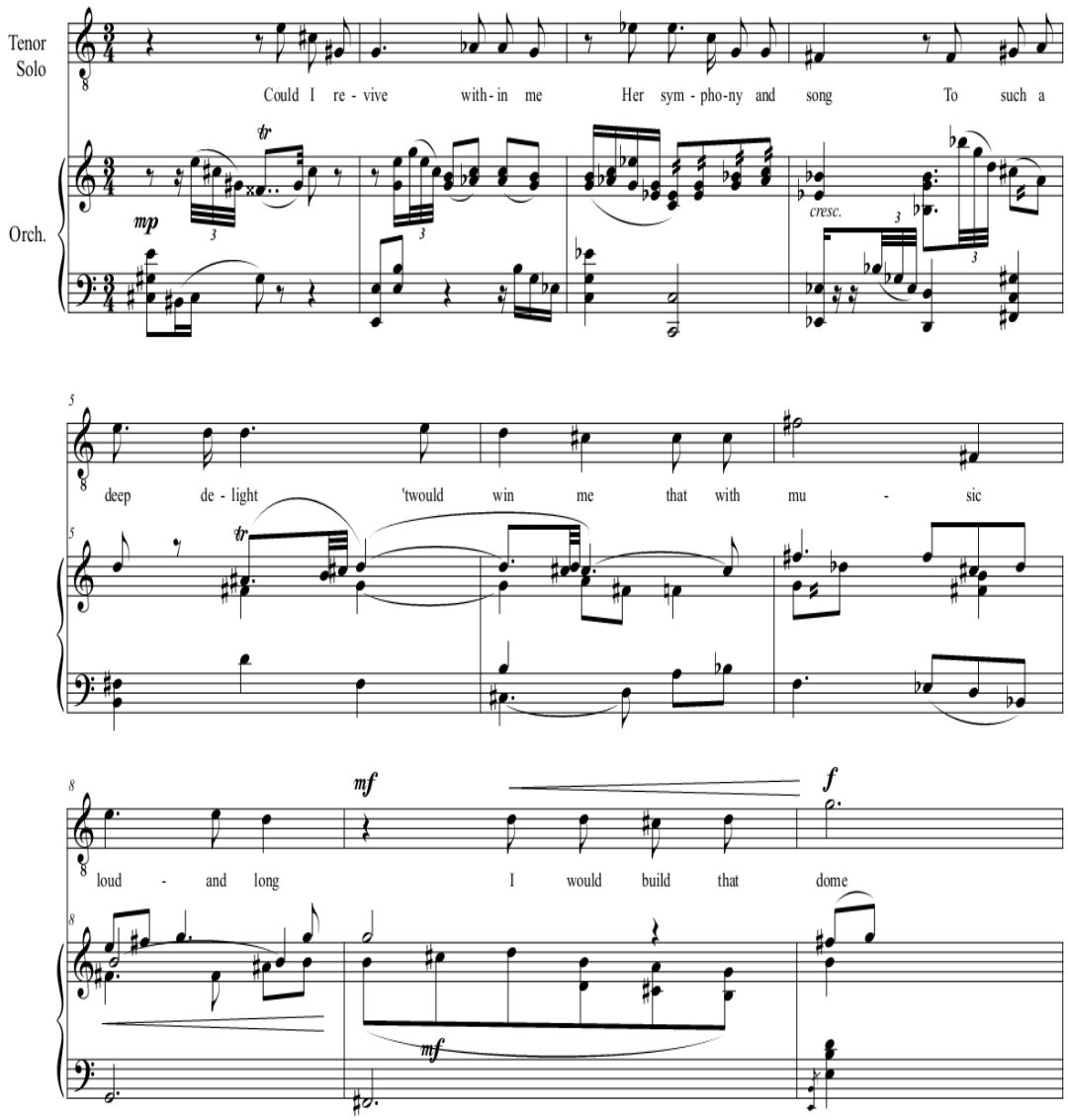


Ex. 1.9, Kubla Khan, bars 48-59

[170] Surtel, 'A Guide to the Choral Music', 16.

Perhaps, this mix of words is a very good way of illustrating the struggle between the human and nature, for example, when the soprano voice sings "And here were gardens bright with sinnons rills" (bars 48-53), the bass voice enters with "And" after "bright" (second beat, bar 51) and repeats the text from the beginning. The complexity of the orchestral accompaniment compounds to this technique.

The ending is a long tenor solo (Ex. 1.10), in which the choir reappears again gradually:



Ex. 1.10, Kubla Khan, bars 298-307

Stevens and Surtel agreed about the ending. They consider it to be the most mysterious part of the whole work. It is worth noting that Rawsthorne used descending major thirds in bars 299-300, but also as a leitmotif throughout the work, a technique that is associated with narrativity in music, especially in Wagner.[171] This use of leitmotif lends a degree of unity to the whole work. A similar practice is also evident in Rawsthorne's second Ballade, which I will consider later in the ballade analysis chapter.

Another Romantic figure who influenced Rawsthorne's thinking is Blake. According to McCabe, it was "Blake's literary, rather than visual, works "that left their mark on Rawsthorne.[172] Rawsthorne chose two of Blake's poems to set to music. The first is in the work *Three Songs*, which also uses a poem by de la Mare, but the setting of the Blake's song is lost. The other work is *Infant Joy* for voice and piano, both works remained unpublished.[173]

The Romantic poets were entwined in political matters. They devoted their works to expressing their beliefs, and through them they addressed important social subjects. For example, Bright stated that "Blake and Shelley use their powers for political and social reform".[174] Byron's hero is also known for being a hero that stands for national freedom. A century later, Swingler and other poets followed this path. Rawsthorne shared this affection with them demonstrating this throughout

[171] Dieter Borchmeyer, *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), 315.
[172] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 10.
[173] *Ibid*., 287-290.
[174] Bright, 'English Literary Romanticism', 390.

his career by carefully choosing poems that represent his beliefs to set them to music in the 1960s.

Rawsthorne's knowledge of poetry was extraordinary. Gibbs rates his knowledge of poetry as nearly equivalent to Swingler's, "which was phenomenal".[175] Furthermore, his close relationship with Swingler and MacNeice helped him to develop his political and social beliefs and also introduced him to the idea of the Romantic hero. Rawsthorne's social philosophy, therefore, is a reflection of the influence left by such poets on his personality.

Having sketched the artistic relationship between Rawsthorne and the poets with whom he collaborated, along with the great Romantic figures, it seems logical to say that Rawsthorne was influenced by the idea of the Romantic hero. Although the link is not direct, and may not have been entirely consciously drawn, it is too heavily suggested to ignore. Rawsthorne's passion for the Romantic hero therefore helped him to understand the cultural and the historical context of Chopin's ballade genre and also to use a heroic character in his first Ballade as I will examine in the next section.

1.6 The first Ballade of Rawsthorne

One of the most exciting features of Rawsthorne's first Ballade is the reference to the famous Christmas carol *Good King Wenceslas* (*GKW*). Gordon Green says:

[175] James Gibb. Interview with the author in April 2005. Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne', 78.

> I managed to extract another piano piece from him [Rawsthorne], a Ballade in G sharp minor. It contains a recurring reference to 'Good King Wenceslas' and the manuscript is dated Christmas 1929.[176]

The text of *GKW* was written in 1853 by the English hymn writer John Manson Neale (1818-1866). Its melody originally came from the collection of music *Piae Cantiones*, which dates back to Finland about 300 years before Neale wrote his text.[177] Rawsthorne's choice of this carol seems significant. He is quoting a typical sentimental Victorian carol, this seems to be a challenge to the *English Musical Renaissance* revivalist who rejected Victorian influence.[178]

1.6.1 Rawsthorne's endorsement to Victorianism

During the late nineteenth century, there were musical efforts to revive English folksongs and the medieval carol.[179] These attempts took place during the so-called *English Musical Renaissance*. The period was concluded by the publication of the *Oxford Book of Carols* (1928), a milestone of the *English Musical Renaissance*, which intentionally rejected the Victorian influence on the English social and cultural life.[180] One of the main criticisms initiative focused on the publication of the book *Carols for Christmas-tide* (1853) by the Rev. J. M. Neale and the Rev. T. Helmore.[181] Neale and Helmore used as their source a very old Swedish book called *Piae Cantiones*, translating some of the carols and writing some new words to existing

[176] Poulton, 'Biography', 13.
[177] Meera Lester, *Why Does Santa Wear Red … and 100 Other Christmas Curiosities Unwrapped* (Canada: F+W Publication, 2007), 36-38.
[178] Mark Connelly, *Christmas: A History* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1999), 81-83.
[179] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 75-77.
[180] Percy Dearmer, R. Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw (eds) *The Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928).
[181] *Ibid*., xii.

music from this old book.[182] It is because of this source however that Dearmer rejects the Victorian influence. Dearmer, commenting on the Neale and Helmore book that was given to the church, points out that:

> The misfortune was that the traditional carols of this country were ignored, and their recovery was retarded.[183]

Neale and Helmore's initiative seems to be condemned from this point of view by many scholars, other than the editors of the *Oxford Book of Carols*. The Rev. J. E. Vaux agreed with the school of thought of Dearmer and his supporters, in which Vaux points out that "Neale and Helmore have done much to lead to the disuse of certain old [English] favourites, which probably in a few years will be forgotten".[184]

Dearmer's disproval of the idea of a Victorian influence is strongly evident in the preface. He sidelines the Victorians and blames the unqualified amateur musician for the low level of musical taste. Dearmer notes:

> There had probably been no form of any art in the history of the world which has been so overrun by the unqualified amateur as English church music from about 1850 to about 1900. Many of our professional musicians at this time stood also at a low level of culture and intelligence and were quite content to flow with the stream.[185]

Thus, from the 'Renaissance' revivalist's point of view, it is only possible to value the medieval carols and appreciate the English folksongs by rejecting Victorianism. Dearmer Shaw and Williams unanimously identified the famous Christmas carol *GKW* as a flop. And although they included it in their book, they described it as follows:

[182] Dearmer, Williams and Shaw (eds) *The Oxford Book of Carols,* xii.
[183] *Ibid*.
[184] *Ibid*.
[185] *Ibid*., xiv.

> This rather confused narrative owes its popularity to the delightful tune, which is that of a Spring carol, 'Tempus adest floridum', No. 99. Unfortunately Neale in 1853 substituted for the Spring carol this 'Good King Wenceslas', one of his less happy pieces, which E. Duncan goes so far as to call 'doggerel' … The time has not yet come for a comprehensive book to discard it; but we reprint the tune in its proper setting for Christmas, 'Good King Wenceslas' may gradually pass into disuse and the tune be restored to spring-time.[186]

Mark Connelly also reinforces the reaction against Victorianism by highlighting the rejection of *GKW*.[187] As a result, *GKW* seems to represent a typical Victorian influence and thus Rawsthorne's decision to quote it in his Ballade is significant. Rawsthorne chooses – from the 197 carols in the *Oxford Book of Carols* – GKW, the one pointed out for condemnation, as a kind of endorsement of the Victorian influence on the English culture.

1.6.2 The Significant of the chosen character

The carol tells the story of a good, beloved king, the historical Saint Svaty Václav. (905-929/935).[188] He was the Czechs' king in the tenth century and was considered a "martyr and saint".[189] Andrew Roberts argues that Wenceslas, unlike other patron saints, was a "good" king, and not a fighter.[190] His story seems heroic in that his brother Boleslav murdered him. And although Boleslav subsequently led his country into "successful battle with the encroaching German", it is Václav "who is considered the symbol of the nation's essential goodness … he was seen as both

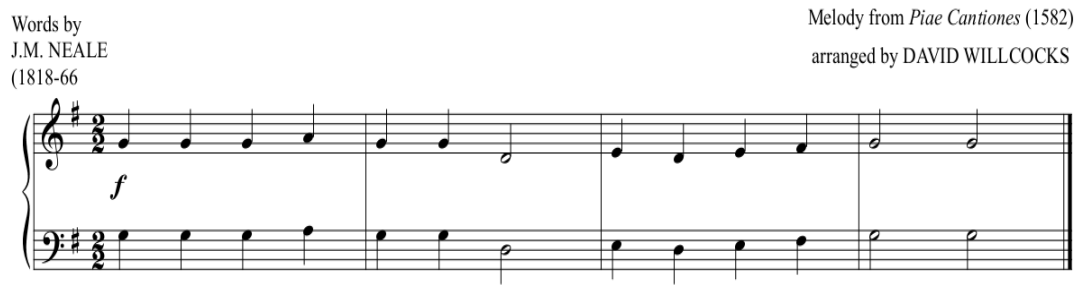
[186] Dearmer, Williams and Shaw (eds) *The Oxford Book of Carols,* 279.
[187] Connelly, *Christmas: A History*, 80-85.
[188] Andrew Roberts, *From Good King Wenceslas to the Good Soldier Svejk: A Dictionary of Czech Popular Culture* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2005), 163.
[189] *Ibid*.
[190] *Ibid*.

patron and savior of the Czech lands and language".[191] It seems that Rawsthorne chose this Christmas Carol in 1929 because it describes a heroic character, and has therefore been chosen for a specific purpose. He selected Wenceslas, who was associated with giving food and help to the poor, at the time of the Great Depression. Indeed no one at the time knew that the world was heading towards a great recession. However, at the time of the crisis, many people were already suffering from unemployment and poverty, and Rawsthorne's sympathy toward the less well-off was well established. His guilt about his upbringing, in comparison to that of those around him – discussed previously – is strongly evident in this period.[192] Workers, as a demographic, were suffering financially, and high unemployment levels caused civil unrest. It is in this sense that his choice of this particular character can signify more than an approval of the Victorian influence; it can it self also represent the socio-economic situation in 1929, especially because Rawsthorne's treatment of the carol reflects a melancholic mood.

1.6.3 The analogy between Rawsthorne's Ballade and *Good King Wenceslas*

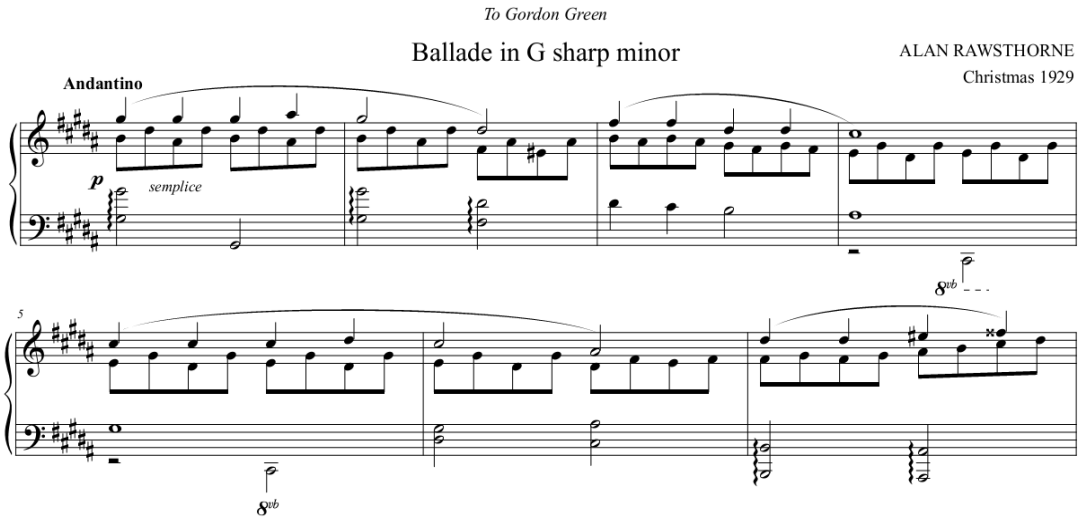
There are two links between *GKW* and Rawsthorne's first Ballade that will be addressed. Firstly, the similarity in terms of melody. Rawsthorne in fact wrote a variation on the theme of the carol. *GKW*'s main theme is as follows (Ex. 1.11):

[191] Roberts, *From Good King Wenceslas*, 163-164.
[192] Mottershead, 'Alan Rawsthorne: The Fish with an Ear for Music', 32.



Ex. 1.11, Good King Wenceslas, bars 1-4

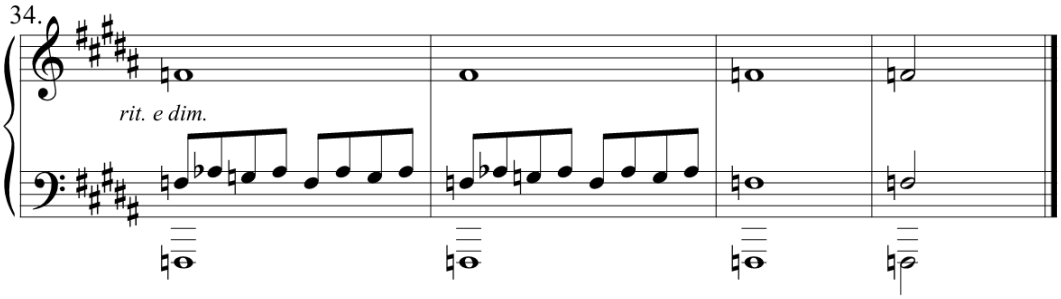
In Rawsthorne's version (Ex. 1.12), the melody is stated at the top of the texture:



Ex. 1.12, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, bars 1-7

Rawsthorne's adaptation for the main theme of the song occupies the whole Ballade in a variation-like manner. Although further elaboration and analysis might be helpful, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine the piece in its entirety.

The second relationship is that both *GKW* and the Ballade's progress in parallel following the structure of the Carol's text. The general form of the Ballade is a simple ternary ABA. The first section starts very peacefully, marked *p semplice* and ends with *rit. E dim* indication, (Ex. 1.13):

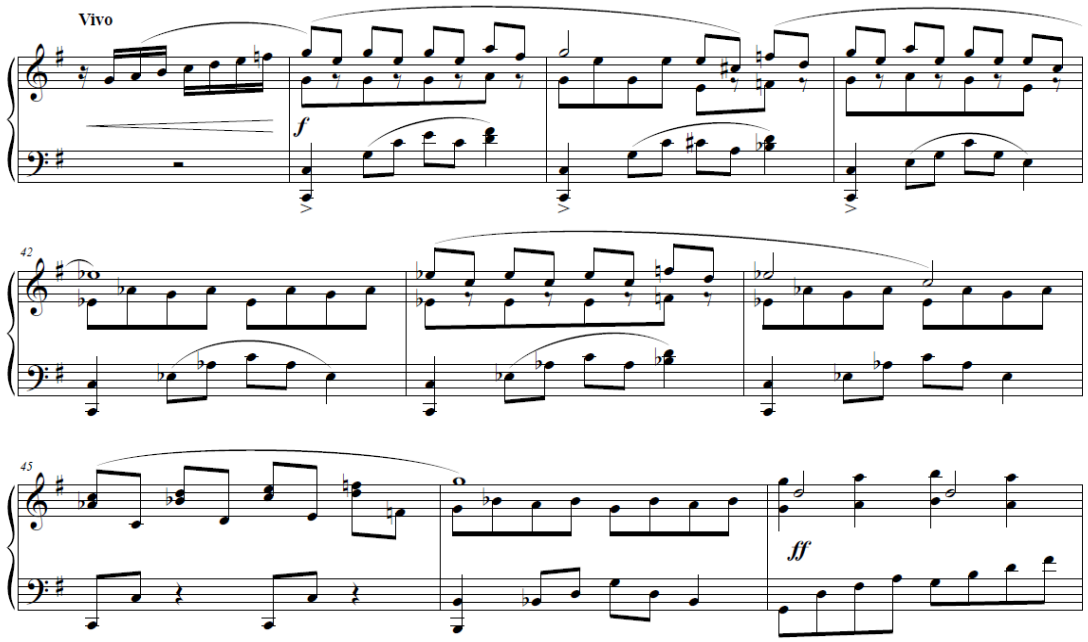


Ex. 1.13, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, bars 34-37

The first part of the poem pictures the King looking out at the snow on a beautiful, bright, frosty night. When he sees a poor man gathering fuel, he starts asking his page about the poor man. Rawsthorne's delicate melody seems to picture this landscape of the poem. The first part of the poem is as follows:

> Good King Wenceslas looked out, on the Feast of Stephen,
> When the snow lay round about, deep and crisp and even;
> Brightly shone the moon that night, tho' the frost was cruel,
> When a poor man came in sight, gath'ring winter fuel.
>
> "Hither, page, and stand by me, if thou know'st it, telling,
> Yonder peasant, who is he? Where and what his dwelling?"
> "Sire, he lives a good league hence, underneath the mountain;
> Right against the forest fence, by Saint Agnes' fountain"

The second section of the Ballade is divided into two sections in terms of mood change. The first part (bars 38-62) is fast and marked *Vivo* in *f* dynamic, with a simple harmonic progression moving from the key of C to A-flat and then with four steps up to D major as a dominant of G minor. This fast tempo, the change of the dynamic and the rapid modulation might suggest the impulsive act of the king to help this poor man (Ex. 1.14):



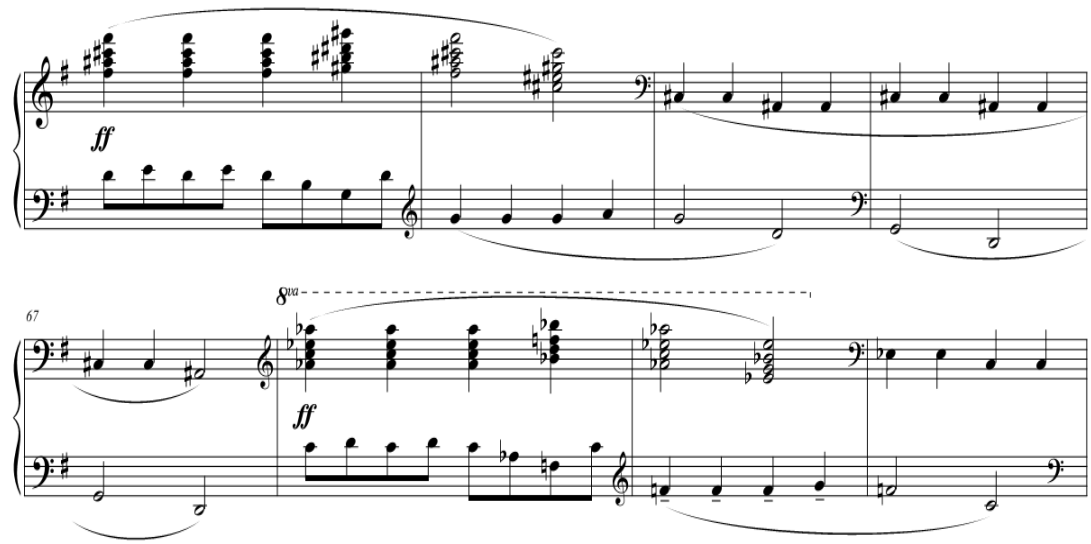
Ex. 1.14, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, bars 38-47

The text of the first part of the second section is as follows:

> "Bring me flesh, and bring me wine, bring me pine logs hither:
> Thou and I will see him dine, when we bear them thither."
> Page and monarch, forth they went, forth they went together;
> Through the rude wind's wild lament and the bitter weather.

The second part of the second section (bars 63-107) involves dissonant harmony

and the dynamic moves from *f* to *ff* (Ex. 1.15):

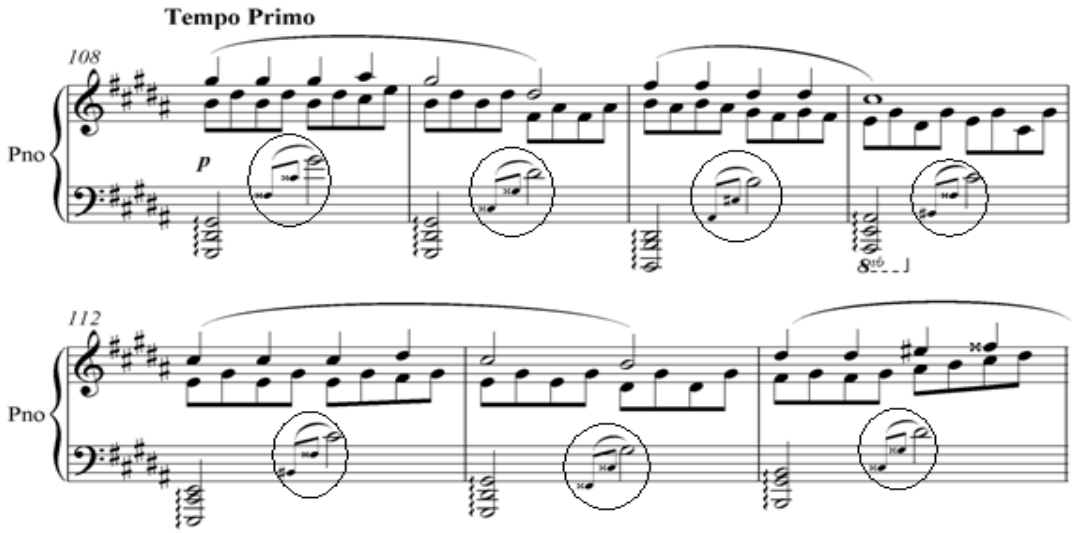


Ex. 1.15, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, bars 63-70

These changes in harmony and the dynamic, in addition to the bold loud chords seem to describe the next part of the text. The lyrics are picturing the fall of night and the wind that begins to increase. Thus, the page is no longer able to continue the journey because of the terrible weather. The text is as follows:

> "Sire, the night is darker now, and the wind blows stronger;
> Fails my heart, I know not how; I can go no longer."
> "Mark my footsteps, good my page. Tread thou in them boldly
> Thou shalt find the winter's rage freeze thy blood less coldly."

The third section of the Ballade (bars 108-134) is a recapitulation of the first section. It has the same tempo and dynamic but lacks the *semplice* indication. Here, Rawsthorne combines both tonalities (G-sharp minor from the first and G major from the second section), creating a bitonal passage which makes the same simple melody more complicated and ambiguous. Rawsthorne hint for this change by removing the *semplice* indication (Ex. 1.16):



Ex. 1.16, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, bars 108-114

The circled figures suggest G major as an accompaniment that acts here as an echo of the second fast section. This is to say that, even if the page and the king finally

were able to reach the peasant's cottage, they would still have suffered from the long journey.

> In his master's steps he trod, where the snow lay dinted;
> Heat was in the very sod which the saint had printed.
> Therefore, Christian men, be sure, wealth or rank possessing,
> Ye who now will bless the poor, shall yourselves find blessing.

1.7 Conclusion

Rawsthorne was clearly a man of wide political and social interests. He was deeply committed to human dignity and even human rights. Seemingly, the only factor that connects all his works is a symbolic search for freedom and equality. Through his works, he commented – in some ways – on Czech independence, the Spanish Civil War, the British Labour Party, Toller's prison years, the idea of a classless society and the challenges of the Great Depression. Like Chopin, he was not a revolutionary politician, but more of a seeker for a free society through non-violent involvement. Also, like Chopin who wrote his ballades in a time of great social and political uncertainty, Rawsthorne turned to the ballade at moments of turbulence and unrest in the world around him.

Moreover, Rawsthorne turned to the ballade and used it in a time of musical unrest in his country. Seemingly reaction to the anti-Victorianism of the *English Musical Renaissance*, Rawsthorne selected a carol from the *Oxford Book of Carols* and wrote a variation-like Ballade based on its theme. In this sense, he demonstrated his alignment with the Victorian tradition and his rejection to the 'Renaissance'. Furthermore, there seems to be a parallel between Chopin and Rawsthorne's views. Just like Chopin, who is known as being influenced by idea of the Byronic hero via

Mickiewicz's ballads, Rawsthorne seems to have absorbed a similar idea from the poets with whom he worked. The first Ballade of Rawsthorne tells the story of a Czech hero. Rawsthorne seems to have selected King Wenceslas, who was associated with giving food and help to poor people, at a time of the Great Depression; many people were suffering from unemployment and poverty, and Rawsthorne's sympathy toward the less well-off is well established. Rawsthorne might have seen in Wenceslas a saviour hero, not only for Britain, but for humanity. He could have used any famous English character, as he once did by using Christopher Wren, and portray him as a national hero. It seems from his choice, however, that this time he preferred to adopt an international character. This puts his first Ballade in a non-nationalist context. Rawsthorne's choice here seems to be similar to Chopin's choice of the title "ballade" for his new genre, by which Chopin allowed this genre to represent "European nationalism" rather than "national nationalism".[193]This will be considered in detail in Chapter 4. Rawsthorne's love for Chopin, admiration for the Romantic hero and also his own socio-political beliefs make the first Ballade a kind of Great Depression Christmas Carol.

[193] Parakilas, *Ballades without Words*, 23.

Chapter II

Chapter 2: Rawsthorne's analytical approach to the Ballades

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain Rawsthorne's analytical approach to Chopin's ballades. Using Rawsthorne's 1966 article 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', I will present an analysis of his understanding of the compositional schema of Chopin's ballade form as a way to contextualize his own ballades.[1] Rawsthorne, in chronological order, analyzes all four ballades of Chopin comprehensively. In Rawsthorne's case – being a composer and an admirer of Chopin – this deep analysis undoubtedly influenced the composition of his second Ballade, the one composed in 1967 shortly after the publication of his analysis. Nicholas Cook argues how such engagement with a piece of music can be similar to composition.[2] Cook points out that:

> When you analyze a piece of music you are in effect recreating it for yourself; you end up with the same sense of possession that a composer feels for a piece he has written… You have a vivid sense of communicating with the masters of the past, which can be one of the most exhilarating experiences that music has to offer… No wonder then, that analysis has become the backbone of composition teaching.[3]

In this respect, there are areas of common ground between Rawsthorne's reading of Chopin's ballades and his own ballade composition. The next chapter, a comparative study, will use this chapter's analysis as a foundation for assessing the resemblance between both composers' ballades. It will also examine to what extent Rawsthorne's understanding of Chopin's ballade form is evident in his own ballades.

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[1] An introduction to this article first appeared in 1965 in *The Composer Journal*, Vol.16, 13-14. The first full version of this analysis was produced as the chapter 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos' which Rawsthorne contributed to Alan Walker, *Frederic Chopin: Profiles of the Man and Musician* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966).

[2] Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 1.

[3] *Ibid*., 1-2

This chapter begins by presenting an analysis of Chopin's music, and other music, that seems to influence the style of Rawsthorne's analysis and approach to Chopin's ballades. Firstly, the broader trends in the reception of Chopin's music in general, and the ballades in particular, that precede Rawsthorne's writing will be considered; this will include writings from the late nineteenth century through to Donald Francis Tovey, whose essays on other music seems to have influenced the style of Rawsthorne's analysis. I will, then, present a comprehensive, critical analysis of Rawsthorne's reading of the four ballades of Chopin, setting the stage for the comparative study of the next chapter. An understanding of Chopin's concept – and Rawsthorne's understanding of Chopin's concept – are important in identifying the socio-political voice in the ballade genre. This will be discussed in the final chapter.

2.1 An appraisal of the chronological development of scholarly writings on Chopin's ballades, and other music

During the nineteenth century, scholars did not pay much attention to Chopin the musician. Instead, scholars focused mostly on personal qualities: Chopin as a sentimentalist, Polish patriot or lover.[4] His extraordinary mastery of form was more or less entirely unappreciated. The absence, then, of Chopin's large-scale works – such as the Sonata, Scherzo, Ballade and Fantasy (Op. 49 and Op. 61) – from the piano repertoire of the nineteenth century, is in this context a little more understandable.[5] The ramifications of such a premature judgment of Chopin's novel forms seem to have extended well into the writings of early-twentieth-century

[4] Redgrave Cripps, 'Chopin as a Master of Form' *The Musical Times* 55, no. 858 (1914): 517, http://www.jstor.org/stable/910651.
[5] Jim Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 33.

critics. Commenting in 1912 about Chopin's ballades, Ferruccio Busoni claimed that "the second and third are remarkably badly composed".[6]

Not all scholars of the time, however, shared Busoni's opinion, as we are about to see in the next argument. As scholars began to study Chopin's large works or "narrative forms", a shift in perception began to take place.[7] What follows is a chronological review of a number of analyses of Chopin's music – especially the ballades – that demonstrates this shift in perception, starting with Hubert Parry (1893) and ending with Donald Francis Tovey (1944).

2.1.1 Scholarly texts on Chopin's departure from traditional forms

Fortunately, during the first half of the twentieth century, there was a:

> Fairly general dissatisfaction with the fixed, normative models of the traditional forms … Progressive analysts began to feel that it was the functional, and not the historical, aspects of musical form that mattered".[8]

Accordingly, the range of writings on the music of Chopin during this period demonstrates a new perspective in the examination of his music and the appreciation of his unique formal schemata.

Hubert Parry's writing is a good example of early awareness of Chopin's departures from the traditional formal plan. He gave credit to the idea of Chopin as a master of form. In his 1893 book *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, Parry considered Chopin's

[6] Ferruccio Busoni to [wife], London 15 March 1912; Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 42.
[7] Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 279.
[8] Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 12-13.

compositional technique.[9] He highlighted Chopin's departure from a restrictive form of sonata to one that built on his "poetic and sensitive" quality,[10] adding that, with Chopin, "the general departure from sonata lines was no result of theory, but the spontaneous action of his nature".[11]

Parry's writing on Chopin considered Chopin's compositional method in a general way. Parry did not address the innovative contribution – that was highlighted by other scholars, as we will see later – of the ballade per se to musical form. Rawsthorne was later to make use of Parry's argument to illustrate Chopin's treatment of formal problems in the ballade, as I will argue later in this chapter.

The next example devotes more attention to Chopin's music, continuing this gradual departure from examining musical works according to convention to appreciating the composers' unique treatment of musical form. In 1914, the English composer Alfred Cripps wrote explicitly about the many aspects of Chopin: "we have Chopin the sentimentalist, Chopin the 'tone-poet', Chopin the lover, Chopin (supposed) patriot; but [not] Chopin the musician".[12] Cripps argued that the unique quality of Chopin's treatment of form might have been the very thing that prevented his music from being justly valued by earlier scholars. Cripps compared Chopin's position to other composers, such as Beethoven. In relation to Beethoven's reputation as an

[9] Hubert Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1893), 328.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] Cripps, 'Chopin as a Master of Form' *The Musical Times* 55, no. 858, 517.

authorized model for theorists and students to consider in their studies, Cripps pointed out:

> Perhaps in some years Chopin's works will be similarly recognized (!), and we shall have students casting their first attempts at composition in forms suggested by him – as if, in his case also, form can have any significance apart from the spirit which has given it birth.[13]

Here Cripps raises an important objection to the main trends of the nineteenth-century reception of Chopin works. As far as Cripps was concerned, Chopin's novelty stemmed from both his departure from traditional sonata form and also the creation of new formal schemata. Parry had argued something similar in 1893, and Cripps seems to have picked up the baton 21 years later, in 1914.

The next example presents a coherent continuation to the arguments of Parry and Cripps. In 1915, the American writer and critic James Huneker answered Cripps's concern in 1914 about 'Chopin the musician'.[14] Huneker agreed with Cripps. He proposed that since there already was a Romantic Chopin, we must now focus on Chopin as a master of form:

> We need not to bother ourselves about the spirit of Romanticism; that has been done to the death by hundreds of critics. And it is a sign of the times that the old-fashioned Chopin is fading, while we are now vitally interested in him as a formalist. Indeed, Chopin the Romantic, poetic, patriotic, sultry, sensuous, morbid, and Chopin the pianist, need not enter into our present scheme.[15]

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[13] Redgrave Cripps, 'Chopin as a Master of Form', *The Musical Times* 55, no. 860 (1914): 614, http://www.jstor.org/stable/911033.

[14] James Huneker Studied the piano with Chopin's pupil Georges Mathias. He is the author of the book *Chopin: the Man and his Music* (1900). He also wrote the analysis and commentary section in the complete works of Chopin for Schirmer's music publishing company; Arnold T. Schwab, "Huneker, James Gibbons." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. Available at: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13558 (Accessed 18 October 2012).

[15] James Huneker, 'The Classic Chopin', *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1915): 520, http://www.jstor.org/stable/738063.

Huneker also dissected Chopin's unique treatment of formal problems. He pointed out that Chopin did not follow sonata form keenly, but used it instead as a foundation upon which he could build.[16] Huneker's writings are a sign that scholars had started to recognize and appreciate Chopin's new "narrative forms", even if they continued to do this in reference to sonata form. Rawsthorne – like Hunker – thought that Chopin had ignored the principles of sonata form, despite certain resemblances.[17] Thus Rawsthorne's analysis begins by putting aside the sonata tradition entirely and examined the ballades as form in their own right. Rawsthorne pointed out:

> It would be foolish to regard these pieces [the ballades] from the point of view of sonata movements, in spite of certain resemblances.[18]

To Rawsthorne, those certain resemblances were not necessary to understand the ballade form.[19] He did not subscribe to the idea of a constant, restrictive form that should govern the composition of musical works, and the application of such an idea to Chopin's ballades in particular was something he strongly resisted.

In 1939, the British musicologist Gerald Abraham published *Chopin's Musical Style*. In it he highlights Chopin's musical character, treatment of form and sense of harmony, giving – like Cripps and Huneker before him – fair consideration to Chopin as a musician and master of form, and not casting him solely as a Polish Romantic hero. As made clear in the introduction to the book, Abraham's analysis draws attention to

[16] Huneker, 'The Classic Chopin', 521.
[17] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 45.
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] *Ibid*., 60.

the mind of the composer and the way the music unfolded from him naturally;[20] a continuation of Parry's argument:

> the Ballade is recognizably a first and not unsuccessful experiment in a new and entirely individual form, a form that politely touches its hat to the superficial features of the classical 'first movement' but quietly ignores most of its underlying principles.[21]

On the other hand, Rawsthorne pointed out that "from the climax of the Viennese school we learn the great lesson that form is sensation".[22] Since "form is sensation", Rawsthorne argued, the ballade form is not a restricted structure to be filled in or to follow. Rather, and in-keeping with Parry's and Abraham's earlier writings, he believed that it should be a product and a part of the music composed through an organic 'unfolding'. According to Rawsthorne:

> It is always the principles and sensations that constitute the ultimate form, and not the adherence to a pre-ordained pattern of events. For the events must always govern the pattern in which they occur.[23]

Rawsthorne is suggesting therefore that the sense of unity within Chopin's ballades is achieved through the organic development of musical ideas rather than being guided by adherence to a specific formal structure. He argues that as long as both form and music develop in tandem as the composition unfolds, both formal and musical events result from the evolution of the material. Thus form emerges as a direct result of the unfolding of the thematic material, in a gradual and natural process according to Chopin's artistic decisions. Rawsthorne calls these "patterns of behavior", and suggests a strong and integral relationship between musical

[20] Gerald Abraham, *Chopin's Musical Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), vii.
[21] *Ibid*., 54-55.
[22] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[23] *Ibid*., 60.

materials, form and the composer.[24] It would seem, therefore, that every ballade should represents the adopted compositional behaviour of Chopin at the time of composition.

This raises two important questions. Firstly, are all ballades different in terms of their structural organization? Chopin's four ballades demonstrate that the answer to this question is yes; in contrast with the sonata or rondo form, they do not have a constant formal design. They do, however, use the same strategy or 'patterns of behaviour' to create a form individual to the narrative plot of each ballade. Rawsthorne noted:

> From some points of view they do not particularly resemble one another; there are many divergences of shape, of formal presentation, and sometimes of mood. Indeed, to some musician they would appear to have hardly any coherent pattern at all … but he did manage to produce in them four works of art which have a family resemblance.[25]

This comment leads to the second question. Are there common compositional elements observable in Chopin's ballade form? Again it would seem that the answer is yes. Whilst Rawsthorne's reading of Chopin's ballades considered many divergences of form, it still gives greater attention to the unity Chopin achieved in spite of these divergences:

> These four pieces have a curious unity of purpose, a unity that pays little attention to formality of design, or even of scope, but which saturates their most disparate elements and give them an unconscious cohesion.[26]

In this sense, the formal structure of the ballade cannot be separated from the musical materials because one is intrinsic to the creation of the other. Rawsthorne

[24] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 45.
[25] *Ibid*., 42-43.
[26] *Ibid*., 42.

believed that Chopin was embracing this compositional technique when he wrote the ballades.[27] That, perhaps, is what makes it difficult to identify a formal design common to all four of Chopin's ballades.[28]

2.1.2 The influence of Tovey's analysis on Rawsthorne's approach

The last scholar to consider (before moving on to Rawsthorne's analysis) is Donald Francis Tovey. One of the foremost writers on music of his day, Tovey produced dozens of essays on musical analysis.[29] Unfortunately he almost never wrote about Chopin's ballades, referring to the genre only once:

> Chopin merely shows that he has taken the sonata forms uncritically from Hummel, though the first two movements of the B flat minor sonata are almost as happy in their classical form as the Ballades are in Chopin's unique way.[30]

As dismissive as this comment might sound, the reference to "Chopin's unique way" suggests that Tovey was in some way aligned with the school of thought that Cripps, Huneker and Abraham had instigated, especially because at that time "there was a fairly general dissatisfaction with the fixed, normative models of the traditional forms".[31]

Our argument can develop that claim. The analytical essays of Tovey – published in the first half of the twentieth century – contributed to the establishment of a British

[27] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 43.
[28] Parakilas, *Ballades without Words*, 13; Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, vii-ix.
[29] All the essays on his book were written between 1906 and 1929 as a contribution to the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Donald Tovey, *The Form of Music: Musical Articles from the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944).
[30] *Ibid*., 127.
[31] Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 12.

musical analysis tradition.[32] Rawsthorne's analysis shows a great resemblance to the style of Tovey's analysis on other music. It shares common elements and terms of presentation with Tovey's third volume of his *Essays in Musical Analysis: Concertos*. To Tovey "what matters is the aesthetic values, the approach to musical materials, that underlie the forms themselves"[33] Rawsthorne – as Tovey did earlier with other music – wrote his analytical commentary on the ballades of Chopin in chronological order paying attention to sections and the way they function, highlighting main theme and their relationship, identifying unifying elements and appreciating the nobility of form.[34] In this way, Rawsthorne was aligned with the school of thought of earlier scholars who were not satisfied with the traditional formal plan approach.

Tovey's analysis – in Tovey's own words – pays attention to "what is done" and not "how it is done".[35] Rawsthorne use the same technique. His main concern, as we will see later, is to follow "what is done" in the music. He never paused in order to analyze how or why – for instance in relation to theories of form – a certain thing was done in that way. By analyzing "what is done", we can identify the form of a particular work without trying to make it fit into a preconceived plan.

Rawsthorne's analysis speaks of music using terms such as beauty, harmony progression, modulation and originality of formal design.[36] As was the case with Tovey about 40 years earlier:

[32] Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis*, 11.
[33] *Ibid*., 11-12.
[34] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos'.
[35] Donald Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Volume III Concertos* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 5.
[36] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos'.

> When I discuss music I shall speak of things musical, as beautiful harmony, breadth, firmness and depth of modulation, nobility of form, variety and contrast of tone, clear and well-motived contrast and harmonious fullness in those simultaneous combinations of melodies which we call counterpoint.[37]

Rawsthorne adopted elements of this style when carrying out his analysis. For example, he begins the analysis of the first Ballade by identifying the harmony of the first 5 bars, which is Neapolitan. He points out that we only realize later in the work that this is not the tonality of the piece. In this way, although he knows the work, Rawsthorne reads the music step by step as it unfolds. This is similar to Tovey's suggestion to analyze "what is done" in the music. Rawsthorne did not try to explain Chopin's decision to start his Ballade with a Neapolitan harmony. Instead, he carried on presenting the journey of this Ballade by demonstrating thematic relationships and their significance to each other.

Rawsthorne's analyses of the ballades are thus dependent on such elements. He follows the music as if it were the first of its kind and identifies what happens bar by bar. This technique recalls Tovey's advice to students in his analysis of Beethoven's piano sonatas. Tovey points out that:

> Some students begin their analysis of a sonata by glancing through it to see 'where the Second Subject comes' and where other less unfortunately named sections begin. This is evidently not the way to read a story. The listener has no business even to know that there is such a thing as a 'Second Subject' until he hears it.[38]

Rawsthorne, in his analysis of Chopin's ballades, seems to follow this advice. I might even venture to say that Rawsthorne finds it necessary to deliver this advice to his readers when he concludes his article by suggesting that every "student should

[37] Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Concertos*, 5.
[38] Donald Francis Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London: ABRSM, 1931), 1.

examine every sonata movement as though it were the first of its kind he has ever seen".[39]

Let us take an example from Tovey. In his concerto analysis book, he highlights the importance of the opening passage of Mozart piano concerto, K. 503.[40] Tovey notes that the "opening is mysterious" and he carries on the analysis by demonstrating the significance of such an opening in taking us on a "voyage of discovery".[41] He also highlights the importance of the introduction of Mozart's piano concerto in C minor, K. 491 by pointing out that the "function of the opening tutti was to predict what the solo had to say".[42] Such treatment is typical in Rawsthorne's writings. Rawsthorne spent plenty of time arguing the importance of the introductions in Chopin's ballades.[43] For example, he points out that the first theme in Chopin's first Ballade provides the "perfect answer to the question of the introduction's last phrase".[44]

Another important technique that Tovey admired while discussing Mozart's concertos is his observation that nothing is without its function, and that everything is "unexpected and inevitable".[45] Rawsthorne dedicated a substantial part of his analysis to a similar aspect. Rawsthorne argued the function informs every part of a piece of music. He insisted that every part must create the right effect and that all passages must "fulfil their various functions with success".[46] Rawsthorne also seems

[39] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 60.
[40] Tovey, *Essays in musical Analysis: Concertos*, 17.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] *Ibid*., 43.
[43] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[44] *Ibid*., 46.
[45] Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Concertos*, 23.
[46] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.

to pick up the thread of Tovey's remark that everything is "unexpected and inevitable" by paraphrasing it by saying "The master-touch in musical form is revealed in this: that each musical event sounds inevitable but not predictable".[47] To Rawsthorne, the events in the ballade are not predictable because they were created by Chopin's own expectation of what should follow in the next passage.

Unlike classical sonata form – where at some point a recapitulation is expected, if not mandatory – Chopin's concept of the ballade allows compositional decisions to unfold naturally, and the composer is free to judge what fits best after a particular musical event. Ballades are not governed by any fixed structure, and thus, the musical events sound unpredictable. However, they are still inevitable because the music was constructed by the natural reaction of the composer to the given preceding materials. In other words, what precedes the action is actually the creator of the following event, thus, to Rawsthorne "it seems inevitable from the beginning that this Ballade [Op. 23] must end in violence, and it certainly does".[48] Indeed, a narrative structure might be a good way of describing this form, and Rawsthorne therefore pointed out that "it is surely not too fanciful to call this style 'narrative'".[49]

Overall, there seems to be a broad shift in attitudes towards analysis and criticism of Chopin in the half century preceding Rawsthorne's 1966 article. Firstly, Parry and Cripps drew attention to the importance of studying Chopin the musician and analyzing his compositional technique. Cripps and Huneker viewed Chopin as a

[47] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[48] *Ibid*., 49.
[49] *Ibid*., 43.

master of musical forms and, in addition, Cripps recognized that Chopin's forms were innovative in comparison to those of composers such as Beethoven. Abraham and Tovey cited the uniqueness of the ballade's formal design, albeit still with reference to classical sonata structure and without providing any deep analysis of the music itself.

Rawsthorne's writing – benefiting from all earlier analyses, especially those of Tovey – demonstrates a departure from traditional analysis that was based on preconceived forms. Instead, he pays particular attention to the natural, unfolding quality of Chopin's musical mind. It would seem that these earlier attempts to analyze the ballade genre in the context of sonata form were the reason that prevented them from achieving great recognition as Cripps pointed out.[50] This analytical tradition therefore concealed the genre's fresh formal structure. This might also be the reason for Busoni's assertion that "the second and third [Ballades] are remarkably badly composed";[51] a remark of which Rawsthorne disapproved.[52]

2.2 Chopin's Ballades under Rawsthorne's lens

In this next section, I will present Rawsthorne's analysis of Chopin's ballades in detail. A comparative study between Rawsthorne's and Chopin's ballades will be presented in the next chapter and it will be based on this analysis.

[50] Cripps, 'Chopin as a Master of Form', no. 860, 614.
[51] Ferruccio Busoni to [wife], London 15 March 1912; Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 42.
[52] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 52-53.

Rawsthorne's analysis considered some important qualities in Chopin's ballade, such as the tonal and metric ambiguity, the 'unfolding' compositional technique, the unifying elements, and the treatment of the coda. Firstly, I will address the ballade's ambiguous quality. I will provide examples from Chopin's ballades that demonstrate tonal and metric ambiguity. Secondly, I will discuss the structure of the musical events. Rawsthorne understood the events in Chopin's ballades from an interesting point of view as being "inevitable but not predictable".[53] Third, by addressing the unifying elements, I will focus on the question of what holds the form of each ballade together. Lastly, I will present the coda and the way in which Chopin musically finished his four ballades. To Rawsthorne, these points are important in identifying the formal plan of the ballades of Chopin. Rawsthorne points out:

> It is only within these terms of reference that I feel able to appreciate them [the ballades] … And it is in this connotation that I hope we may differ, with deepest respect, from Busoni, and say that the ballades are well, and not badly composed.[54]

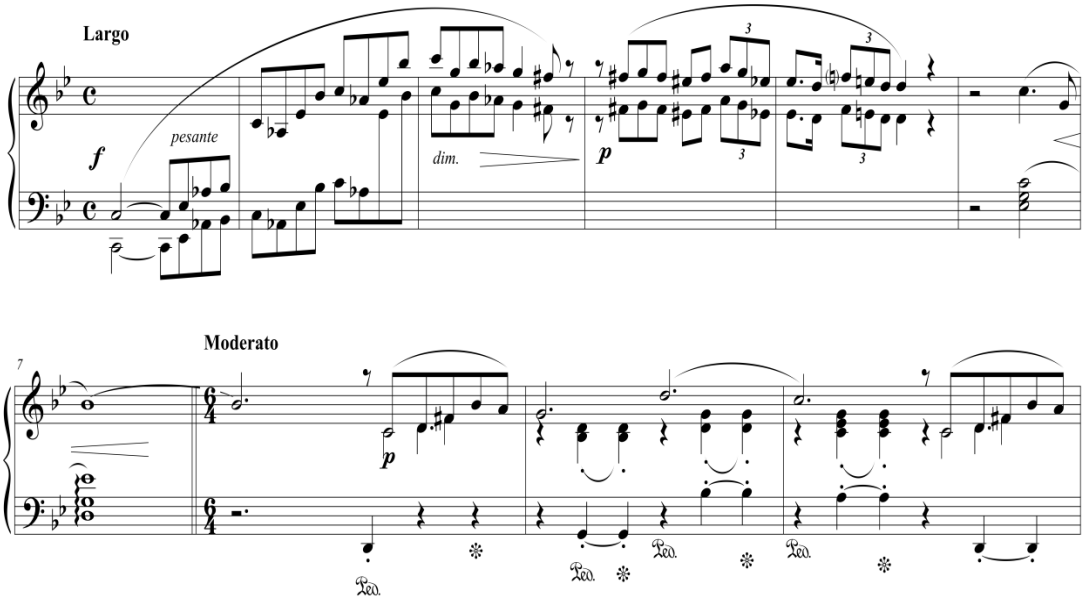
So let us now see how Rawsthorne, first, appreciated Chopin's innovative form, and second, how he applied earlier analysis tool on his analysis of the ballades.

2.2.1 The Ballade's ambiguity

The ballade, according to Rawsthorne's chapter, presents a dramatic unrest between themes (as per the first Ballade), or between tonalities (as per the second).[55] Indeed, this compositional technique adds ambiguity and, in some cases, drama to the

[53] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[54] *Ibid*., 45.
[55] *Ibid.*, 46-53.

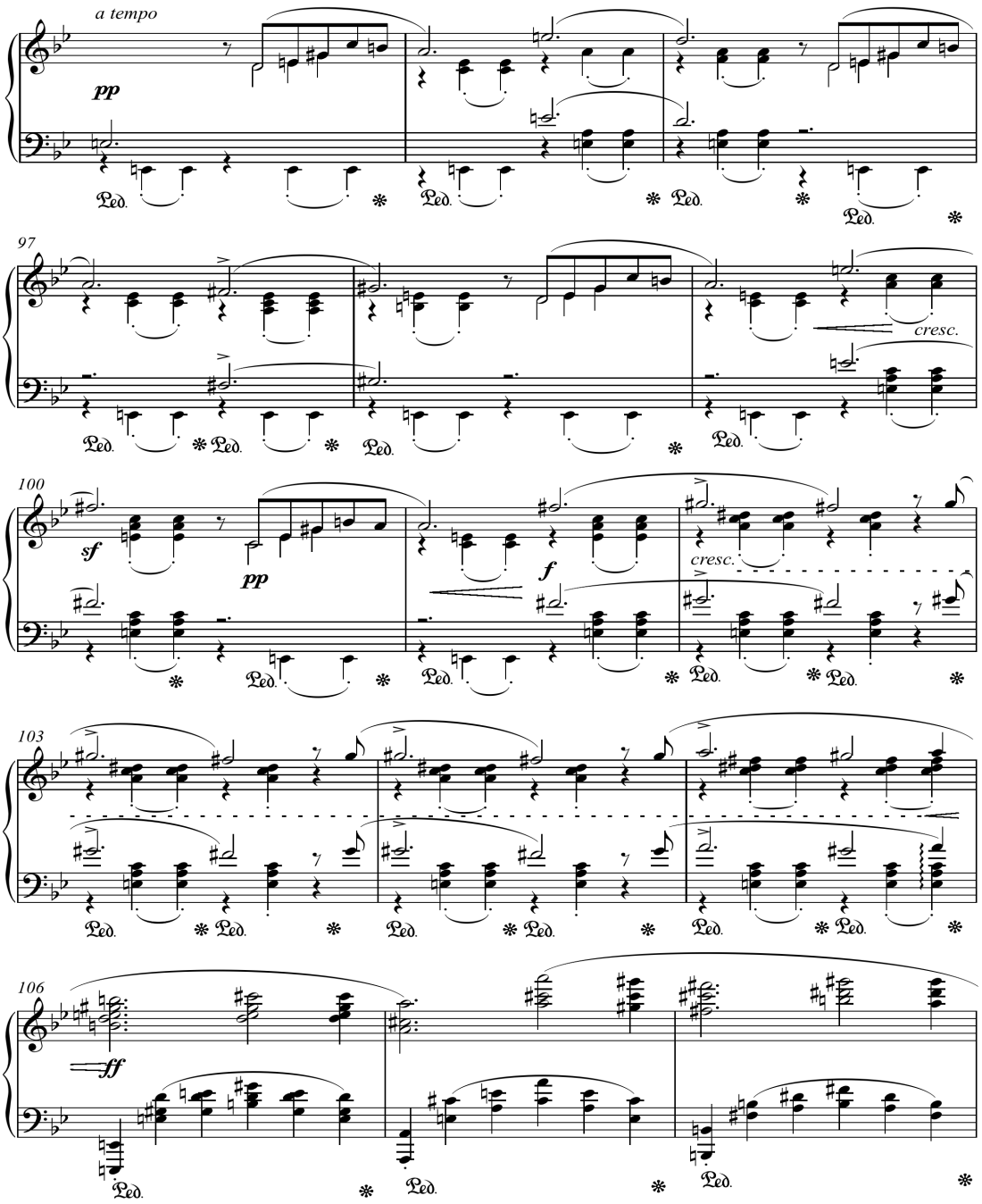
form.[56] The first Ballade displays a rather stuttering start; Chopin does not arrive at the main tonality of G minor until bar 9, after the A-flat Neapolitan harmony of the introduction (bars 1-7). See Ex. 2.1.



Ex. 2.1, Chopin's First Ballade, bars 1-10

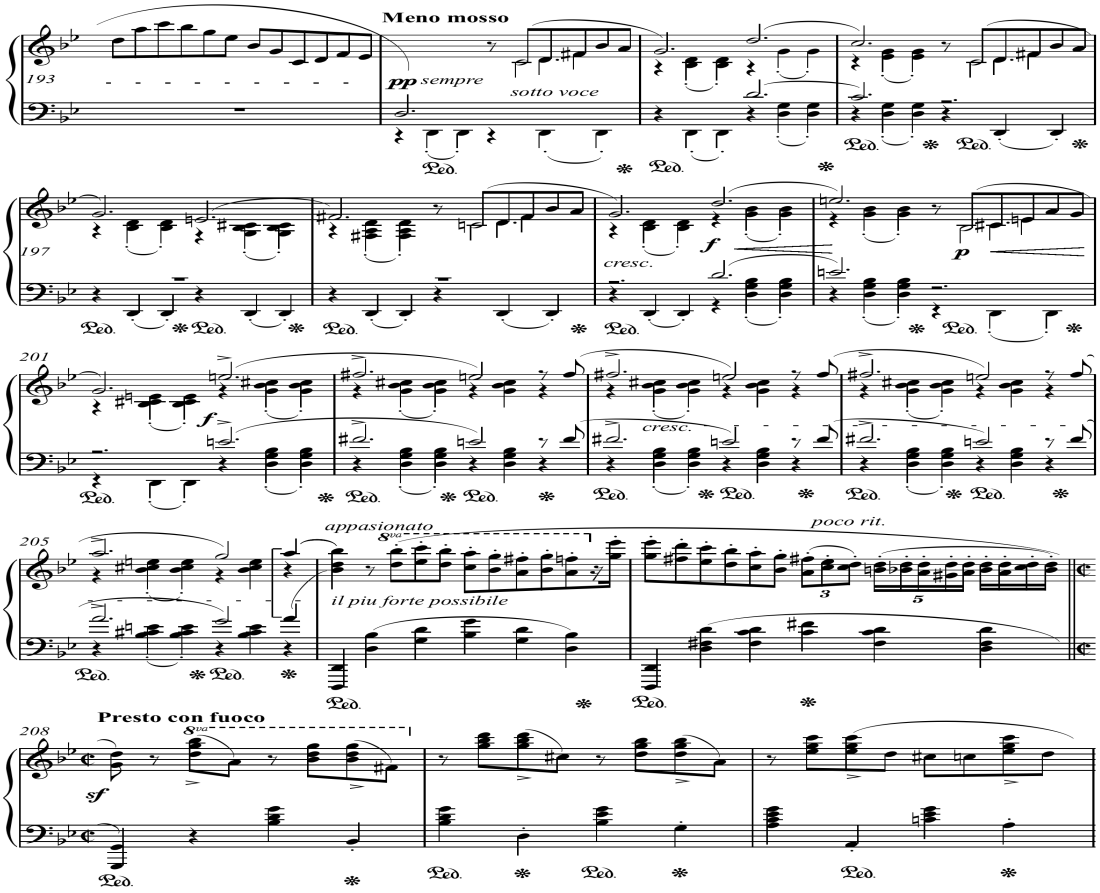
This type of ambiguity appears frequently in Chopin's ballades. It seems to act in opposition to the home key G minor, providing what might be called anti-key material. When the first theme in Chopin's first Ballade appears for the first time (bar 8), it leads to the second theme (bar 68) after a bridge-like passage. However, in its second appearance – in bar 94 accompanied by a dominant pedal E (Ex. 2.2) – it leads to a triumphant variation on the second theme in bar 106, in which an 'explosion' is delayed by the effect of the pedal note:

[56] This technique provides ambiguity as in the first Ballade when Chopin starts with a Neapolitan harmony and it is not until the first bass note D that the main key is established. However, in the second Ballade the conflict is between the first major siciliano tune and the dramatic minor second theme provides a drama to the piece in which in every appearance of the A minor second theme we feel that the major first theme was interrupted by a dramatic events. Indeed, I am not suggesting any particular event that might be adopted by Chopin, but it is just the storyless narrative effect that I am suggesting here.



Ex. 2.2, Chopin's First Ballade, bars 94-108

The last appearance of the first theme in bar 194 in the tonic is also accompanied by a dominant pedal D (Ex. 2.3), and it seems that this pedal note is again holding the music back from the appearance of another variation on the second theme, but instead leads to the dramatic coda in bar 206:



Ex. 2.3, Chopin's First Ballade, bars 193-210

This conflict between the first and the second themes helps to deliver an effective arrival at the home key G minor, announcing the end of the conflict between the themes and tonalities, and leaving no room for any further actions to occur outside this tonic key G minor. This first theme therefore behaves as a subsequent statement to the whole piece; without its reappearance the narrative fluency of the work would hardly be achieved.[57]

Chopin's second Ballade provides, according to Rawsthorne, another example of an ambiguous start:

[57] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 43.

> We hardly know when the melody has begun, for although there is no formal introduction, the first two bars are as equivocal in a metrical sense as was the opening of the First Ballade in a harmonic one.[58]

Those "first two bars" contains 7 single notes (C). The swinging 7 Cs makes it hard to recognize the beginning of the melody and thus provides a melodic and metrical ambiguity. In addition to this ambiguous start, this Ballade holds one of the strongest conflicts between tonalities present in any of them. As mentioned earlier, Busoni felt that "the second and third [Ballades] are remarkably badly composed".[59] Rawsthorne disagreed and demonstrated the second Ballade's significance by commenting on the strong relationship between the first and the second themes that emerges later in the work.[60]

Of more significance in this Ballade, however, is the use of anti-key materials. The conflict unfolds as follows. The Ballade starts with a delicately swinging first theme in F major, which is then interrupted by a dramatic second theme (bar 47) in A minor. The main tonality of F major reappears (bar 83), after the A minor theme, almost as though it is trying to re-established itself, but soon it is interrupted by "a deceptive cadence"[61] in bar 96, which takes the music back to the second theme (bar 141) – first in D minor and then in A minor – which this time establishes itself until the end of the coda. The coda ends with a reminder of the first theme (bar 197), but for the first time only in A minor and with no reference to the supposed main tonality of F major. This strong unrest between both tonalities establishes the A minor as a home key. Since the beginning of the Ballade, A minor, as an anti-key material, tries to rise

[58] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 50-51.
[59] Ferruccio Busoni, in a letter to his wife, London 15 March 1912; *Ibid*., 42.
[60] *Ibid*., 52.
[61] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade,* 87.

above the F major's place in the work and finally achieved it. This conflict will be referred to in the last chapter in which these two tonalities will be interpreted as a conflict between two voices in order to identify the socio-political voice in this Ballade.

This strong conflict could be the reason that many scholars are uncertain about the 'real' tonality of the second Ballade. Chopin finished this Ballade – unlike the published edition that finishes in A minor – in F major when he played it for the first time to Schumann.[62] Rawsthorne says "Chopin must have been turning it over in his mind for several years – since 1836, in fact when Schumann first heard it".[63]

The third Ballade, in A-flat major, has no formal introduction, but does have – in Rawsthorne's mind, at least – a melody that "introduces itself".[64] Only in relation to this Ballade does Rawsthorne provide a long historical background before his analysis. Perhaps, because it is the only one written in "a period of Chopin's life when he was reasonably happy and contented"[65] and the only one that reflects this mood. So, to Rawsthorne, the third Ballade is different in terms of its cheerful mood, in contrast with the other dramatic three. Charles Rosen, again noted:

> The ambiguities are essential to its sense of narrative flow. It is structured not by harmonic events or by thematic contrast but fluctuations of sentiment.[66]

[62] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 50
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] *Ibid*., 54.
[65] *Ibid*., 53.
[66] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 322.

Rosen believes that the return to A-flat major, the main tonality, (bar 116) is not prepared and is also too early for the proportions of the work. He also points out that this return to the tonic cannot, thematically speaking, be considered as a new theme or as a variation on the opening theme. This is because conventionally the return to the tonic (in a classical works) involves the return of previous material. The material in these bars, however, is completely novel, and thus it is considered ambiguous.[67] This practice also proves that Chopin departed from convention and embraced a form built on his natural artistic instinct.

In the fourth Ballade in F minor, Chopin creates ambiguity using two techniques: the first, harmonic; the second, metric. Chopin starts the Ballade with a dominant harmony (bars 1-7) "suggesting the major rather than the minor mode".[68] This dominant C could be accepted at the beginning as the main tonality of the piece, similar to the first Ballade's tonal ambiguity. This opening sentence in C major also acts in opposition to the home key F minor. It is not until the bass note F is heard (bar 8) that the real key becomes evident.

Notably, it took Chopin 7 bars exactly to establish the main tonality in the first and the fourth Ballades, and 7 repetitive Cs (bars 1-2) to present the tonality of the second Ballade. Thus the use of 7 here seems important. It establishes the Ballades' ambiguous stability at the outset. 7 is a prime number, and so must be grasped as a whole by the listener; it does not subdivide conveniently. 7 is also just small enough to be graspable, but big enough to allow the listener to realize that the musical space

[67] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 321.
[68] Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 63.

in a phrase is being stretched. However, Chopin's arrival at the number 7 for this comprehensible extension of the phrase was probably unconscious whereas Stravinsky's use of 11, the next prime number after 7 in *the Rite of Spring* (in 11/4, R103) may be more deliberate, because it is large enough to lose the listeners, and thus disorientate them. The empirical experiment, made by the English pianist David Owen Norris, suggests that people lose the idea of number around 9 or 10.[69] Therefore, it would seem that Chopin unconsciously, and thus through his natural compositional sensibilities, chose 7 bars (as in the first and fourth Ballades) or 7 beats (as in the second Ballade) in order to increase the effect of ambiguity in his introductions without unduly disorientating the listener. Rawsthorne reflects that:

> From the climax of the Viennese school we learn the great lesson that form is sensation, and that if the articulations of a musical structure are not so regarded, the formal scheme is dead. These moments must produce their effects of tension, of relaxation, of expectancy or whatever they may be, so that the listener is carried from place to place in the action, and can participate therein. Such facts Chopin knows in his bones, being a born composer.[70]

If "form is sensation" rather than a strict structure, then by using the prime number 7, Chopin was allowing his natural compositional instinct to build the form of the ballade organically, and in doing so create ambiguity. It seems therefore that Chopin's natural sense that led him to choose 7 was logical; 7 could still be considered as a compressed eight-bar phrase – as in Mendelssohn's Song without Words (Frühlingslied, op.62 no.6) – whereas 11 might have been deemed too unusual for mid-nineteenth-century ears. Chopin seems to reach the state of ambiguity after 7 bars or 7 repeated notes; perhaps if he needed more than the

[69] In a private conversation on 20th of February 2012 with David Owen Norris about prime numbers and disorientation, he pointed out that "people tend to lose the idea of number around nine or ten". Norris's remark helped me to shape this argument in relation to Chopin's Ballade ambiguity.
[70] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.

prime number 7 to arrive at this point of ambiguity he would have extended this number. This, as Rawsthorne once commented about Chopin's subtleness, "only arise[s] from an impeccable ear".[71]

The second element contributing to the sense of ambiguity in the fourth Ballade is metric:

> The naive listener will accept them [the first three notes in bar 8] as the start of the tune, and Chopin includes them in his phrase-mark. But we learn afterwards that the tune really begins with the last two quavers of this bar, which form an anacrusis.[72]

In this way, the music seems to suggest that Chopin sought to confuse the listener by removing any certainty as to where the main melody starts. Even the *a tempo* indication is applied at the beginning of the bar, and not with the bass note entry on F, which is at the beginning of the melody. Thus, Chopin starts with an ambiguous introduction and then adds another ingredient of ambiguity, signaling a new approach in Chopin's ambiguous ballade technique; what we might call a double ambiguous start. It seems, therefore, that the variation style used by Chopin in this Ballade is the perfect complement to the highly ambiguous start, reinforcing the main theme and tonality in a multitude of ways. Chopin here integrates both elements of ambiguity from his first and second Ballade, and applies them to the introduction of his last Ballad; a development of his own ambiguous technique.

[71] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 47.
[72] *Ibid*., 56.

2.2.2 Musical events

Rawsthorne's argument demonstrates that each musical event in Chopin's ballade sounds "inevitable but not predictable".[73] This is due to the fact that Chopin was creating the form at the same time as he was composing the music. The events seem to unfold as a narrative, sometimes combining elements of surprise, at other times preparing the musical event well enough to make it inevitable. Rawsthorne's analysis is similar to later theories of narrative, which I will now summarize.

Notions of narrativity in music were established primarily through the application of literary narrative theories to musical works. Thus, in order to generate narrativity in music and also to understand and describe its processes and theories, it seems reasonable to refer back to principles of literary narrative.[74] Musicologists such as Jean-Jacques Nattiez have confirmed the importance of this approach: "we cannot tackle the question of narrativity in music, without taking literary narrative as a point of reference".[75] In his book, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*, Michael J. Toolan defines a literary narrative as a sequence of events arranged in a non-restrictive order, and whose order can be changed for purpose of attracting the

[73] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[74] "Beginning in the late-twentieth-century, music theory and criticism often explored the possibility of narrativity in non-texted, non-programmatic music from European concert traditions. These studies lie at the intersection of many disciplines, not just narratology and music criticism, but historical interpretation, technical music theory, philosophical study of expression and representation, and semiotics"; Fred Everett Maus. 'Narratology, narrativity' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Available at: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40607 (Accessed 29 October 2012).
[75] Jean-Jacques Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (2), 1990, 242 [ONLINE]. Available at: http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all?content=10.1093/jrma/115.2.240 (Accessed 26 October 2009).

reader.[76] In this respect, if Chopin's ballades are narrative forms, then this explains why they do not resemble each other in terms of the presentation of events. Narrativity can be achieved without a restricted order of the events because every story has a different plot and a different sequence in which the events that constitute the plot are presented. Moreover, Toolan states that 'trajectory' is an essential character to literary narrative; readers should always be allowed to anticipate what might be in store, based on their own understanding of the preceding sequence of events.[77] Nattiez points out that the 'trajectory' element in literary narrative is also found in musical narrative. By way of example, he links musical narrative with the literary narrative of a typical detective novel. He demonstrates the similarities by highlighting the fact that both narratives share expectation.[78] In the literary example, a writer will provide a clue of how the upcoming events might unfold. The reader should, then, be able to decipher this clue, and thus anticipate the trajectory of the story. This anticipated trajectory can then be redrawn, depending on what the writer provides the reader with subsequently.

This can be applied to the musical narrative; composers hint at the ensuing material, and the anticipation of the coming events is left to the listener. Rawsthorne's comment on the first Ballade proves his point: "it seems inevitable from the beginning that this Ballade must end in violence, and it certainly does".[79]

[76] Michael, J. Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1988).
[77] *Ibid*., 4.
[78] Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', 240-257.
[79] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 49.

Further examples are easily found in Chopin's Ballades. In the first Ballade, the third appearance of the first theme (bar 194) hints at the appearance of another variation on the second theme. However, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter (section 2.2.1), it leads instead to the coda, which sounds inevitable but not predictable. This sense of inevitability which is not predictable is achieved through Chopin's treatment of the first theme in its first and second appearances. Additionally, in the second appearance of the first theme (in Chopin's second Ballade, bar 83), we know that after the previous *presto con fuoco* section (bar 47) the music would behave differently. Therefore, instead of closing with V-I, as in the first appearance of this theme, Chopin surprisingly keeps the music going by moving from V to a "deceptive cadence"[80] (bars 95-96); a kind of preparation for the appearance of the third theme. This treatment might be what Rawsthorne called "inevitable but not predictable"; this treatment would hardly be achieved without all preceding materials. Thus, in the second Ballade, without the first appearance of the second theme, the second appearance of the same theme would lack its inevitability. In addition, without the second theme, the "deceptive cadence" that follows the second appearance of the first theme would lack the effect of surprise.

Chopin does not adhere to established compositional techniques. Instead, he composes according to narrative fluently; maintaining a sense of forward motion, and successfully transporting the listener from place to place. Rawsthorne points out:

[80] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 87.

> It is of the highest importance when writing movements of any degree of organization to compose the form at the same time as the music, and this is what Chopin is doing in these pieces [the Ballades]. This creative conception of form is one of the things which make Haydn, for instance, so great a master.[81]

If this compositional approach is the source of much of Rawsthorne's admiration for Chopin's ballade genre, it seems reasonable to assume that Rawsthorne's 1967 Ballade would follow a similar concept of composition.

Another issue to bear in mind when considering the musical events of Chopin's ballades is the capability of the musical materials to successfully fulfil their function. Returning once again to literary theory, the post-structuralist critic Ronald Barthes defined narrative as a sequence of non-randomly connected events.[82] He remarked that one of the most fundamental ways to achieve narrativity is to connect events with "a connectedness that is taken to be motivating and significant".[83] Rawsthorne concurred:

> It is an important part of the composer's task to devise the various units of his structure in such a way [Chopin's way in his ballades] that they sound like what they are. A bridge-passage must sound like a link, and not like important new material… sometimes with this in mind, a composer will have to remove a passage because he knows it is not doing its job in its context. He may even substitute a passage which seems inferior musically in itself, but which he knows will carry the listener more successfully from one moment to another.[84]

Rawsthorne did this himself, when he cut 36 bars from the finale of his *Viola Sonata* 20 years after its publication. As a result, according to Sebastian Forbes, the piece

[81] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 43.
[82] Ronald Barthes in; Toolan, *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction*, 7.
[83] *Ibid*.
[84] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.

"maintains its mood more consistently".[85] Rawsthorne's argument shows his concern about the perfect use of each musical material; something he finds to be present in Chopin's ballade. He also argues the significance of Chopin's technique to contrive a beginning which "really opens the door to the listener". Here, he draws comparison with Liszt's composition:

> I can never feel, for instance, that Liszt's well-known piece about Saint Francis of Paola walking on the waves … has a very satisfactory beginning. To me it seems as though the holy man must have been half-way across the straits of Messina before the piece began.[86]

Rawsthorne finds, in Chopin's beginnings, a perfect start to a narrative experience that "ultimately solve[s] the problems of musical form".[87] The "rightness", as Rawsthorne called it, seems to pervade all the cells of this genre, making it a master form.[88] Each element of the musical material is positioned in the right place, at the correct volume and for the correct duration. The introduction provides meanings to the first theme, and the first theme gives weight to the form. This treatment creates a great balanced form and logic found in this genre. Rawsthorne notes that "the logic is the same logic as drives forward a sonata movement, though the resultant shape may be different".[89] Rawsthorne continues:

> After all, sonata-form is only a crystallization of certain basic principles, deep-rooted in music itself; to me Chopin's ballades grow out of these principles into shapes as convincing and beautiful as any sonata movement. Perhaps more so than his own.[90]

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[85] Sebastian Forbes, 'The Chamber Music' in Alan Poulton (ed.) *Alan Rawsthorne: Essays on the Music: Volume 3* (Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1986), 21.
[86] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 44.
[87] *Ibid*., 45.
[88] *Ibid*.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] *Ibid*.

Rawsthorne values Chopin's use of each part of the musical material, whether it is an opening passage, bridge or transformation materials, because of their "rightness" and capability to fulfil their job in the context. This is because Chopin created a "patterns of behaviour" rather than a new form.[91] This created a recurrent way of acting toward a given situation, and this is the common element in this genre: the secret of the ballade's natural expression. They spring from a natural unfolding experience, linked by a pattern of Barthesian 'non-random connectedness', though perhaps unconsciously.

2.2.3 What holds the work together?

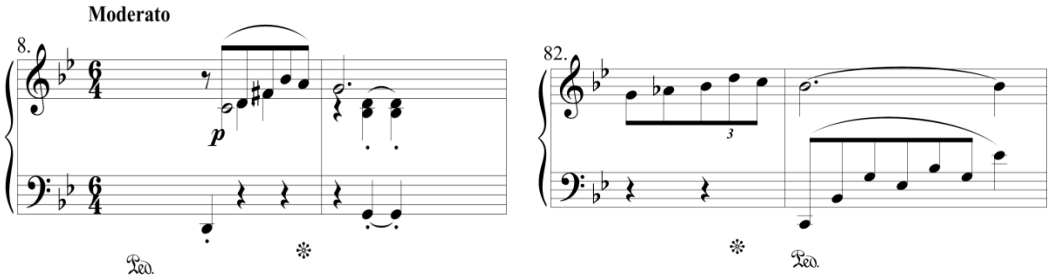
Rawsthorne appreciates Chopin's great ability to create a well-structured form.[92] To him, the unifying elements play a very important part in order to create a great form. Rawsthorne finds in each of Chopin's four ballades, an individual aspect that holds the work together. There are two important unifying elements in each ballade, which differ according to each ballade's requirements. As Rawsthorne noted, the ballade form is built on Chopin's logic and not on a particular mathematical principle or number of bars.[93] In this respect, each ballade holds different unifying elements as a result of Chopin's natural composing instinct that creates each ballade's form. So, the four ballades does not have to adopt the same unifying elements, however, some unifying elements, of any sort, should exist.

[91] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 45.
[92] *Ibid*., 43-44.
[93] *Ibid*., 55.

In the first Ballade, the introduction seems to give weight to the subsequent statements, and without this introduction "the statement could hardly be made at all".[94] The introduction establishes the mood of the work. It also gives more importance to the appearance of the first theme, which, since its first appearance, seems to "provide the perfect answer to the question of the introduction's last phrase".[95] This technique, used in the introduction, made it clear from the beginning that this piece is about to present a narrative journey that in fact starts in G minor, and not in A-flat major.

After the introduction, the first theme is given the responsibility of holding the work together. As already discussed, its recurring appearance provides this sense of unity, rendering the appearance of the second theme and the coda more logical and effective.

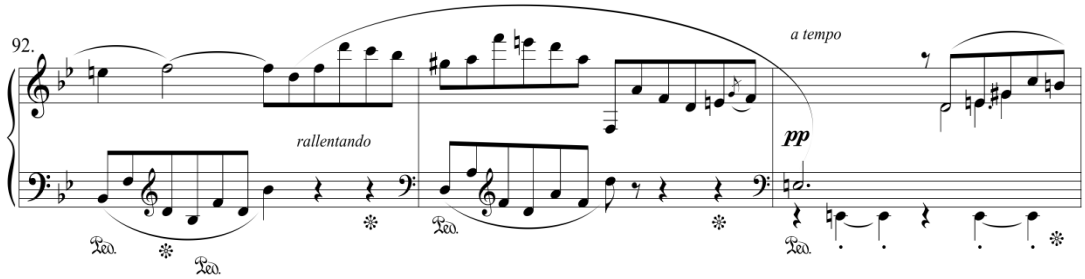
A further unifying aspect of this Ballade is the thematic relationships that exist within the material. For example, the second half of the second theme is a transformation of the first theme but in the major mode (Ex. 2.4):



Ex. 2.4, Chopin's First Ballade, (i) bars 8-9, (ii) bars 82-83,
Samson (1992, 50)

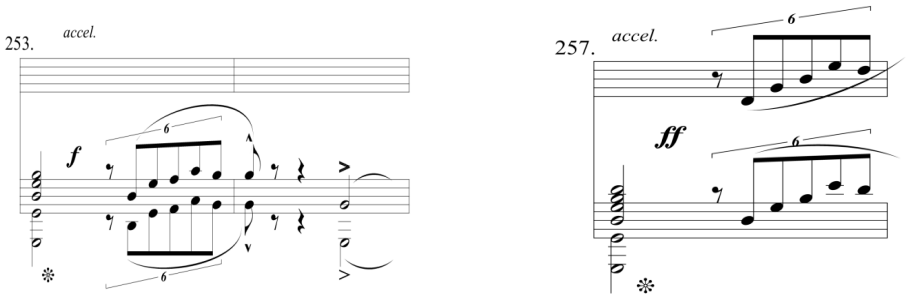
[94] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 43.
[95] *Ibid*., 46.

It is also worth noting here that the second half of the second theme always leads back to the first theme (Ex. 2.5), which makes the function even more logical and also provides a sense of unity to the whole work.



Ex. 2.5, Chopin's First Ballade, bars 92-94

Another transformation of this very same theme is also to be found in the coda (Ex. 2.6) giving a final sense of unity to the whole work.



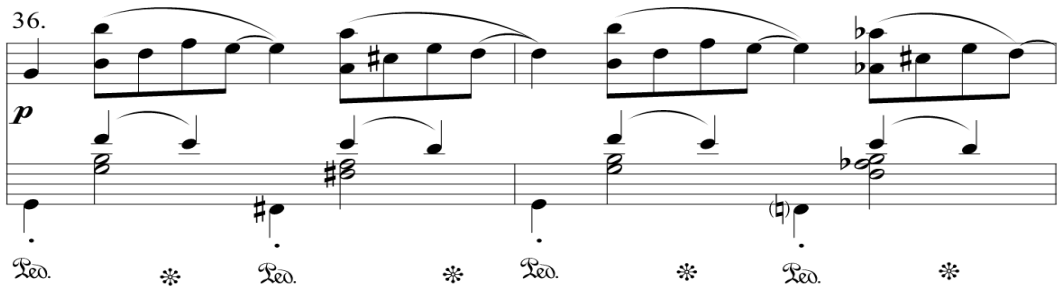
(i) (ii)

Ex. 2.6, Chopin's First Ballade, (i) bars 253-254, (ii) bar 257

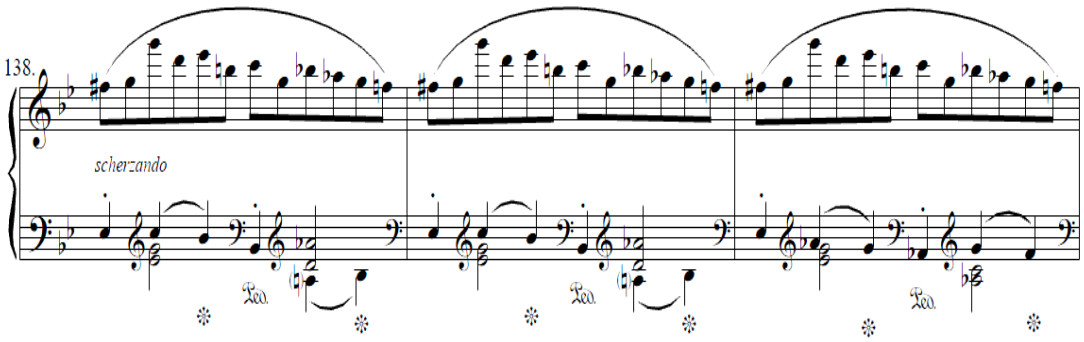
Rawsthorne suggests that each element of the musical material seems to be capable of doing its own job. He claims that it is the composer's task to remove or add a passage, even an inferior passage, but the composer should ensure that each passage will carry the listener forward successfully. Rawsthorne categorizes the waltz-like episode (bars 138-144) as an irrelevant but a necessary passage, but I consider it very relevant to the whole work; it has a thematic relationship with the

"cadential theme" of the first theme (bars 36-43).[96] Rosen also disagrees with Rawsthorne. He argues that the waltz section is a more complex form of the conclusion section of the first theme, (Ex. 2.7):

(i)



(ii)

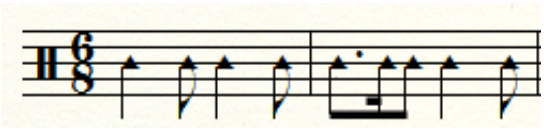


Ex. 2.7, Chopin's First Ballade, (i) bars 36-37, (ii) bars 138-140

The resemblance in the left-hand waltz accompaniment is obvious; the rhythm, the articulation and even the fingering are the same. Although Rawsthorne highlighted and gives attention to the unifying elements, he failed to spot this relationship that Rosen considered. All these previous substantial unifying materials make a compelling case for the existence of some degree of unity within the first Ballade and, in doing so, give more credence to the ballade as a formal template.

[96] Charles Rosen called this section a "cadential theme" (bars 36-43); Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 325-326.

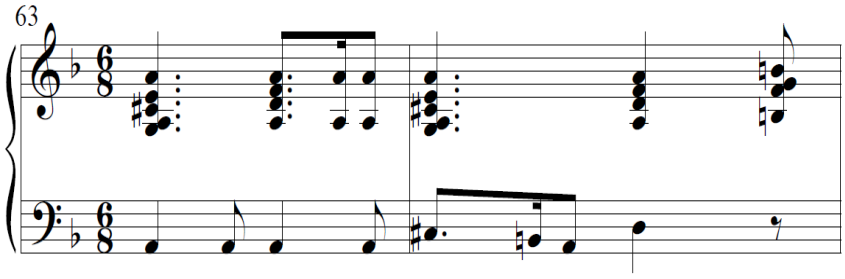
The second Ballade of Chopin also has its own unifying aspect. The rhythm of the first theme (Ex. 2.8) seems to provide an unconscious relationship to the rest of the material, and it can be found almost everywhere in this work:



Ex. 2.8, the rhythm of the main theme of Chopin's Second Ballade

In this setting, Chopin seems to be developing a rhythmic rather than a harmonic scheme. The theme of the siciliano theme creates the whole structure and provides a sense of unity and cohesion to the general structure.[97] Chopin develops this rhythm gradually – maybe unrecognizably – at the beginning. Rawsthorne says "I think we must unconsciously feel a relationship to the gently swaying repeated quavers of the opening melody", starting from the first development of this rhythm (bar 63, Ex. 2.9). He continues by saying "we are made to recognize it consciously later in the work".[98]

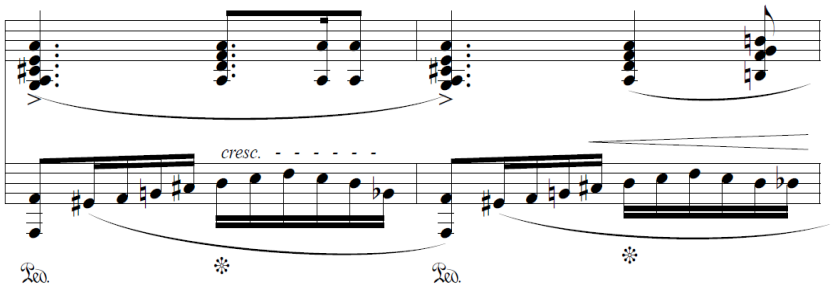
(i)



[97] According to Oxford music dictionary, Siciliano is a type of dance, song or instrumental work, popular during the eighteenth-century and most probably of Sicilian origin; Kennedy, *Oxford: Concise Dictionary of Music*, 697. The opening section of Chopin's second Ballade is usually referred to as a siciliano section, especially in the analyses of Samson and Bellman; Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 51; Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 86.

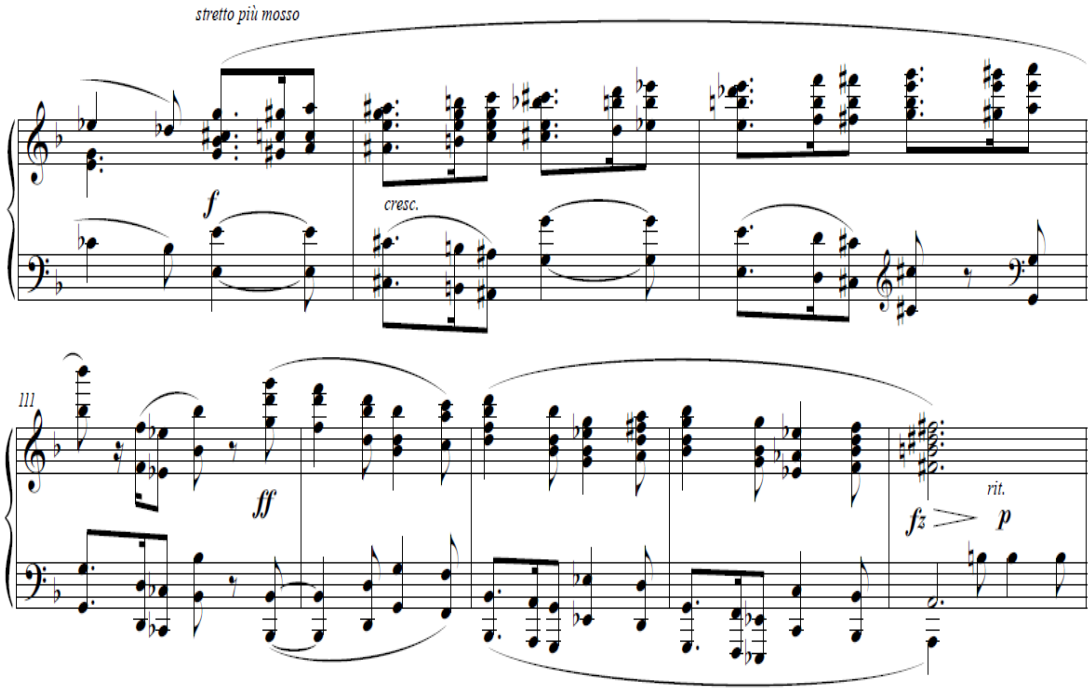
[98] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 52.

(ii)



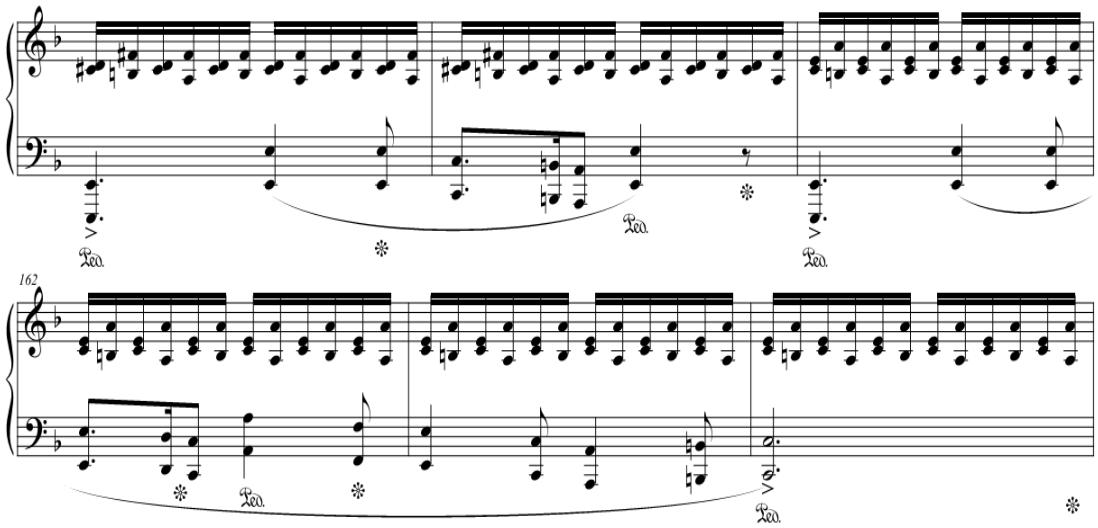
Ex. 2.9, Second Ballade, bars 63-64, (i) Rawsthorne's illustration, (ii) original (Rawsthorne, 1966, 52)

Rawsthorne's demonstration shows how the first theme functions in the left-hand accompaniment of this section. The first obvious development of this rhythm is discharged from the repetition of the first theme, in which, after the interruption with a deceptive cadence, the music carries on developing with the same rhythmic pattern (bars 96-140, Ex. 2.10) until it reaches the presto theme again (bar 141):



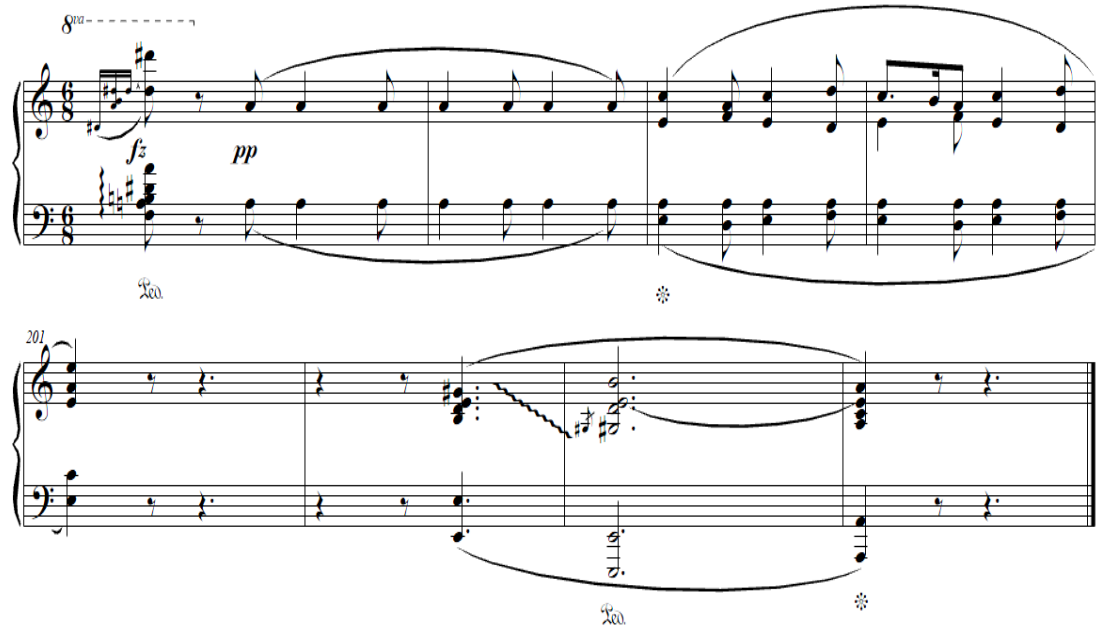
Ex. 2.10, Second Ballade, bars 108-115

The presto section then breaks out with the reappearance of the main rhythm in the left-hand just before the coda (bars 157-163, Ex. 2.11):



Ex. 2.11, Second Ballade, bars 159-164

This Ballade ends with a final appearance of the first theme (Ex. 2.12):



Ex. 2.12, Chopin's Second Ballade, bars 197-204

Rawsthorne discussed this rhythmic figure in detail because he believed in its importance to the whole structure of the second Ballade. The unification of this

Ballade is derived from Chopin's use of such a rhythmic figure with which he starts, modulates and also ends. Therefore, it can be considered as an inevitable rhythm that unsurprisingly appears consistently, forming one of the main features of Chopin's ballade genre according to Rawsthorne's analysis which is "inevitable but not predictable".

A further consideration that unifies this Ballade (conventionally known as the 'F major Ballade') is its tonality. In this work we find one of the most profound conflicts – maybe even in Chopin's mind – between F major and A minor, as already discussed earlier in this chapter (section 2.2.1). Although Brahms seems to be the first to have referred to it as the 'A minor Ballade',[99] Samson noted the unusual "two-keys scheme" that Chopin employed only in this Ballade.[100] Schumann, to whom the work was dedicated, pointed out that Chopin once played him a version of this Ballade which ended in F major. In the final published version, however, it finished in A minor. Rawsthorne says:

> Chopin must have been turning it over in his mind for several years … indeed, one can imagine the composer playing these uniquely seductive strains on the piano, and wondering which of their enchanting suggestions to follow.[101]

Bellman compares traditional and recent views, and arrives at the assumption that:

> Chopin's Op. 38 is a ballade in *F major* that existed in at least two versions. One version was harmonically unproblematic … played for Schumann in 1836 … The other version is, of course, the published version, which is in F major and functions like a work in F major right up to the preparations for the explosive final section[102].

[99] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 15.
[100] Jim Samson, 'Extended Forms: The Ballades, Scherzos and Fantasies', in Jim Samson (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 116.
[101] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 50.
[102] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade,* 18.

Bellman does not conclude his discussion with this assumption, but rather with what that proposed by Samson: "the harmonic plan is tied to the narrative itself".[103] According to this suggestion, the conflict between the two keys in this Ballade seems logical. Chopin starts the Ballade with the siciliano melody in F major. The single B-flat in the key signature – which demonstrates that we are in F major – lasts for 168 bars out of a total of 204. During these 168 bars, the A minor keeps spreading over the F major tonality for two reasons. First, the appearance of the A minor section is an interruption of that in F major. It is also stronger in terms of dynamics and faster. Second, in the second appearance of the F major siciliano, the A minor suddenly interrupt the F major and leads the melody away from it. From this point, the F major does not reappear. When the second presto section in A minor reappears, its strong stability – in addition to its elimination of the identity of the F major tonality – causes the key signature to change. Thus, A minor dominates and the listener is led to a pure A minor coda. This intense harmonic unrest unifies the interpretation of this work and also gives weight to the first and second themes of this Ballade. Rawsthorne, in concluding his discussion of the second Ballade, responds to Busoni's claim:

> We have started in the key of F major, and then spent some time in A minor; we have returned fleetingly to F major before the rich modulations of the development; we have returned to the Presto in D minor, and now we come resolutely to A minor, with a change of signature, for the coda. In this key we end, with one of Chopin's most magical touches – a whispered reminder of the very opening and a slow full close that 'vibrates in the memory'. And if this piece is 'badly composed', then so is the C sharp minor quartet of Beethoven.[104]

[103] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 19.
[104] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 53.

Rawsthorne's appreciation of Chopin's second Ballade's formal structure is evident in his own second Ballade composed in 1967, a year after this article. I will return to this in the next chapter.

Turning to Chopin's third ballade, there are three main elements that seem to unify it. The first is its sense of continuity, achieved, according to Rawsthorne, by the "completeness" of the first two themes,[105] both of which follows the ABA ternary form. Rosen also highlights this point but from a different perspective; what Rawsthorne describes as being 'complete', Rosen labels "relaxed but incomplete".[106] In this Ballade, Rosen finds a relaxed end to each section, allowing that which follows to "grow out of it", contributing to an overarching sense of continuity.[107] This is not dissimilar to Berger earlier suggestion, i.e., that the events appear "one-because-of-the-other" and not "one-after-the-other".[108] In a programme note, Rawsthorne substantiated this argument:

> The composer must possess the imagination to see that one thing leads to another in an interesting fashion, and the discipline to order his ideas in forms and patterns that will be comprehensible to other people.[109]

To Rawsthorne, the music should be linked always to its preceding elements, and the next idea must be a continuation of an earlier one, in order to maintain a sense of continuity and unity.

[105] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 55.
[106] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 322.
[107] *Ibid*., 322.
[108] Berger, 'The form of Chopin's Ballade, Op. 23', 46-71.
[109] Programme note dated (3.30, 25 October); Alan Rawsthorne, *'Alan Rawsthorne's Broadcast & Programme'* (RNCM Archive).

Samson's comment about the completeness of each section leads to the second element that holds the work together; the relationship between all the sections of this Ballade, which becomes apparent later. Samson argues that Chopin treated each section as a separate "frame" and that after the second theme, the third theme appears and, again, it ends with a sense of completeness.[110] Then from bar 183, the relationship between all three sections becomes apparent; from bars 183 to 212 there is a combination of the first and second themes, and from bars 213 to 241 the first theme appears with reference to the third theme. The following table provides an overall outline of the relationships (Table 2.1):

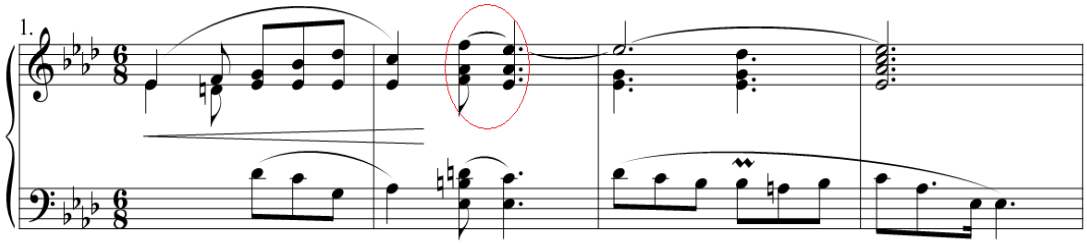
Themes	**Bars**	**Tonality**
Theme I	1-52	Ab major
Theme II	53-115	F minor
Theme III	116-144	Ab major
Theme II'	145-183	C# minor
Theme II+I	183-212	modulatory
Theme I' (refs. to Theme III)	213-241	Ab major

Table 2.1: Chopin's Third Ballade formal design (Samson, 1992, 62)

Separating these themes according to their first appearance – and providing each of them with character of their own – gives a better sense of their connectivity when they are integrated later. This, again, contributes to a sense unity across the whole composition.

[110] Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 58-59.

The last element that links this work together is the little two-note motif (Ex. 2.13, in the circle). It occurs in the left-hand part as an interval of a minor second:



Ex. 2.13, Chopin's Third Ballade, bars 1-4

This descending motif, which Chopin introduces at the very beginning of this piece, pervades the whole composition. Samson argued the importance of this motif, referring to it as one of the unifying elements of the third Ballade.[111] Rosen also comments on this motif's significance, noting that "it appears relentlessly".[112] Rawsthorne also highlighted the significance of the motif:

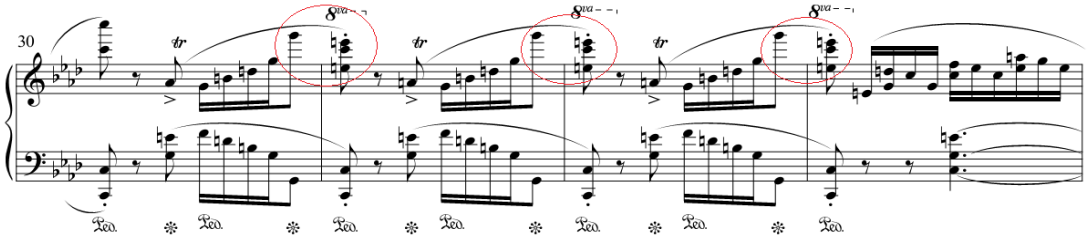
> The last two-notes of this theme's first phrase … are of great importance in the structure … This little phrase of two notes, with its gentle fall of a second, continues to sound. Its persistence gives an unconscious sense of logic to the whole paragraph … I do not think it out of proportion to insist on the importance of this, insignificant though the figure may be in itself. It gives life and unity to the whole composition.[113]

Rawsthorne's interest in this mechanism of Chopin's might explain his decision to use a similar two-note motif in his first and second Ballades (discussed in detail later in this, and the next, chapter). I will now examine Chopin's way of dealing with this motif.

The first appearance of the falling minor second motif is at the end of the first theme's first phrase (Ex. 2.13). This motif keeps sounding all the way through, until

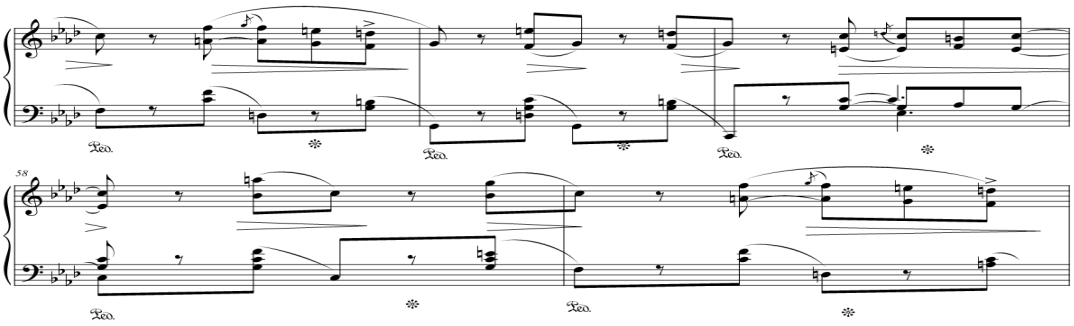
[111] Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 57.
[112] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 305.
[113] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 54-55.

bar 25 (according to Rosen),[114] or bar 36 (according to Samson).[115] Although from bar 26 the sense of this falling minor second is not really clear, it can nevertheless still be heard falling from the top note of the arpeggio to the next quaver (Ex. 2.14, in the circles):



Ex. 2.14, Chopin's Third Ballade, bars 30-33

Since the main tonality of the second theme is F minor, its "real point of tonal arrival is bar 65 and not bar 54.[116] This theme presents another unifying element; the appearance of intervals of major and minor sixths accompanies the falling minor second that still sounds in this section. Rosen argues that the interval of a sixth in this section plays a more significant role than the minor second. The sixths are played in the right-hand and the descending accompaniment – which gives a falling minor second effect – in the left-hand, throughout the section from bar 54 to 115. (Ex. 2.15):



Ex. 2.15, Chopin's Third Ballade, bars 55-59

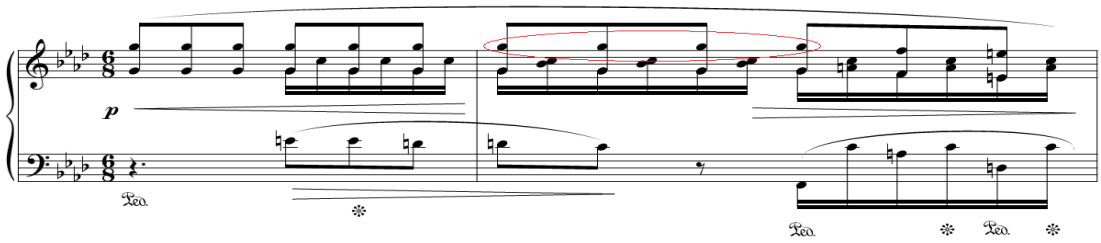
[114] Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 305.
[115] Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 59.
[116] *Ibid*., 58.

Although Rawsthorne seems unconcerned with the importance of the sixths in his article, his second Ballade reveals a similar practice in use of the seconds and sixths (bar 132), addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

With regard to Chopin's fourth Ballade, Rawsthorne notes that the relationship between the introduction and the main melody provides a strong unity for the whole piece:

> This is a very fine stroke. Not only is this reappearance very telling in itself, but Chopin shows us at the same time the relation of the introduction to the main melody, namely the four repeated notes in the figure which features so largely … the repeated quavers of the introduction. (Another accident!).[117]

Samson also highlights this point, arguing that the introduction establishes this important relationship, which also facilitates the reappearance of the introduction at bar 129.[118] This four-note figure (Ex. 2.16) seems to be the main unifying element of this Ballade:

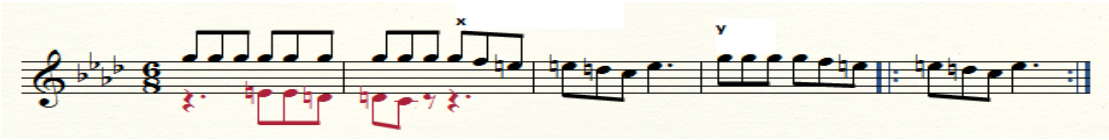


Ex. 2.16, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, bars 1-2

These four circled notes seem to hold the whole work together. Chopin starts with them and, as Rawsthorne proposes (Ex. 2.17):

> We may think of the phrase beginning at 'x' as the answer to the first phrase in the tenor register. But the third phrase beginning at 'y', shows us that the second must have already begun before the first had finished.[119]

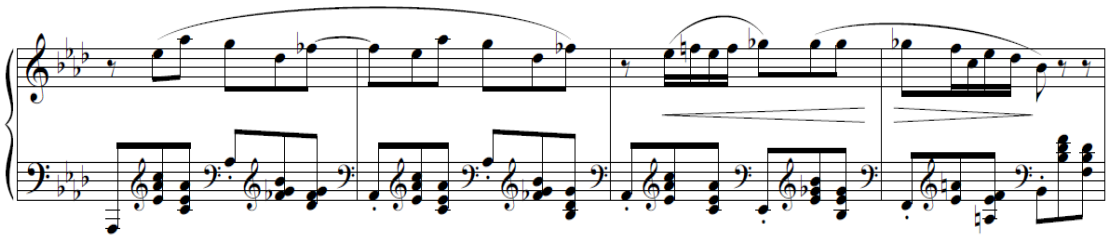
[117] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 57.
[118] Samson, *Chopin: The Four Ballades*, 63.
[119] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 56.



Ex. 2.17, Rawsthorne's demonstration of the introduction

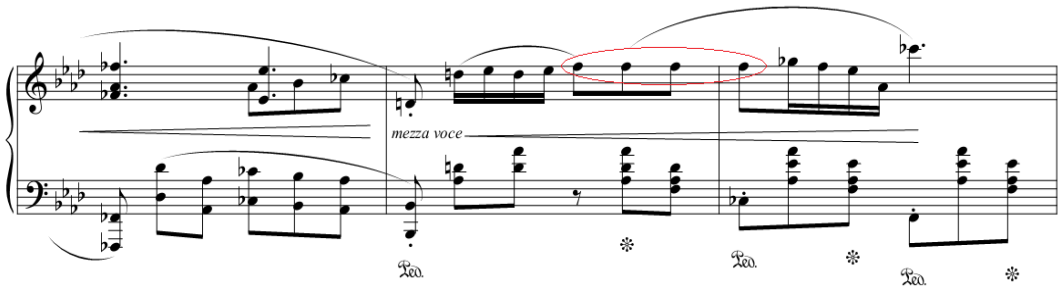
(Rawsthorne, 1966, 56)

Later in the piece, Chopin clarifies this melodic ambiguity; he uses this four-note figure repeatedly providing a sense of unity to the whole structure. For example, it is included in the main melody (Ex. 2.18):



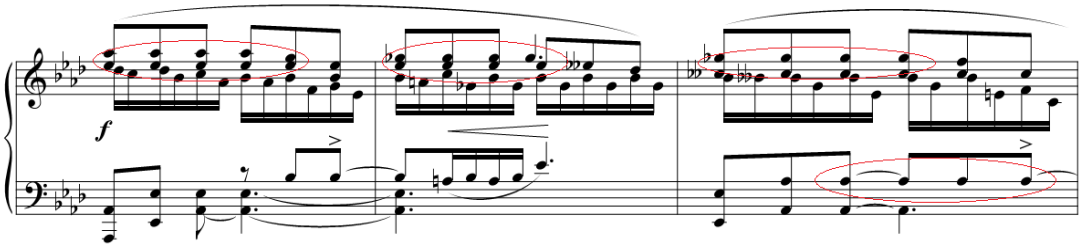
Ex. 2.18, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, bars 13-16

Once more it appears in the development of the main theme (Ex. 2.19, in the circle):



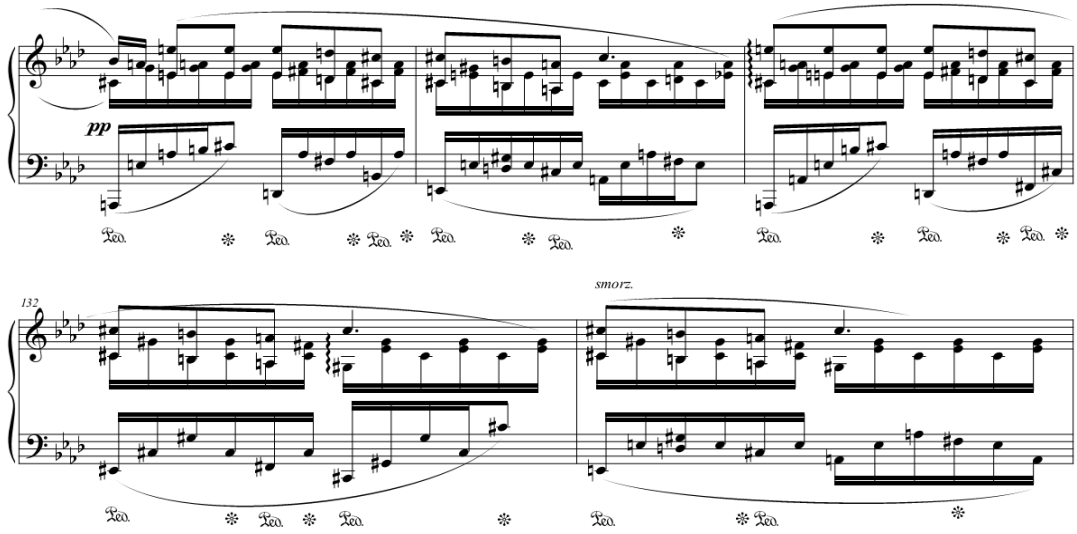
Ex. 2.19, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, bars 45-47

And again in the second development of the main theme (Ex. 2.20, in the circles):



Ex. 2.20, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, bars 125-127

In spite of all these appearances of the four-note figure, we might still think of it as a development of the main melody. However, not until Chopin recalls the introduction do we finally appreciate fully the strength of the relationship between both themes (Ex. 2.21):



Ex. 2.21, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, bars 129-133

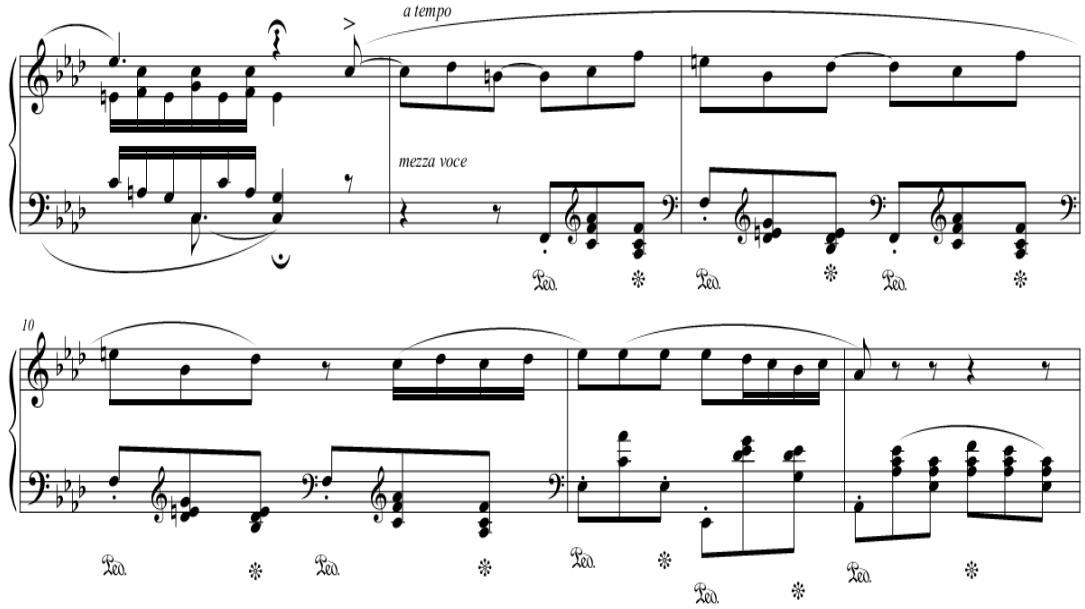
By integrating the introduction and the main theme, Chopin unifies the whole work in a fashion that is – at least as far as this genre is concerned –unprecedented with respect to the other three ballades.

A further element that holds the fourth Ballade together is its metrical freedom. Rawsthorne finds what he calls a "metrical finesse" in Chopin's treatment of the melody. In the first appearance of the first theme (bar 8), the melody is preceded by "a hesitant three notes",[120] starting only with the last two quavers of this bar, and going on to occupy four and a half bars in total. These three notes reappear only once again after the cadenza in bar 134, but not bar 135, where the main theme

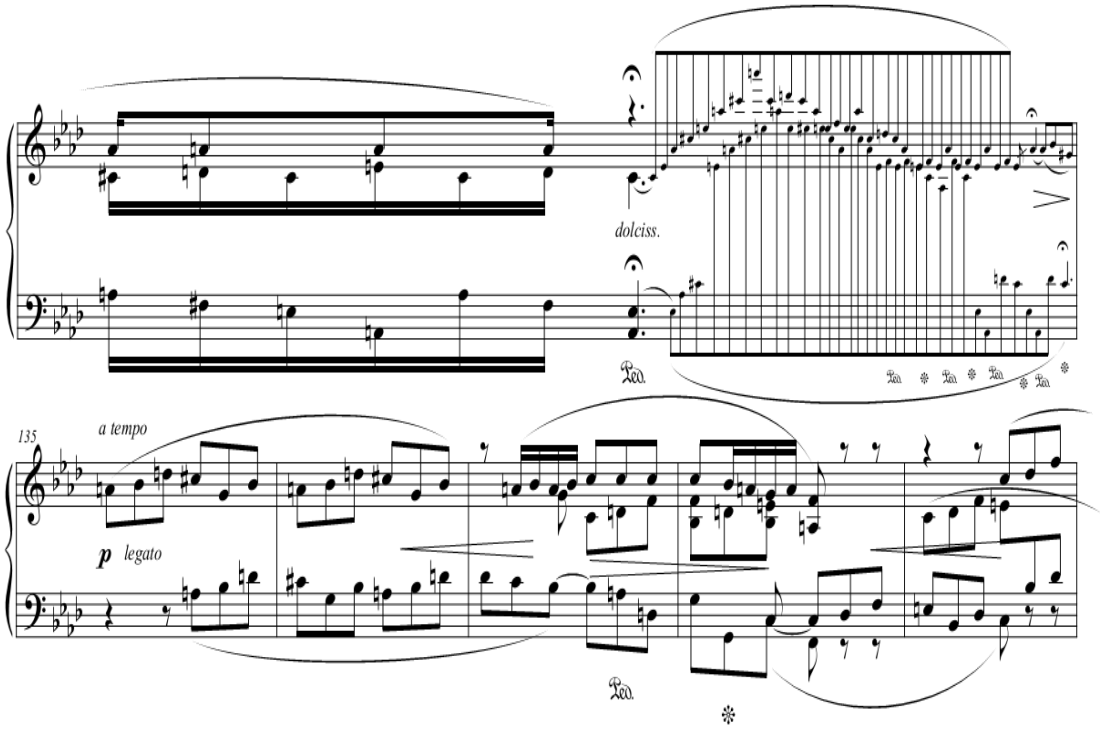
[120] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 56.

appears. This, as Rawsthorne points out, has changed the position of the melody in terms of bar-lines. Compare both figures (i) and (ii) in (Ex. 2.22):

(i)



(ii)



Ex. 2.22, Chopin's Fourth Ballade, (i) bars 7-12 (ii) bars 134-139

This kind of "metrical finesse" gives Chopin great freedom to move from sections of relaxation or tension in the cadences. According to Rawsthorne:

> In bar 12 [in Chopin's Ballade No. 4] the melody can complete its first sentence on the chord of A flat with leisure to relax. But farther on, at bar 22, there is plenty of time for the modulation which carries it back to the key of F minor.[121]

In the fourth Ballade, Chopin used his instinctive metrical sense to build the form, hence its categorization here as one of the unifying elements of this work. Rawsthorne thought that this skill of Chopin was unique; "Nothing quite like this has ever been written"[122]. Throughout the article, Rawsthorne seems to be unpacking Chopin's intention to show us his intellectual rigor underlying his compositions. Rawsthorne, occasionally in his article, asks whether this great formal design of the ballade is a product of accident or intended design by the composer.[123] Rawsthorne, then, gives the impression that Chopin built this form with full consciousness, especially by saying "Another accident!".[124]

2.2.4 The coda and the Ending

Rawsthorne did not spend much time discussing the codas. He points out that Chopin's coda is unique and distinctive to his works. He takes it to be an alternative to the "orthodox recapitulation" in which Chopin's coda presents a modern development.[125] Also with regard to the coda, Rawsthorne applies his "inevitable but not predictable" manner that he finds in Chopin's ballades. He points out that the coda of the first and the last Ballades are inevitable, due to the music that unfolds

[121] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 57.
[122] *Ibid*.
[123] *Ibid*., 43.
[124] *Ibid*., 57.
[125] *Ibid*., 48.

from the beginning. This is also the case in the third Ballade (the cheerful one), which ends with a "blaze of light", as an inevitable answer to the cheerful start.[126] Rawsthorne does not really comment on the coda of the second Ballade. He only highlights the change of key signature that has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Perhaps this is also because of the way the music behaves from the beginning – also discussed in detail earlier – in which the A minor overcome the place of the F major tonality. Thus, a coda that changes the key signature in some way resolves this tonal conflict and, in doing so, achieves its function.

Consequently it seems inevitable, ever since the beginning of the first and the fourth ballades that they must end with a dramatic coda. However, the coda of the second Ballade provides the required answer to the tonal conflict that was suggested from the beginning. The third Ballade ends in a way that such a graceful ballade should end, that is as Rawsthorne calls an end "in a blaze of light".[127] Therefore, Chopin is treating each ballade according to its character, because he "recognizes form as sensation, not to be calculated in numbers of bars"[128], and this is how, according to Rawsthorne, Chopin creates "patterns of behaviour".[129]

[126] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 55.
[127] *Ibid*.
[128] *Ibid*.
[129] *Ibid*., 45.

2.3 Conclusion

There is little doubt that Rawsthorne's analyses of Chopin's ballades are important. His writing functions as a continuation of Chopin's discourse, Rawsthorne's article provides us with a key to understand Chopin's concept of the genre, and also allows us to appreciate the extent of Rawsthorne's enthusiasm for Chopin's ballades.

The 1966 article offers a solution to the 'problem' of the schemata that underpin Chopin's manifestation of the ballade form. Rawsthorne believed that in order to write a ballade akin to those of Chopin, a composer must follow a specific "patterns of behaviour", rather than a restricted (or restrictive) formal structure. Moreover, an ambiguous introduction is almost essential to the composition of a tragic ballade, and Chopin's dual theme strategy (with connections that can be recognized later in the work) seems to accomplish this well. Furthermore, he appreciated Chopin's use of elements of inevitability and surprise, which are required to present a convincing narrative line. In addition, it appears that – to Rawsthorne – each section of the musical material had a role to play, and lesser parts should not overshadow the more important material. In other words, musical materials have to fulfil their individual function successfully. Rawsthorne also highlighted the importance of a central idea that holds each work together and also affects the appearance of any other musical actions. Finally, Rawsthorne emphasized that the work should be concluded with an appropriate coda that makes sense in relation to the previously presented actions because, as he pointed out, the ballades are "patterns of behaviours".

Chapter III

Chapter 3: A Comparative Study: Are Rawsthorne's Ballades Modelled on Chopin's Ballade Genre?

Introduction

Rawsthorne's thorough understanding of the ballades inevitably influenced the composition of his own ballades. Until now, this influence had received little attention. Scholars like Frank Dawes, Karl Kroeger and James Gibb had linked Rawsthorne's second Ballade to Chopin's second Ballade Op. 38,[1] and it was Stephen Rees's doctoral thesis (1970) that provided more detail about this connection.[2] However, Rees examined Rawsthorne's piano works in general and thus did not give particular attention to the ballades. It is also worth noting that Rees's analysis could not have taken Rawsthorne's first Ballade into consideration; it was not published until 1999, i.e., almost 30 years after Rees submitted his thesis.

Despite all this scholarly activity, Rawsthorne's ballades have remained much less well examined. Therefore, in this chapter, I will investigate the possibility of a resemblance between Rawsthorne's and Chopin's ballades in terms of the compositional techniques identified by Rawsthorne in the previous chapter. I will compare Rawsthorne's ballade structure with his own understanding of the genre that Chopin created, searching for points of intersection between the two. This

[1] Frank Dawes, 'New Piano Music' *The Musical Times*. Vol. 110, no. 1511, 1969, 67-69; James Gibb, 'The Piano Music', in Alan Poulton (ed.) *Alan Rawsthorne: Essays on the Music: Vol. 3*. (Kidderminster: Bravura Publication, 1986), 54-66; Karl Kroeger, 'Ballade by Alan Rawsthorne', *Music Library Association*, 26 (2), 1969, 364.
[2] Stephen Allison Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne*, Ph.D. thesis (Washington, DC, 1970), 17.

chapter will reveal a surprising resemblance between Chopin's and Rawsthorne's ballades.

Rawsthorne's two ballades will be presented chronologically. The analysis of the first (1929) will be shorter; I will refer to the analysis presented in Chapter 1, which demonstrated the relationship between this Ballade and *Good King Wenceslas*. I will address the second Ballade of Rawsthorne (1967) in greater detail, as this is to be analyzed for the first time.

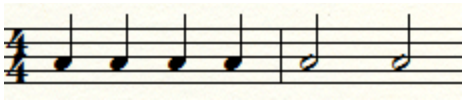
3.1 Rawsthorne's 1929 Ballade

The compositions of Rawsthorne's ballades are separated by the publication of his 1966 article. The first Ballade was composed in 1929, at a time of significant socio-political turmoil. At that time, Rawsthorne was still relatively undeveloped as a pianist and composer; his understanding of the Chopin's ballade form is likely to have been minimal.

Rawsthorne's first Ballade has a programme. It is a narrative piece. Thus, if narrativity were the only defining element of Chopin's ballade genre, it could be said that Rawsthorne succeeded in adhering to Chopin's ballade form. However, although Rawsthorne demonstrated a good understanding of the historical and cultural background of Chopin's ballade genre, he missed an important element. By adopting the *Good King Wenceslas* theme, Rawsthorne embraced programmatic

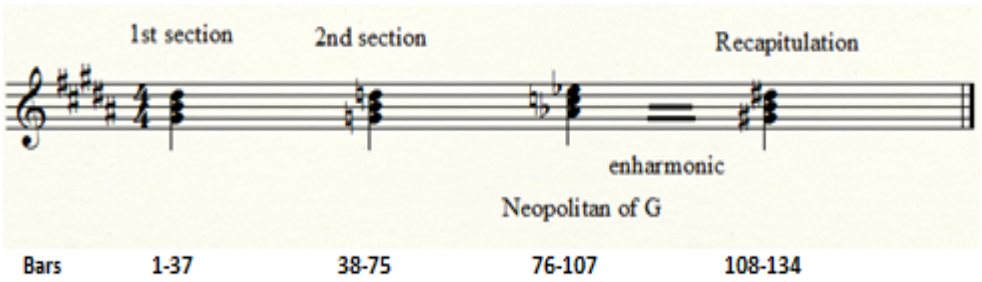
music, of which Chopin disapproved.[3] However, this Ballade still demonstrates a substantial degree of similarity to Chopin's ballade genre. The comparative analysis will now illustrate these elements. It will show that despite of incorporating elements of programmatic music into his Ballade, Rawsthorne was able to follow Chopin's concept in terms of its structure and formal schema at the very least.

In a similar manner to Chopin's second Ballade (Ex. 2.8, Chapter 2), Rawsthorne chooses a rhythmic pattern that pervades the whole work (Ex. 3.1):



Ex. 3.1, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, illustration of rhythmic pattern

While this choice is similar to that of Chopin's, Rawsthorne makes this rhythmic pattern very clear from beginning to end, which is not the case in Chopin's second Ballade, where the relationship between the theme's rhythm is ambiguous and only to be recognized later in the work (see Ex. 2.9 and 2.10). A further element of Rawsthorne's technique that resembles Chopin's, is the deliberate construction of unrest between tonalities. In Rawsthorne's first Ballade we find very clear anti-key material. The harmonic progression of the Ballade is as follows (Ex. 3.2):



Ex. 3.2, Rawsthorne's First Ballade, an illustration of its harmonic progression

[3] Samson, 'Extended Forms: the Ballades, Scherzos and Fantasies', 111.

The first section of the Ballade starts in G-sharp minor, moves to G major in the middle section, and then from G major to A-flat major, a Neapolitan relationship to G major and also the enharmonic tonality of the G-sharp minor (the tonic of the home key). This journey from G -sharp minor cannot be a coincidence, and the departure from G -sharp minor to G major seems to have the purpose of moving to the Neapolitan relative. In the second section (starting at bar 38), Rawsthorne uses the mixolydian mode, and a classical Neapolitan relationship (G – A-flat, bar 76). But he also colours the recapitulation (in G-sharp minor) with bi-tonal echoes of the G major middle section – a dynamic approach where material is transformed by its experiences.[4] The hint of G major acts in opposition to the home key G-sharp minor; the tonic is present but is hard to identify aurally because of this effect. This echo Chopin's tendency within the ballade form to create a kind of search for tonality.

Rawsthorne's first Ballade contains some of the ingredients of Chopin's ballade genre but nevertheless does not embody the whole concept, mainly because Rawsthorne gave it a distinct programme. In this case, Rawsthorne seems to be adopting another tradition of this genre that might be developed after Chopin's time. In the next argument I will demonstrate that this Ballade resembles Brahms's first Ballade op.10.

3.1.1 Brahms's Op. 10 and Rawsthorne's first Ballade

James Parakilas's discussion of the narrativity of Brahms's Ballade reveals that Rawsthorne is travelling a similar path. Parakilas points out that Brahms

[4] As I have already demonstrated in the first chapter, the recapitulation is effected by the middle fast section. This is why it is transformed; it is, kind of, mixed with the mood of the second section.

programmed his well-known *Edward* Ballade according to the structure of the Scottish ballad *Edward*, from Herder's *Stimmen der Volker*.[5] Rawsthorne's use of *Good King Wenceslas* has clear parallels. Furthermore, and again similar to Rawsthorne's first Ballade, Herder's *Edward* can be sung to Brahms' Ballade (Ex. 3.3):

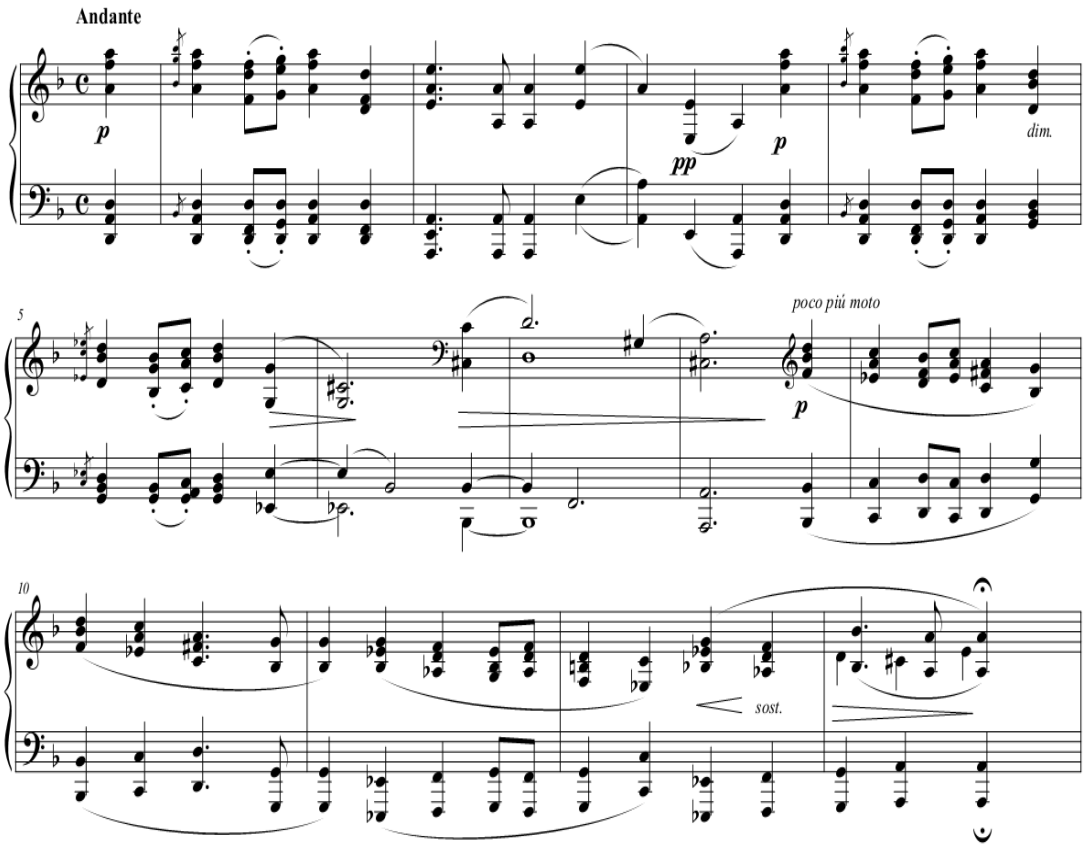
The Original version is:

Dein Schwert, wie ists von Blut so roth?
Edward, Edward!
Dein Schwert, wie ists von Blut so roth?
und gehst so traurig her?-O!
O ich hab geschlagen meinen Geyer todt,
Mutter, Mutter!
O ich hab geschlagen meinen Geyer todt,
Und keinten hab ich wie Er-O!

The original English translation is:

"Why dois your brand sae drap wi' bluid,
Edward, Edward?
Why dois your brand sae drap wi' bluid?
And why sae sad gang yee, O?"
"O, I hae killed my hauke sae guid,
Mither, Mither,
O, I hae killed my hauke sae guid,
And I had nae mair bot hee, O."[6]

[5] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 139.
[6] The English version is from; Albert Friedman, *The Penguin Book of Folk Ballades of the English-Speaking World* (New York: Penguin Books, 1956), 156-157.



Ex. 3.3, Brahms, Ballade, Op. 10, No. 1, bars 1-13
Parakilas (1992, p. 140)

Rawsthorne therefore uses the structure model of *GKW* in much the same way as Brahms used the song *Dein Schwert*. Rawsthorne seems to have not yet bought into Chopin's concept of the ballade and instead, consciously or subconsciously, follows Brahms's model. In this respect, Rawsthorne's first Ballade falls into the category of programmatic music. The first chapter of this thesis demonstrated that the text of *GKW* seems to suggest the musical ideas; again, a similar practice to that used in Brahms's Ballade. Parakilas points out:

> Even more striking than the way the melody fits the words, however, is the way the structure of that melody fits the structure of voices in the poem… Brahms took the poem as a structural model.[7]

[7] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 141-142.

Similarly, Rawsthorne's first Ballade also suggests a reliance on the borrowed text as a structural model. It, like *GKW*, consists of three parts, and the musical progression matches the structure of the lyrics. As table 3.1 suggests, Brahms's Ballade is much the same:

Musical Sections	**Corresponding Poetic Ideas**
Section A, bars, 1-26:	The Mother's questions and Edward's lies
Section B, bars, 27-59:	Edward's second lie, Edward revealing the truth
Section C, bars, 60-71:	The surprise revelation of the Mother's guilt and Edward's final revelation

Table 3.1, Parakilas (1992, p. 142-144)

The similarity between these two ballades extends also to their respective harmonic mode. As noted previously, the harmonic progression of Rawsthorne's first Ballade moves from G-sharp minor (slow section) to G major (fast section) and then to G-sharp minor (Tempo primo, recapitulation) accompanied by a hint of the major second section. Brahms's Ballade shares this harmonic progression but on different key. It starts in D minor (slow section) then moves to D major (fast section) and back to D minor (Tempo Primo, recapitulation). It therefore seems that Rawsthorne's first Ballade might owe more to Brahms than it does to Chopin because of this programme. The structure of the genre that he followed in his first Ballade suggests a programmatic Brahms-like ballade of which Chopin did not approve.[8]

[8] Samson, 'Extended Forms: the Ballades, Scherzos and Fantasies', 111.

3.2 Rawsthorne's 1967 Ballade

The second Ballade shows obvious signs of Rawsthorne's interest in Chopin's Ballades. This is not only because it was written shortly after his article, but also because in the programme note Rawsthorne points out:

> This composition consists of four sections and a coda. The opening is very quiet, and proceeds in the gently moving six-eight which Chopin has so irrevocably associated with a "narrative" style.[9]

In these opening sentences of the programme note, Rawsthorne demonstrates his intention, at least, to follow Chopin's narrative model of this genre. This time, in contrast to Rawsthorne's first Ballade, there is no programme, and the duration of this Ballade (12 minutes, 290 bars) is much more akin to that of Chopin's ballades (the longest of which – No. 4 – runs for 11:45 minutes, or 239 bars).[10] In this Ballade, he seems to modify the formal errors of his first Ballade, by avoiding programmatic material and writing a longer piece.

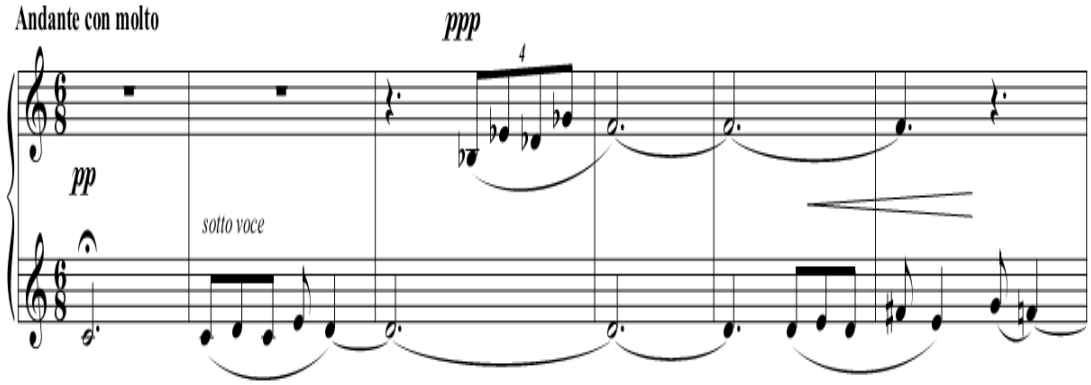
This study will now consider the elements already indentified from Rawsthorne's analysis of the ballades of Chopin. Thus, it will be possible to examine whether or not Rawsthorne uses in his second Ballade those elements that he believes are essential to Chopin's ballade genre. First, the discussion will focus on the ballade's ambiguity and then it will move on to consider the musical events in this work. After that, the unifying elements of the ballade will be addressed in order to demonstrate the mechanisms that hold this work together. Lastly, I will illustrate Rawsthorne's

[9] Alan Rawsthorne, Programme Note, 20 March 1967 (Wales: Cardiff Festival: Reardon Smith Lecture Theatre).
[10] Here I used both, durations and bar numbers, because the duration depends on performance and performers.

treatment of the coda section in relation to his own understanding of that of Chopin.

3.2.1. Ambiguity

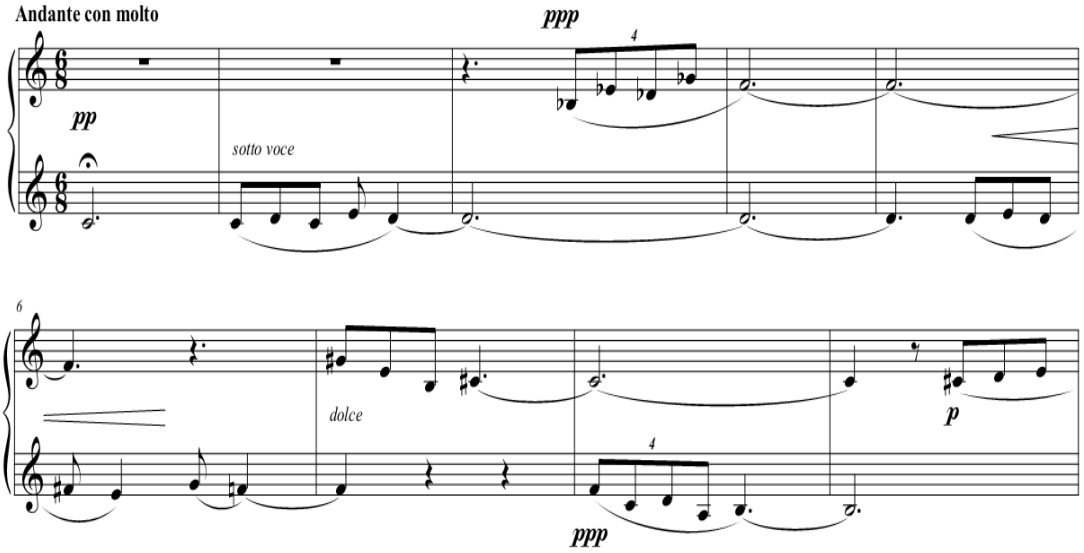
Rawsthorne explored many techniques in order to achieve the necessary degree of ambiguity. In his second Ballade, the introduction demonstrates both harmonic and metric ambiguity. It starts with a *fermata* on the first note C (Ex. 3.4). This use of *fermata* at the very beginning makes it hard for the listener to recognize the metre or even identify when the melody starts. This is similar to the opening of Chopin's fourth Ballade according to Rawsthorne's own analysis.[11] Furthermore, the tied notes provide even greater metric ambiguity:



Ex. 3.4, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 1-6

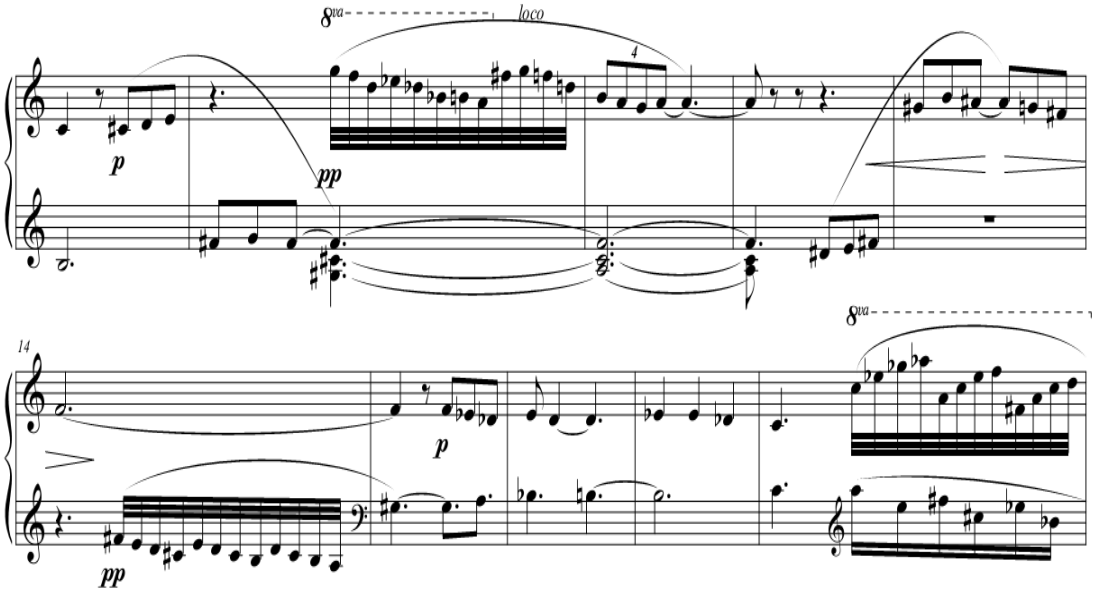
The second element of the introduction's ambiguity is harmonic in nature. A study of the first page of this Ballade demonstrates that it consists of three phrases that all ends on a C. Each phrase, however, is interrupted by accidentals. For example, the first phrase (Ex. 3.5) is interrupted in bar 3 with B, E, D and G all flattened:

[11] See section 2.2.1 (p. 104-106).



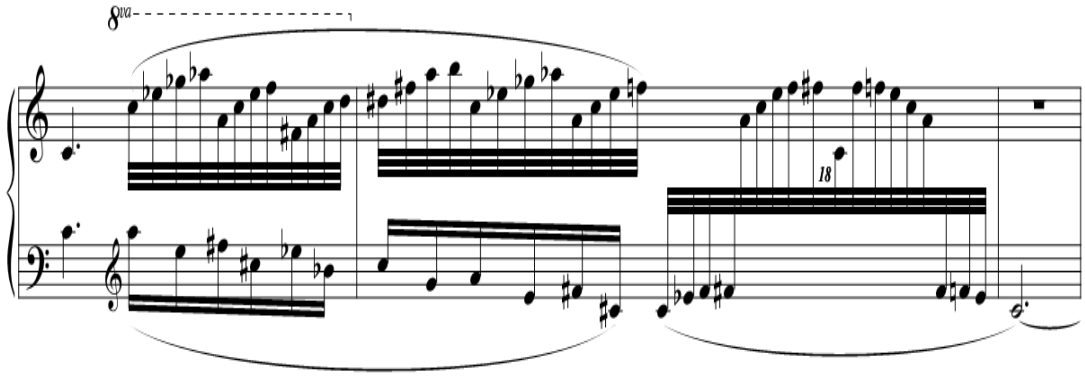
Ex 3.5, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 1-9

The first phrase ends on a C (bar 9), and the second phrase starts in the same bar with a C-sharp, another accidental. The second phrase undergoes greater interruption than the first, but again, eventually settles on a C bar 18, (Ex. 3.6):



Ex. 3.6, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 9-18

The last phrase of this introduction starts in the second half of the bar that ends the previous phrase (bar 18). It starts with a C in the right-hand, and then goes through many accidental notes before returning to settle on C (Ex. 3.7):



Ex. 3.7, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 18-20

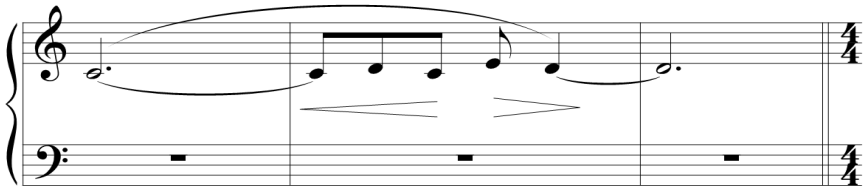
This dialogue between the C – as a tonal centre – and other accidental notes provides an ambiguous harmonic progression. Furthermore, these accidental notes might be described as anti-key material (present in Chopin's second Ballade as discussed earlier, section 2.2.1), which serves to interrupt the emphasis of the note C. Stephen Rees also notes that in Rawsthorne's music, especially during this period, "coloristic, decorative pitch figuration is set against a clear tonal implication".[12] This is precisely what Rawsthorne is applying in this Ballade's introduction, in order to add to its ambiguity and to reduce the clarity of its tonal centre.

3.2.2 Musical events

Rawsthorne described the sequence of musical events in the ballades of Chopin's as being "inevitable but not predictable"; an interpretation borrowed from Tovey as discussed in Chapter 2. It seems that Rawsthorne embrace this notion in the

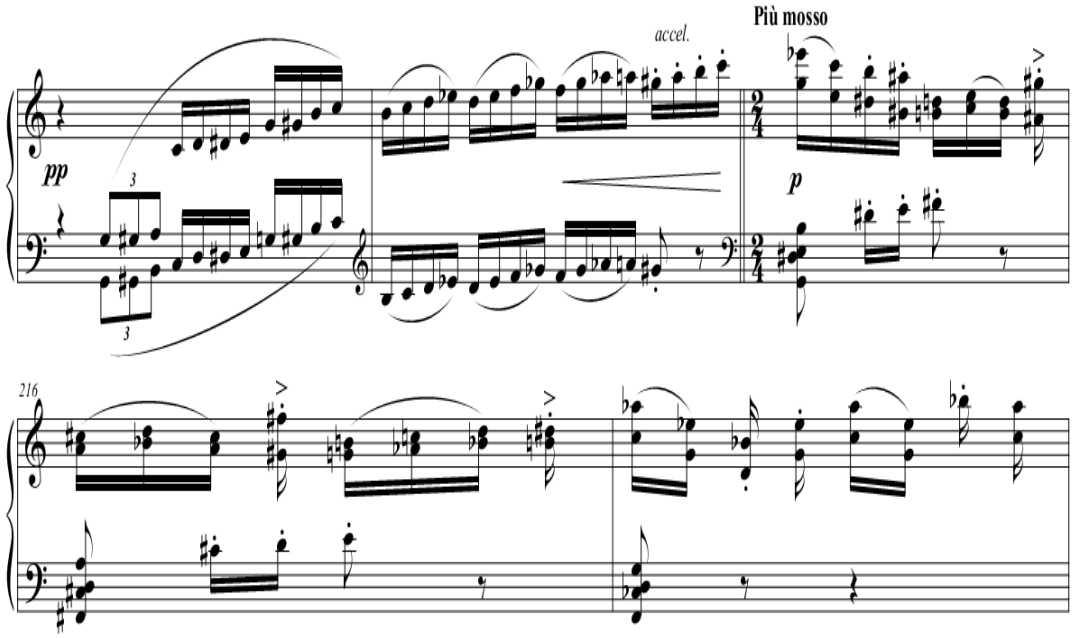
[12] Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne,* 87-90.

composition of his second Ballade. When the first theme reappears in bar 202, (Ex. 3.8), it seems to allude to the fast second theme, as in its first appearance in bar 38, and in a similar manner to Chopin's second Ballade:



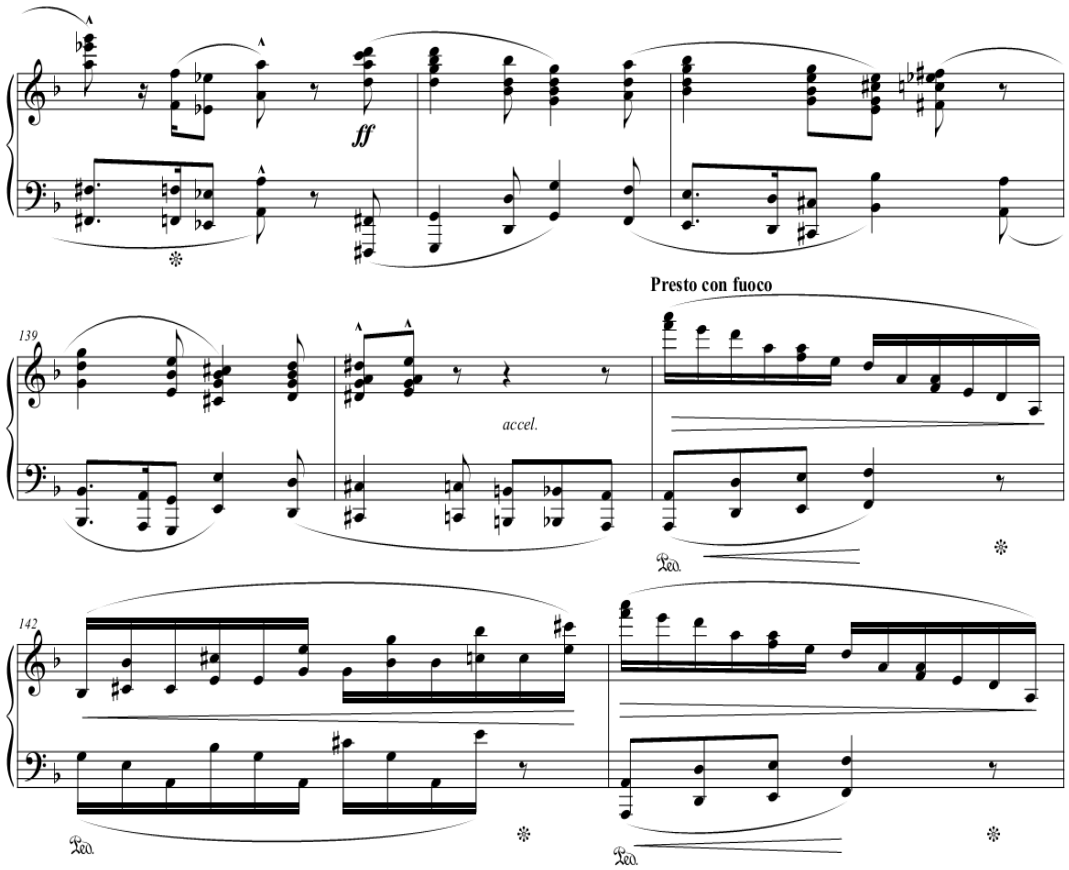
Ex. 3.8, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 202-204

However, inevitably, it leads us to the coda in bar 215, (Ex. 3.9):



Ex. 3.9, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 213-217

This does not sound predictable because, as in Chopin's second Ballade, it occurs at the point where the first theme reappears in bar 141 (Ex. 3.10) and concludes with an acceleration that leads to the second theme. However, after Rawsthorne's acceleration the listener is likely to be surprised by the appearance of the coda.



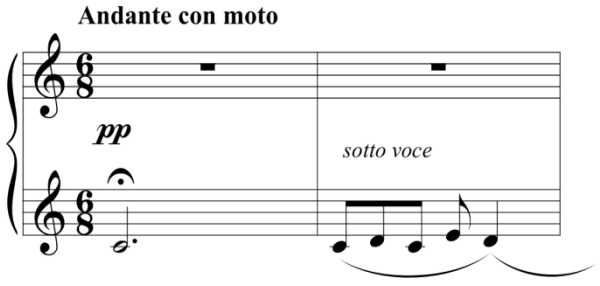
Ex. 3.10, Chopin's Second Ballade, bars 136-143

Additionally, after the reappearance of the first theme there is a change of time signature, which is associated with the second theme. It appears almost to announce the inevitable reappearance of the second theme. Perhaps if Rawsthorne wanted to present the second theme again this would be the perfect moment to place it. Instead the music carries on, with a new time signature, to introduce the coda, providing a great sense of continuity. As already pointed out in Chapter 2, this manner of continuity is also considered by Rawsthorne to be one of the essential compositional techniques in Chopin's third ballade, even though Rawsthorne achieves it here in a different way.

3.2.3 What holds the work together?

As already demonstrated, Chopin's ballades have unifying elements that holds the form of each ballade. Rawsthorne identified a series of such elements in Chopin's ballades. The first is the introduction and the recurring appearance of the first theme. Second, in Chopin's second Ballade, the first theme's rhythm (Ex. 2.8) seems to provide an unconscious rhythmic and melodic relationship, and is to be found almost everywhere in the work. One of the third Ballade's unifying elements is the two-note motif that permeates the whole work (Ex. 2.15). In Chopin's fourth Ballade, the variation structure and the relationship between the introduction and the main theme lend a degree of unity to the overall framework. The fourth Ballade also contains a four-note figure (Ex. 2.16) that is present in all of the themes of the work and thus provides unity.

In a similar manner to that of Chopin, Rawsthorne chose a four-note figure to build his second Ballade, (Ex. 3.11):



Ex. 3.11, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 1-2

In the programme note that accompanied the premier of this piece, Rawsthorne explains that this Ballade "is based upon a four-note figure whose influence is to be

felt throughout the piece".[13] It is evident, then, that Rawsthorne, in a manner reminiscent of Chopin, decided to choose a short motif and to build his second Ballade around it. He succeeded. The chosen figure therefore provides a sense of unity and cohesion to the Ballade as it pervades the whole work. Also like Chopin's third Ballade, the figure chosen by Rawsthorne is a double falling second; a reminder of Chopin's single falling second figure, discussed in Chapter 2 (Ex. 2.15). In order to illustrate the mechanism of Rawsthorne's four-note figure in unifying his Ballade, its use and development throughout the work will now be considered.

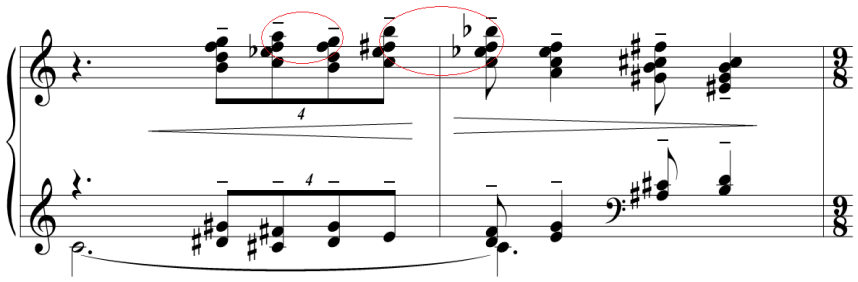
Rawsthorne's second Ballade consists of four sections, a coda and what I here describe as 'a reminder'.[14] The structure is shown in table 3.2:

Section 1	**Andante con moto**	**Bars 1-37**
Section 2	**Allegro furioso**	**Bars 38-147**
Section 3	**Andante (come 1)**	**Bars 148-170**
Section 4	**Un poco piu vivace**	**Bars 171-214**
Coda	**Piu mosso**	**Bars 215-274**
Reminder	**Poco meno mosso e piu tranquillo**	**Bars 275-290**

Table 3.2

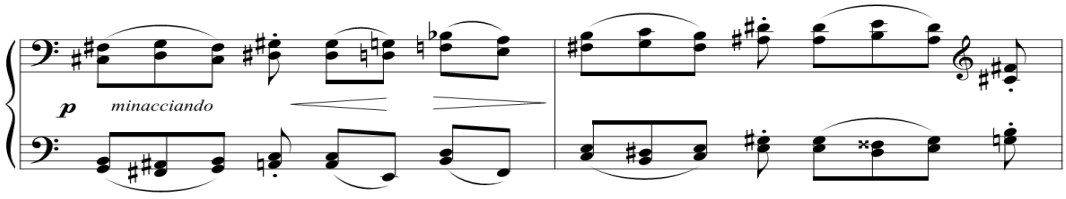
The first section begins by introducing the four-note figure, which then develops from bar 24, and although it transforms into very dissonant chords, it can still be heard in the top notes, (Ex. 3.12, in the circles):

[13] Rawsthorne, Programme Note, 20 March 1967.
[14] I called this last short section a 'reminder' because Rawsthorne also called the same section in Chopin's second Ballade a 'reminder'; Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 53.



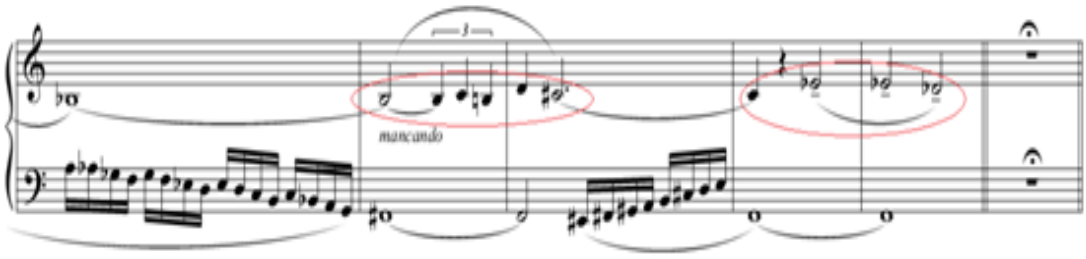
Ex. 3.12, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 24-25

The first section also finishes with a 'dying away' version of the same motif but this time it is taken up by the left-hand. The second section starts aggressively, and interrupts the four-note figure, thus providing a sense of rejection of this theme. However, as soon as this section is established, another version of the same theme appears (Ex. 3.13):



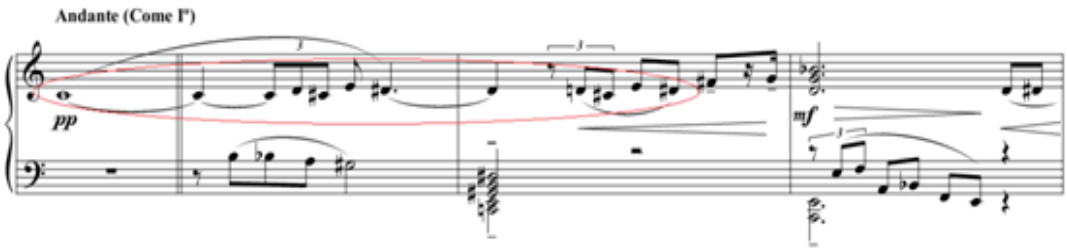
Ex. 3.13, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 43-44

This reappearance of the motif within the second fast section seems to establish its importance, and makes its reappearance appear more inevitable to the listener. This section is also closes with the same motif (Ex. 3.14, in the circles):



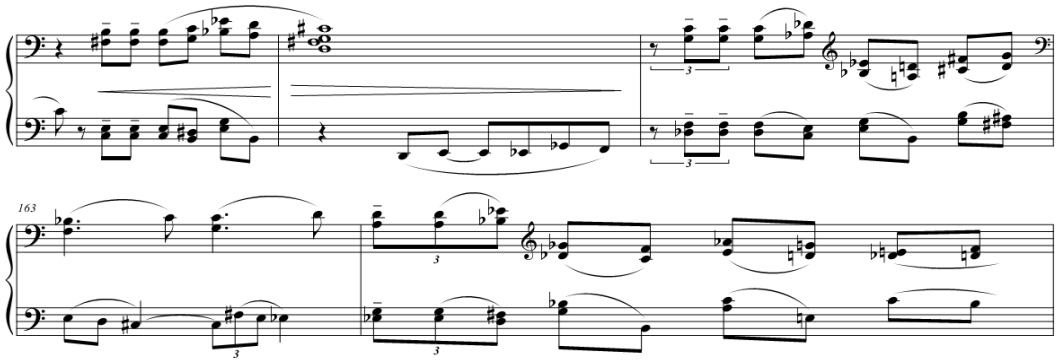
Ex. 3.14, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 142-147

As soon as the second section is closes, the third section takes up the motif again, starting on a C (Ex. 3.15, in the circle):



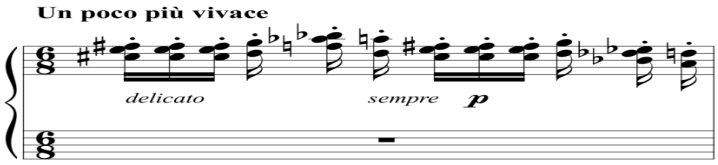
Ex. 3.15, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 148-151

This technique is similar to Chopin's use of tonality conflict in his second Ballade. In it, the first section starts on F major tonality moving to the fast A minor section and returns again to the same tempo and the same tonality. Here Rawsthorne adopts the same approach. After the fast section, the music does not behave predictably; the Andante section is shorter – as in Chopin's second Ballade (bars 83-95) – and, when the first theme returns in Chopin's second Ballade (bar 83), it is then interrupted by a "deceptive cadence" (bar 96) which still explores the same motif. Rawsthorne also interrupts the reappearance of the Andante section by introducing a strange version of the main motif, this time with new harmonies (Ex. 3.16):



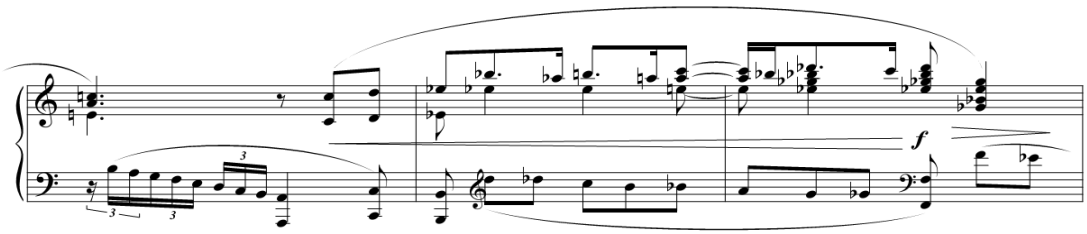
Ex. 3.16, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 160-164

The end of this section leads to the fourth section (starting in bar 171), which also presents a new variation of the key motif. During this variation, the four-note figure seems to be stretched, taking on a more rhythmic character (Ex. 3.17):



Ex. 3.17, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bar 171

Rawsthorne keeps extending the motif until it fills almost two and half bars (Ex. 3.18):



Ex. 3.18, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 194-196

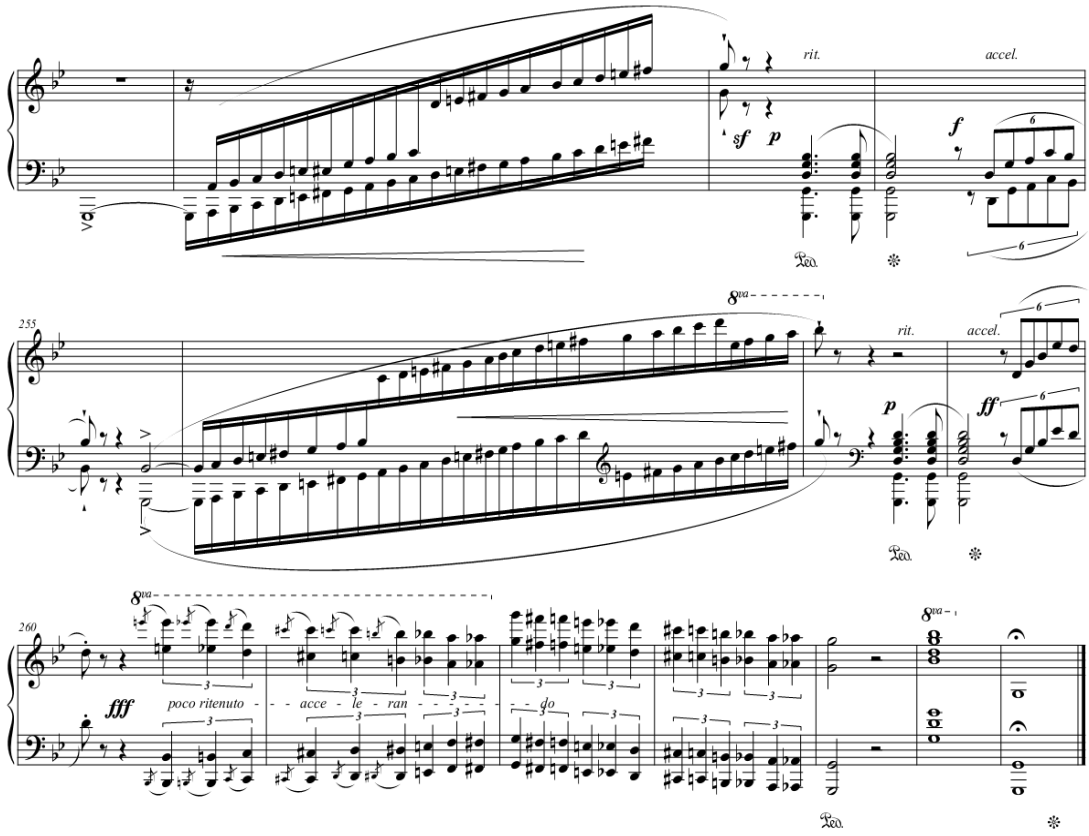
This section is concluded by a reappearance of the first version of the main motif at the end of the section. This time Rawsthorne echoes the motif's first appearance through use of the same dialogic character. This *pp* section is soon interrupted by extremely dissonant *ffz* intervals (bars 211-212), which are then followed by an ascending scale that leads to the coda in bar 215.

Like his understanding to Chopin's ballades, Rawsthorne uses a particular motif to give unity to the whole work. This four-note figure is clearly spread through all four sections of this Ballade, where it undergoes transformation, emerging as a different variation in every section. This builds up the music and the tension, and at the same time holds the work together. In this way, this Ballade firmly resembles Chopin's ballade, particularly through the unifying elements; first, the use of a specific motif similar to Chopin's second Ballade; second, the manner of variation that Chopin used in his fourth Ballade; third, the way Chopin transforms and uses the first

theme in his first Ballade is applied to Rawsthorne's transformation of the motif throughout the piece. Rawsthorne's second Ballade clearly draws on compositional techniques identified in Rawsthorne's analysis of all four of Chopin's ballades.

3.2.4 The coda and the ending

In his coda, Rawsthorne again relies on a technique displayed by Chopin in his ballades; it too has no thematic connection with the previous material.[15] The coda is technically challenging like those of Chopin's first, second and fourth Ballades. Chopin's influence on Rawsthorne can be seen clearly in the last few bars of the coda (Ex. 3.19):



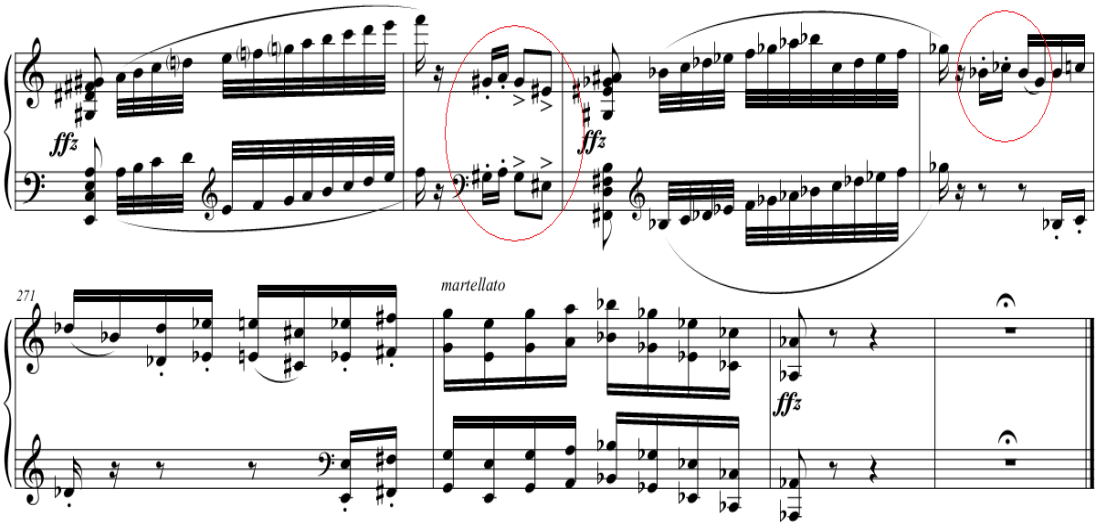
Ex. 3.19, Chopin's First Ballade, bars 250-264

[15] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 48.

Chopin finishes his first Ballade with two ascending scales that are separated by a hint of the main melody. Rawsthorne points out:

> This coda [First Ballade], as is often the case in his [Chopin's] works, has no thematic connexion with preceding material, except for a faint hint at the very end.[16]

This hint is to be found in bars 253 and 257, in which the music recalls the first theme and its transformation (as in Chopin's first ballade, example 2.6, which has already been discussed). Chopin then concludes with a descending chromatic scale in octaves, about which Rawsthorne says "nothing could be more conclusive".[17] Rawsthorne – perhaps unsurprisingly – ends his second Ballade in a similar way, using two descending scales separated by a hint of the four-note figure (Ex. 3.20):



Ex. 3.20, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 267-274

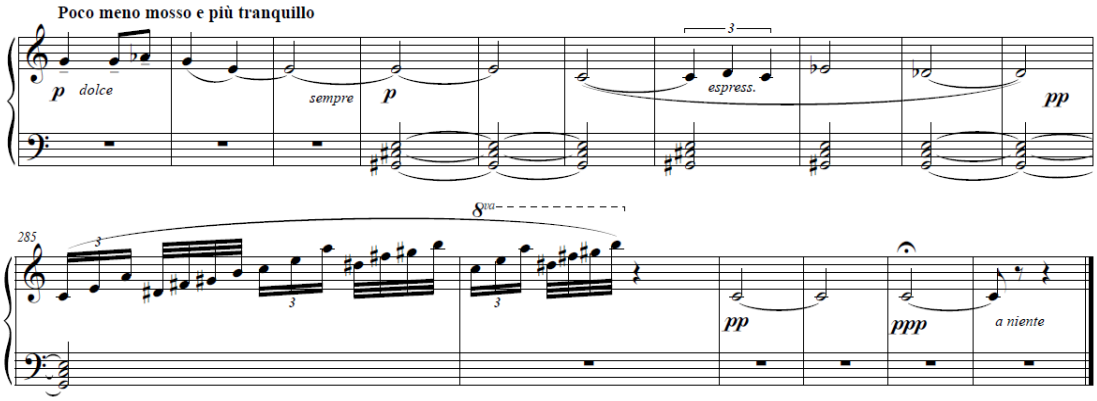
He then continues to close with a descending scale in octaves, marked with an aggressive *ffz* dynamic.[18] However, because Rawsthorne also appreciated Chopin's way of closing his second Ballade, he did not seem completely satisfied with this

[16] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 48.
[17] *Ibid*., 49.
[18] Rees also commented on the similar use of the descending octave's scale; Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne*, 6-8.

ending and thus added the last section which I have labelled 'a reminder', a name inspired by Rawsthorne's writings:

> With one of Chopin's most magical touches [he close with] a whispered reminder of the very opening and a slow full close that 'vibrates in the memory'.[19]

Therefore, after an aggressive closing section, similar to Chopin's first Ballade, Rawsthorne adds an additional 16 bars (Ex. 3.21), to present a reminder of the first part of this journey in a last short section.[20]



Ex. 3.21, Rawsthorne's Second Ballade, bars 275-290

This coda is a striking example of Chopin's influence on Rawsthorne. Whether consciously or subconsciously, Rawsthorne uses compositional devices almost identical to those found in Rawsthorne's analysis of Chopin's ballades. Indeed, Rawsthorne integrated the concept of both the first and the second codas of Chopin's ballades in the writing of his own coda. However, Rawsthorne's Ballade ends with a C, the principal note of the work, which is unlike Chopin's second Ballade in which the reminder section ends with the second fast theme in A minor

[19] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 53.
[20] Rees also highlighted this point in comparison with Chopin; Rees, *The Piano works of Alan Rawsthorne,* 17.

instead of F major, suggesting more of a dramatic closing rather than Rawsthorne's optimist end.

3.3 Conclusion

From the previous discussion, it is evident that Rawsthorne's second Ballade takes Chopin's ballade form as a model. Similarly to Chopin, Rawsthorne starts this Ballade with an ambiguous introduction, in terms of harmony and in the sense of metre. Although C is the central melodic focus, Rawsthorne concealed this with the addition of accidentals, which introduce strange harmonies, but always returning to C.

Like Chopin, Rawsthorne also constructs the musical events with both inevitability and surprise in mind, providing the natural unfolding quality that is also associated with Chopin's ballade genre according to Rawsthorne's understanding of it. Furthermore, Rawsthorne chooses a motif and uses it to build the ballade structure; a technique that he admired in Chopin's ballades. He transforms this chosen motif in every section of his work, demonstrating not only his development technique, but also an appreciation of the variation structure of Chopin's fourth Ballade. Rawsthorne's decision to present the coda instead of recalling the second theme provides a sense of continuity, and is also to be found in Chopin's third Ballade as examined.

As a result, this Ballade – written after Rawsthorne published his article on Chopin – reflects his understanding of Chopin's ballade form in almost every respect.

Rawsthorne's decision not to use a programme material in his second Ballade perhaps shows a greater understanding of Chopin's concept of the ballade than was evident in Rawsthorne's first Ballade. Although Rawsthorne gave his first Ballade a programme – making it bears more of a resemblance to Brahms's *Edward* Ballade (Op. 10) – it still shows some elements of resemblance to Chopin's ballade form. In both ballades, Rawsthorne chooses a specific motif that pervades the whole work. More significantly, both Rawsthorne's ballades have home key that are always interrupted by anti-key material. Thus, there is a conflict between the G-sharp minor and G major in the first Ballade, which ends with the triumph of the G-sharp minor but with an echo left because of the G major (middle section) interruption. In the second Ballade, there is also a conflict between the home key C and the accidentals that always act in opposition, and which also end with C. This conflict to establish a tonal centrality and to fight all the obstacles to appear in the end is the key to understand the socio-political voice in these works which I present in the final chapter.

Chapter IV

Chapter 4: The Ballade: A non-nationalist voice searching for universal freedom

Introduction

This chapter seeks to identify the socio-political voice in the piano ballades that Chopin composed between June 1836 and November 1843, and across his concept of the genre as a whole.[1] I will examine the ability of this genre to provide a musical narrative that represents a departure from national freedom to a broader one. Accordingly, I will then present Rawsthorne's special re-articulation of this Romantic musical form as a reaction to his time and place.

The chapter begins by discussing the extent to which Chopin attempted to imbue his music with a sense of nationalism. Unlike his overtly nationalist music, Chopin's ballades demonstrate the capacity to represent both nationalist and non-nationalist voice. For this, I will explain the circumstances of the appearance of the piano ballade genre. First, music as a narrative art form will be highlighted along with the popularity of the literary ballad genre during the nineteenth century. Second, I present Chopin's concept of the ballade genre, which he derived from Mickiewicz's description. It seems that, by adopting Mickiewicz's approach, Chopin was able to achieve a distinctive narrative quality in his piano ballades; one that represents not simply a nationalist voice, but a nationalist and a non-nationalist one.

In this respect, Chopin's ballade genre presents a paradox. These paradoxical – nationalist and non-nationalist – voices will be interpreted in relation to the

[1] Maurice Brown, *Chopin: An Index of his Works in Chronological Order* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1960), 165-166.

previous chapter's musical analysis. The search for tonality in Chopin's ballades and Rawsthorne's first Ballade, and the search for tonal centrality in Rawsthorne's second Ballade – according to the second and third chapters – will represent a non-nationalist voice searching for freedom.

Then, I will present Rawsthorne's modernist attitude towards the socio-political landscape of the twentieth century. I will look particularly in Britain, and the multicultural society that need for multi-national voices to support a healthy co-existence of people. Accordingly, it seems that the ballade is Chopin's 'storyless'[2] narrative genre that speaks with a non-nationalist voice through its ability to represent different national voices. Furthermore, Rawsthorne's ballades – especially his second – can, against a backdrop of great socio-political uncertainty, be analysed as a piece that represent these ideas. Rawsthorne's second ballade – a conversation with Chopin – demonstrates a special approach to this heroic genre, one that departs from national or even European narratives and aims at a more universal message about human dignity and freedom.

4.1 The national music of Chopin: The voice of the Poles

The growth of interest in the idea of music as a narrative art emerged simultaneously with the word nationalism, which was of "special political significance".[3] Nationalism had influenced the Romantic generation to write music

[2] 'Storyless' is a term that I will be using to illustrate Chopin's invention of the instrumental Ballade form for having a story line that tells no specific story. It is like having an empty notebook between the hands of a writer or a blank sheet of music in the hands of a composer, so they starts to fill these empty lines, each one, according to his own experience and desire.
[3] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 42.

that embraced a national spirit. Works like Chopin's Polonaises and Mazurkas, Liszt's Hungarian dances, and the Slavonic dances of Dvorak are just some examples.

Around 1830, the term nationalism reflected, within Europe, the spirit of each nation and the individuality of that nation's culture. Johann Gottfried Herder, a German thinker, declared late in the eighteenth century that "nationality could not come into existence without language".[4] During the same socio-political climate, Chopin set music to a patriotic Polish text during a war time in his country. Through his songs, Chopin expressed the spirit of his own people, in which – as we will see later – he was considered to be Poland's national composer. Even so, Chopin – who lived in Paris from 1831 until his death in 1849 – had never written music to accompany French text, which by all accounts was "a language he had learned as a child and spoke fluently".[5] Such a decision demonstrates Chopin's desire to represent only the Polish spirit in his music in this period.

Chopin's passion for composing national music was demonstrated in a letter to his friend Tytus, dated 25 December 1831, in which he wrote: "You know how I have longed to feel our national music, and to some extent have succeeded in feeling it".[6] Jim Samson also claimed that Romantic nationalism "played a part in shaping Chopin's understanding of what he, himself, called 'our national music'".[7] Unlike his deliberately national music, as I will argue later in this chapter, Chopin did not

[4] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 24.
[5] *Ibid*., 22.
[6] Chopin, *Chopin's Letters*, 166.
[7] Jim Samson, *The Master Musicians: Chopin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 56.

intend to particularize the voice of his ballades. Chopin instead created a form capable of nationalist and non-nationalist representations simultaneously.

Chopin's earlier attempt to compose Polish national music can easily be traced through the chronological development of his compositions. He started his career as a composer in 1817 with works in two famous Polish genres; the Polonaise and the Mazurka.[8] This has led many scholars to regard Chopin as a primarily Polish patriot. Given the fast increase in such patriotic considerations by scholars, Tad Szulc pointed out that by approximately 1830-1831 (around the time of the November-Uprising):

> Chopin was already regarded … as something of a national hero and his Polonaises and Mazurkas were perceived as expressions of patriotism at a time when it was vital to keep the national culture alive.[9]

The pianist Wilhelm von Lenz, a pupil of Chopin's, described his teacher's devotion to Poland. Lenz said "Chopin … represented Poland … [he] was the only political pianist … he incarnated Poland, he put Poland to music".[10] Commenting more specifically about the Polishness in Chopin's Polonaises and Mazurkas, Szulc points out that:

> [They] were his way of expressing his Polishness, Polish sentimentality, and devotion to Polish independence; they were the only genre Chopin composed uninterruptedly throughout his life.[11]

[8] Brown, *Chopin: An Index of his Works*, 1.
[9] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 97.
[10] *Ibid*., 115.
[11] *Ibid*.

Jeffrey Kallberg argued that the Polonaises and the Mazurkas were Chopin's national genres. He also noted that the Mazurkas, especially those composed throughout the 1830s and 1840s, left a deeper impression on the nationalist critics.

Chopin's success in composing national music was reflected in critics' reviews of his works. Kallberg examined Polish, French and German critics' responses to Chopin's Mazurkas, noting firstly the comments in the Polish press after Chopin's performances in March 1830 of his F minor Piano Concerto (Op. 21), including a Mazurka finale:

> It is also pleasing to the Polish people when reflecting on such a magnificent talent, nay even genius, to remember that in the greater part of his compositions as well as in his performance the spirit of the nation was evident …
>
> The land which has given him life by its songs has influences the character of his music. This is evident in the works of this artist where the sound of many of his melodies seems to be a joyful echo of our native harmony. The simple mazurka becomes transformed at his touch while it still preserves its own peculiar flavor and accent. To capture the charming simplicity of such native refrains as Chopin does with his exquisite playing and brilliant composition, one has to have certain sensitivity to the music of our fields and woodlands and the songs of the Polish peasant …
>
> Our native songs which appear in his works, far from making them tiresome, serve as an ingenious background of ideas … they have this common trait, that they all strive to bring forth their own stamp of individuality as well as that of the nation which influenced their character.[12]

This is why Chopin was already regarded as a national hero by that time. It is clear from these reviews that Chopin's music, especially the Mazurkas, made a great impact on the Polish audience. As pointed out in one of the reviews, this "stamp of

[12] Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Hearing Poland: Chopin and Nationalism', in Larry Todd, (ed.) *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (London: Routledge, 2004), 246.

individuality" in Chopin's music seemed somehow to fulfill the needs of Polish audience influenced by Romantic nationalism, and quick to indulge in nostalgia relating to their national identity, particularly during a time of war. Audiences heard the Mazurkas as the voice of Poland's distinctive spirit, at the same time when this trend was perhaps at its strongest, and when their national identity was threatened by war.

The very same concert also left an impression on other European audiences. Although Chopin's Mazurkas sounded distinctly Polish to them, the music provided a sense of the peculiar. The following examples are excerpts from contemporary European reviews:

Hector Berlioz, 1833:

> His melodies, all impregnated with Polish elements, have something naively untamed about them that charms and captivates by its very strangeness.[13]

German periodical, 1833:

> He who is more intimately acquainted with charming, and, in this genre, particularly inimitable dance of Poland, he who is aware of how the dancing pair knows gracefully and securely how to adapt to each altered accent, will know how to appreciate the piquancy of the peculiar rhythm in the mazurkas … It extends a special spirit of sadness through the often singularly accentuated desire to dance, like a deep and secretly sighing power that governs only more uncannily through the great contrast.[14]

and a French newspaper, 1834:

> M. Chopin has acquired a quite special reputation for the spiritual and profoundly artistic manner in which he handles the national music of Poland, a genre of music that still remains very little to us … The true Polish mazurka,

[13] Kallberg, 'Hearing Poland', 248.
[14] *Ibid*.

> such as M. Chopin reproduces for us here, carries so particular a character, and at the same time adapts with such advantage to the expression of a sombre melancholy as well as to that of an eccentric joy-it is suitable as much to love songs as to war songs-that it seem to us preferable to many other musical forms.[15]

Kallberg points out that, although foreign critics heard Chopin's mazurkas as Polish national music, they also added terms like 'strangeness', 'peculiarity', 'singularity', 'uncanniness', and 'eccentricity' to their comments. The nature of this reception is unsurprising given the unfamiliarity of this new genre. To non-Polish European citizens, the Mazurka was a peculiar title, a new genre, written by a Polish composer and emerging from a country in the midst of war. In the throes of nationalist fever that war-time is known to elicit, the title Mazurka would have seemed particularly alien to German or French listeners but, as Harry Hearder suggested, would also serve to motivate a nation like Poland.[16] Hearder argues that the impact of nationalism was stronger on those, perhaps like Chopin, who were resident in struggling nations. Hearder argues that in order to achieve a coherent national movement some elements must be realized: racial consciousness or illusions, language, culture, religion, geography or any combination thereof. He adds "where all five elements coincided – as in Italy, Ireland and Poland – strong and ultimately successful nationalist movements developed.[17] This almost inevitable stimulation and focusing of the Polish national consciousness thus played a significant part in framing Mazurkas as a 'voice' of the Polish people.

[15] Kallberg, 'Hearing Poland', 248.
[16] Harry Hearder, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century 1830-1880* (London: Longman, 1966), 42.
[17] *Ibid*.

The Mazurka represents Polish individuals because it emanated from the Polish culture. Its title, the patriotic exiled composer, and the Romantic nationalistic trend were fundamental reasons for such reception. The Mazurka represents the Polish culture, not Europe as a whole, thus, European critics tended to refer to Mazurkas as Polish national music – added terms like 'strangeness', 'peculiarity', 'singularity', 'uncanniness', and 'eccentricity' to their comments – because they were aliens to them, and did not represent, for example, the German or the French individual.

The Mazurka in this context seems to suggest a political message that expressed Chopin's feeling of protest and rage against the enemy. Schumann wrote:

> If the powerful ruling monarch in the north [the Russian Tsar] knew what a dangerous foe threatens him in Chopin's works – in the simple melodies of his mazurkas – he would have forbidden this music … Chopin's music are cannon[s] concealed among flowers.[18]

In his Mazurkas, Chopin was able to attract the attention of audiences (both Polish and European) and drew them into conscious engagement with his music. In his version of this Polish genre, Chopin achieved what Schumann once suggested: "Listen closely to folk songs; they are an inexhaustible mine of the most beautiful melodies and will give you a glimpse into the character of different nations".[19] The Mazurkas succeeded in representing the Polish nation's character, and the European responses are crucial evidence.

There seems to be little doubt that Chopin's Mazurkas, Polonaises and also Polish songs reflected somehow the trend of Romantic nationalism. Chopin was born at a

[18] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 97-98.
[19] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 3*, 345.

time when Herder's ideas of nationalism were widely adopted in Europe, especially in Central and Eastern Europe.[20] It seems likely, given the prevailing sense of Romantic nationalism, Poland's socio-political situation, and Chopin's desire to feel the Polish national music that he was inspired to start his career with Polish genres, setting famous Polish patriotic texts to music and adopting Polish dance genres for his piano music. As already mentioned in the first chapter, Chopin often spoke of his sense of helplessness when it came to defence of his country: "I am here inactive, with bare hands, sometimes sighing … I suffer at the piano".[21] His music, therefore, became the primary outlet through which he could channel his frustrations and patriotic feelings, and allowed him to somehow compensate for a sense of guilt toward his beloved country.

4.2 Nationalism as a European entity

Let us now turn to a broader importance of Romantic nationalism. Taruskin argued that:

> By the middle of the nineteenth century their effort [the German philosophers] had been duplicated in almost every European country … [which] enhanced the national consciousness of all peoples.[22]

These philosophical ideas, which were spreading rapidly all over Europe, provided a subconscious inspiration for a European entity. The development of nationalism was a continuation of its expansion on the continent. Parakilas felt that although nationalism aimed to particularize each nation according to their language,

[20] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 24.
[21] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 47.
[22] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, *Vol*. 3, 121.

tradition, and custom as a term of identification, paradoxically and unintentionally it worked perfectly together with the opposite idea of a European entity.[23]

The fundamental difference between these two ideas is the place of the individual within them. In terms of a specific nation, the individual represents a single part of the whole country. However, in the case of European entity, any individual from the continent represents a single part of the whole European body. This is similar to the paradoxical relationship between Chopin's nationalist music and his ballade. In the former, an individual Polish citizen is a single part of this nationalist music, and thus of Poland. In the latter, however, the same Polish individual appears as a single part of the whole European continent. This dual nature of the individual's role within both smaller and larger wholes is strikingly Herderian. Barenboim pointed out:

> It is necessary for the human being to contribute to society in a very individual way; this makes the whole much larger than the sum of its parts. Individuality and collectivism need not to be mutually exclusive; in fact, together they are capable of enhancing human existence.[24]

Barenboim's comment demonstrates how notions of individuality and collectivism are relevant and important to each other, whether on a national or global basis. The case is the same with Romantic nationalism; a European nationalism can only be achieved through adoption of nationalism at an individual level.

The nineteenth-century nationalism – along whose lines nations were divided according to their languages – worked in parallel with the paradoxical idea of a

[23] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 24.
[24] Barenboim, *Everything is Connected,* 11.

European entity. It strengthened the whole more than the parts, and removed boundaries rather than installing them.

Turning back to Rawsthorne, he rarely wrote any musical pieces that show him as an English patriot composer. Constant Lambert noted that "the only thing which Rawsthorne shares with the '20s is a freedom from any of the traditional English influences".[25] As mentioned in the first chapter, Rawsthorne's socio-political participations were always underpinned by a universal message about human freedom, dignity, and equality rather than a nationalist desire. He was not an English individual but more of a non-nationalist one. His voice is to be found in many topics which demonstrate his universality rather than his English individuality. Rawsthorne was a political man, deeply committed to human dignity and even human rights, and this contributed in some way to his own special recreation of the ballade form as we will see later.

I will now move from Chopin's national genres to the ballade. I will argue the qualities that made this genre, one that departs from national narratives and aims at a broader message about freedom.

4.3 The ballade genre: A non-nationalist voice

Chopin's Mazurkas and Polonaises represented the Polish spirit, emanating as they did from the geographical and cultural heart of Poland. Yet, Chopin's ballades, in

[25] Constant Lambert, 'The Young English Composers: IV. Alan Rawsthorne', in Simon Wright (ed.), *The Creel*, Vol. 5 (19), 2005/6, 20.

contrast, seem to represent a European form of nationalism.[26] The widespread dissemination and popular adoption of the literary ballad genre throughout Europe, gave this genre, "no matter what model Chopin had in mind", the opportunity to represent the continent as a whole.[27]

In this section I will examine the qualities that made Chopin's ballade distinctly a European form. Three points are considered. The first is the growth in the idea of music as a narrative art form. This focuses on the connection between music and literature. The second is the popularity of the literary ballad during Chopin's time. It demonstrates the importance of this genre and presents some European imitations. The third is Chopin's concept of the genre. Here I will argue Chopin's desire not to particularize his ballades, but generalize them.

4.3.1 Music and narrativity

Many authors have noted that the perception of music as language and narrative art has existed since at least the sixteenth century.[28] Composers, consciously or subconsciously, are familiar with the idea of expressing particular emotions, colours, characters, and stories through their music.[29] Bellman wrote:

> Descriptive and narrative strategies in instrumental music date back at least to the later Renaissance, when depictions of battles and other phenomena (e.g., "The Fall of the Leafe," by Martin Peerson [c. 1572-1651] enjoyed a certain popularity).[30]

[26] Parakilas, *Ballades without Words*, 23.
[27] *Ibid*.
[28] Chen, *Narrative in the Ballades*, 12.
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 35.

Further attempts to solidify the notion of music as a work of literature or philosophy were made during the so-called *Empfindsamkeit*[31] (sentimentality) and *Sturm und Drang* movements in the 1760s and 1770s Germany.[32] This was a reaction to eighteenth-century expressive and freedom theories of philosophers like Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Hegel. Taylor notes that:

> It is in this period that art came to be considered for the first time the highest human activity and fulfillment, a conception which has had a large part in the making of contemporary civilization.[33]

Given the vast increase in ideas of national identity and cultural belonging, music seemed to represent an important part in that culture and thus was considered significant.

Later, the connection between music and narrative arts became more obvious, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was clear that composers were influenced by poetry and literature: Beethoven was influenced by Schiller's lied; Schumann by the novels of Jean Paul; Berlioz by the Romantic thrillers of Hugo, Byron's plays and the works of Shakespeare; Liszt was inspired by Goethe, Dante, Shakespeare, Schiller, Tasso, and Hugo, as well as the paintings of Wilhelm Kaulbach.[34]

[31] Emphasizes on the expression of contrasting emotions; Chen, *Narrative in the Ballades*, 2.
[32] *Ibid*.
[33] Taylor, *Hegel and Modern Society*, 2.
[34] Chen, *Narrative in the Ballades*, 4.

This was, as Szulc points out, essential to Romanticism:

> The Romance Fryderyk Chopin found in Paris was also history in the making and soon he, too, became part of it. This was a time in Europe when art and politics-and culture and history-influenced and redefined each other in an unprecedented fashion … it was the crucible of the Romantic Age.[35]

This tendency towards words, poems or the so-called narrative art forms was not a sudden trend. It had started much earlier, but had been spreading rapidly across Europe during this period.

Bellman argued that there was a substantial increase in the interest in narrative art.[36] He suggests that, during the nineteenth century, the art of composing a genre associated with narrativity was not surprising but "well established".[37] Parakilas goes even further and claimed that the appearance of the piano ballade genre was something inevitable.[38] In the next section I will examine this argument.

4.3.2 The inevitability of the piano ballade form

The ballad appeared in the late middle ages in different parts of Europe as a vocal genre based on its earlier origin in the medieval literary ballad.[39] The genre had became less popular by the end of the fifteenth century, except in Britain and Scandinavia where it attracted the attention of many poets.[40] A hoax version, by James McPherson (*Ossian* poetry of 1760), tapped into the spirit of the times, and

[35] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 50.
[36] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 35.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] Parakilas, *Ballades without Words*, 20.
[39] Chris Baldick, *Oxford: Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 32; Michael Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy, *Oxford: Concise Dictionary of Music*, 43.
[40] Peter Davies and Alison Bullock 'ballade.' in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, Alison Latham. (ed.) *Oxford Music Online*, Available at: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e551 (accessed 1-12-2011).

gained international fame.[41] A further example of the popularity of the ballad during this time is Percy's *ballad reliques* of 1765, which was also inspired by Macpherson's hoax version.[42]

By the end of the eighteenth century, Herder, in a single collection, had circulated English and other folk ballads from all over Europe.[43] His ballads played a major role in inspiring European poets to create their own versions, primarily through imitation of these 'borrowed' ballads. As Parakilas noted:

> Already by Chopin's time, some of the most celebrated ballad texts, along with the term "ballad" itself, had been made known throughout Europe, and the people of almost every European nation were discovering that they possessed a national repertory of ballads, a possession that distinctively expressed their national history and character at the same time that it bound them to a European culture too deep to be touched by political circumstances.[44]

Parakilas admitted that by Chopin's time the ballad was already a very important literary genre, and not just to a specific nation, but also to a greater European audience. Bellman agrees:

> By the time Chopin was composing his Ballade no. 1 in G minor, op. 23 … the idea of instrumental music that told or evoke a story was well established.[45]

Further examples of the popularity of the ballad were the *lyrical ballads* published by William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1798[46] (in the English speaking world) and, more pertinently for Chopin at the time, Mickiewicz's *balady i romanse*, published in 1822.

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[41] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 25.
[42] Albert Friedman, *The Ballad Revival: Studies in the Influence of Popular on Sophisticated Poetry* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 199.
[43] Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music, Vol. 3*, 120-123.
[44] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 25-26.
[45] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 35.
[46] Howard Goodall, *The Story of Music* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2013), 132.

Chopin had owned a copy of Mickiewicz's ballad since he was sixteen.[47] By the time Chopin published his piano ballade, most European nations already had some sort of national repertoire of this genre, even if only because of the imitations mentioned earlier. Chopin thus chose a popular European genre rather than a Polish one.

Unlike Mazurkas or Polonaises (known and enjoyed primarily by Polish audiences) the ballade genre was sufficiently popular in many different nations. Therefore, Chopin might found it suitable to represent a greater audience.

Historically, the literary ballad's popularity existed at a time when Gottfried Wilhelm Fink – editor of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* from 1783 to 1846 – remarked that "the newer music loves to compose stories in sound".[48] Composers during this period were creating new musical genres associated with these "stories in sound", genres emerged such as the character pieces describing personal expression or mood, along with the so-called programme music. Examples of those character pieces included Intermezzos, Capriccios, Scherzos, Fantasies, Nocturnes and Songs without Words. Those associated with "stories in sound" included Mendelssohn's *Meeresstille und gluckliche fahrt* and Liszt's 1835 *Harmonies Poetiques et Religieuses*, Schumann's *Carnaval* and Berlioz's *Symphonic Fantastique.*[49]

[47] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 52.
[48] John Rink and Jim Samson, (ed.) *Chopin Studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85.
[49] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 20.

According to Parakilas, arguments like this have led to one conclusion; the inevitability of the ballade genre.[50] Parakilas points out that the appearance of the ballade genre was just a matter of time.[51] He added "Fink was not surprised by its appearance…he may even have wondered why it had taken so long for 'ballades without words' to appear'".[52] In Europe, the Romantic climate was just right; the popularity of the literary ballad, the new trend to create "stories in sound" and the rise of nationalism prepared the musical world to welcome a new narrative genre and to comprehend it. I will now present what I believe to be Chopin's concept of the ballade at that time. Understanding this concept will help to identify the voice in Chopin's ballade genre and thus the voice in Rawsthorne's ballades.

4.3.3 Chopin's concept of the ballade: A non-nationalist genre

Mickiewicz's ballads seem to have been hugely influential on Chopin, whose interest in setting poems to music and writing a piano ballade started almost at the same time. He first set music to Mickiewicz's poem *'Precz z moich oczu!'* (*'out of my sight'*) in the spring of 1830, about a year before he started writing his first Ballade.[53]

The principle work of Mickiewicz's that influenced Chopin's creation of the piano ballade genre was *balady i romanse.*[54] Schumann was perhaps the first

[50] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 20.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] Chopin kept composing songs until 1847 to other texts all by famous Polish patriotic poets. The poets of his songs are Count Zygmunt Kraskinski, Adam Mickiewicz, Wincenty Pol, Stefan Witwicki and Josef Zaleski; Brown, *Chopin: An Index of his Works.*
[54] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 52.

commentator to highlight the analogous relationship between Chopin's piano ballades and Mickiewicz's literary ballads. He noted that Chopin mentioned the influence of Mickiewicz's ballads on the creative process of his piano ballades:

> We must direct attention to the ballade as a most remarkable work. Chopin has already written one composition of the same name – one of his wildest and most original compositions; the new one is different – as a work of art inferior to the first, but equally fantastic and inventive … [Chopin] mentioned that certain poems of Mickiewicz had suggested his *Ballades* to him.[55]

If Chopin admitted this connection behind these works, then it is his understanding of Mickiewicz's genre that will lead us to understand his concept.

The introduction to Mickiewicz's *balady i romanse* offers a description of the literary ballad genre. According to Szulc, Chopin was attracted more to this introduction, than the body of the poem.[56] The introduction offers this description:

> The British ballad is a tale based on the events of common life or on the annals of chivalry; it is usually enlivened by marvels from the romantic world; it is sung in a melancholy tone; it is dignified in style, simple and natural in expression.[57]

Despite all the definitions associated with the term ballad and its early history,[58] Mickiewicz's description could well be the only definition of the literary ballad that

[55] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 3.
[56] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 52.
[57] Translation from; George Noyes, (ed.) *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz* (New York: The Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944), 5.
[58] Historically, the term Ballad has many meanings, from danced song (*balar*) to Victorian drawing room song. Medievally speaking, it refers to a dance-song which by the late middle-Ages had changed to refer to a strophic folk-song or poem with a narrative text that is interpreted in a direct and dramatic manner; Peter Wilton, 'ballad.' in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, Alison Latham. (ed.) *Oxford Music Online*, available at: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e550 (accessed 1-12- 2011). On the other hand, the French term "Ballade" refers to "One of three standards poetic forms used for 14th – and 15th- century chansons". The other two are the *rondeau* and the *virelai*; Davies and Bullock ,

Chopin knew. Thus, the key characteristics identified above in the British ballad, i. e. “chivalry”, a “melancholy tone”, “dignified style” and a “simple and natural expression” may all be basic elements that Chopin thought could be applied to the instrumental ballade form, in direct contrast to the literary ballad. Although this description does not suggest a particular theme, it provides a particular manner for treating the subject of any ballad.

Returning to Mickiewicz's description of the literary ballad, he said "it is sung in a melancholy tone; it is dignified in style, simple and natural in expression".[59] From this description that Chopin owned and presumably appreciated since the age of sixteen, it is clear that he understood that the literary ballad has a distinctive natural expression, in another words, a characteristic natural way of telling or narrating.[60] Parakilas explained the difference between the structure of the "stories in sound" of Chopin and his contemporaries:

> In contrast to the episodic model chosen by Chopin's contemporaries, as by earlier composers, for most "stories in sound," the ballad offered "action centred on a single situation." Whereas most "stories in sound" depend on subjects rich in setting and characterization, the ballad, according to Albert Friedman, gives little attention to "setting," "circumstantial detail," "delineation of character," or "psychological motivation." Instead, it is a

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"ballade.", Furthermore, both forms of the term “ballad” and “ballade” are also applied to narrative folk poems; often of great length like Percy's *Reliques* of 1765. According to Parakilas, it is conventional in English to use the French term "ballade" for instrumental works, and the other term "Ballad" for songs and poems[58]. Thus, any use of the term "ballad" in this thesis will refer to songs or poems, while the French word "ballade" will refer only to the instrumental piano genre that Chopin created. Although following the English tradition will make the distinction easier, Parakilas regret this use because "it does not associate instrumental works so immediately with song and story as it does in Continental languages like French and German that have only one form of the term"; Parakilas, *Ballades without Words*, 19.

[59] Translation from; Noyes, *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, 5.

[60] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 52.

> story focused on the characters' words and on the actions accomplished through those words. Words themselves are the crucial deeds.[61]

This might be exactly what Mickiewicz meant by "natural in expression", because the simple words are one of the most natural forms of expression. Indeed, that was the real challenge in Chopin's piano ballade genre; the most important ingredient of its recipe, words, is absent. Without these, Chopin seems to create sound-like words, which express what might ordinarily be conveyed with text through a naturally unfolding musical mechanism, as discussed in the second and third chapters. Adding weight to this argument is the knowledge that Chopin considered the piano to be a communicative actor; in a letter to Woyciechowski, Chopin wrote: "I'm telling the piano what I might have sometime told you".[62]

This makes Chopin's "stories in sound" different from those of his contemporaries because his setting was not dependent on characters, a series of episodes, or a clear programme, but instead on a natural expression of telling. Chopin was playing what he was saying. Mickiewicz, it would seem, was able to describe his concept of the literary ballad with a simple and clear definition, which Chopin applied to his instrumental ballade. This is also evident in the discussion in Chapter 2 of Rawsthorne and other scholars whose analyses refer to Chopin's approach to composition as a 'natural unfolding'.

Certainly, Mickiewicz's ballads have a specific theme, but it is only because he was dealing with text. His world was words. Chopin's world, however, was music that

[61] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 20-21.
[62] Szulc, *Chopin in Paris*, 44.

described unknown words, or perhaps words known to Chopin but no one else. When a poet is writing a poem, the words unfold naturally creating the form. For Chopin, the musical notes were those words, ones that, as Rawsthorne says, also unfolded according to his natural instinct to create what we now know as Chopin's ballade form.[63]

The main difference between both forms is that Chopin's was wordless, thus it might conceivably tell nothing. The only way to give these ballades a particular narrative is by giving them a programme, a strategy of which Chopin never approved.[64] If Chopin had wanted to give his ballades a programme in some way, he could have given his them narrative titles – even if only to satisfy his publisher – but he did not. According to Samson:

> Chopin of course eschewed any such programmatic associations, allowing his title to signify only the most generalized aspects of literary inspiration, in particular a narrative quality.[65]

It is documented that he was very angry when one of his publishers give the title *La Favorite* to his first Ballade and the title *La Gracieuse* to the second.[66] He wrote to Julian Fontana in October 1841:

> If he [Wessell, Chopin's London publisher] lost [money] on my compositions, this is surely because of the stupid titles he gave them in spite of my prohibition.[67]

[63] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 45.
[64] Samson, 'Extended Forms: the Ballades, Scherzos and Fantasies', 111.
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] Brown, *Chopin: An Index of his Works*, 177.
[67] Karol Berger, 'Chopin's Ballade op. 23 and the Revolution of the Intellectuals', in John Rink and Jim Samson (ed.), *Chopin Studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 77.

Chopin avoided any title that might particularize his ballades. They were not a Polish genre like his Polonaise or Mazurka, and unlike Mickiewicz's ballads they did not explicitly represented a particular country through the use of words.

In the ballades, Chopin's nationalistic invitation was wider than that of his Scherzo (Op. 20), in which the tune of the Polish Christmas carol *Lulajze Jezunie* emerges in the middle section as an invitation specifically for the Polish audience to grasp. It is also different from his nationalist compositions in the Mazurka and the Polonaise genre, which originate in Polish folklore, and thus are uniquely Polish in spirit. In writing his ballades, Chopin seems to have deliberately aimed for a bigger audience. This narrative genre was well circulated around Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century under the title ballad. Furthermore, according to Chopin's understanding of Mickiewicz's description, the concept was to be found in many other countries in the world, and as such there was nothing particularly Polish in his definition. A "tale based on the events of common life or on the annals of chivalry" is arguably not a European practice and not a nineteenth-century discovery.[68] Most if not every country in the world will have nationally familiar tales based on similar devices.

To Chopin, the genre was not a specific number of stanzas or strophes but a distinctive melancholic tone with a natural expression that is inspired by events of common life, usually involving a heroic character. By considering only the structural aspects of Mickiewicz's literary ballad, Chopin created a universal form that does

[68] Translation from; Noyes, *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, 5.

not belong to a specific nation but instead can represent many nations. It has, I would argue, an international voice. Therefore, this narrative musical form seems to be wider, welcoming the whole European audience, without distinctions, to listen and to relate Chopin's storyless "stories in sound" to whatever ballads they knew. Chopin founded his compositional career on national genres, perhaps in an effort to satisfy the tastes of the Polish audience and to express his patriotism during a time of war. Then, perhaps influenced by Romantic trend of nationalism and universal freedom, he created a paradoxical genre by using a well-known European genre rather than a Polish one. In the Mazurka he achieved a nationalist voice, while his invention of the piano ballade represents the European entity. Perhaps it was only European because Europe was the culture that was known to Chopin at that time. Chopin invented the form that best expressed a non-nationalist voice, leaving perhaps other nations to match his Mazurkas and Polonaises with their Barcarolles and Tarantellas in Italy and France, the Viennese Waltzes, the Tangos for Argentineans, the Dumka for Slavic, the Hungarian dance and, ultimately for Britain and America, the military March (Elgar and Sousa).[69]

Consequently, the ballade genre achieved a paradoxical significance in which individuals from different nations could interpret the ballade according to their own national ballad repertoire. These different forms of national identity created a non-nationalist narrative musical form. Indeed, if Chopin was copying a particular Mickiewicz's ballad, he would not achieve this non-nationalist voice because it would only represent the Polish spirit, like his Mazurkas and other national music.

[69] Michael Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

However, in writing his ballades, Chopin had adopted a genre rather than a specific work in a genre. Samson noted:

> It is entirely characteristic of Chopin that literary inspiration should have been channeled in this way into a piano piece with a generalized rather than a programmatic literary title.[70]

For this reason, Chopin based his piano ballade purely on the general concept of the European literary ballad, reflecting a European entity and allowing every individual to reconstruct the individual spirit of each work under this title. Thus, according to Chopin's concept, the ballade can represent Britain if, for example, performed by William Sterndale Bennett because it represents a non-nationalist voice through its ability to represent multi-nationalist voices.

This has parallels in Rawsthorne's decision to use a Czech hero in his 'Great Depression Ballade'; he did not particularize the Ballade for Britain but for a broader humanity, as already demonstrated in the first chapter. It is also not dissimilar to Rawsthorne's second Ballade, one that has no programme and followed Chopin's concept and composing design as we have seen in Chapter 3.

Chopin "at a time of awakening nationalist fervor throughout Europe, trusted the entire European musical public to comprehend four of his most ambitious piano compositions under the unprecedented and unexplained title of 'Ballade'".[71] In this respect, Chopin's ballade is a reaction to the Romanticism of the nineteenth century, which Rawsthorne then uses to reflect the twentieth-century socio-political landscape.

[70] Samson, *The Master Musicians: Chopin*, 152.
[71] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 31.

4.4 The Voice in Chopin's storyless ballades

Chopin's ballades were written to represent an international voice, in which no particular national story is concealed or promoted.[72] He composed a structure or a form that acted as a fertile soil, in which some interpreters might wither and perish, while others take root and flourish. It is like having a blank sheet of paper ready to be written on, or a blank canvas ready to be painted on, or perhaps a car parked somewhere waiting for a driver to navigate it to a direction of his own desire. If the car is not working, the destination will not be reached no matter how qualified the driver is.

The natural expressive quality in Chopin's ballades gives them a narrative quality. It is because Chopin was communicating naturally with the piano while he was playing; the genre thus unfolds naturally, creating only the telling-like musical lines that described Chopin's unknown words or what Rawsthorne called earlier a "patterns of behaviour".[73] It is thus a "reinterpretation" of Chopin's interpretation of a specific behaviour through music and not through words.[74] In this respect, the ballade as a musical narrative form achieved what Adorno called "A narrative which relates nothing".[75]

[72] Bellman's reading of Chopin's second Ballade represent a national martyrdom. However, If we considered Chopin's desire to not programme or label any of the ballades, we would need no more evidence that Chopin refused any level of limitation to this genre.
[73] Rawsthorne, 'Ballade, Fantasy and Scherzos', 45.
[74] The term "reinterpretation" was used by Carl Dahlhaus in his argument about the esthetic of instrumental music as an absolute music; Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 104.
[75] Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', 245.

Awareness of Chopin's concept is an important factor to achieve narrativity in the ballade genre. In order to give the best use of such structure and achieve a high level of narrativity in the ballades, it is important to be aware of its existence. As in the previous example, the awareness of the car's ability and the destination you wish to reach are necessary to create this kind of interpretation in instrumental narrative form. Nattiez said:

> When I hear the opening of *L'apprenti sorcier*, I need to know that it is a symphonic poem in order to approach the work in a narrative frame of mind.[76]

The great pianist, Arthur Rubinstein also agreed that a lack of knowledge of the audience may sometime inhibit their enjoyment.[77] The listener and the performer both need to know that they are dealing with a narrative form in order to be able to reinterpret the composer's original interpretation. This level requires an experienced interpreter who is familiar with the ballade genre, its history, themes, and also Chopin's concept of it. These factors can create an active performer or listener who can reconstruct the extra meaning of these storyless pieces, a listener who understand Chopin's concept of the form. In this respect, Chopin's ballade genre seems to offer an empty narrative structure. This structure might not be empty when Chopin created the form. Perhaps Chopin had a story in the creative process. This means that what we receive from Chopin is only the empty form that resulted from his natural unfolding technique that represents the telling of a story. This storyless structure remains beautiful but lacks any extra meaning, until another mind reconstructs its narrative structure according to his or her experience and

[76] Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', 242.
[77] An interview with Bernard Levin, Arthur Rubinstein Plays Chopin (2010) [DVD-ROM]. Ideale Audience production. Available: Classic Archive.

purpose. The performer, therefore, is writing his own story into the lines of Chopin's. As Nattiez suggests when commenting about the analogy between literary narrative and music, "It has been imagined by the writer or the story-teller; it is reconstructed by the reader".[78]

Our understanding of the concept of a particular genre can and does affect our interpretation, whether consciously or subconsciously. It seems reasonable to assume that the wealth of information about Chopin, his life, time and varying circumstances will affect the interpretation of his works, and thus an accomplished pianist is likely to inhabit different styles for the works of different composers. It is also the same with every genre of the same composer. Understanding the genre is an important requirement in order to achieve a better interpretation. Therefore, after demonstrating Chopin's concept of the ballade genre, it seems that any interpretation of the ballades should aim to reflect the interpreter's individual voice. In other words, by using the form that Chopin might have employed to comment on Polish or European freedom, and to remark on any other personal national search for freedom. It is in this respect that the ballade is a paradoxical genre. An individual uses it as their own voice, yet somehow makes a bigger whole of collective individual voices. This in turn creates a larger, non-nationalist voice, instead of a nationalist. Rawsthorne points out that, what the composer "succeeds in saying, and the manner in which he says it, will vary from time to time and from

[78] Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', 242.

individual to individual" and that is one of the qualities of Chopin's ballade genre unlike his other national music already discussed.[79]

Chopin's reluctance to add narrative titles to this genre served to generalize it further. Chopin's way of treating this form – making it capable of sustaining the 'I' and 'we' – is reached by its storyless structure and its general title. If the ballades were to resemble a particular literary work it would lack the 'we' and only be able to represent the 'I', and only the 'I' of the adopted story in particular. For example, if Chopin had called the second Ballade 'November Uprising', the ballade would probably have lost its universal meaning and continue to represent only one event, regardless of the nationality and the intention of the interpreter. However, by composing the storyless ballade, Chopin allowed his genre to be reinterpreted – and its extra meaning reconstructed – by any 'I', i.e., any human individual.

Chopin, at a time of widespread nationalist fever, chose to break the boundaries of his existing national genres by creating a broader one. His choice was convenient for the European audience in general for several reasons, such as the popularity of the comparable literary form and the composers' passion to create "stories in sound". Also, the currents of Romantic nationalism gave this genre a greater significance, allowing it to represent different national voices. Furthermore, Chopin's understanding of the concept, which he derived from Mickiewicz, provides the instrumental ballade with a distinctive narrative quality that helps to universalize it.

[79] Alan Rawsthorne, *'Alan Rawsthorne's Broadcast & Programme'* (RNCM Archive).

As a result, the ballade genre is not a fictional story that needs a specific character or personage to act as a mouthpiece for the voice. It is not a type of programme music that tells a particular story or represents a chosen heroic character, perhaps standing for one nation's independence. Instead, the story of the ballade is personal and unique to every interpretation; it belongs only to the narrator or the listener. It was Chopin's voice once and became the voice of other later. It is the voice of the present, and it once represented the nineteenth-century individuals' voices, thus creating a bigger whole, and it will carry on representing the voice of the future.

In the next section, I will discuss Rawsthorne's attitude toward the modern socio-political circumstances at the time when he wrote his second Ballade. This presentation will not only help to identify the voice in Rawsthorne's ballades, but also support my reading of Rawsthorne's second Ballade as a conversation with Chopin. After a short introduction on the rise of modernism and the decline of nationalism, I will start by discussing Britain's modern march toward democracy which reached its climax in the early-twentieth century. I will then outline Britain's situation in the post-war period, reaching a multi-cultural state built on the anti-race-discrimination legislation of the mid-1960s.[80] As it will appear, these conditions in addition to Rawsthorne's somewhat anarchist, left-wing leaning and humanist politics, contributed in some way to his own special recreation of the ballade form.

[80] David Goodhart, *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), 8.

4.5 Rawsthorne the modernist

In order to position Rawsthorne as a modernist, I will start by highlighting the decline of nationalism and the rise of modernism. This is relevant to the topic under consideration because during these social changes that the workers' rights movement have grown. Rawsthorne, of course, was one of the supporters of such movement and this is evident in his music and also his early literary productions.

The central proposition to the decline of nationalism theory is based on its nature. Nations adopted the idea of German nationalism as long as it conformed to their goals. However, as soon as they found it in opposition with their goals, the moral part of the theory was neglected. On reflection, only the prejudice form of nationalism remained reaching the catastrophic ideas and events of the first half of twentieth century. Steven Grosby, in describing the danger of nationalism, hypothesizes that "in some ways the problems that confront humanity have over the millennia changed less than one might think".[81] Thus, the new version of nationalism, the European one, was tolerable until it developed a conflict with imperial and colonial rulers.[82]

At the same time, when nationalism was becoming very fanatical, the interest in social philosophy was increasing. As, the economist and the Noble prize winner, Friedrich Hayek pointed out "future historians will probably regard the period from

[81] Grosby, *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*, 116.
[82] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 1-2.

the revolution of 1848, to about 1948 as the century of European socialism".[83] Karl Marx thought that the transformation from current capitalism to his communist ideology would justify the state.[84] The German thinkers Kant, Herder, and Hegel were dealing with individuals and the idea of radical freedom and how these can be reconciled, in light of a general will to build a healthy society. Hegel developed those ideas, making the aspiration for radical autonomy that plays through the nation's general will an essential part of his theory.[85] Such ideas shaped the basic background for Marx's thought. Similar to Hegel, Taylor argued that Marx also combined Kant's Radical freedom with Herder's expressive theory but in his own way. Hegel's theory focused on nations and freedom whilst Marxism was a reaction to the conflict between capitalism and labour.

Marx's theory deals with the importance of work as a reflection of the industrial revolution, rather than its twin, the French.[86] To Marx, the workers were the central part of the community and thus he was dismissive of the idea of capitalism. Like socialism, Marxism called for the common ownership of the means of production, in order to achieve a social justice.[87] Marxism was a revolutionary school of socialism. Marxism dictates that society should be governed by the workers, removing all kind of class struggles and authority, in order to achieve communism. As I made clear in the first chapter, Rawsthorne wanted to achieve such goals. However, his modus operandi was not through physical revolution, but rather non-violent, intellectual

[83] Friedrich Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 253.
[84] Terrell Carver (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Marx* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 143-144.
[85] Taylor, *Hegel and Modern Society*, 114.
[86] *Ibid*., 51.
[87] Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 253-254.

revolution. Perhaps it is for this reason, then, that McCabe perceives Rawsthorne as "a follower more of Kropotkin's tenets than the revolutionary tendencies of Bakunin".[88]

By the twentieth century, the various existing forms of social and political systems reached its climax. The result was awful: two world wars, civil wars, the Holocaust, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, all of which caused genocide for approximately 60 to 150 million people. All were a result of the prejudicial type of nationalism and other fanatical and anti-Semitic social and political systems.[89]

Rawsthorne lived through all these events. He contributed by commenting on the Great Depression with his first Ballade.[90] He wrote a play with references to the First World War and a poem that demonstrates his pacifist view shortly after the First World War.[91] In 1940, he contributed a piano suite that strongly showed his left-wing leaning and also his support to the workers' movement. This suite included a title that supported, not only his country's movement, but also with reference to the French revolution, Italian Labour movement, Russian workers, anarchism and the American Labour movement.[92] According to Gordon Green, a very close friend to Rawsthorne, Rawsthorne was on the left during the Spanish Civil War and he contributed occasional music to the socialist movement at that time.[93]

[88] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 74.
[89] Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004), 1.
[90] See chapter 1.6
[91] *Ibid*., 1.2.2
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] *Ibid*., 1.2.3

He was also on the organizing committee of the *Pageant for Labour* and through his music he commented to the Czech village that was destroyed by the Nazis during the Second World War.[94] In 1940, the Workers' Music Association published Rawsthorne's *Homeland mine*, and in 1943 he participated in a second pageant called *Salute to the Red Army*.[95] Rawsthorne did not stop there and to see his complete list of contributions refer to Chapter 1.

As pointed out earlier, Rawsthorne was not a revolutionary anarchist. Although he mistrusted all governments, he did not assault authority.[96] According to McCabe:

> Rawsthorne's innate pacifism was put to the test when he was called up. Unlike some of his friends, whose beliefs led them to a position from which they could only become conscientious objectors, Rawsthorne felt sufficiently strongly that despite his abhorrence of war, he had no option but to take part. A vital element in this decision was the belief that if ever a war was just, this one was; his large number of Jewish friends, the news emerging gradually about the concentration camp, and his deep human sensibilities could lead him to no other decision. For a committed pacifist, however, the emotional strain must have been enormous.[97]

This was not just a matter of consent to governmental decisions. Rawsthorne thought it a justifiable war. Having observed a terrible 30 years of corruption and unrest, he agreed to take part in the war, although it killed him emotionally.

The most important outcome from the previous comment is that 'authority' to Rawsthorne seemed to be a must. So, as McCabe pointed out earlier, Rawsthorne

[94] See chapter 1.2.3
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] McCabe, *Alan Rawsthorne*, 74.
[97] *Ibid*.

belong to the "thoughtful anarchist" which differs from revolutionary anarchist.[98] Jonathan Wolff argued that the "thoughtful anarchist" disapproved of the absence of authority because it would lead to chaos.[99] Social control is therefore required in order to achieve a healthy society. However, individuals have to put themselves voluntarily under authority through their own consent. This is, as Wolff proposed, demonstrates "how authority can be reconciled with the natural autonomy of the individual.[100] In this way, the individuals' freedom, order in the country and general will can all be achieved fairly. This reflects Rawsthorne's beliefs and combines some of most important issues for which he fought.

4.5.1 Consensus

Indeed, it took Britain about three hundred years to achieve what is known today as democracy or the general will.[101] David Marquand argued that the British journey towards democracy dated back to the execution of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth.[102] The second crucial step was the 1832 Reform Act, which is known as the 'Great' Reform Act.[103] This Act increased the electorate's number from approximately 500,000 to 700,000. Much more happened in the next 40 years, and Marquand points out that:

> The second Reform Act passed in 1867, and the third passed in 1884. Between them, these acts enfranchised nearly 3 million adult males, raising

[98] Jonathan Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 31.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] *Ibid*., 35.
[101] David Marquand, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy* (London: Phoenix, 2008), 4-6.
[102] *Ibid*., 4.
[103] *Ibid*., 23.

> the proportion of the adult male population entitled to vote in parliamentary elections from around 14 per cent to nearly 60 per cent.[104]

Although this was a great improvement in terms of collective participation and creating a justification for the state, it was not as widespread as hoped. Women were not allowed to vote and it was not until 1918 that manhood suffrage and partial female suffrage arrived, allowing women over the age of 30 to vote.[105]As discussed in the first chapter, this was a topic that Rawsthorne had supported since his early years through his home-published magazine.[106] It was not until later, in 1928, that legislation was passed that lowered the age for women to vote from 30 to 21.[107] At this period, a consensus became reality rather than merely a dream and individuals were able to participate and to put themselves under a sovereign through their own consent.

This was part of the modernism that Rawsthorne realised during this period. Humans were equal and individuals were free to choose their leader thereby achieving consensus. This reflects Rawsthorne's already discussed beliefs. It was during these post-war years that a suitable social model was achieved and one that provided a social democracy and a greater equality.

[104] Marquand, *Britain Since 1918*, 27.
[105] *Ibid.*, 32.
[106] Geoffrey Thomason, 'Poems and Parodies: Some Unpublished Rawsthorne Juvenilia at the RNCM', *The Creel*, 4 (4), (Oxford: The Rawsthorne Trust, 2002), 16.
[107] Brian Block and John Hostettler, *Voting in Britain: A History of the Parliamentary Franchise* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 2001), 359.

4.5.2 Post-war Period

The outcome of the 1945 election was a reflection of previous unrest. People were against war, they were aware of the economic depression and did not want to go back to it. Derek Brown said that "the outcome of the 1945 election was more than a sensation. It was a political earthquake".[108]

This period started with Rawsthorne's supported party – the Labour Party – being elected into six years of office, from 1945 to 1951. Kenneth Morgan argued that they "launched a new kind of consensus, a social democracy based on a mixed economy and a welfare state which took Britain well enough through the difficult post-war" period, and he added that the model they "produced seemed to conform to the general will".[109]

The Labour Party seemingly succeeded in satisfying the majority of voters, especially the working-class, for whom Rawsthorne's work demonstrated great support. Morgan pointed out:

> Most working-class people, the vast majority of the population, viewed the years since 1945 as much the best that had been generally known since the late-Victorian heyday.[110]

It was in this post-war period that workers' wages rose by 30 per cent, educational facilities were established, a national insurance system was introduced alongside a

[108] http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2001/mar/14/past.education (Accessed 07 May 2013).
[109] Kenneth Morgan, *Twentieth Century Britain: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 61.
[110] Morgan, *Twentieth Century Britain*, 64.

free health service, as well as guaranteed employment and a higher living standard.[111]

Given these vast improvements that arrived with the Labour Party in office, Rawsthorne's concern about workers was greatly diminished and this is evident in his shift from music with political titles to music with more humanistic topics. However, it was with the second coming of the Labour Party that human rights and equality were achieved.

The Labour Party was back in government 1964 with a narrow majority. However, a 1966 election demonstrated a larger majority. In this period Britain saw radical changes in terms of human rights. David Goodhart argued this great departure in which he noted:

> Britain was opening to this change in the 1960s and 1970s, with the legalisation of homosexuality, the abolition of capital punishment, greater ease of divorce and so on.[112]

This was the period when Rawsthorne returned to the idea of human dignity, the relationship between man and nature, and the freedom of mankind (as already examined in the first chapter by discussing his mid-1960s vocal works). To a man in his sixties, some of these changes must have been a shock, but he never seemed disturbed. Furthermore, it was also in the mid-1960s that Britain passed substantial anti-race-discrimination legislation.[113] A great wave of immigration took place, from

[111] Morgan, *Twentieth Century Britain*, 61-64.
[112] Goodhart, *The British Dream,* 171.
[113] *Ibid*., 8.

the late 1960s up to the early 1980s, and Britain soon became a much more multi-cultural country.[114]

All previous legislation and social change helped to achieve a radical equality in terms of gender, race, religion, nationality and homosexuality. The welfare state instigated by the Labour government gained wide support because it was based in a mixed economy. According to David Miller, the welfare state was "the child of a marriage between liberalism and socialism", far from a prejudiced Marxist or fanatical nationalism.[115]

Accordingly, the ballade, which Chopin as a Romantic presented as a European genre, became universal to Rawsthorne as a modernist. The Romantic climate motivated Chopin to adopt a popular literary genre and to depart from his national musical repertoire, like the Mazurkas and Polonaises, to one that would speak to the whole European continent. However, the ballades of Rawsthorne seemed to embrace a larger number of individuals, growing from just European individuals to include all human beings without distinction in the modern version of the ballade. The ballade, thus, is about the number of individuals. To Chopin, it was the European individuals and to Rawsthorne it was the world's individuals. Rawsthorne's ballades, thus, demonstrates a special approach to this genre, one that departs from national or even European narratives and aims at a more universal message about human dignity and freedom.

[114] Goodhart, *The British Dream*, 170.
[115] Jeffery Paul, David Miller and Frankel Paul, *After Socialism: Volume 20* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 95.

In the next section, I will read Rawsthorne's second Ballade as a conversation with Chopin. This reading is based on the analytical comparison between Chopin's and Rawsthorne's ballades (in the third chapter) and on the previous analysis of Rawsthorne's socio-political beliefs. Furthermore, it is worth noting that, Bellman was the first to provide a coherent narrative plot to Chopin's second Ballade, a presentation that also influenced my thoughts when analysing Rawsthorne's second Ballade.

4.6 The second Ballade of Rawsthorne: A conversation with Chopin

In his narrative reading of Chopin's second Ballade, Bellman stated two rules that must be satisfied in order to be able to project a coherent ballad narrative to a wordless piano Ballade:

> Chopin's ballade has to succeed on two fronts: it must evoke the telling of a story and recount the events of that story.[116]

From Bellman's point of view, the mechanism to achieve this was by succeeding in drawing connections between themes and sections no matter the contrast between the presented sections and materials. In the second and third chapters, I have demonstrated the extent to which Rawsthorne's second Ballade present such a mechanism (as in Chopin's ballade genre) and how these ballades "evoke the telling of a story"; a storyless story frame.

Let me now summarize the narrative in Rawsthorne's second Ballade as briefly as possible. I see in this work a dialogical narrative that seems to be imagined by

[116] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 160.

Rawsthorne. This Ballade seems to present a conversation with Chopin in tones that connects the romanticism of Chopin's era with the modernism that surrounded Rawsthorne. As the dialogue unfolds, the musical materials of Rawsthorne's second Ballade seem to demonstrate the voices of both Rawsthorne and Chopin.

First section, bars 1-37 starts with Rawsthorne's voice in which he is toying with his favourite intervals of seconds and fourths. Rawsrhorne begins in a *sotto voce* voice, perhaps describing the situation in the 1960s and how the modern state can represent a multicultural identity, especially after the anti-race-discrimination legislation presented in mid-1960s in Britain. This image of multiculturalism is reached, as previously discussed, by the interruption of alien accidental notes that keeps appearing, providing a sense of assortment.[117] Furthermore, these alien notes help to prepare for Chopin's voice that will appear immediately after this section. The manner of this preparation is also to be found in Chopin's second Ballade. Bellman argued this when he pointed out that the interruption of the A minor in bar 18 in the opening F major section helped to provide a "subtle unifying feature" and to prepare the appearance of the second theme in A minor. Rawsthorne, in this sense, used a mechanism that Chopin also used in his second Ballade, not just to prepare for the fast and furious second theme but also to provide this sense of mix that motivated me to describe this section as multicultural.

Second section, bars 38-147 start with Chopin's angry response. The voice of Chopin is created by quoting the second theme in A minor from Chopin's second Ballade as

[117] This is already discussed in the ambiguity section, chapter 3.2.1. Refer to it for the musical examples and full analysis.

already discussed; an indication of Chopin's presence in this dialogue. According to Bellman's reading, this fast theme is a reference to the "struggle for national freedom".[118] However, in this context, it represents the international struggle of the modern world where a single nation is not the focus anymore. The dialogue then is carried out by Rawsthorne's return in bar 43, when the first theme appears on the top notes. Although this section starts with Chopin's voice it ends with Rawsthorne's theme; an indication that a multiculturalism model seems to work better than Romantic nationalism and its consequences. Bar 147 seems to play an important role in this dialogue. This bar contains only a *fermata*, a pause that suggests a quiet moment. Time seems to stop here until Rawsthorne's voice returns with the *pp* indication and the note C to start the third section. This quiet moment could suggest a rethinking moment, but Rawsthorne's continuation, with the very first note C, confirms his positive opinion about the situation.

Third section, bars 148-170 see Rawsthorne returning to the first theme and mood. This section recalls the return of the F major siciliano section of Chopin's second Ballade. This section is the shortest, similar to Chopin's return in the second Ballade at bar 83. Rawsthorne adds a strange harmony to the main theme which might again reflect the multicultural world, especially after increased immigrations to Britain during this period. However, in Chopin's version the siciliano is interrupted by a "deceptive cadence" which has been described by Bellman as "an unstable middle section, increasingly troubled and inconclusive".[119] The return of the main theme in Rawsthorne's and Chopin's ballades is similar in terms of length, but

[118] Bellman, *Chopin's Polish Ballade*, 164.
[119] *ibid*.

different in terms of the way each composer treats length. Chopin interrupts the section; an indication of the situation in the Romantic period when it was not as easy as in the twentieth century to argue with authority and to question it. However, Rawsthorne, instead of using an interruption, just adds to the harmony without any interruption which might demonstrates the possibility to argue and maybe to persuade authority in modern times. In my reading, this section represents an argument between the government and the people, and the effect of the people's voice is demonstrated by the added harmony to the theme.

Fourth section, bars 171-214 show the voice of Rawsthorne to still be present. Here, Rawsthorne's argument seems to provide a longer sentence, which suggests an increase in the individuals' right to talk, to choose and to initiate change. Rawsthorne achieved these longer sentences by extending the main theme that represents his voice, in which the figure keeps extending, to reach two and half bars at some places, as in bars 194-196. In bar 202, Rawsthorne speaks quietly with the first theme again, suggesting the return of the aggressive second theme – the voice of Chopin, as in Chopin's second Ballade – but instead, it leads to the coda. The absence of the return of the aggressive theme suggests that we do not need it anymore because human rights are improving and human equality seems to be achieved.

Fifth section, bars 215-274, i.e. the coda, seem to provide a sense of summary to the whole conversation, the fast tempo, the three crescendos and the scales help to achieve this sense of putting everything together. Bars 267-274 suggest a short, fast

and direct dialogue between Rawsthorne and Chopin. As already discussed in Chapter 3, this is an allusion from Chopin's first Ballade and helps to evoke Chopin's voice in this section.[120] The section presents a scale, then a reminder of the first theme, then another scale followed by another reminder, as in Chopin's first Ballade (bars 250-257). In other words, this suggests Chopin's voice followed once more by Rawsthorne's. Rawsthorne's voice is achieved because, although he used Chopin's manner, the theme is his own. It is a fast question-and-answer dialogue. This is concluded by descending octaves as in Chopin's first Ballade. Rawsthorne, commenting on these octaves, pointed out that "nothing could be more conclusive".[121] We do not realize the final outcome of the last rapid dialogue until the next section (bars 275-290).

Final section, bars 275-290, where we hear the reminder of the first theme, as in Chopin's second Ballade.[122] In Chopin's case the reminder appears in A minor instead of the original tonality F major. As already demonstrated, this shows that the second theme in A minor won the battle and that the finale is dramatic. In Rawsthorne's Ballade, the reminder appears in the same mood, and ends in C, the home note. Therefore, Unlike Chopin's Ballade, Rawsthorne's suggests a triumphal happy ending.

Through romanticism Chopin chose to end the Ballade dramatically, perhaps because the situation was yet not solved and his country was still in struggle.

[120] See Chapter 3, section 3.2.4 for further analysis and the musical examples.
[121] Rawsthorne, 'Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos', 48.
[122] See example 2.12, in Chapter 2.

However, the Modern Rawsthorne interpreted the Romantic ballade from an optimistic point of view. Moreover, in this reading we can follow a hard search for tonality. Both Chopin's and Rawsthorne's Ballades present a voice that is prevented from achieving constant continuity or appearance. If the ballades as a genre represent a non-nationalist voice as already discussed, then this voice is always in struggle. The first three of Chopin's Ballades present a conflict between themes. Anti-key materials always push the main theme back until the coda reveals the end of these conflicts. The fourth Ballade of Chopin presents a new idea because it is a variation-like ballade. This variation manner might be understood as a technique to establish the importance of the voice and to make it more obvious and memorable. The first Ballade of Rawsthorne also presents a conflict between two powers. However, the voice was unified, but prevented from maintaining a sense of stability by changing the mood. The second Ballade of Rawsthorne, more Chopinian, presented conflict between voices, sometimes between Rawsthorne's and Chopin's voices.

The ballade genre, thus, present a storyless narrative that holds the voice of freedom. The stability of this voice, as so often the case in history, is threatened by many factors. From Chopin's concept of the ballade, the genre achieved universality and escaped from the Romantic trend of nationalism. Chopin's storyless ballade form allowed me, as an individual, to achieve a non-nationalist voice through analysing these works. It is in this respect that the ballade genre can represent individual voices without limitation of themes or nationalities, as is the case in, for example, Chopin's Mazurkas. In this sense, the ballade represents a non-nationalist

voice of freedom. This voice started with Chopin's first ballade and in this research ends with Rawsthorne's second Ballade. Rawsthorne's re-articulation of the ballade form and his attraction to its non-nationalist narrativity reflects his time and place. Unlike other musical modernists, he was able to make strikingly new music based firmly on past Romantic model.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

The ballades of Chopin and Rawsthorne emerged from separate chapters in socio-political history; Chopin cemented the form during the peak of what we now call the Romantic era, whilst Rawsthorne turned to the form at two major flashpoints for the evolution of human rights in the twentieth century. In Chopin's time, the Romantic climate provided ample motivation, but he nonetheless embraced a degree of risk by inventing a new instrumental form and trusting the audience's capability to comprehend it fully.[1] Rawsthorne rekindled the genre amid similar circumstances; at a time when he believed that music *could* serve the purpose he intended it to:

> To me, the fact that music should be specially composed and used by a nation at war as a means, however indirect, of helping to defeat the enemy is suggestive. I do not mean that the objective itself is particularly lethal, nor that it was used as Joshua used his trumpets in his assault on Jericho. But it is a small indication of the very considerable change which has come over the composer's situation in the last fifty years. He now finds many new uses to which his music may be put.[2]

Rawsthorne's re-application of Chopin's ballade genre required of him a nuanced understanding of Chopin's concept of the genre, and an awareness of the contemporary socio-political landscape. Rawsthorne's early writings are crucial evidence of – and amply demonstrate – his sensitivity to world events, particularly those effecting people that he perceived to be less fortunate than himself. After a relatively late start in composition, Rawsthorne chose the ballade form to comment on the civil, social, and political unrest that prevailed following World War I, the

[1] Parakilas, *Ballade without Words*, 31.
[2] Alan Rawsthorne (3.30, 25 October) *Alan Rawsthorne's Broadcast & Programme* [Autograph] Manchester: RNCM Library/ archive.

Workers' Strike and the Great Depression. This first Ballade contains a conflict between two tonalities, which in my reading, corresponds to the human's efforts to reach freedom and to create a peaceful society. However, Rawsthorne's relative immaturity as a composer, coupled with the seemingly analytically evasive nature of the ballade form, resulted in a widespread misinterpretation of Chopin's 'ballade' concept. Rawsthorne, in contrast to Chopin, had given his first Ballade a programme telling the story of the Czech hero King Wenceslas, a process which Chopin never used in his ballades and did not approve.[3] Thus Rawsthorne's first Ballade, in my reading, bears more of a resemblance to Brahms's *Edward* Ballade (Op. 10). This interpretation did not pay attention to Chopin's desire to adopt the general concept of the literary genre, rather than to give it a programme, such as a work of literature. Rawsthorne, thus, reduced the generality Chopin sought to achieve within the genre. Nonetheless, Rawsthorne, through this programme, reflects the social situation in the 1929.

Rawsthorne – in the period that followed his first Ballade – engaged with and participated in many left-wing political events alongside his friend, Alan Bush, particularly during the rise of the German, Italian, and Spanish fascist regimes. He then started setting music to texts that dealt with the relationship between the human and his environment. A few years before his death in 1971, Rawsthorne had written an essay about the ballades of Chopin, in which he showed a unique understanding of the formative concept of this genre. His reading of Chopin's ballades initiated a new interest in these pieces.

[3] Samson, 'Extended Forms: the Ballades, Scherzos and Fantasies', 111.

Rawsthorne's scholarship therefore provided a springboard for other scholars to better understand the concept of the ballade in the way that – seemingly – Chopin intended.

It is unsurprising therefore, that Rawsthorne's second engagement with the ballade form demonstrates a better understanding of Chopin's formative and cultural concepts. Thus Rawsthorne's second Ballade of 1967, written during another important chapter in socio-political human history, pays homage to Chopin in terms of structure, setting, and overall realization of the genre. Rawsthorne did not give this second Ballade a programme (as per his first) but composed it within the general concept of the form, and presenting a non-nationalist voice.

Rawsthorne was so influenced by Chopin's ballade that he unashamedly quotes from Chopin's ballades within his own. In his second Ballade, he adeptly emulates Chopin's emphasis on ambiguity, his treatment of events, and the use of unifying elements. In this Ballade, Rawsthorne also plays with the idea of tonal centrality and uses some of Chopin's anti-key materials to create an interesting unrest between keys; a conflict that represents mankind's never-ending search for a better life and also represents the multicultural world of the twentieth century. Thus, to Rawsthorne "Music ceased to deliver its message directly to the ear of the listener, and became a kind of symbol of something standing behind it – some abstraction or story, which was the ultimate criterion of the music itself".[4] Unlike Parakilas who identified Chopin's ballade as being a distinctly European genre, Rawsthorne

[4] Alan Rawsthorne, *'Alan Rawsthorne's Broadcast & Programme'* (RNCM Archive)

broadened its concept, allowing his own ballades to represent a non-nationalist voice of freedom. Rawsthorne's ballades thus picked up the thread of Chopin's nineteenth-century romanticism, and wove it into the fabric of Rawsthorne's twentieth-century modernism; universalizing Chopin's European genre and upgrading it to a higher socio-political significance.

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