

University of Southampton Research Repository

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis and, where applicable, any accompanying data are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis and the accompanying data cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content of the thesis and accompanying research data (where applicable) must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder/s.

When referring to this thesis and any accompanying data, full bibliographic details must be given, e.g.

Thesis: Author (Year of Submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University Faculty or School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Data: Author (Year) Title. URI [dataset]

University of Southampton

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

School of Humanities, Department of Music

“Strange Luggage”: Raymond Russell, the Harpsichord and Early Music Culture in the Mid-Twentieth Century

by

Katharine Hawnt

ORCID ID 0000-0002-3488-7207

Thesis for the degree of PhD in Music

October 2021

University of Southampton

Abstract

Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Humanities

Thesis for the degree of PhD in Music

“Strange Luggage”: Raymond Russell, the Harpsichord and Early Music Culture in the Mid-Twentieth Century

by

Katharine Mary Hawnt

Collectors of musical instruments have often been neglected in narratives of the twentieth century Early Music movement in comparison to performers and musicologists. Nevertheless, across the British Isles, instrument collectors have interacted with the movement in significant ways; for example, by making their collections available for organological and performance studies. The Musical Instrument Museum at The University of Edinburgh houses a number of large collections from private donors, including the Raymond Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments. Raymond Russell (1922-1964), one of the most significant contributors to the museum, is also connected to two other British heritage sites, including the National Trust’s Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, and The Old Operating Theatre Museum, London. Yet, until recently, his work has been little explored. A collector and advocate for the harpsichord, Russell’s work was situated within the wider revival of interest in early music in the first half of the twentieth century, in which the instrument played a fundamental role. A wealthy individual, with a flair for historical research, Russell amassed what is now one of the most influential collections of early keyboard instruments, posthumously donated to the University of Edinburgh. Through the example of Russell, this thesis advances three central arguments. The first relates to the importance of integrating collectors into the story of the Early Music movement. The second suggests that associating collections more closely with the person, aesthetics and ideologies of the original collector may lead us to a deeper understanding of their contents and value to us. Finally, Russell’s example underlines the importance of viewing the Early Music movement within its wider societal context, one in which networks based on socio-economic status, gender and identity shape the process of intellectual and aesthetic development. Thus, it combines primary research into a previously unstudied contributor to the Early Music revival with the development of further methodological tools in its study. In highlighting a pioneering yet underappreciated group of Early Music advocates, and in contextualising this movement within an early twentieth-century social reaction to heteronormativity and its stereotypes, the thesis opens up avenues for further research combining music history, materiality and gender studies.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
Table of Figures	v
Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction: “Strange Luggage”	1
1.1 Who was Raymond Russell?.....	2
1.1.1 The Russell Collection.....	7
1.2 Harpsichords in the Early Music Revival	10
1.2.1 Curious Collectables	12
1.2.2 Departures from the Norm.	13
1.2.3 The Collectors’ Image within Early Music’s Revival Literature	15
1.2.4 “A Strange Evolution”: What were revivalists in Britain doing?	20
Chapter 2 Russell’s Early Life and Influences	27
2.1 Meet the Russells	28
2.1.1 Political, Social and Artistic Interests	30
2.1.2 Music in the Family	37
2.1.3 Signs of Early Music at Mottisfont	41
2.2 Educating the Elite.....	44
2.2.1 Music at Eton.....	46
2.2.2 Early Music at Eton.....	49
2.2.3 Raymond at Eton	50
2.2.4 The Organ – a Historical Keyboard Instrument.....	53
2.2.5 First Acquisition.....	56
2.2.6 Struggles with Authority – from Eton to Cambridge	58
2.2.7 Pacifism and the Queer Connection	60
Chapter 3 Networks of Revival: Cambridge, London and Beyond	69
3.1 Cambridge: Setting the Stage of the Interwar Revival – Actors and Instruments... ..	71

Table of Contents

3.2	Cambridge Collectors and Russell Firsts	78
3.3	London, Paris and Beyond: Russell’s Post-war Performing Activities	86
3.4	A Collection Emerges	102
3.5	Key(board) friendships.....	113
Chapter 4	Collecting.....	125
4.1	The Final Quarter of the Nineteenth-Century and the Great Exhibitions	126
4.2	“Choice pieces” – Defining Difference Through a Collection	130
4.3	The Gentleman Polymath: Scholarship and Experimentation through Acquisition	135
4.4	A Turning Point or a Process of Elimination?.....	142
4.5	Connoisseurship and Cultural Capital	146
4.6	Means of Acquisition	148
4.7	Value and Provenance	157
Chapter 5	Making Monuments: The Harpsichord Advocate.....	167
5.1	Historicising the Harpsichord: Russell’s Research in Print.....	168
5.1.1	Addressing his peers: The Royal Musical Association (1956)	171
5.1.2	Monuments of the harpsichord world: Russell’s book.....	177
5.1.3	National Schools.....	180
5.1.4	Addressing the public.....	182
5.2	Advocacy through collections: Benton Fletcher and Russell	183
5.2.1	The Queen’s Ruckers Ruckus	185
5.2.2	Contextualising the Collection	195
5.2.3	Donating the Final Collection – Russell Sets a New Standard	199
Chapter 6	What did Russell do for the Harpsichord?	205
6.1	An alternative position.....	205
6.2	The Making of the Modern Harpsichord	209
6.3	Closing the harpsichord’s lid	214
Appendix A	Personalia	217
Appendix B	“Silly Young Fool”	221
Appendix C	Russell’s Recitals	223

C.1	December 4, 1940.	223
C.2	December 16, 1947.	224
C.3	February 13, 1948.	225
C.4	May 4, 1948.	226
C.5	October 6, 1948.	227
C.6	January 4, 1949.	228
C.7	January 31, 1950.	229
C.8	November 27, 1950.	230
Appendix D Russell on Touch		231
Appendix E Dent’s Congratulations		233
Appendix F Extracts from Dorothy Swainson’s memoirs		235
Appendix G Russell and the Ruckers Ruckus		241
G.1	Letter from R. Russell regarding a Hans Ruckers Harpsichord.	241
G.1.1	Russell’s suggested letter to Arthur Penn	241
G.2	Letter regarding Handel’s Harpsichord.	242
G.3	Russell’s notes from BFAC Meeting.	243
Appendix H Russell’s Final Years		245
Appendix I Transcription of Instrument List		246
Appendix J Heritage Sector Work		249
	Interpretation Layer for Mottisfont Abbey	250
Bibliography		259
	Archival and Manuscript Sources	259
	Primary and Secondary Literature	260
	Discography	275

Table of Figures

Figures 3, 6, 9-15 and 17 are used with permission from the Russell family, copyright Maud Russell's estate.

Figure 1	Raymond with one of his Dolmetsch harpsichords in the early 1950s. (Image from Maud Russell's family photo album, covering 1860-c.1974, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.) 4
Figure 2	Harpsichord by Jean Goermans, 1764, rebuilt by Pascal Taskin, 1783-4, Paris, MIMEd 4329. (Image taken from https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/14796 by kind permission of the University of Edinburgh.) 7
Figure 3	Martin (left) and Maud Russell, holding Raymond. Photograph taken in 1922. From the Russell family photo albums, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. 29
Figure 4	Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. Photo used with kind permission of the National Trust at Mottisfont Abbey. 33
Figure 5	Smoking urn with lute and books. One of the few decorative panels with deep colour, by Rex Whistler for Maud's salon, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. (Image taken by Anna Pizzey, National Trust and used by kind permission of the National Trust)..... 37
Figure 6	Raymond (on the right) as King Charles II. From the Russell family photo albums, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. 39
Figure 7	The musical instrument trophy in the Whistler Room, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, by Rex Whistler. (Image taken by the author)..... 43
Figure 8	"Raymond Russell has little muscle." Image from the Downing College Magazine 1940-1943, <i>The Griffin</i> , 5, Artist anonymous, DCA. 65
Figure 9	Russell at his Grand Concert Pleyel Harpsichord. Image taken from the Russell family photo albums, with kind permission of the National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. 92

Table of Figures

Figure 10	Paris concert 1947. The programme can be found in Maud Russell's Scrapbook, Russell family albums, Mottisfont.....	94
Figure 11	Russell and his pre-1912 Pleyel. Note the multiple pedals and two keyboards. Image taken from the Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.	97
Figure 12	Russell's Dolmetsch 1949 harpsichord photographed for its sale at Sotheby's June 29th, 1956. Image found in Maud Russell's scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont, Hampshire.....	99
Figure 13	Russell at his Gaveau/Dolmetsch harpsichord. Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.	109
Figure 14	Russell at his pre-1912 Pleyel in Romney's studio. Image from the Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.....	110
Figure 15	Russell with his Italian 1620 harpsichord in Romney's house. Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.....	112
Figure 16	Russell's attaché case. In the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh.	138
Figure 17	Letter from the Raven Master. Maud Russell's scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont.	140
Figure 18	Boalch's "Bertolotti" entry with Russell's notes. Russell's copy of Boalch, <i>Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840</i> (London: George Ronald, 1956) currently on loan to the author by David Owen Norris.	154
Figure 19	Boalch's Kirkman list with Russell's notes. Russell's copy of Boalch, <i>Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840</i> (London: George Ronald, 1956) currently on loan to the author by David Owen Norris.	156
Figure 20	EMI Record with the Goermans/Taskin at Mottisfont. Front cover of a record made by Russell's friend, Geraint Jones, at Mottisfont Abbey in 1967, by kind permission of Maud Russell. The Goermans/Taskin instrument (then known as a Couchet/Taskin) is pictured here in the Boys Room at Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.	251
Figure 21	Single manual harpsichord by Michael Johnson in the Red Room, Mottisfont Abbey.	253

Figure 22	Jane Chapman coaching a University of Southampton student in a live musical event in the Red Room.....	254
-----------	--	-----

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Katharine Hawnt

Title of thesis: "Strange Luggage": Raymond Russell, the Harpsichord and Early Music Culture in the Mid-Twentieth Century

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. 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;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature:Date: October 8th 2021

Acknowledgements

Writing this has been one of the parts of the thesis process I have most looked forward to, partly because it signifies how close to the end of the process I am, but mostly because I get to put in writing my sincere gratitude to all those who have helped me get to this point. I thought a PhD was an impossibility for me, but now I know that a thesis is never done alone, and that is how it is possible to do one. My first thanks must go to my fantastic PhD supervisors, Jeanice Brooks and Laurie Stras. Laurie gave me no reason to turn back from the idea of applying to do this project, and has provided unerring support ever since. Jeanice must be the best PhD supervisor anyone could wish for, always generous with her knowledge and advice and continually offering constructive and encouraging feedback to everything I have sent her. I would not have finished this without her balanced and understanding responses to everything I have thrown at her. I am extremely grateful for all the encouraging and informative conversations with the staff, past and present, at St Cecilia's Hall, University of Edinburgh, their help and continued interest in my work: Jenny Nex, Darryl Martin, John Raymond and Grant O'Brien. I am additionally grateful to Jenny for the fantastic advice and guidance with literature and information that she has passed on to me post viva, to improve this thesis. Karen Arrandale and Mimi Waitzman have also been particularly forthcoming with their help, encouragement and interest in this project, for which I thank them. To the National Trust staff at Mottisfont, with whom it was such a pleasure to share my work, I offer my thanks and respect. I must also thank the whole Russell family, who have so willingly engaged with my work and offered help in many ways. In particular, Emily Russell who, in the midst of her own literary project, was so generous in sharing material with me and welcoming me to her home – to the extent that I almost feel part of the family. I hope that I have done Raymond and Maud justice in their eyes. So many friends and family members have kept me going through this lengthy and sometimes difficult process, I hope they know who they are without me naming all of them, I am so grateful. My loyal editors Rosie Hawnt, Nicole Robertson, Uri Smilansky and Kirsty Whatley deserve a special thanks. To my children, without whom I would have handed this in years earlier, but for which the whole experience was richer and the end product stronger, I dedicate this work. Last, and most importantly, I thank my husband whose kindness, patience and generosity with his thought and time has gone a very long way towards getting me and this thesis to the finish line. Thank you!

Chapter 1 Introduction: “Strange Luggage”

Mottisfont, Tuesday, August 27, 1940

Today Raymond, who has been staying away with the aunts, came back with his clavichord which we had travelled with to Brighton a fortnight ago. It had then seemed a very unusual piece of luggage to be travelling with in wartime and in an air raid. But we have always travelled with strange luggage – crocodiles, salamanders, snakes, giant tortoises, armadillos, dogs and cats, accordions et cetera.¹

Maud Russell’s Diary, Book III

Raymond Russell, the subject of his mother’s diary entry, had interests and achievements as eclectic as the family luggage.² Captain Raymond Russell, FSA FRHistS, (1922-1964): collector of historical surgical and keyboard instruments; performer; scholar; organologist; antiquarian; Assistant Honorary Curator of the Historical Surgical Instrument Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons; benefactor of the Zoological Society of London and The Faculty of Music at the University of Edinburgh; Conscientious Objector; Royal Fusilier; discoverer of the site of the first women’s operating theatre at St Thomas’s Hospital and, finally, documenter of the medieval fortifications of the island of Malta.³ Amid these many achievements, Raymond’s collection and championing of early keyboard instruments were the most striking and influential. Yet the role of collectors like him has been largely ignored in the history of the twentieth-century Early Music movement within musicological literature.⁴ This thesis provides an overview of Raymond’s life, his advocacy for and impact on the further development of the harpsichord and its position within the broader context of the twentieth-century revival of interest in early music. Furthermore, this

¹ Emily Russell, *A Constant Heart: The War Diaries of Maud Russell 1938-1945* (Stanbridge, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 2017), 108.

² In Chapters 1 and 2, there are many references to different Russell family members. For this chapter and the following one Raymond and Maud Russell shall be referred to by their first names alone to distinguish them more easily from other family members.

³ Sir Solly Zuckerman, “Mr. Raymond Russell”, Obituaries, *The Times* (London, England), May 05, 1964, 15. Gale Document Number: CS252143269. Sir Russell Brock, “Mr. Raymond Russell”, Obituaries, *The Times* (London, England), April 24, 1964, 18. Gale Document Number: CS302737048.

⁴ This lack has been addressed more within the museum and musical instrument collection world. The specialist musical instrument society, the Galpin Society has many examples in their journal. Here are two such examples: Michael Cole, “Rosamond Harding: Author and Musicologist”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007): 71–84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163894>; James B. Kopp, “William Waterhouse (1931-2007)”, *The Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008): 363–256, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25163957>. See also Florence Gétreau ed., *Musique-Image-Instruments: Revue française d’organologie et d’iconographie musicale*, nos. 8-9 (themed volumes *Les collections d’instruments de musique* parts 1, 2007 and 2, 2009), / CNRS Editions, accessed 1 July 2021, <https://www.cnrseditions.fr/catalogue/revues/musique-images-instruments-8/>.

analysis of his life-work helps to examine the role of collectors in changing attitudes towards harpsichords.

1.1 Who was Raymond Russell?

Raymond began his privileged but troubled life in Marylebone, London in May 1922. His parents, Maud Russell (1891-1982) – the diarist above – and Gilbert Russell (1875-1942), also held their small war-time wedding there in 1917.⁵ Their marriage brought together a mix of European culture, politics, religion, wealth and aristocracy. Maud’s family, the German-Jewish Nelkes, who became naturalised in Britain in 1885, gained their wealth via banking and stockbroking.⁶ The Russells, on the other-hand, were of aristocratic stock. Gilbert’s mother came from French aristocratic lineage, whereas his father, Lord Arthur Russell -- a long standing Liberal MP -- was the brother of the 9th Duke of Bedford, whose family seat was Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.⁷ Gilbert increased his family’s fortune through “entrepreneurial investments, mainly in the natural resource sector” via the merchant bank Cull and Co. which he’d set up with Maud’s father.⁸ They represent a cultured and moneyed class who were able to take advantage of the interwar decline in country estate ownership to purchase the entire estate of Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, in 1934. The next chapter examines Raymond’s early life, exploring the influence of these elite social factors and education on his musical aspirations. I will also examine how contemporary performances and musical studies that he was exposed to affected the direction of his interests.

A great deal of information about Raymond’s life has been drawn from Maud Russell’s diaries, sometimes quoted directly. It is important to be aware that these were private diaries, not written for public viewing; a place Maud felt able to freely express her views without causing upset. They were, therefore, not written with any particular agenda but, in reading her views on Raymond, it is worth considering that her entries were written from the perspective of a mother in the 1940s and 50s. However critical or objective she might seem, she had her own pre-conceived ideas concerning who Raymond was and how he ought to behave.

Raymond’s career demonstrates how early music and historical performance advocacy were situated within a cultured, liberal, social and intellectual elite. His upbringing encompassed a traditional upper-class education in 1930s and early 40s Britain, consisting of preparatory school,

⁵ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 10. Maud’s mother, Maria Nelke (1869-1971), was a Christian and daughter of the Master of the Mint in Germany.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

Eton and then Cambridge (before World War II interrupted his education). With his mother's influence, he was given a cosmopolitan twist in appreciation of the arts, architecture, travel and politics. An early talent for music was cultivated within this family milieu and developed into an interest in historical instruments at a young age, hence his purchase and travels with a 'clavichord' at the age of just 18. This interest was shaped by his musical experience at Eton (1936-38), during a period of private tutelage in Gloucester (1938-1940) and at Downing College, Cambridge (1940-1942). Chapter 2 shows how the educational environments of Eton and Cambridge, and their particular early music scenes, shaped his work and relationships. On returning from military service in late 1946 he began to pursue a career as a performer on the harpsichord, acquiring many keyboard instruments in the late 1940s to do so. The third chapter focuses on Raymond's performing career in the late 1940s and early 1950s, which encompassed the first phase of his instrument acquisitions, and explores the network of keyboard related friendships he built up to support his work. A considerable number of characters appear in this thesis who influenced, or were closely involved in, Raymond's life-story. To help navigate this large familial and social network it may help to refer to the alphabetical Personalia in Appendix A.



Figure 1 Raymond with one of his Dolmetsch harpsichords in the early 1950s. (Image from Maud Russell's family photo album, covering 1860-c.1974, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.)

In 1953 he shifted his focus towards the history of keyboard organology, again using the acquisition of keyboard instruments to inform and demonstrate his studies and theories. This period also saw him research keyboard collections and their catalogues and publish a number of well-respected texts about historical keyboard instruments, whilst he developed an ever-expanding and changing collection of keyboard instruments himself. Chapter 4 looks closely at

Raymond's keyboard instrument collecting, defining when it began, the reasons behind its different phases and his methodology. By 1959 he felt compelled to follow up another area of interest, the history of architecture, and moved to Malta to document the medieval fortifications of the islands.

It was in Malta that a lifetime's addiction to strong medications and alcohol, compounded by the psychological baggage acquired through his and his family's attempts to understand his sexuality, caught up with him. There is much evidence, covered throughout this thesis, that indicates Raymond identified as homosexual.⁹ The term homosexual is used here knowingly anachronistically as, in Raymond's lifetime, the parameters and nomenclature defining sexual identity were different from today.¹⁰ Modelling Lloyd Whitesell's use of the term, I aim to use the term *homosexual* as a "neutral descriptor."¹¹ Although its usage during the period under discussion was by no means stable, we will see the same terminology used by Raymond's mother and friends in Chapter 2.¹² Whilst discussing terminology it is also worth mentioning my usage of the term *queer*. The idea of a queer network existing as part of the infrastructure of the harpsichord revival is a theme that will be developed throughout this thesis. Again, the term queer was in use in Raymond's lifetime, with multiple layers of meaning.¹³ In this thesis I use the word queer to encompass non-heteronormative relationships, sexualities and gender identities.

The most compelling evidence of Raymond's sexuality comes from his time in Malta, in one of his final letters, written to his housekeeper:

I was going to die, but I wanted to hold Blondie's hand. And I dont[sic] know where he is. I would be so happy just to see him for 1 minute. I was so dreadful to him – reporting him when he was ill, though I didn't understand how ill he was. Still I gave my best friend to the Police, and I cant[sic] forgive myself. He must think me terrible – and he wont[sic] forgive this – and I threw away the nicest sailor I can ever meet. It has broken my heart, and I was old enough to know better. He was so good and he worked so hard, [and] was so quiet – so I threw him to the Police!¹⁴

⁹ Maud Russell, Raymond's mother, found hundreds of "erotic photographs[...] 9/10ths of them of men" when searching through his belongings after his death. Maud Russell, April 8, 1964, Diaries, Book XVI, 215.

¹⁰ Lloyd Whitesell, "Ravel's Way," in *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, ed. by Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 61; Florence Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris; 1919-1939*, Vol. I & II (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006), 6, 7.

¹¹ Whitesell, "Ravel's Way," 61.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See "Cyril's" usage of the term in the 1930s. Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 2-3.

¹⁴ Russell to "Concetta" (Russell's housekeeper in Malta), March 15, 1964, Russell family papers.

Chapter 1

This was written during a very turbulent period for Raymond and his family, only two days before his death.¹⁵ His state of guilt, confusion and upset comes across strongly in his handwriting and language. It is clear that Raymond had recently suffered a difficult relationship break-down, and that he had involved the Maltese Police in some way. All the evidence suggesting Raymond's sexuality comes from his correspondence. Without an explicit diary of his own, it is impossible to say when Raymond came to recognise or identify his sexuality. There are, however, events and behaviours that could be interpreted as part of a self-recognition process in his youth, which will be laid out in Chapter 2.

Using drugs as a means to escape any difficulties he encountered, particularly those associated with being a homosexual in British society, Raymond struggled to manage his addiction since being prescribed opiates and barbiturates as a troubled teenager. The Cambridge environment and his intercontinental circle of keyboard enthusiasts provided a safe domain for him to explore his sexuality and interests. However, the hurdles of conscription and relationship break-downs drove him back to substance abuse at different stages of his life. His personal correspondence and his mother's diaries describe a downward spiral of overdoses and hospitalisation from 1961 onwards, that eventually led to his death in March 1964, in his apartment in Malta.

Before his death however, he had begun the process of donating his by then well-known and finely-honed collection of keyboard instruments to the University of Edinburgh. Influenced by his mother's art collecting and the Russell family fascination with the natural world, collecting played an important part throughout his short life. As a child he collected stamps and embraced his family's love of unusual pets; as an adult it was historical keyboard instruments, surgical instruments and medical books, art and Maltese coins. Having spent the 1950s expanding his knowledge of historical keyboard building and playing techniques, he was set on providing a collection of instruments as an educative tool for performers and makers to study, within a suitable institution. In 1959 the University of Edinburgh was settled upon as the most suitable and willing candidate.

¹⁵ See Chapter 5 for further information about this period of his life.

1.1.1 The Russell Collection



Figure 2 Harpsichord by Jean Goermans, 1764, rebuilt by Pascal Taskin, 1783-4, Paris, MIMEd 4329. (Image taken from <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/14796> by kind permission of the University of Edinburgh.)

The Raymond Russell Collection is one of the best-known collections of early keyboard instruments in the world and is now part of the Musical Instrument Collection at the University of Edinburgh. Students have travelled from all over the globe to study the instruments, in particular the features of the different historical schools and periods of keyboard building. The collection offers an invaluable opportunity to learn appropriate techniques to utilise the various instrument mechanisms characteristic of their makers or schools. The instruments have been used as models for some of the most successful harpsichord building workshops around the world in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The existence of Russell's collection is one of the chief instigators of the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded project *The Making of the Modern Harpsichord* and this thesis' research into Raymond Russell.

Raymond Russell's collection has resisted easy definition. The name "The Raymond Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments" is currently used by the museum to refer to the 21

Chapter 1

instruments acquired, either by donation or purchase, from Maud Russell.¹⁶ The keyboard instruments now exhibited at St Cecilia's Hall are not a collection of instruments solely collected by Raymond Russell or, indeed, all of his donated instruments; they are a selection of instruments from a number of collections including some that belonged to the University prior to Raymond's donation. However, historically the keyboard instruments at St Cecilia's Hall have commonly been referred to as the Russell Collection.¹⁷ Although Raymond Russell's collection has been a significant part of the keyboard exhibit since its donation, it has never been the sole collection on display. When St Cecilia's Hall first opened in 1968 the collection of instruments exhibited consisted of the nineteen instruments donated by Maud on behalf of her son, and "other Early Keyboard Instruments" that already belonged to the University. These were referred to as the "Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments" on the spine of the first catalogue published with the opening of the museum, from which the shortened Russell Collection stems.¹⁸ Within that catalogue the University-owned instruments are interspersed with Russell's instruments. Even at the point of donation Russell's collection did not have clearly defined parameters because Maud retained some instruments that her son may have intended to add to his donation. Chapter five explores this in more detail. In addition, over time, the institution itself has referred to the instruments in different ways.¹⁹ The current approach to naming Russell's collection provides clarity over what the Russell family donated to the University of Edinburgh. For further clarity, in lieu of a definitive list of all Russell owned instruments, a transcription of lists produced by Maud Russell in overseeing the disbursement of Raymond's estate has been provided in Appendix I.²⁰

¹⁶ "Raymond Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments", accessed 5 March 2020, <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/record/684>.

¹⁷ Anne Stirling-Whyte ed., *Sidney Newman Remembered 1906-1971: A Centenary Collection of Personal Reminiscences by Edinburgh Colleagues*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, 2006) 9, 21, 35, 38.

¹⁸ Sidney Newman and Peter Williams, *The Russell Collection and Other Early Keyboard Instruments in Saint Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968). This carefully researched catalogue was produced by Sidney Newman (1906-1971), Reid Professor of Music at the University from 1941-1970, who worked closely with Raymond and Maud to achieve the final donation of 19 instruments in 1964 and the museum's opening in 1968. Within 5 years those instruments were added to with two further Russell instruments purchased from Maud. The addition of the Roger Mirrey Collection in 2005 also added instruments that had passed through Raymond's hands before being purchased by Roger Mirrey (1919-2007). "Rodger Mirrey Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments" accessed 5 March 2020, <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/record/695>.

¹⁹ Thanks to Darryl Martin for pointing this out in conversation with the author. Darryl Martin, email to author, October 3, 2017. Evidence for this can be seen in footnote 9 and the series of CDs recorded by John Kitchen, the first volume of which is entitled, *Instruments from the Russell Collection*, where in fact not every instrument used passed through Russell's hands, and Volume II of the same series changes the title to *Instruments from the Raymond Russell Collection*.

²⁰ Raymond made copious notes on instruments in many notebooks and in his collection of auction catalogues. It is not always clear whether his notes refer to instruments he owned, or were simply instruments he'd visited or witnessed the sale of. The pandemic, and other limits on time, have meant it

The collection of early keyboard instruments that Raymond wished to donate to the University of Edinburgh did not come into being out of the blue. What we now define as his collection was continuously reworked by him throughout its history and, in reality, was not begun as a collection. By examining its different historical manifestations and how they relate to the life of the collector, this thesis tells a so far unexplored tale of the formation of musical instrument collections. It could be argued that the commonly used label, the Russell Collection, is a fairer name for a collection that remains in its entirety because of the work of two members of the Russell family – Maud and Raymond. Throughout this thesis “Russell’s collection” is used to describe the collection of instruments in Raymond’s ownership at any one time. The constituents of the collection changed regularly – they were being added to and subtracted from frequently – throughout Raymond’s collecting career.

The fifth and final chapter of this thesis gives a close analysis of Raymond’s advocacy for the harpsichord. By examining his publications, broadcasts and work with other keyboard collections it draws out the agendas behind his corpus, revealing how they drove his collection formation and final donation to the University of Edinburgh. To conclude, the strands explored throughout the thesis will be drawn together, summarising the impact Raymond’s activities have had on the history of the harpsichord in the twentieth-century and the broader early music revival. It will highlight areas where his ideas still prevail and where they have been largely ignored. The thesis’ findings on the connections between Raymond’s class, sex and sexuality and his collecting and advocacy, will be summarised to offer a reading of how these aspects of his life intersect with the world of early music in the mid-twentieth century and beyond.

Raymond’s name is not only associated with The Musical Instrument Museum, Edinburgh but also with two other very different heritage institutions in Britain: Mottisfont Abbey – a National Trust property in Hampshire; and The Old Operating Theatre Museum and Herb Garrett, London. At the time of starting this thesis these institutions lacked detailed information about Raymond, for staff and visitor resources, despite their strong associations with his life and work. Although both museums benefitted significantly from his labour, neither institution had a corporate memory or resources to re-search, or re-remember Raymond’s input. For the National Trust, Raymond, as the son of the last family to own and live at Mottisfont, was a small but significant part of a larger narrative that the property wanted to explore for interpretation purposes, in order to give a truer representation of past inhabitants.²¹ These institutions have already benefited from a great deal

has not been possible to complete a fully comprehensive list of all the instruments Raymond bought and sold.

²¹ Working together with the National Trust, Professors Jeanice Brooks and Laurie Stras of the University of Southampton put forward a case for a thorough investigation of Russell’s life-work to help establish his role

of new material provided by the research process and should find this thesis a useful resource. See Appendix J for details of work undertaken, for multiple heritage institutions, relating to Raymond's career.²²

1.2 Harpsichords in the Early Music Revival

“In the years since 1890 a revival of harpsichord-making has resulted in the appearance of many new instruments, so far used almost entirely for the performance of the works of the early masters, as few modern composers have been seriously interested in the harpsichord.”²³ [...]

This statement was made by Raymond in his study of the history of harpsichords, virginals and spinets, printed first in 1961.²⁴ The 1960s was a pivotal decade for the development of the harpsichord in the twentieth-century and the early music revival as a whole. Studies of the revival of interest in “old music” in the twentieth-century have divided the history into a pre-1960s “Early Music Revival” and a post 1950s, commercially successful “Historically Informed Performance” (henceforth ‘HIP’) movement or “Revolution.”²⁵ For both periods narratives have often centred on individual actors, their acts of music-making and questions of authenticity in terms of the instruments, playing techniques and musical editions used. The role of harpsichords and those that used and made them have played a central role in these narratives. In the earlier revival phase there was an emphasis on repertoire: of chief interest were composers, their music and who played it. In comparison, the HIP phase has emphasised how the repertoire ought to be played.

in the modern revival of the harpsichord and to furnish Mottisfont Abbey with enough information to provide part of their property's interpretation narrative. The author was able to provide a wealth of information and interpretative ideas for a year-long “interpretation-layer” focussed on Raymond Russell, at Mottisfont Abbey, for 2018.

²² Also see the Research page on www.katharinehawnt.com and <https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/harpsichords-mottisfont-abbey>.

²³ Raymond Russell, “The Harpsichord, Spinet, and Virginal,” in *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, ed. Anthony Baines for the Galpin Society (London: Penguin, 1963), 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Harry Haskell's history of “The Early Music Revival” begins by tracing the origins of the revival back to the nineteenth century. Harry Haskell, “The Musical Pompeii”, *The Early Music Revival: A History*, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1988). In the third chapter he refers to a turning point in the European history of the revival brought on by the social and political environment of the 1930s and 40s. *Ibid.*, 64. Bruce Haynes described Dolmetsch and Landowska as “Prophets of the Revolution”, and claimed the “bigger Period instrument revolution” began in the 1960s. Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 38.

This thesis aims to address the missing links between these two histories, focussing on the part that Raymond and his keyboard instruments played in the period of overlap between them, and how his work influenced the history of the harpsichord in the twentieth-century.

Since the mid-twentieth century scholars have focussed on the history of harpsichords through studies of makers both historical and modern.²⁶ Raymond's were amongst some of the earliest publications; new discoveries, advances in technology that have propelled research, and changing perceptions and priorities mean that this history has continued to be revised and updated ever since. Revival instruments, generally those that were being made from the 1890s to the mid 1960s, are often unfavourably compared to those made before the close of the eighteenth-century and since the 1970s. A considerable amount of literature has discussed the activities of performers and makers since a change in instrument building practice that emerged in the 1960s.

Rarely though have questions been asked about the reasons for the early twentieth-century approach to harpsichord building, and few have taken a close look at the many nuanced activities from which the historical building and, consequentially, the historically informed performance movements resulted. By studying Raymond's career and collecting, this thesis will explore the networks and activities that shaped the direction of the harpsichord and the early music movement more generally in the twentieth-century. The post-war period saw a blossoming of interest in keyboard instruments and their history, the origins of which can be found centred in a hive of activity within economically and intellectually elite circles. Raymond stands for this generation, whose interest in keyboard instruments was piqued by earlier pioneers such as Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), Wanda Landowska (1879-1959) and Violet Gordon Woodhouse (1872-1948). His generation built on their received knowledge and strove for a more analytical approach to the history of keyboard development and how the manufacture and use of such instruments should be approached in their context. Through many branches of meticulous research and experimentation with new and old technologies, the post-war keyboard generation envisaged different futures for the evolution of the harpsichord than that which had already occurred; but opinions varied as to the best direction those developments ought to take.

²⁶ Plenty of those studies focus solely on historical makers: Philip James, *Early Keyboard Instruments* (London: Peter Davies Ltd., 1930); Donald Howard Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956); Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959); Frank Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). More recent studies have included references to "The Modern Harpsichord" and its makers, Edward L. Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide: A Manual for Buyers and Owners* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2013), 51-52; Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), chap. 19. And some have concentrated solely on modern makers: Wolfgang Zuckermann, *The Modern Harpsichord: Twentieth Century Instruments and Their Makers* (London: Peter Owen, 1969).

Chapter 1

Raymond intervened in these post-war debates in a variety of ways: he advocated for a thorough understanding of historical harpsichord building and playing techniques via his own performing, publications, and especially through his collection. By means of intense research, experimentation and buying and selling of instruments, he attempted to form a collection that would act as a tool for performers and makers. In this he succeeded. Key to his donation was the desire for his collection to remain available in a working and playable condition, so that builders and performers could better understand the many features of the different historical models. As such, his collection has proved a vital resource for many.

By scrutinizing Raymond and his collection, and striving to understand what drove his collecting and the agendas at play within his work, this thesis sheds light on a number of under-explored areas within musical instrument collections: the process of forming such a collection; the particular conservation complexities of keeping a collection of antique instruments in working order; and the social history of instruments and those working with them at a particular point in time.

1.2.1 Curious Collectables

“The history of collecting tracks the social life of art. Far more than a list of dates and owners, the history of collecting is the history of how and why art matters to us. Prices tell us something; the explanations people give for prices tell us more. [...] It is the patterns of collecting that change history.[...] Collection museums challenge us – I would say allow us – to see the values of the past. And by comparing the artistic values of the present with those of the past, we gain a better understanding of both.”²⁷

Anne Higonnet’s statement can be as readily applied to musical instrument collection as art. She accordingly offers sound justification for a close examination of collectors of musical instruments, their role within our musical history, and how these collections are treated within institutions. Establishing the social history of a musical instrument collection can tell us a great deal about the societal musical activities that created and continue to sustain it.

To examine the work of musical instrument collectors offers a valuable insight into the surrounding social history of the broader musical activities in which their collecting took a part. To study the biography and inception of interest of an individual collector can offer a viewpoint from which to engage with the instruments themselves and the social history of their use in the

²⁷ Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope Publishing, 2009), 25.

revival. These ideas give the basis for the following two chapters of this thesis, where Raymond's early life, education and performing career are examined.

1.2.2 Departures from the Norm.

The acts of collecting and looking after collections of musical instruments differ significantly from those acts relating to art and *objets d'art*. The chief difference is inherent to the nature of a musical instrument itself, in that it has been created to make music on. An important distinction from other *objet d'art* is that the sense of 'art' associated with musical instruments comes mainly from their role as a channel for the art to be created from – i.e. their main purpose is to be used in making art – rather than as a work of art in itself (though of course many also have high aesthetic qualities). In the chapter "Acquisition on the Highest Terms" Higonnet argues that objects can be imbued with a new value through collecting and are often abstracted from their original purpose when added to a collection.²⁸ This change can be expressed using the terminology "use-value" and "exhibition-value": an object's use-value will often be replaced or "exchanged" by exhibition-value when it is assimilated into a collection.²⁹ It will rarely, though not exclusively, get used for its intended purpose again and, if it breaks or becomes fragile through age, it can be kept under certain conditions in order to maintain its non-useable state and still be appreciated as a work of art; it retains its "exhibition-value". A musical instrument, however, has multiple different states of being in which it can be appreciated as a collectible work of art, and these states have different implications for its conservation and preservation. In the case of Raymond's Collection, the intention behind the donated collection was that the instruments would be kept in a way that would retain some form of their use-value, which makes caring for them additionally complicated. Some of these complexities are addressed in Chapter 5.

Analysis of collectors of musical instruments is in its infancy, relative to other areas of collecting, so that comparisons of the agendas underlying such collections, to highlight how Raymond's work departs from or aligns with them, is problematic. A trait that stands out amongst collectors of musical instruments however, though it is not universal, is the number of collections that were amassed as tools to be used by musicians themselves.³⁰ When acquired as tools items are

²⁸ Higonnet, "Acquisition on the Highest Terms" in *A Museum of One's Own*, 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 73,74.

³⁰ A recent inaugural Musical Instrument Collectors and Collections conference at the University of Oxford, August 2019, that brought together collectors, collection curators and researchers has highlighted this trait. This was something discussed by Jeremy Montagu (1927-2020) – horn player, percussionist and musical instrument collector – during his paper "Why do I collect instruments?" at the conference. Anthony Baines (1912-1997) – organologist, collector, curator of the Bate Collection – is another example of a musician turned collector. Jeremy Montagu, "Anthony Baines, 1912-97", *Early Music* 25, no. 2 (1997): 345–46, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3128540>.

Chapter 1

intended for continued use and therefore need to be maintained in such a way as to enable that. This is where musical instrument collections and, in particular, historical keyboard instrument collections can differ significantly from others.³¹ Instruments retain their use-value when acquired in this tool-kit creation process, whereas objects collected in other patterns of collecting such as art and *objets d'art*, have their use-value immediately exchanged by exhibition-value on arrival in a collection. Although the context of the use-value of the instruments has changed, its use-value remains similar to that of its original purpose when a musician adds it to his collection. Raymond's other collecting areas -- surgical instruments, coins, Antiquarian medical books -- could also be said to retain some use-value, in that he used them to study (as he did with the keyboard instruments), but they have been abstracted from their original contexts.³²

As this thesis demonstrates, Raymond's keyboard instrument collection is no exception to the tool-kit creation phenomenon; he began to acquire instruments with no deliberate attempt to collect, but to amass an immediately available group of tools to practise on. This is borne out both by the evidence given in Chapters 2 and 3 and the term "armamentarium" that Raymond used in his own description of his collection.³³ Raymond's selection process changed over time, in parallel with developments in his playing technique and awareness of hegemonic attitudes. Through his thorough reading and interpretation of primary sources Raymond's views on harpsichord playing technique moved away from prevailing performance fashions – such as those inspired by Landowska or espoused by contemporaries like Thurston Dart (1921-1971) and George Malcolm (1917-1997) – towards an approach informed by historical treatises. This work in turn influenced his instrument choices and his selection of materials used to maintain them. Raymond's gradual shift from using 'heavy' Pleyel instruments to 'lighter' historical models in his own performances, described in Chapters 4 and 5, mirrors his changing attitudes and therefore the constituents of his collection.

³¹ The construction of historical keyboard instruments, where the wooden frame is under continual pressure from tautly strung metal strings that need regular tuning, and a sound-making mechanism that is relatively fragile, means there are plenty of components that can deteriorate with age and improper use. Similarities could be drawn here with other stringed musical instrument collections that are required to remain in playing order. In particular, in keeping bowed stringed instruments 'alive' for instance, there are also a number of components employed in actually making the sound that can deteriorate with both age and use.

³² Raymond had no intentions of re-creating historical surgical procedures for instance!

³³ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9. See the opening quote of Chapter 4.

1.2.3 The Collectors' Image within Early Music's Revival Literature

Few musicological narratives of the revival have focussed on the role played by collectors.³⁴ Collecting and historical performance practice are rarely connected in literature. Studies that do make reference to collectors or collections normally focus on the individual's other musical activities or specific instruments within a collection. The recently published *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music* does not have an entry for collectors collectively, and very few entries for well-known collectors.³⁵ Carl Engel (1818-1882), Francis Galpin (1858-1945) and Alfred Hipkins (1826-1903) are actually mentioned as collectors whereas others, such as Anthony Baines (1912-1997), are singled out for their organological or performance work.³⁶ More recent collectors appear because of other contributions often without mention of their collection, or not at all.³⁷ It is an encyclopedia of "Performance in Music" after all, but there is little to reflect how helpful such collections or collectors have been to the development of performance practice in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries. As might be expected, more specialist instrument development histories have emphasised collections and collectors of the relevant instrument/s. Importantly, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* has entries for Collections, and Collectors and Collecting and lists a number of significant collectors of keyboard instruments, including Raymond.³⁸ Edward L. Kottick, in his seminal survey, *A History of the Harpsichord*, brings collectors to the fore in "Historicism and antiquarianism" and "Collectors and Collections".³⁹ He also dedicates a short section to "Collecting in the Twentieth Century" where he mentions mainly American keyboard collections and the collecting of keyboard instruments as a phenomenon in the twentieth-century.⁴⁰ These studies all rightly highlight collectors and collections of keyboard instruments, noting *inter alia* the final locations of those collections, but there is little or no room for exploring the role of those collectors and collections

³⁴ Wilson emphasises the role in terms of instrument accessibility. Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (OUP USA, 2014), 106. Haskell lists a number of collections that were formed in the last decades of the nineteenth century and explains that "early instruments were still viewed as antiquarians' playthings". Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 24.

³⁵ Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 54-55, 256-257. Baine's work with the Bate Collection is discussed, but Philip Bate himself doesn't have an entry.

³⁷ For example Christopher Hogwood (1941-2014) is emphasised as a conductor, performer and educator, with no mention of his collection of keyboard instruments. *Ibid.*, 308-309. Richard Burnett, whose large collection of keyboard instruments that resided, as a "Musical Museum", at Finchcocks (1971-2015) and provided access to many historical performance students and performers within that time, does not get an entry and neither does his collection. "History" *Finchcocks Piano Courses* (blog), accessed 20 October 2020, <https://www.finchcocks.com/history/>.

³⁸ Igor Kipnis, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 85-92.

³⁹ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, Chapter 17.

⁴⁰ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 402.

in influencing performance practice or instrument making developments. In fact, in the definition of “The Modern Harpsichord” in his earlier publication, *The Harpsichord Owner’s Guide: A Manual for Buyers and Owners*, Kottick credits the realisation of “the inherent superiority of the historical models over the revival instruments” to “people like Frank Hubbard, William Dowd, and Hugh Gough”.⁴¹ For the purposes of this thesis though, it is worth considering here the basis upon which individuals came to that realisation: what was their experience with historical keyboard instruments and how had that come about? Through a close analysis of Raymond’s work this thesis pursues such enquiries. Closer studies of the lives of musical instrument collectors are emerging: Mimi Waitzman’s forthcoming chapter about Major George Benton-Fletcher (1866-1944); Alice Little’s examinations of folk instrument collectors and her forthcoming work on the Bate Collection catalogue of the Anthony Baines archive are just two examples.⁴² These works will no doubt influence future revival narratives but, so far, reviews of the revival have not extensively explored the collector’s or musical instrument collections’ role within it.

In *Holding History in Their Hands*, a chapter of Nick Wilson’s *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, Wilson succinctly outlines the problems encountered by twentieth and twenty-first century early music advocates in attempting to use historical musical instruments.⁴³ To do so, he tackles the “domains of musicology, organology and performance practice” to understand “‘new’ practices” developed to deal with the performance of “‘old’ music”.⁴⁴ Wilson gives prominence to collectors in this chapter by underlining the importance of accessibility to historical examples of instruments for performers and makers, made possible through collections.⁴⁵ When discussing “Organological Issues” he outlines the work of Philip Bate (1909-1999), “musicologist, broadcaster, and collector of musical instruments”, the foundation of The Galpin Society in 1946, and the donation of Bate’s collection of woodwind instruments to Oxford University in 1968.⁴⁶ Wilson highlights the “gulf between the theoretical knowledge imparted” by groups – such as The Galpin Society – that specialise in the “history and study of musical instruments” and the performance practice of

⁴¹ Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner’s Guide*, 51.

⁴² Mimi S. Waitzman, “George Henry Benton Fletcher: The Improbable Collector,” in *Through the Eyes and Ears of Musical Instrument Collectors c.1860-1940*, ed. Christina Linsenmeyer (forthcoming); Alice Little, “Percy Manning, Henry Balfour, Thomas Carter, and the Collecting of Traditional English Musical Instruments”, *Folk Music Journal* 11, no.1 (2016) :25-41; and see also the Galpin Society Journal examples in footnote 4, and further Galpin Society Journal obituaries of collectors.

⁴³ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, chap. 6.

⁴⁴ Wilson, 94.

⁴⁵ Wilson, 106.

⁴⁶ Wilson, 99. For further information about The Galpin Society read here “Galpin Society.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 31 Aug. 2020
<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000010592>.

professionals involved in performing early music in Britain.⁴⁷ The donation of Bate's collection, subject as it was to the condition that it be used for teaching, went some way to reducing that gulf. In mentioning Bate's collection Wilson not only provides a prime example of the role musical instrument collections have had in the education of early music advocates, but also emphasises the importance of the manner in which those collections are employed. Plenty of exhibits of musical instruments remain silent, but when instruments are to be used for teaching this sets up a number of problematic implications: they need to be maintained in playing order which, in some cases, entails restoration and maintenance work that then has ramifications for the instruments' conservation. The fifth chapter will examine these issues more closely.

From her own experience of living alongside another working collection of instruments – the Benton Fletcher Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments – Lorna Arnold noted the importance of instrument collectors to the period post 1890 in which early music “connoisseurs sought out old instruments to buy and restore”.

At the time [circa 1950], lovers of early music were busy seeking out and rescuing old instruments and having them restored. Old discarded spinets and harpsichords might be found in lumber-rooms, attics and out-houses, often in a pathetic condition. Others, which had been kept by their owners as elegant pieces of furniture, had been gutted and made into cocktail cabinets. So the rescue work of the collectors was invaluable, and came none too soon.⁴⁸

Such brief and sometimes romanticised mentions of the role of collectors within the revival leave room for a far more detailed examination of the context and processes of their work. The final two chapters of this thesis examine Russell's collecting process and advocacy, which were situated within the post-war keyboard revival boom.

The timely publication of Edmond Johnson's article “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord” in 2013 highlights a number of points that this thesis explores further.⁴⁹ The centrality of the harpsichord to the Early Music revival is emphasised but without a close examination of the source of the physical instruments used. Johnson evaluates the story of the harpsichord's nineteenth and early twentieth-century history and the change in perception of the instrument. He argues that the period beginning after World War II, in which there was a “dramatic and nearly wholesale adoption of more historically based models” could be viewed as a

⁴⁷ Wilson, 99.

⁴⁸ Lorna Arnold, *My Short Century* (Palo Alto, CA: Cumnor Hill Books, 2012), 119.

⁴⁹ Edmond Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord” *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 2 (April 2013): 180–214, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2013.30.2.180>.

Chapter 1

third life for the harpsichord, the second being that of “the harpsichord’s resurgence near the turn of the twentieth-century”.⁵⁰ When mentioning those “luminaries” associated with this “renaissance” however, he stresses the importance of harpsichord makers by naming three of them; no performers or collectors are attributed here with supporting that change.⁵¹

For the centrality of the harpsichord in the broader revival of interest in early music Johnson reasons:

No other instrument played as visible – or, perhaps, as controversial – a role in popularizing musical activities related to the revival. Having, as it does, a large and visually distinctive presence, the harpsichord has a tendency to garner attention wherever it appears, whether in a museum case or on the concert hall stage.⁵²

These factors are significant to the history of the harpsichord but other important factors that have implicated the instrument’s position should also be considered: an increasing interest in repertoire featuring the harpsichord; its fundamental role within a significant proportion of music written between 1600-1800; its value as a beautiful piece of antique furniture; and the backlash against the ideological direction of “progress” in which nineteenth-century historiography had taken music.⁵³

Johnson’s article focusses on the nineteenth-century perception of the harpsichord and its position within the public imagination, suggesting that interest in it was rooted in notions of nostalgia for past times:

[T]he harpsichord existed during this period not as a tangible musical object but as a fanciful idea residing in the collective imagination. Though rarely encountered by the general public during most of the nineteenth-century, the harpsichord was far from forgotten: it lived on in the poetry and prose of the time, maintaining a sort of shadowy belletristic afterlife that continued long after most of the physical relics.⁵⁴

[T]he harpsichord had emerged from the nineteenth-century with a heavy freight of ghostly associations.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Johnson, 181.

⁵¹ The makers mentioned are Hugh Gough, Frank Hubbard and William Dowd. Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ John Williamson, “Progress modernity and the concept of an avant-garde”, in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 287.

⁵⁴ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life,” 182-183.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 187.

Other studies, however, have suggested that those interested in “old music” aimed to counteract Romantic musical ideologies that were so dominant.⁵⁶ It could be said that harpsichord enthusiasts were using the harpsichord as a tool to this end. They enabled a new approach to performing and listening to some commonly known music, whilst also allowing engagement with other previously unknown music.

Johnson refers negatively to the role of collectors of early keyboard instruments in the harpsichord’s “resurrection” and even suggests that they may have hindered it. He claims that “antique instruments[...]remained mostly confined to private collections and were rarely accessible to the public at large.”⁵⁷ To suggest that instruments were actively “confined” within collections misconstrues the activities of at least some collectors and ignores the lack of accessibility to such instruments by other means.⁵⁸ Johnson refers to the collector, Morris Steinert, through a reading of a nineteenth-century article by L.D. Mayland.⁵⁹ In doing so Johnson underlines a romanticised narrative of his collecting process but does not go as far as investigating that process or its outcomes. An acknowledgement of Steinert’s collection’s impact on the revival itself is placed in a footnote that refers to Steinert’s donation of his collection to Yale University, “where it remains today” as a point of access for musicians, students, organologists, instrument builders and members of the public.⁶⁰ Arnold’s description of collectors “rescuing” instruments is a more sensitive analysis of those who saw their collecting as an act of preservation and an avenue of research for future development, rather than selfishly hoarding them as Johnson’s phrase implies.⁶¹

Organology, studies of collecting and the associated area of museum creation are well represented separately in research and literature. But, so far, the synthesis of these methodologies in the examination of musical instrument collectors is in its infancy. This thesis looks to museum studies and the social history of collection as a mode of understanding important aspects of the history of the harpsichord and of early music more generally in the twentieth-century.

⁵⁶ See Jeanice Brooks’ discussion of Nadia Boulanger’s treatment of early music within her concert programmes in “Tomb or treasure”, in Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), particularly 194-202.

⁵⁷ Johnson, 195.

⁵⁸ Museum culture was an emerging construct in the nineteenth century, partly based on the acts of collectors, and the same can be said of publicly available musical education – in the form of Conservatoires. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (Routledge, 2013). In what other way would these instruments be made accessible?

⁵⁹ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life,” 197-198.

⁶⁰ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life,” 197.

⁶¹ Arnold, *My Short Century*, 119.

1.2.4 “A Strange Evolution”: What were revivalists in Britain doing?⁶²

The past quarter of a century has seen the rehabilitation of the harpsichord to such an extent that it is common form to expect in performances of eighteenth-century choral masterpieces the use of this once obsolete instrument for the continuo, though the same expectation for the Brandenburg concertos has not yet become equally axiomatic.⁶³

Likening the development of music to Darwinian principles of evolution, this critic for the *The Times*, in describing the harpsichord’s “Strange Evolution” in 1954, points to the twentieth-century resurgence of harpsichords as a “phenomenon” that “defies” the concept of linear music history. Revival projects of the early twentieth-century demonstrated a variety of attitudes towards old music and musical instruments. Although the HIP movement is now far more widespread, arguably even mainstream, the same could be said of today’s practices; there is no consistent approach to historical performance practice. There was great variation in how historical instruments of all types were treated; how closely new models were based on old; the choice of instrument for the performance of old music; and how such repertoire was programmed. With proportionally more surviving historical examples, this variation was most evident in the use of harpsichords and related keyboard instruments. The aforementioned critic, in demonstrating how common harpsichord usage was in some areas of musical life and not in others, described a shifting landscape in the understanding and use of harpsichords. Through the lens of Raymond’s life, this thesis aims to examine that landscape, from the 1930s onwards, more closely. To set the scene, a brief outline of preceding events follows.

Raymond’s activities built on the work of earlier figures of the twentieth-century early music revival, including makers and performers as well as collectors. The most often studied maker of the early twentieth-century is Arnold Dolmetsch, commonly considered the chief initiator of the revival in Britain.⁶⁴ His work has been covered extensively by direct family members and other scholars, but there is still room for research to fully appreciate and validate his career.⁶⁵ In relation to keyboard instruments his work included ‘restoration’ or rather ‘adaption’ of antique examples; the building of new versions of harpsichords, clavichords, virginals, spinets and fortepianos; using them within his own performances of old music and teaching others his

⁶² Music Critic, “The Harpsichord: A Strange Evolution,” *The Times* (London, England), Friday April 23, 1954, Issue 52913, 10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, Chap. 2, “The Apostle of Retrogression”.

⁶⁵ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957); Margaret Campbell, *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975).

interpretation of how they ought to be played. Anecdotal mention of his work amongst today's specialist musicians sometimes borders on scorn and derision, particularly for his instruments, but, amongst connoisseurs of the revival and within academia at least, there is a desire to better understand his vision and the parameters within which he worked.⁶⁶ The principle criticism levelled at makers and restorers like Dolmetsch, in terms of the development of the modern harpsichord, is that they felt it was within their remit to make 'improvements' on historical examples; these were adaptations to the mechanism of the instrument that had no grounding in historical making techniques. Wilson and Frank Hubbard note the lack of any oral or written tradition that survived to educate contemporary makers in historical techniques; therefore early revivalists had to be innovators and "were largely self-taught".⁶⁷ These improvements, though, were aimed at making the instrument more practical for and adaptable to contemporary musicians' and audience requirements. Johnson argues that the treatment of surviving historical instruments by "the first generation[...]revivalists[...]had to carefully balance the appeal of the harpsichord's evocative history with the practical requirements of modern concert halls and the aural expectations of audiences weaned on a musical diet rich in Wagner and Brahms."⁶⁸ Between 1889 – when the first French models of harpsichords were made by the piano manufacturers Pleyel and Erard – and the 1960s, audiences' audio expectations adjusted through wider exposure to harpsichords. Throughout those decades much about those instruments, the way they were made and played, changed. A fuller understanding of the context within which those developments occurred can inform our treatment of such activities within academia and the heritage sector. Raymond's work demonstrates a thorough comprehension of the context of those developments up until the 1960s. However, the conclusions he reached from that work, and his suggested outcome for the future development of the instrument were very different to that which actually occurred.

An examination of the musical environments encountered by Raymond through his upbringing and education demonstrate how widespread the interest in old music was within certain sectors of society. Dolmetsch has been described as a relatively "isolated figure" amidst the global musical scene.⁶⁹ In "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past", Taruskin dismisses Dolmetsch (on the basis of Ezra Pound's assessment of him) as an isolated "rustic crank" and

⁶⁶ Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9.

⁶⁷ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 104; Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, ix-x.

⁶⁸ Johnson, "The Death and Second Life," 199.

⁶⁹ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 39. Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 144. Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 20.

Chapter 1

claims that many professional musicians, outside a small British circle of enthusiasts, were unaware of him.⁷⁰ This extreme opinion ignores many aspects of Dolmetsch's life: his studies in Belgium and work in France for Gaveau and in the US for Chickering, for instance. Taruskin's stance could be interpreted, particularly when read alongside the relatively large amount of literature surrounding Dolmetsch's work, as suggesting that there were few others who shared his interest in earlier repertoire and instruments during that period of musical history. However, it is more likely that Dolmetsch's perceived isolation reflects his lack of social and commercial adeptness and the skewed perception of his work by contemporary academics and performers such as Landowska.⁷¹ He was anti-establishment. A study of other revival activities, incorporating collectors, can illuminate the scene more clearly and show how Dolmetsch's work interacted with it. By shining a light on a number of pockets of interest in old music and instruments that emerged in the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, this thesis reveals just how widely the phenomenon spread. Dolmetsch was an important figure and, evidently, not an isolated one. Although Raymond consciously rejected certain aspects of Dolmetsch's approach to music and instruments in his advocacy, the development of his career was indebted to the foundations laid by Dolmetsch and others of his generation.

The seeds of interest in old music were sown in many quarters of the social fabric of British society in which Raymond moved. Within the Anglican church the nineteenth-century saw a revival in church music that significantly changed the character of church services; this revival was partly initiated through the introduction of adapted Gregorian psalm tones.⁷² In the latter part of the century there was an increased concern for reviving the music of pre-Reformation English composers, which was brought to the fore in the twentieth-century by the likes of Sir Richard Terry (1865-1938) at Westminster Cathedral.⁷³ As an organ student and prospective organ scholar at Cambridge, this repertoire would have made up a considerable part of Raymond's organ studies. Alexandra Harris, in *Romantic Moderns*, refers to a search for 'Englishness' that spanned the arts, literature, and architecture, inspired by British landscape and folk traditions.⁷⁴ Such notions led early twentieth-century British composers to explore both folk music and other

⁷⁰ Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 144.

⁷¹ Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 33; Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 33, 39; Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 223; Campbell, *Dolmetsch*, 142.

⁷² Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)* (Boydell & Brewer, 2001); Nicholas Temperley, "The Anglican Choral Revival", *The Musical Times* 112, no. 1535 (1971): 73-75, <https://doi.org/10.2307/955741>.

⁷³ Suzanne Cole, "A Great National Heritage" *The Early Twentieth-Century Tudor Church Music Revival* (British Academy, 2011); Suzanne Cole, "The Early Twentieth-Century Revival of Tudor Church Music", *Context: Journal of Music Research*, no. 37 (2012): 130-34, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/196165267>.

⁷⁴ Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper*, (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2010).

earlier repertoires to inform their own compositions.⁷⁵ These endeavours, combined with the uncertainties of the interwar years, were key to a widening interest in revival as a means to establish what it meant to be British. Raymond's formative youth at Eton and Cambridge was situated within this interwar scene of revival and pride in British history.

Performers such as Wanda Landowska and Violet Gordon Woodhouse also played a significant role in shaping the background to Raymond's development. Their careers followed sequentially after Dolmetsch's and their instrument choices represent two very different approaches to harpsichords in the early part of the twentieth-century. Woodhouse was loyal to the Dolmetsch approach, which was linked to the Arts and Crafts movement; Dolmetsch's first instrument was made at the behest of William Morris, to be shown in the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1896.⁷⁶ His instruments were often made to order and were hand-, or at least craftsman-, made.⁷⁷

Landowska, on the other hand, a musician who had an established link with the French Pleyel firm of makers, was far more interested in producing an impressive array of sonorities that would carry in a large concert hall and her large, grand piano-style, partly self-designed instruments reflected that desire.⁷⁸ The work of French firms such as Erard and Pleyel (and not long after, German firms such as Neupert) was dominated by a commercial approach to harpsichord making, strongly linked to piano making factories.

Raymond owned examples of Pleyel and Dolmetsch harpsichords within his lifetime, but his collection represents only earlier historical models; one of the foremost instruments in that collection is the 1769 Taskin harpsichord.⁷⁹ Despite their differences the origins of the French and British making scenes can both be traced back to this one single instrument: both Erard and Pleyel based their first models "loosely" on this French eighteenth-century harpsichord made by Pascal Taskin (1723-1793).⁸⁰ In Russell's words this instrument was "Pascal Taskin's own harpsichord of 1769", which had been lent to the French pianist Louis Diémer (1843-1919) by the Taskin family to perform a series of harpsichord recitals at the 1889 *Exposition Universelle*. The instrument had

⁷⁵ Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940*, second edition (New York: Manchester University Press, 2001).

⁷⁶ Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 16.

⁷⁷ Some of Dolmetsch's early training was undertaken in a piano firm, so that approach would have influenced his keyboard instruments too. Although his earliest copies were reasonably closely modelled on their original examples, he quickly developed his own 'improvements' to his keyboard building techniques that were not based on historical versions. Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*; Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, "The Six Early Clavichords of Arnold Dolmetsch: Their Construction and Inspiration," *The Galpin Society Journal* 53 (2000): 274-300, <https://doi.org/10.2307/842328>.

⁷⁸ Wanda Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, trans. and ed. by Denise Restout (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965), 42-46.

⁷⁹ See Chapters 3 and 5.

⁸⁰ Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide: A Manual for Buyers and Owners*, 49; Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 409-414.

Chapter 1

been restored by Louis Tomasini in 1882 and then lent to Erard “who wished to copy it for commercial production”.⁸¹ Diémer and the Taskin instrument’s importance in this history are manifold. Not only were they key to the inception of the French movement, but knowledge of Diémer’s work and a performance of his on the Taskin instrument in Brussels in 1879 was also credited in part with inspiring Dolmetsch’s interest in the harpsichord.⁸² It is likely that the instrument’s role in the nineteenth-century history of the harpsichord was of particular relevance to Raymond’s purchase of it.

Raymond advocated for an historically informed approach to the building of harpsichords. The concept of making new harpsichords that closely resemble historical examples (in look, construction material and sound) took off in the 1960s, after his death; Frank Hubbard (1920-1976) and American harpsichord-makers are normally credited with instigating it.⁸³ Wilson concisely outlines the issues encountered by instrument builders in “To Copy or to Improve? That is the Question”; in particular he covers the move towards making a “copy” rather than seeking to “improve” an instrument, which is the approach that became acceptable by the 1970s and still persists.⁸⁴ To achieve such a widely accepted shift however, it is likely that the foundations for such a development were set well before the publication of Hubbard’s *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. This thesis aims to ascertain the ideologies that precipitated this shift, and Raymond’s role in the transition.

This evolution in harpsichord building was concurrent with the beginning of the HIP movement. The course of many individuals’ careers spanned that change. Within the harpsichord world some of these individuals’ names are still revered and are acknowledged in recent literature: Thurston Dart, Frank Hubbard and Ralph Kirkpatrick (1911-1984) are just a few examples of harpsichord related careers that reached beyond the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, whose names still garner respect. Other individuals, such as Raymond, despite the strength and impact of their activities within their lifetime, have lost their place in the history of the revival.

Via a close investigation of the life-work of Raymond Russell this thesis sheds light on an important transition in twentieth-century musical history. It aims to establish Raymond’s place in the twentieth-century development of the harpsichord within the context of the history of the

⁸¹ Raymond Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800”, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1 January 1955): 64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765868>.

⁸² Kipnis, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 367; Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800”, 64; Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 9.

⁸³ In particular Hubbard and Dowd’s workshop and the publication of Hubbard’s, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, in 1965 are credited with this change. Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 104.

⁸⁴ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 103-105.

early music movement as a whole. In positioning Raymond it highlights the role of earlier collectors within these scenes, a role that remains under-explored. In particular, through analysing Raymond's collecting processes and agendas, the vital role played by such collectors in the development of harpsichord making throughout the last century will be thoroughly examined. It outlines a career that was set on foundations built by preceding generations of collectors and enthusiasts from whom the revival formed its roots. Raymond, with the advantages of wealth and an elite education and background, utilised his ample resources and opportunities to build on and improve the knowledge base and fill in gaps that he perceived in the post-war boom of interest in these instruments. This study will help answer why Raymond's name has been dropped from the collective harpsichord memory in the interim period. It will highlight and interrogate networks of influence that colour the broader picture of the HIP movement and emphasise how doing so could inform a reassessment of the narratives that dominate its history. In the case of Raymond this thesis identifies a queer, cross-continental network of harpsichord advocates. Members of this network were highly influential within the multiple layers of the harpsichord and early music scenes. Identifying such a network offers a new lens through which to view and interpret their activities.

The heritage and museum sector have always used objects to inform narratives of our past. This thesis offers the study of a collection of musical instruments and its creator as a resource to better understand our musical past and its broader context.

Chapter 2 Russell's Early Life and Influences

Nick Wilson described the post 1960 early music movement as a “new kind of ‘quiet revolution’ led predominantly by highly educated middle-class individuals.”¹ My research, which looks at the precursors to this movement, offers a different social emphasis. Born a generation earlier, Raymond Russell, while highly educated, exhibited all the trappings of the upper-classes. Using his example, this chapter explores the importance of the elitist dimension of the early music revival. Tracing his early biography, it underlines the fundamentals of wealth, contacts and an intellectual and artistic environment as vital foundations on which Raymond built his subsequent career. I explore how Raymond's interests in early keyboards grew within a social milieu that was characteristic of elite English circles in the early twentieth-century. His upbringing and education exemplify the type of elite cultural background from which the early music revival emanated.²

A further strand, in connection with these elite origins, is the influence of notions that underscored The English Musical Renaissance on the early music revival. Studies ascribing to the idea of this renaissance see it as a “revitalization” of English composition.³ A movement that is traced from the mid-nineteenth century to the Second World War and centres on the musical activities of composers such as Hubert Parry (1848-1918), Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958). These composers drew musical influence from the British Folk tradition, earlier repertoires and the pastoral. This period also saw a rejuvenation of interest in earlier British composers such as William Byrd (1539/40 – 1623), Thomas Tallis (1505-1585) and Henry Purcell (1659-1695), as part of efforts that sought to establish British composers as a more dominant part of a musical canon so far heavily reliant on Germanic culture. It is interesting to note that Parry himself owned a harpsichord.⁴ Merion Hughes and Robert Stradling, in their contentious book *The English Musical Renaissance: 1840-1940 Constructing a National Music*, argue that the renaissance in British music “was the conscious production of an intellectual and social elite” seeking to “establish British compositional output as a significant factor in the construction of national consciousness.”⁵ The “civilizing potential of music” was

¹ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 60.

² Attributions of elitist strains in the emergence of interest in early music can be found in a number of studies including: Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 60, 68; Taruskin, “The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past” in *Text and Act*, 104, 130-136.

³ Michael Kennedy, review of *The English Musical Renaissance*, by Frank Howes, *Folk Music Journal* 1, no. 2 (1966): 119. Accessed April 23, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/4521756.

⁴ Hubert Parry owned a Shudi Harpsichord built in 1781. Donald Howard Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956), 110.

⁵ The first quote is from Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940*, 291. The second quote comes from David Wright, “Going for Green”, review of *The English Musical Renaissance*,

stressed by those at the forefront of elite British society.⁶ Using the example of Raymond, this chapter reinforces suggestions that the roots of the revival of early music resided in elite intellectual and socio-economic circles, and was inspired by the “English Musical Renaissance.”

2.1 Meet the Russells

The idea of a link between the beginning of the early music revival and the socio-economic elite is not in itself new. Johnson gives weight to this argument when he described the Special Exhibition of Ancient Musical Instruments that opened June 1st 1872, in London’s South Kensington Museum in his article.⁷ This was overseen by Queen Victoria’s second son, Alfred, and Carl Engel, a collector who had established himself as a leading organological authority since moving to Britain in 1840. In reference to individuals who collected, Wilson too associates “having money” as “a distinctly helpful” resource for “[s]ome ‘men of means,’ like Tom Goff and Michael Morrow [who] were freer than most to pursue their love of instruments and music.”⁸ It is worth noting here that Wilson refers to “men of means,” excluding women, and that in many cases collectors of valuable musical instruments were men with access to wealth via either inheritance, trade or marriage.⁹ Waitzman, in her study of Benton-Fletcher, also questions the origins of his seemingly large financial resources in order to collect the instruments and properties that he did.¹⁰ For a collector of valuable objects secure finances and few financial dependants (such as a family) are a crucial part of enabling the pursuit. Establishing the source of such a resource, as this chapter aims to do by investigating Raymond’s early life and background, is a valid avenue of research when examining a collector. By placing his upbringing in its socially, culturally and intellectually elite context, this thesis further upholds the claims of Taruskin and Wilson about the link between elitism and the early music revival.

by Merion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The Musical Times* 143, no. 1879 (2002): 48, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1004601>.

⁶ The Duke of Albany and Prince of Wales emphasised this in their speeches as part of fund-raising events, in 1981 and 1982 respectively, to open the Royal College of Music. Hughes and Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940*, 28, 30.

⁷ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 190.

⁸ Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 103.

⁹ Thank you for Jenny Nex for pointing this out.

¹⁰ Waitzman, “The Improbable Collector.”



Figure 3 Martin (left) and Maud Russell, holding Raymond. Photograph taken in 1922. From the Russell family photo albums, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

The Russells were a wealthy family with an aristocratic heritage and were typical of a social elite gaining prominence in the interwar years.¹¹ Raymond's parents, Major Gilbert Russell, and Maud Nelke (see Figure 3), gained their wealth via merchant banking, which enabled their privileged

¹¹ For further information about the social elite who were investing in declining country estates in this period read: Adrian Tinniswood, *The Long Weekend: Life in the English Country House Between the Wars* (New York: Random House, 2016). For an in-depth look at this particular branch of the Russell family see Emily Russell, ed., "Introduction" and "The Principal Characters", in *A Constant Heart: The War Diaries of Maud Russell 1938-1945* (Stanbridge, Dorset: The Dovecote Press 2017). Further information about the family has been gathered from: Tinniswood, *The Long Weekend*, 19; W. Rubinstein and Michael A. Jolles, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (New York: Springer, 2011); Celia Lee and John Lee, *The Churchills: A Family Portrait* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2010), 149; Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming* (London: Hachette UK, 2012) chap.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Kindle; David Kynaston, *The City Of London Volume 3: Illusions of Gold 1914 - 1945* (New York: Random House, 2015), 5, 29; a number of family photo albums and scrapbooks belonging to the National Trust, Mottisfont, Hampshire.

lifestyle. Gilbert was a great grandson of the 6th Duke of Bedford, sustained a military career serving in the Middle East and Africa and as an intelligence officer on the front in the First World War. The family travelled widely and, as was common among members of the moneyed classes, enjoyed the benefits of both city and country living.¹² Their London residences allowed them to associate with fashionable artistic and political circles. The addresses of these properties were illustrious in themselves: Princes Gate, South Kensington, a Georgian square that housed the American Ambassador's residence and – another fine example of Georgian architecture – Cavendish Square, just off Oxford Street. Prior to the purchase of their own estate, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, in 1934, the Russells rented several large and historic properties in order to engage in traditional upper class rural pursuits, whilst also maintaining a London address.¹³ These country residencies offered a place to entertain their wide range of guests for extended periods, combining hunting, shooting and fishing trips, with elegant evenings of refined dining and conversation. Such properties also acted as status symbols, helping to bolster the Russell's position within their social circles.

2.1.1 Political, Social and Artistic Interests

The Russells took a strong anti-Nazi position in the 1930s and many of their circle were notable for their anti-appeasement activities. Although naturalised in Britain, Maud's parents were German. Her father, Paul Nelke (1860-1925), came from a Jewish family. Maud maintained a strong connection to her Jewish relatives, many of whom still resided in Germany when Hitler began implementing his antisemitic policies, and this influenced her political position. The Churchill family, particularly Winston Churchill's wife Clementine (1885-1977) and son Randolph (1911-1968), were friends of Maud's and frequent visitors to Mottisfont.¹⁴ Duff Cooper (1890-1954), a highly influential political figure, his wife Lady Diana Cooper (1892-1986) and their son John Julius Norwich (1929-2018) were also close family friends.¹⁵ Cooper was a vehement denouncer of Nazi Germany, as were many of the circle the Russells entertained at Mottisfont.¹⁶

¹² Tinniswood, "Everyone Sang" and "Field Sports", in *The Long Weekend*.

¹³ These included Blickling Hall, Norfolk; Stanway House, Gloucestershire; and Heveningham Hall, Suffolk. Pictures of the family at these properties can be found in the family photo albums, belonging to the National Trust at Mottisfont Abbey.

¹⁴ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 15, 32, 104-105.

¹⁵ They are pictured often in family photographs, both at Mottisfont and in travels abroad (see family albums). As a kindness to the Russells, in 1940 Cooper arranged for their eldest son, Martin, to leave the army and join the Ministry of Information, becoming Cooper's private secretary. For further reference to their friendship see also: Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 12, 13, 33, 95; Maud Russell, *A family photograph album 1936-1970*, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

¹⁶ The liberal politician and barrister St John Hutchinson (1884-1942) was a further politician visitor with anti-appeasement sympathies. Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, chap. 3; Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 40n.

Margaret Asquith (1864-1945), widow of the former prime minister Herbert Asquith and staunch liberal supporter, was a valued friend of both the Russells.¹⁷ As an integral member of the aristocratic group the Souls, who valued personal intimacy and cultivated literary discussion, Margaret relished the erudite literary and political conversations at cross-party social gatherings held at Mottisfont.¹⁸ Her step-daughter Violet Bonham-Carter (1887-1969) a vocal anti-appeasement liberal herself, and member of Winston Churchill's Freedom Focus, was also a long standing family friend.¹⁹ Gatherings at Mottisfont created less formal opportunities for rigorous debate about the political situation at which women were given an equal voice.

Maud, a highly intelligent and thoughtful individual, cultivated these opportunities and became a dominant figure within her family and social circle. The long list of friends and acquaintances that appear in the visitor's book at Mottisfont and the family photo albums put the Russells on the fringe of many of the defining social, political, literary and artistic groups of their time: the Souls, the Bright Young Things, The Bloomsbury Group, the London Group and Freedom Focus, to name but a few.²⁰ For example, Cecil Beaton (1904-1980), whose photographs documented the antics of the Bright Young Things, was a regular visitor from the 1930s onwards.²¹ Gilbert, as a chief partner in his firm, Cull & Co. would have wielded a certain amount of power and influence amongst these circles but, more unusually, Maud also used her position to improve the situations of her friends and family members, particularly those suffering in Germany.²² Two years before his planned retirement from the firm Gilbert, under the influence of his wife and her friend Evelyn St. Croix Fleming, employed St. Croix Fleming's son, Ian Fleming, at Cull & Co. with the intention of handing over his partnership on retirement.²³ A task the young Fleming swiftly decided was not for him; his brief forays into the financial world being unsuccessful except as a means of making the right connections to be drafted into the world of Naval Intelligence. Fleming, who became a

¹⁷ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 31.

¹⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Souls (act. 1886–1911)," by Jane Ridley, accessed August 15, 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-42005>.

¹⁹ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 32. "Freedom Focus" is the short name for a group led by Churchill called Focus for the Defense of Freedom and Peace. It was a gathering of British politicians and industrialists concerned by the "German menace and Britain's unwillingness to face facts." Ronald Stent, *A Bespattered Page?: The Internment of His Majesty's 'Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'* (Harper & Collins, 1980).

²⁰ For further details about these groups see note 24 and, Nancy W. Ellenberger, "The Souls and London 'Society' at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1982): 133–60, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3827108>; Derek Ryan and Stephen Ross, *The Handbook to the Bloomsbury Group* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020); Anna Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship: The Story of a Bluestocking and a Bright Young Thing* (Pan Macmillan, 2015);

²¹ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 31.

²² For detailed and moving accounts of the extent to which she helped family members suffering antisemitic regimes in Germany and Spain read Russell, "Invasion Fears" and "Family Anxieties" in *A Constant Heart*.

²³ Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, chap. 3.

long-term lover of Maud's, was a regular visitor to Mottisfont in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁴ It was down to Fleming that Maud gained a job with the Admiralty after Gilbert's death in 1942.²⁵

The political and social elite of the 1920s and '30s maintained strong links with the artistic world, patronising and welcoming artists into their circles, thus influencing the direction of artistic movements. Anna Thomasson, for example, described how "Rex [Whistler(1905–1944)] was one of a growing breed in the twenties: people who didn't belong to the aristocracy but for whom creativity was an entrée into high society."²⁶ Further "middle-class meritocrats," whose artistic successes brought them into close contact with the Russells, were Sybil Colefax (1874-1950), interior designer and society hostess, and Beaton. Many of the Russell's circle were known as keen art collectors and patrons of contemporary artists. William (1885-1957) and Lesley Jowitt (c1888-1970), for example, had a fine private collection of paintings by Matisse, Boudin, Bonnard, and Duncan Grant.²⁷ Jowitt was a trustee of both the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery and patronised Boris Anrep (1883-1969), who undertook a mosaic commission for them in their Mayfair house vestibule. Mary Hutchinson was a member of the Bloomsbury Group and, as such, had close friendships with both artists and literary figures such as Henry Tonks and Vanessa Bell.²⁸ She and her husband St John Hutchinson were also collectors and subjects of paintings. Maud was passionate and knowledgeable about the arts, patronising contemporary artists in particular. She became a member of the Contemporary Arts Society in 1924, and sat for Matisse, William Orpen and John Sargent.²⁹ She began collecting works by artists such as Picasso, Degas and Modigliani and, by the late 1930s, was becoming a well-known patron in her own right.³⁰ In a fashion that anticipated the methods of her youngest son's, the pursuit of her collecting interests saw her social network broaden "to include other collectors, artists, critics, writers and musicians."³¹

²⁴ Emily Russell explains that Maud and Fleming's relationship probably began in the 1930s and lasted a decade. She claims that it was discreet, but likely to be of a sexual nature and that having lovers and admirers was common amongst Maud's circle. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 15-16, and 46 fn 21.

²⁵ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 16. Photographs of Fleming can be seen in: Maud Russell, photograph album, 1936-1970, photos date between June 21-June 23, 1941, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey.

²⁶ Anna Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship: The Story of a Bluestocking and a Bright Young Thing* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2015), 93.

²⁷ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Jowitt, William Allen, Earl Jowitt," by Thomas S. Legg and Marie-Louise Legg, accessed February 1, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34246>.

²⁸ "Obituary," *The Times* (London) October 26, 1942: 6. *The Times* Digital Archive. Web. 1 Feb. 2017. Nancy D. Hargrove, "The Remarkable Relationship of T. S. Eliot and Mary Hutchinson," *Yeats Eliot Review* 28, no. 3-4 (22 September 2011): 3, <https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-316939158/the-remarkable-relationship-of-t-s-eliot-and-mary>.

²⁹ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 14, 15.

³⁰ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 14; Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship*, 356.

³¹ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 14.



Figure 4 Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. Photo used with kind permission of the National Trust at Mottisfont Abbey.

When the Russells purchased the estate of Mottisfont Maud was able to fully cultivate her artistic connections and ambitions at home on a grand scale. It was through her vision and drive that Mottisfont became the centre of a fashionable and influential artistic circle. There she entertained a great number of the leading artistic and fashionable socialites, which her diaries and photograph albums attest to. As well as the political art patrons mentioned above, Sam Courtauld (1876–1947), by the 1940s already one of Britain’s best known art collectors, was a good friend of Maud’s and is pictured visiting the property in 1941.³² Beaton was a long standing friend and some of his photographs (both portraits and landscape “snapshots”) grace her family albums and scrapbooks, as does an autographed Christmas greeting on a postcard of his own costume designs.³³ Colefax too features both as photographer and subject in the albums, and was admired by Maud for her “liberal outlook and zest for life”.³⁴ Frederick Ashton (1904-1988), the well-known choreographer, made regular visits to Mottisfont, appreciated by Maud both as a creative artist and for his natural, frank personality.³⁵ Further contemporary artists were befriended by Maud; the portrait painter Ian Campbell-Gray (1901-1946) was an early favourite of hers and his photo appears in her albums as a visitor in 1939.³⁶ The painter Derek Hill (1916-2000), a close friend, later donated many early twentieth-century paintings to Mottisfont as a permanent collection in memory of his friendship with Maud. An artist Maud particularly patronised, with whom she also had a lengthy and intense relationship, was the Russian émigré

³² Courtauld’s image can be seen in: Maud Russell, photograph album, 1936-1970, photos date between June 21-June 23, 1941, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

³³ The Christmas card can be found in Maud and Gilbert Russell, scrapbook, c1890 – mid 1970s, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. The Beaton “snapshots” are here: Maud Russell, photograph album, 1936-1970, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey.

³⁴ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 32. See also, pages 52, 53 and particularly 54.

³⁵ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 82, 88, 92-93, 131, 135, particularly 240.

³⁶ Lycett, *Ian Fleming*, chap. 3.

Chapter 2

Boris Anrep.³⁷ Associated with the Bloomsbury group, it was through Maud's patronage and persistence that Anrep's 1952 mosaics entitled 'Modern Virtues' completed the set he did for the entrance floor of the National Gallery.³⁸ One homage to their long term affair saw an image of Maud's face enshrined as 'Folly' in those mosaics, amongst other important figures of the time such as Churchill, Edith Sitwell (1887-1964), and another Russell, Bertrand Russell (1872-1970).³⁹ Notably, the ballerina Margot Fonteyn (1919-1991) is also featured, listening to the British music critic and novelist Edward Sackville-West (1901-1965) playing the harpsichord. Sackville-West lived at Long Crichel, Dorset, from 1945, not far from Mottisfont. He, alongside the other members of his male salon, including Raymond Mortimer (1895-1980) and Hill, were particularly close friends and confidants of Maud's.⁴⁰ Such friendships, and her own extra-marital affairs with Fleming and Anrep, indicate Maud's liberal attitude and openness towards alternatives to the traditional heteronormative household.

The awareness of Britain's cultural, architectural and religious heritage are important strands running through the family's tastes and activities. This can be seen in the types of country properties they rented prior to purchasing Mottisfont.⁴¹ Through the renovation and modernisation of Mottisfont, Gilbert and particularly Maud's own tastes and patronage came to the fore. The design and furnishings of every room were carefully selected to reflect the historical heritage and eclectic architecture of the property and to highlight Maud's own very particular aesthetic standards, at the same time enhancing the family's status. In a style redolent of the approach of other Romantic Moderns it was important to the Russells that the medieval and religious origins of the building would still be visible.⁴² Clever use of cupboard doors or glass hide Gothic architectural features that the family could show to visitors; the cellarium was left untouched, as were gothic archways over doorways on the ground floor. On the top floor of Mottisfont, where the children and maids slept, the original Tudor rafters can still be seen. The charm of these architectural details was part of the appeal of the property to Maud and Gilbert.

³⁷ Although Maud and Anrep never married they remained lovers and companions for over 25 years. Their relationship began in the 1940s whilst Gilbert Russell was still alive, and Anrep (who had multiple affairs) remained married to his second wife, Helen Maitland, who became the lover of artist and critic, Roger Fry. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 17-19.

³⁸ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 10, 17, 18.

³⁹ Bertrand Russell, 3rd Earl Russell, the philosopher, was Gilbert's second cousin. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 183, fn. 18.

⁴⁰ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 36. Maud turned to Sackville-West, with his experience as a harpsichordist and music critic, for advice about her son: see Chapter 3 for further information.

⁴¹ See footnote 13.

⁴² "Romantic Moderns" is a name coined by Alexandra Harris to refer to the English artists and writers of 1930's and 40's, exploring what it meant to be alive and in England at that key turning point in history. Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015), Prologue, chap. 1, chap. 3.

The historical significance of the building's architecture and the status implied by it were fundamental to their purchase and appreciation of the property. These associations would have been understood by their social circle and helped to represent the Russell's historicity and taste.

In other ways Maud made the home very much a place of her own time.⁴³ Many of the surviving interiors have been described as neo-classical.⁴⁴ They emphasise the Georgian heritage of the house in a way that was considered brave and avant-garde at the time.⁴⁵ To re-design the extensive gardens she employed the help of Geoffrey Jellicoe (1900-1996), whose pleached lime walk evokes the architecture of the long lost priory's cloister; and Norah Lindsay (1873-1948), who created a knot design for the box edged parterre in front of the house, inspired by a piece of Tudor glass.⁴⁶ The most visible signs of Maud's artistic patronage are two mosaics by Anrep on the exterior and interior of the house, and the decoration of the now famous Whistler Room.

It is the Whistler Room that perhaps best exemplifies Maud's character and ambitions and also shows how the evocation of history figured in her tastes. From December 1938 Whistler was employed to paint the high walls of the old entrance hall in the *trompe l'oeil* style turning it into a sumptuous drawing room by evoking elegant gothic columns and arches, where Maud would entertain her guests.⁴⁷ By then Whistler was well established as an artist; his Romanticised anachronistic style being highly favoured among the landed gentry and cultural trend-setters. He and Maud had many friends in common: Beaton, Colefax, the Coopers and Churchills to name but a few.⁴⁸ However, Maud was an exacting client with a very clear objective for the aesthetics of her salon; in Thomasson's words she rejected Whistler's initial design of "Gothic sylvan landscapes against palest pink walls in favour of a more restrained and impersonal design of *trompe l'oeil* Gothic plasterwork".⁴⁹ This led Edith Olivier to portray Maud as "tyrannical," and unable to "recognise the symbolism" of Whistler's work, a view undermined by Maud's own

⁴³ It could be said that the way in which old buildings were adapted for the use of present incumbents, to be both liveable in and to reflect their style and status, is mirrored by the approach to old instruments during this period.

⁴⁴ "A Brief History of Mottisfont", National Trust, accessed 22 October 2020, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/mottisfont/features/the-history-of-mottisfont>.

⁴⁵ Harris, *Romantic Moderns*, 70.

⁴⁶ Lydia Greeves, *Houses of the National Trust* (London: Anova Books, 2008), 222; Historic England; "Norah Lindsay and Mottisfont Abbey", historicengland.org.uk, accessed February 1, 2017, <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/womens-history/registered-parks-gardens/norah-lindsay/>; Joanna Cross, "National Trust - Mottisfont Abbey," Hampshire Life, last modified March 25, 2010, http://www.hampshire-life.co.uk/people/national_trust_mottisfont_abby_1_1637235.

⁴⁷ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 20-23.

⁴⁸ Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship*, 216, 244, 342. Notably, he could also count Violet Gordon Woodhouse and Tom Goff among his friends: Jessica Douglas-Home, *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse* (London: Harvill Press, 1996), 231, 261.

⁴⁹ Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship*, 357.

description of proceedings.⁵⁰ Instead, her diaries show continued understanding between her and Whistler, and the effect of external influences on the commission. The pervading sense of doom that came with the impending war and anticipation of its effects on British culture, was felt strongly by the liberal establishment at the time. This was a particular pressure for Whistler, whose anti-appeasement views were very much in line with those of his more powerful friends, but whose relative youth and sense of duty determined his commission to the Welsh Guards.⁵¹ He died in action in 1944 and his work at Mottisfont became his last.

The decor and soft furnishings chosen for the room complement Whistler's art work. He painted ermine swags with deep turquoise tassels around the windows, that were then hung with 'ermine look' trimmed deep turquoise velvet curtains.⁵² Unusually for Whistler these tassels, and the objects surrounding the urn in a *trompe l'oeil* niche, are the only flashes of deep colour in the room; the colouring in the rest is elegantly understated (see Figure 5).⁵³ An ornate gold leaf rococo mirror hangs over Whistler's marble-look fireplace. Maud also asked him to design some furniture, a request to which he agreed despite a previously frosty correspondence, but his readiness to join up and his training for war meant that he never undertook this work.⁵⁴ Instead, bold striped Chippendale-style furniture, ivory silk Victorian button back sofas with green tassels and buttons, the velvet curtains and gold leaf of the mirror serve to create a sense of subtle lavishness with a hint of the exotic.⁵⁵ It is almost like a stage set, sitting as a compelling illustration of the important role that historical reference and revival plays in the Russell's aesthetic identifications and artistic commissions.

⁵⁰ Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship*, 358; Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 20, 21.

⁵¹ Thomasson, *A Curious Friendship*, 358-359

⁵² The ermine look trim is in fact made of white fur, painted with black spots by Whistler. Hugh P. Cecil and Mirabel Cecil, *In Search of Rex Whistler: His Life and His Work* (London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2012), 189.

⁵³ The items in the coloured panel – the smoking urn, a black evening glove, a wedding ring, books, letters and a lute – were full of symbolism for both Whistler and Maud. Emily Russell says that these items were chosen to represent Maud's "interests and fears," and that the smoking urn was a "playful reminder of Maud's dislike of bonfires." Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 22. And for further reference about images and their meaning in murals of this time see: Clare A. P. Willsdon, *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵⁴ Cecil and Cecil, *In Search of Rex Whistler*, 184.

⁵⁵ There are images and descriptions of all of these items on the National Trust Collections website. To access the information search for the National Trust reference number given with each item: National Trust, "National Trust Collection Search page," accessed 4 September 2018, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/results>. NT769325: Two Chippendale style sofas upholstered in green and white striped silk; NT769326: Two Chippendale style armchairs, upholstered in green and white striped silk; NT769327: Three stuffed Victorian button back settees upholstered with ivory silk, green and white fringes and cording; NT769324: Ornate gilt overmantel mirror. Formerly in Wardour Castle; NT769622: A set of ten ormolu wall lights, each with four simulated green candles and light bulbs, designed by Rex Whistler. All items transferred to the National Trust in 1957 from Mrs Russell under the Memorandum of Wishes.



Figure 5 Smoking urn with lute and books. One of the few decorative panels with deep colour, by Rex Whistler for Maud's salon, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire. (Image taken by Anna Pizzey, National Trust and used by kind permission of the National Trust).

2.1.2 Music in the Family

There is little to indicate Gilbert Russell's musical interests, but much to show that Maud had a lifelong engagement with music. Maud and her sister Kate "Kitty" Nelke (1893-1977) had a highly cultured upbringing. As children they were taken to the theatre, a concert or an exhibition on an almost daily basis.⁵⁶ Maud maintained this frequent consumption of culture throughout her life. She played the piano and violin, though not to a high standard, and listened to classical music most of the time, particular favourites being Mozart operas, which had been undergoing their own recent revival in the United Kingdom.⁵⁷ Her niece, Emily Russell, attests to her high intelligence and a genuine and passionate interest in the arts.⁵⁸ Marrying into the Russell family

⁵⁶ Emily Russell, email to author, October 31, 2014.

⁵⁷ Emily Russell, email to author, October 31, 2014. Maud received a record of "the whole of *Don Giovanni*" for Christmas in 1938, and listened to it frequently. Maud Russell, December 24, 1938, Diaries, Book II, 21, Russell family papers.

⁵⁸ Conversation with Emily Russell, January 14, 2015. Emily not only knew Maud as a child, but has also

Chapter 2

meant Maud was able to further cultivate friendships with those creating the culture that she had grown up consuming. She used her wealth and influence to help support individual musicians such as the singer Helen McKinnon and the harpsichordist Raymond Leppard (1927-2019), following their careers closely.⁵⁹

Maud and Gilbert had two sons (see Figure 3), Raymond and his older brother Martin Basil Paul Russell (1918-2003). They had a privileged upbringing, travelling widely with their parents, but were sent away to boarding school, in keeping with the practices of those families who shared their social status. They went to Preparatory school in Kent and then to the oldest and most respected private school in the country, Eton College.⁶⁰ Raymond was the musician of the family. As children, the brothers will have absorbed a passionate interest in the arts from their mother in particular; they grew up with a firm sense of their value and importance.⁶¹ At least in their early childhood, Maud's musical tastes would have influenced those of her children. She took them regularly to concerts, theatre and the ballet and there was always a grand piano at Mottisfont and their London residence, if not also at previous addresses.⁶² Both boys undertook musical training when young in the form of piano lessons at home, alongside their cousin Alexandrine Apponyi (1919-) and Raymond played the organ at Eton.⁶³ According to Emily Russell, Raymond showed talent from a young age whereas Martin Russell did everything possible to avoid his piano lessons. Raymond also took dance classes at the famous Miss Vacani's in Knightsbridge, London.⁶⁴ As a 9-year-old he is pictured dressed in what appears to be an historically accurate costume representing King Charles II, as seen in Van Dyke's portraits, taking part in a "Tableaux of Modern

done extensive research on her diaries and private correspondence in preparation for her published edition of Maud's War Diaries: Russell, *A Constant Heart*.

⁵⁹ Maud Russell, Nov 14, 1957, Diaries, Book XIII, 70, Russell family papers. Maud kept a series of newspaper clippings with reviews of McKinnon's singing. Maud Russell, June 1962- August 1964, Diaries, Book XVI, Russell family papers.

⁶⁰ Raymond's application form for Downing College, Cambridge states that he was educated at "Rimpton Preparatory School, Eton and Private" while his Eton records state he previously attended St Peter's, Thanet, respectively: Raymond Russell, application form, 1940, DCAT/1/2/1720 Russell. R.A. Oct 1940, Downing College Archive, University of Cambridge; Eton College Records Current Sheets, entry for Raymond Russell, R10, Eton College Archive, Windsor.

⁶¹ Martin Russell, although not musically talented himself, was highly appreciative of those who were. He patronised his musical friend Henry Battock, who was trying to become a composer in the early 1940's, commissioning works from him in order to financially support him. Battock to Martin Russell, letter, April 4, 1940, Russell family papers. He later became known for his collection and patronage of Sri Lankan art. Obituaries, "Martin Russell", March 9, 2004, Telegraph.Co.Uk, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1456344/Martin-Russell.html>.

⁶² Emily Russell, email to the author, October 27, 2016.

⁶³ Russell, email, October 27 2016. There is no evidence regarding where and when Russell began learning the organ, and whether he took lessons, but there are mentions of him as an organist at Eton (see later in the chapter). Rev. J.C. Chute's House Book 1930-1936, Michaelmas 1935, Eton College Archive, Eton College Library, Eton College, Windsor (hereafter cited as ECA).

⁶⁴ Gilbert and Maud Russell, scrapbook, newspaper clippings from *The Times* (London), December 18, 1933, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey.

Mothers". This was part of a charity function put on by Miss Vacani and Maud in the Phoenix Theatre, December 1933, attended by the Queen. This kind of performance indicates another way that historical references and revival figured in their lives, not only through the mediums of graphic arts, architecture or interior décor, but through enactment.



Figure 6 Raymond (on the right) as King Charles II. From the Russell family photo albums, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

This spirit of re-enactment that the Russells and their milieu enjoyed is best exemplified by Beaton's recreation of the popular eighteenth-century *fête champêtre* (an outdoor musical party) in 1937.⁶⁵ Landowska had re-popularised such events by holding regular *fêtes pastorales* at her villa near Paris every summer since 1927.⁶⁶ Claire Nelson claims that these concerts, and Poulenc's *concert champêtre* written for Landowska, were "at the forefront of a movement which desired to recreate the eighteenth-century's pseudo-rural extravaganzas."⁶⁷ Nelson's description of Beaton's ostentatious event – incorporating maypole dancing, flower garlands, sheep-pens and appropriately dressed locals – attended by his "wealthy neighbours", demonstrates the

⁶⁵ Claire Nelson, "The Party of the Century: Lord Stanley's Fête Champêtre." *The Consort: The Journal of The Dolmetsch Foundation* 55 (June, 1999): 44 & 45 of 30–45.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

Chapter 2

extent to which this milieu embraced this movement. In a wholehearted adoption of the theme the Russells attended this event dressed as characters from *The Beggar's Opera*.⁶⁸ Not only does their choice of characters demonstrate an awareness of Britain's musical past, but also, attendance at such an even as Beaton's *fête* shows how the Russell family were fully cognisant of this scene of pastoral idealisation and revival.

The Russells' taste in music was entirely focussed on that of 'highbrow' culture. The musical editions that ornament the study consist almost entirely of music from the Romantic period, including collections of music by composers such as Brahms and Beethoven, a great deal of Chopin, and song collections by Wolf and Johann Strauss.⁶⁹ The one concession to Baroque music is a Schott & Co. edition (date not recorded) of Bach Inventions. This book contains a few pencilled performance markings suggesting that Raymond, as the only talented keyboard player in the family, played from this copy. There is a copy of Donald Tovey's, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, Vol. 1 Symphonies, (Oxford University Press, 1938) which probably belonged to Raymond, who began studying music at around the time of the book's publication. Martin Russell's name can be found in the property's earliest volume of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. III, ed. H.C. Colles (MacMillan & Co. Ltd, 1929) and also in W.R. Anderson's *Lives of the Great Composers*, (Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1936); W. J. Turner's, *Berlioz: The Man and His Work* (London, 1934); Hector Berlioz's, *The Life of Hector Berlioz*, J.M Dent & Son (London, 1937) and *Wagner die Walküre*, trans. F. Jameson, (Ernst Eulenburg, 1908). These books indicate Martin Russell's interest in later, dramatic Romantic music, as opposed to his younger brother's taste for earlier repertoire. Martin was also particularly fond of ballet, frequently attending live performances, but although his mother attended often, this was not a passion they shared.⁷⁰

Maud engaged with contemporary classical music culture through multiple avenues. Her diaries portray a busy schedule of concert and opera attendance and a strong, well-informed opinion on existent performing standards. In her diaries she wrote detailed reviews of all the concerts, plays and exhibitions that she attended, sometimes in highly critical terms. These also extend to her son's performances and those reviews will be examined closely in the next chapter. Entries from October and November 1938 show both the frequency and variety of the type of music she was

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ This is based on an unpublished list of books that were acquired from the Russell family estate, by the National Trust, in 2015. A list of music books at Mottisfont can be found here: National Trust, 'Results for "Mottisfont Music Books"', accessed 27 November 2020, <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/results>.

⁷⁰ "Thursday, June 15th, 1939. ...Then joined Martin & Alexie at the Ballet for which Martin is passionately fond of & wants to convert me to. I find it dull & very uninteresting after a short time." Maud Russell, June 15, 1939, Diaries, Book II, 82-83, Russell family papers.

engaging with: October 30th, she “played duets with R[aymond]”, on November 1st she attended a Sibelius concert and wrote “Sib[elius] is not quite as good & never anything like as bad as Tchaikovsky can be,” on the 8th it was Monteverdi and the 23rd, a private recital by the Guiller Quartet at Sam Courtauld’s house.⁷¹ A further example also highlights how her social network allowed for privileged access to musicians, in an entry written for May 12th, 1939, Maud wrote that she was:

Taken by Sybil Colefax to a Toscanini rehearsal at Queen’s Hall, 6th and 5th Beeth. Symphs. A great treat. I thought the empty hall made the music sound better than ever. I hardly know whether there is anything I would rather do than go to a Toscanini rehearsal. T. looked in the morning light a small, rather stiff, shabby little figure in his black coat buttoned right up. The orchestra didn’t stand up; they called out “good morning” & he did too making a movement of greeting with his hand. He didn’t stop them even once; but at the finish called over one or two of the leaders or players to him & gave some instruction, the orchestra itself looked much more interesting in their varied, coloured, day suits than in the dark suits they wear for the concert proper.⁷²

Maud’s confident analysis of music’s quality demonstrates an ease with ‘high’ musical culture that is only attainable through an extensive and diverse exposure to music and contemporary public musical discourse.

2.1.3 Signs of Early Music at Mottisfont

Maud and other members of her musically literate circle were conscious of those active in reviving old music in the interwar years. In November 1938 she heard Nadia Boulanger “and her troop of singers” performing at Londonderry House for the Anglo-French Travel Society.⁷³ Maud was particularly touched by “a song of extreme beauty by Monteverdi called *Zefiro Torna* for two male voices.” Many of Maud’s circle were regular attendees to the exclusive and eccentric salon concerts of Violet Gordon Woodhouse.⁷⁴ In 1920 Woodhouse became the first performer to record on the harpsichord, gaining a 3-year contract with HMV to record early keyboard music by composers such as J.S. Bach, Domenico Scarlatti, Henry Purcell and William Byrd.⁷⁵ It is likely that

⁷¹ Maud Russell, Winter 1938, Book II, 3, 4, 8, 16.

⁷² Maud Russell, May 12, 1939, Book II, 66.

⁷³ Maud Russell, November 8, 1938, Book II, 4.

⁷⁴ The Duff Coopers and relatives of theirs were friendly with Violet’s household, Rex Whistler had been an acquaintance since the 1930s, and John Russell (not a blood-relative of the Russell’s), music critic and devout follower of Violet’s, later married Maud’s niece Alexie Apponyi. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 36. See Douglas-Home, *Violet*, esp. 125, 197, 231, 237, 261 for mutual acquaintances, 290.

⁷⁵ Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 184-185. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of Woodhouse’s place in the revival of the

Chapter 2

Maud was familiar with these recordings because she came to know Woodhouse's style well.⁷⁶ For much of her career, despite a life-long yearning to be a full-time musician, Woodhouse had no need to earn from her performances. Instead she created her own style of private salon concerts that attracted many of the literary, artistic and social elite. Her exceptional musical talents, her cultivated exotic and fragile looks, and her enigmatic and unconventional lifestyle as part of a *menage à cinq* attracted both male and female admirers.⁷⁷ She could count the poets Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen among her fans, as well as the composers Ethel Smythe, William Walton and Frederick Delius, the entire Sitwell trio and even the royal family. These illustrious fans all visited one of Woodhouse's homes to hear her play, or invited her to perform for them privately. However, in 1918, due to a change in financial circumstances, she temporarily began a professional career, engaging Ibbs & Tillet as her agents.⁷⁸ On July 1st, 1919, during this period of professional engagements, Maud recorded attending "Mrs Woodhouse's Concert 5.30", in her engagement diary.⁷⁹ This is the earliest evidence connecting the Russell family to those engaged in reviving old music and instruments. More relevant for the purposes of this thesis is an entry made for April 4th, 1935 where she wrote, "Took the boys to hear Violet Gordon Woodhouse at Londonderry House". For Russell, then aged 12 and already an accomplished keyboard player, experiencing the charismatic Woodhouse live must have been an enlightening moment.

harpsichord in the twentieth century.

⁷⁶ See comparisons, made by Maud, of Raymond's playing to Woodhouse's in Chapter 3.

⁷⁷ Douglas-Home, *Violet*.

⁷⁸ Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 177.

⁷⁹ Emily Russell, email to author, May 19, 2015.



Figure 7 The musical instrument trophy in the Whistler Room, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, by Rex Whistler. (Image taken by the author)

Further evidence of early music interests at Mottisfont may be found in the iconography of the panels in the Whistler room. Many of the subjects of the panels are tied to the status symbols of the British aristocratic tradition: a coat of arms above the entrance doors, trophies of Crusader and Saracen weapons and emblems of fishing and hunting.⁸⁰ Some, however, are dedicated to the arts. In the *trompe l'oeil* niche containing the urn, among the few items painted in full colour, is a lute leant nonchalantly against it (see Figure 5). It was not unusual for Whistler to introduce images of historical instruments to his work. Lutes, stringed instruments with baroque style curved and pointed bows and ancient looking brass and wind instruments appear in other designs of his.⁸¹ However, at Mottisfont there is a panel almost solely dedicated to historical musical

⁸⁰ Cecil and Cecil, *In Search of Rex Whistler*, 188.

⁸¹ At least two of the panels in Lord and Lady Louis Mountbatten's sitting room at Brook House, Park Lane, London have groupings of historical instruments. Cecil and Cecil, *In Search of Rex Whistler*, 171 and 172.

instruments (Figure 7). The stringed instrument is more viol-like, having long sloping shoulders and multiple c-holes, than previously seen in Whistler's work.⁸² The panel also features an elongated slide trumpet, a recorder, bagpipes and a small harp. Of most importance, however, are the two keyboard instruments depicted: one is an early style portable organ, with the bellows just seen at the back, and the other seems to be a clavichord or keyed monochord.⁸³ Both Whistler and Maud had prior contact with early keyboard instruments via Woodhouse, so a mutual agreement, based on their own experiences, about the contents of the musical trophy is entirely possible.⁸⁴ In 1939, whilst Whistler was still painting this room, Raymond was already showing signs of the preoccupation with the history of keyboard instruments that would mark his later career.⁸⁵ Raymond had recently left Eton and was having a period of home-tutoring by this time so would have stayed at Mottisfont more often than was usual.⁸⁶ Whistler was accustomed to reflecting his patron's personal interests and exploits within his artworks.⁸⁷ It would not be too far-fetched to surmise, therefore, that this particular panel contains references to Maud's youngest son. Whatever the scenario, early music and historical instruments had a visible presence at Mottisfont in the Whistler Room.

2.2 Educating the Elite

To justify its expense and exclusivity, elite education needed to be distinguishable from the "Universal Education" of the masses" of the early twentieth-century.⁸⁸ An education at Eton in the 1930s presented a disjunction between privilege and deprivation.⁸⁹ In rarefied surroundings

⁸² There are cellos in the panelling at Brook House. Cecil and Cecil, *In Search of Rex Whistler*, 170-173. Interestingly, the design for Whistler's mural at Plas Newydd Country House, (National Trust, Wales), originally featured a lute that was subsequently changed into a cello to refer to the playing of this instrument by the Anglesey's son. I would like to thank Professor Jeanice Brooks for providing me with this information. Original detail seen in: Post Card, "Details of the Whistler mural in the Rex Whistler Room, late 1930s," Plas Newydd Country House and Gardens, Anglesey, National Trust 2013.

⁸³ The layout of the pipes on the organ are odd, with the front and back row of pipes going in opposite directions. This is unlikely to be copied from a real instrument.

⁸⁴ Whistler also decorated the lids of some harpsichords by the contemporary instrument maker, Tom Goff, but he would be unlikely to be so well acquainted with historical organ models or such early keyboard instrument precursors. Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 242.

⁸⁵ See "The Organ- a historical keyboard instrument" later in this chapter.

⁸⁶ Raymond left Eton in July 1938. Eton School Records Current Sheets, Entry for Raymond Russell, R10, Date of entrance: May 8th 1935, Date of Leaving: July 1938, Eton College Archive, Eton College, Windsor.

⁸⁷ P.G. Llanffair, "About the Murals at Plas Newydd," in C.W. Beretta, *The Rex Whistler Experience at Plas Newydd*, (Llangefni: W.O. Jones Ltd, 2002), 20 and 22; also see note 83.

⁸⁸ Carey quotes George Moore and Aldous Huxley's reference to Universal Education that was established by the end of the nineteenth century, which some intelligentsia saw as a threat to their status. John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 2002), 16, 17.

⁸⁹ Beatings and fagging were still very much part of regular everyday life at the school. Tim Card, *Eton Renewed: A History of Eton College From 1860 to the Present Day*, (London: John Murray, 1994), 161.

at close proximity to Windsor Castle, boys were given a broad education, with an abundance of opportunities to cultivate particular talents. However, control was maintained through a combination of strict hierarchy with physical and psychological abuse.⁹⁰ Although by the interwar years the proportion of boys from the peerage was lower than that in the nineteenth-century, Eton was still an attractive place for parents to send their boys to “meet the right company” at “a school that enjoyed royal favour.”⁹¹ Both Russell boys went to Eton, and then up to Cambridge colleges. Martin’s progress through these institutions passed smoothly and successfully, but his younger brother struggled to follow in his footsteps. Raymond began at Eton in May 1935, where he joined ‘College’ house, led by House Master Reverend J.C. Chute.⁹² This marked him out immediately as a King’s Scholar, an “elite within an elite”.⁹³ ‘Collegers’ or ‘tugs’ wore (and still wear) academic gowns over their uniform and were accommodated separately from ‘Oppidans’, Eton boys who were not scholars.⁹⁴ They were “often cleverer” than Oppidans and “always more competitive”.⁹⁵ Still, there is no evidence suggesting Raymond suffered from particular abuse at Eton. The only evidence of a punishment given out to him was that his then housemaster, Hugh Babington-Smith, cancelled a weekend visit to Raymond’s aunt because of issues with his work.⁹⁶ However, although his musical talent was noted early on, and he benefitted from the many musical opportunities on offer, Raymond’s teenage years were difficult. His education was frequently disrupted by illness and he made multiple attempts to run away.⁹⁷ Furthermore, Raymond’s teenage correspondence, from which much evidence for the following part of the thesis is drawn, show that he adopted a disdainful, superior tone with his family and friends. He had begun to cultivate a distant and anti-authoritarian character. From a Queer Studies angle, Raymond’s recognition of his own sexuality is unlikely to have been fully formed by this point, but a self-awareness of a sense of ‘difference’ from other boys offers one possible explanation for his

For a favourable picture of life at Eton in the 1930s read Chapter 8, “Eton between the Wars”, *Eton Renewed*. A less rose-tinted viewpoint can be read in Alex Renton, *Stiff Upper Lip: Secrets, Crimes and the Schooling of a Ruling Class* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2017), Chap. 23 and 24.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Card, *Eton Renewed*, 11.

⁹² Entry for Raymond Anthony Russell in the Eton School Records Current Sheets, R10; Card, 109.

⁹³ Sam Leith, “The Social Politics of Eton,” July 6, 2019, *The Spectator*, <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/the-social-politics-of-eton>, accessed April 8, 2020.

⁹⁴ Information about Collegers and Oppidans can be found in Card, *Eton Renewed* 12, 109, 163, and in the Glossary.

⁹⁵ Card, *Eton Renewed*, 163.

⁹⁶ Babington-Smith to Miss Russell, February 21, 1937, Russell family papers.

⁹⁷ Raymond mentions being ill in a number of correspondence: Russell to Martin Russell, February 6 and 20, 1938; Raymond to “Kitty” Apponyi, February 11, 1937, all from Eton, Russell family papers. Maud made a diary reference to Raymond trying to “run away again”, and “Raymond trouble”. Maud Russell, August 13, 1939, Book II, 100.

unhappiness at Eton and his attempts to develop a particular pose to distance himself from his family and contemporaries.⁹⁸

2.2.1 Music at Eton

The musical life of the school was extremely active in the years of Raymond's attendance.⁹⁹ Participatory societies that accommodated a wide range of interests flourished in the 1930s; with the Musical Society being the largest.¹⁰⁰ Most Michaelmas (Autumn) terms saw up to eight musical events in the calendar, ranging from school recitals, singing and instrumental competitions to concerts by illustrious visiting artists. For example, Dame Myra Hess (1890-1965) gave a piano recital in Raymond's first Michaelmas term and Vaughan Williams came to judge the House Instrumental Competition.¹⁰¹ According to the school magazine, the *Eton Chronicle*, "the great composer", who came to judge the preliminary round in December 1935, was "much impressed by the high standard of performance".¹⁰²

Musical participation in all forms was strongly encouraged, although its goal was to equip them as "patrons of music rather than performers," as befitting their assumed future status.¹⁰³

Orchestras, chamber music ensembles, choirs, vocal quartets and a list of twelve music tutors highlight the potential activities and opportunities for cultivating musical taste and excellence that were on offer.¹⁰⁴ Reverend J.C. Chute mentions both a House Quartet (a vocal one), a House Choir and a House Instrumental Party.¹⁰⁵ The *Eton College Chronicle*, a school magazine written

⁹⁸ Whitesell talks about self-recognition and a "sense of personal difference" in "Ravel's Way" in *Queer Episodes*, particularly 64. Hamrick Brown discusses the hostility in Britain towards homosexuals in the 1930s to 1950s, which offers some explanation to why someone with that sense of difference, growing up at that time, might struggle to find comfortable forms of self-expression and try to distance themselves from loved ones. Malcolm Hamrick Brown, "Tchaikovsky and Anglo-American Criticism," in *Queer Episodes*, 144-145.

⁹⁹ Demonstrated by the multiple entries for musical activities in The Eton Chronicles for those years, Eton College Archive, Eton (henceforth ECA).

¹⁰⁰ Card, *Eton Renewed*, 166, 167.

¹⁰¹ The Eton College Chronicle, October 3, 1935, "Music: Concert," 22, ECA; The Eton College Chronicle, December 12, 1935, "Music: House Instrumental Competition," 66, ECA.

¹⁰² Quote taken from a review in The Eton College Chronicle, written by one of the boys at the school: The Eton College Chronicle, December 12, 1935, "Music: House Instrumental Competition", 66, ECA. The Eton College Chronicle was always chiefly edited and authored (anonymously) by the boys themselves. Card, *Eton Renewed*, 58-59. Ralph Nevill, *Floreat Etona: Anecdotes and Memories of Eton College*, (London: Macmillan, 1911), 25.

¹⁰³ Card, *Eton Renewed*, 167.

¹⁰⁴ Mentions of the different school ensembles appear in the Master's House books and the Eton College Chronicle regularly. Of the music teachers listed for 1938: five taught piano, one singing, one flute, one clarinet, one violin, and one cello; Henry George Ley is listed as Musical Instructor and Joseph Louis Gecks as Bandmaster. Eton Calendar, "The Eton Calendar for the Michaelmas School-Time 1938," list of staff, ECA.

¹⁰⁵ Reverend J.C. Chute was House Master from 1906-1936. Card, *Eton Renewed*, 326. "As usual, under the careful and untiring control of Mrs Chute, the House Quartet was a fair success." Rev. J.C. Chute's House Book 1930-1936, "Singing," Michaelmas Half 1936, ECA. "The House Choirs were sung this half & the illness

and edited by the boys and published regularly since 1863, contains many mentions of recitals by staff and students, and the larger school ensembles: The Orchestra and Eton College Musical Society (often referred to as the E.C.M.S).¹⁰⁶ One example of the activities of the Musical Society appears in the 1937 *Chronicle* where Sir Walford Davies (1869-1941) conducted the E.C.M.S. in one of his own works: according to the magazine, “the E.C.M.S. sang really well and it would be hard to say whether the audience or the performers enjoyed the item the more.”¹⁰⁷ Gramophone concerts were also scheduled, where recordings were programmed alongside live performances by music Masters.¹⁰⁸ Not only were the boys turning up as audience members and participants in these concerts, but they were also heavily involved in running the societies. For example, The Eton College Musical Society was set up in c.1862 by a “group of enthusiastic boys”, including the young Hubert Parry, in competition with the Chapel Choir, which at the time offered the only opportunity for musical engagement available to the boys.¹⁰⁹ By Raymond’s time at Eton the E.C.M.S. seemed to have been both a choir (larger and more inclusive than the Chapel Choir) and an organisation for putting on concerts, still run by the boys themselves.¹¹⁰ Boys also wrote detailed critical reviews in the *Eton Chronicle*, often drawing on musical experiences from outside their school time.¹¹¹ Developing a confident analytical language around music and performance was an important aspect of a young gentleman’s education at Eton. All reports and reviews are anonymous, and it has not been possible to establish whether Raymond wrote any himself.

This cultivation of tastes and discourse was in itself political, forming part of an intended differentiation between the elite and the masses. Indeed John Carey, puts forward the idea of a “natural aristocracy” with a “secret kind of knowledge”, only possessed by intellectuals.¹¹² He highlights Clive Bell’s assertion that “[c]ivilization depends on a small group of people with exquisite sensibility, who know how to respond to works of art” without whom “standards are bound to fall”.¹¹³ Maud, who was associated with Bell’s circle, was a prime example of someone

kept many away from the practices, the ten who finally sang managed to win the competition through the untiring efforts of Mrs Chute. Mr Plunkett Green was the judge. ...Five minutes after the performance M. Evans was found to have developed measles.” Rev. J.C. Chute’s House Book 1930-1936, “Singing,” Lent Half Term 1936, ECA.

¹⁰⁶ The Eton College Chronicle first appeared on 14 May 1863. It became a weekly magazine carrying up-to-date accounts of activities of Eton. Card, *Eton Renewed*, 58.

¹⁰⁷ The Eton College Chronicle 1937, January 28, 1937, “The School Concert,” 278, ECA.

¹⁰⁸ The Eton Chronicle 1936, February 20, 1936, “Music: Gramophone Concert,” 103, ECA.

¹⁰⁹ Bernarr Rainbow, *Music in Independent Schools* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2014), 264.

¹¹⁰ Eton College Musical Society Minute Book, 1926-1944, SCH SOC ECMS 01 03; Eton College Music Society General Record, 1934-1965, SCH SOC ECMS 02 01, ECA.

¹¹¹ “Those of us who had been fortunate enough to hear Roy Henderson as Papageno at Glyndebourne this summer, had looked forward with great hopes to this recital, and we were not disappointed.” The Eton College Chronicle 1935, November 7, 1935, “Music: Song Recital,” 42, ECA.

¹¹² Carey, “Natural Aristocrats” in *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, partic. 71..

¹¹³ Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, 80.

who aimed to cultivate such “exquisite sensibility”. Thus, making sure that “high-brow” culture was a significant part of an Etonian’s education could be understood as part of the development of this “secret kind of knowledge” in order to maintain distance from, and control over, the mass. The majority of musical events reviewed in *The Chronicle* were distinctly “highbrow.” Within three years-worth of *The Chronicle* published during Raymond’s time, there is only one mention of a musical programme that did not consist fully of ‘classical’ or high-art music. The popularity of these events is not clear, though their regularity and continuity must count for something; some of them attracted notable sized audiences, particularly if they featured a ‘big name’. In February 1936 the London Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by the already well-known Sir Thomas Beecham (1879-1961), performed at the school. It was apparently five years since a professional orchestra had come to Eton and that, combined with the draw of Beecham, attracted nearly 800 boys to the audience.¹¹⁴ The black singer, Paul Robeson (1898-1976), performed the only other concert that attracted a significant enough sized audience to be noted at this time. His programme – consisting of folk-songs, negro-spirituals and film songs – would have been considered “low-brow” and therefore more appealing to “the masses”.

As already noted, during his years at Eton, Raymond adopted a pose of aloof superiority in correspondence with his family. An example can be found in a letter he wrote to Martin about Robeson’s forthcoming performance, dated May 1st, 1938: “On Saturday, Paul Robeson is going to sing at Eton. He is – you know – a popular negro singer, but I am told that he really sings badly.”¹¹⁵ Raymond’s disdain could be motivated by racism, or that of someone whose well-developed musical interests meant that he felt he ought to find an event of this kind beneath him. By underlining the word popular, he emphasised the derogatory nature of the term in relation to the appeal of this singer, aggrandising his own superior tastes or racist tendencies. This awareness of the negative associations of the broad appeal of such an individual is also evident in the writing of *The Chronicle* critic, when mentioning that the huge audience may well have been drawn by “Mr. Robeson’s fame as a film-star, rather than his reputation as a singer”.¹¹⁶ Paul Robeson and his colleague Lawrence Brown’s (1893-1972) performance proved immensely successful however; they performed to a packed school hall (with a total capacity of 1150), had to give multiple encores and received a long and complimentary review, where it was considered necessary to highlight the singer’s “high intelligence” and sportsmanship, in order to make his appeal more acceptable.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ The Eton College Chronicle 1936, February 13, 1936, “Music: Sir Thomas Beecham,” 74, ECA.

¹¹⁵ Raymond Russell to Martin Russell, May 1, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹¹⁶ The Eton College Chronicle 1938, May 12, 1938, “Music: Paul Robeson,” 547, ECA.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

2.2.2 Early Music at Eton

Repertoire that we would now class as early music played a significant part in most musical programmes at Eton. As would be expected, Bach and Handel featured copiously.¹¹⁸ Bach was played in almost every school concert and recital, and often featured in those of visiting artists' too.¹¹⁹ According to one reviewer, Handel's "Acis and Galatea" was a "favourite work." He continued, "We cannot hear 'Acis and Galatea' too often"; indeed, excerpts from this work appear again and again in later recitals.¹²⁰ Some recitals consisted almost entirely of Baroque music.¹²¹ Purcell and other English composers featured regularly. In 1938, for example, a Madrigal Club was formed and performed Morley and Gibbons in its first concert.¹²² The arrival on the scene of this particular club received a special mention in *The Chronicle*, indicating that a new approach to earlier repertoires had long been desired: "Yet the most popular performance of the evening came undoubtedly from the newly formed Madrigal Club, which we wish every success; Eton's neglect of this branch of music has long been a crying scandal."¹²³ Further concerts and visitor's recitals also featured madrigal composers.

Several of Russell's tutors had interests in early music. His second House Master (with whom he apparently did not see eye to eye), Hugh Babington-Smith, was a musician to some extent himself.¹²⁴ He produced his own translation of J.S. Bach's religious cantatas, carefully writing out the chorales with a new underlay by hand, adding further verses himself.¹²⁵ If he did take organ lessons, it is likely that Raymond studied with Dr. Henry Ley (1887-1962), the college organist, as there are no other organists listed among the music teachers. Ley was a relatively well-known composer and organist and a popular master at Eton.¹²⁶ He studied composition with Stanford

¹¹⁸ Handel never went out of fashion in Britain and was performed by choral societies throughout the 19th century. Adam Shoaff, *The Reception of Handel's Oratorios and British Self-Identity 1760-1837* (Electronic thesis: University of Cincinnati, 2012). Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History*, New edition (Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 1996), 13, 14, chaps. 1 and 4.

¹¹⁹ For example, Myra Hess performed the following. "Pianoforte concert programme: 1. Fantasia in C Minor – Bach; 2. Partita in B flat Major – Bach; 3. Sonata in D Minor, Op. 31, No. 2 – Beethoven; 4. The Clown, the Reef, the Irish Dell, the Road Breaker - Waldo Warner; 5. Variations on a theme of Handel – Brahms." *The Eton College Chronicle*, October 3, 1935, "Music: Concert," 22, ECA.

¹²⁰ *The Eton College Chronicle* 1935, October 24, 1935, "Organ Recital," 34, ECA. An example of a later event containing many works from *Acis and Galatea* can be seen in: *The Eton College Chronicle* 1936, January 30, 1936, "Music: School Concert," 74, ECA.

¹²¹ *Eton College Music Programme*, July 23, 1938, ECA.

¹²² *Eton College Music Programme*, March 28, 1938.

¹²³ *The Eton College Chronicle* 1938, May 5, 1938, "Music: School Concert, Monday, March 28, 1938," 527, ECA.

¹²⁴ Gilbert Russell to Richmond, letter, May 27, 1940, DCAT/1/2/1720 Russell R.A Oct 1940, Downing College Archive, The Maitland Robinson Library, University of Cambridge (hereafter cited as DCA 1720).

¹²⁵ Cantatas found in Archive box ED 272/29-ED 273/3, ECA. The specific book referred to is: ED 273/3A, *Versions in English of the Texts of Church Cantatas by J.S. Bach, Section I, Cantatas 1-84*, ECA.

¹²⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ley, Henry George," by Jeremy Dibble, accessed November

and counterpoint with Charles Wood (1866-1926) and his compositions drew on the musical language of Hubert Parry.¹²⁷ As such, he could be viewed as a direct product of the English Musical Renaissance, which would have influenced his approach to earlier repertoire.¹²⁸ This is exemplified by his abundant activity as an editor of both church and organ music, having produced editions of the works of Palestrina and a number of editions of eighteenth-century English music; already part of the standard repertoire for cathedral and collegiate choirs by then.¹²⁹ At Eton, a great deal of the repertoire Ley focused on in his recitals consisted of Baroque repertoire; his influence and that of the Anglican choral music revival, would have been noticeable in the music sung by the college chapel choir too.¹³⁰ Raymond would have undoubtedly absorbed these influences through his musical experiences at Eton either directly through Ley's teaching, or the prominent musical presence of his and the chapel choir's. What is missing in the evidence at Eton, however, is any sense of the possibility of a different approach to the instrumentation of early repertoires. For Raymond, this step came after he had left Eton.

2.2.3 Raymond at Eton

Although newsletters and other documents provide substantial information about Eton's musical life, Raymond's own musical activities at school are somewhat harder to pin down. He is never listed as a performer in *The Chronicle* or surviving programmes and there are scant few mentions of him elsewhere. In Russell's second term at Eton, the Michaelmas Term of 1935 School Records state that he won the Harmsworth Music Prize.¹³¹ Nowhere does it mention why Raymond was awarded the prize, but it was most likely for either his piano or sight-reading skills. Later that academic year the sad lack of his organ playing in a musical event was noted by his then House

21, 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34525>.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ This movement is discussed at length in: Hughes and Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance*; and Tim Rayborn, *A New English Music: Composers and Folk Traditions in England's Musical Renaissance from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016).

¹²⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ley, Henry George," by Jeremy Dibble, accessed November 21, 2016, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34525>.

¹³⁰ For Ley's recitals see: The Eton College Chronicle 1935, October 24, 1935, "Organ Recital," 34, ECA; and The Eton College Chronicle 1936, November 19, 1936, "Organ Recital," 254, for two of many examples. The Anglican choral music revival is referred to in 1.2.4 and 2.2.4.

¹³¹ "Captain Harold V. Harmsworth Memorial Prizes for Music. Michaelmas school time. Separate prizes for a) Upper boys b) Lower boys and others who are in their first year at Eton. Subjects: Pianoforte, Violin, Violincello, Wind instrument, Sight-reading, composition." The Eton Calendar for the Lent School-Time 1938, ECA. Raymond's award can be found in Eton School Records Current Sheets, register of school entrants, Russell, Raymond Anthony, R10, ECA.

Master, the Reverend J.C. Chute, showing that Russell's skills were relatively proficient by that time.¹³² The same house master also listed him as a member of the house choir.¹³³

By the end of Russell's studies at Eton his musical interests and expertise had intensified. In letters sent from Russell at Eton to his brother, there are clear indicators of his deepening interest in the history of music and the details of instruments. He shows proficient knowledge of the rules of counterpoint in a letter dated June 1, 1938, where he described the workings of a "sequence".¹³⁴ In the same letter he went on to disparage a performance of *Hansel and Gretel* by a "professional operatic society" as "shocking." In writing to Martin on February 6, 1938 Russell referred to a letter that he had written to *The Organ*, a quarterly publication still in existence today, consisting of scholarly articles about different pipe organs.¹³⁵ At sixteen, to take time to both digest and respond to articles in such a magazine demonstrates a very specific nature of interest in the instrument. The same letter also points to Russell's desire to take his musical studies further. In it he discussed his decision to study the History of Music at degree level and mentioned being asked to meet Archbishop Sibley (1858-1938) to discuss the possibility of following a course at his Intercollegiate University:¹³⁶

Archbishop Sibley, the principal of the bogus Intercollegiate University, has asked me to take tea with him, the next time I am in London, in order to point out the excellent qualities of his university, and to persuade me to take the Mus.D. degree there, so I understand. He will have a difficult job. I think I could make my visit to him unpleasant. But I don't think it would be the thing. The History of Music bogus degree papers have arrived. I was able to answer six/twelve of the questions - viva voce -, which shows that it can't be a difficult degree. Is there any point in my getting it? Please send back my letter to The Organ.

Yours, with dudgeon, Raymond

¹³² "The house instrumental party was handicapped by the absence of R.A. Russell on the organ". Rev. J.C. Chute's House Book 1930-1936, "House Instrumental Party," Michaelmas Half 1936, ECA.

¹³³ "The choir consisted of:- E.J.B Wynard, V.W. Coats, J.P. Noble, M.D.A Evans, P. Meinertzhagen, J.D Gibson Watt, R.W.O. Burnett. R.A. Russell & P.M. Longmore." Rev. J.C. Chute's House Book 1930-1936, "Singing," Lent Half Term 1936, ECA.

¹³⁴ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, June 1, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹³⁵ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, February 20, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹³⁶ The Intercollegiate University in London was a branch of US based, non-profit-making body founded in 1888, that later became the Western Orthodox University. Archbishop John Churchill Sibley, a controversial figure, established the London branch in the 1930s offering "exceptional advantages to earnest students through its varied carefully arranged courses of Study in Theology, Arts, Music and Practical Business." "About", *The Western Orthodox University* (blog), 25 September 2015, <https://westernorthodoxuniversity.wordpress.com/about/>.

Chapter 2

Four prominent strands in these letters mark the following two years of Raymond's life and musical education: his desire to study music at a prestigious university; his deepening interest in the history of the organ; the awareness and value he has placed on his own musical abilities and knowledge (that were at odds with the perception of his tutors); and a sense of dissatisfaction and embattlement with life.

Despite the numerous musical activities which must have appealed to Raymond, Eton life did not suit him. His health troubled him regularly; Raymond made frequent mentions in letters to Martin of being laid up in bed for days because of a cold or a chill, and he was not fulfilling all of his academic obligations.¹³⁷ A note from Babington-Smith to Raymond's aunt, who was hoping to entertain Raymond for "long leave", talks about him being "in trouble over his work" and explains that it would therefore be unlikely that he would be allowed to leave school.¹³⁸ A later letter from Gilbert Russell took tentative and evasive steps to explain why getting a reference from Eton could be difficult, saying that Raymond had always been "at sixes and sevens" with his House Master, Babington-Smith.¹³⁹ Raymond left Eton in the summer of 1938, having run away, and did not return.¹⁴⁰ There followed a period of home education in which his parents employed private tutors in order to coach him for an application to Oxbridge, but in the end his first application was for King's College Cambridge, his brother's college.¹⁴¹ Thus the initial focus of his home education must then have been on studying the subjects required to pass the Previous Examination (or "Little-Go" as Maud referred to it), which he managed to do in December 1938, much to his mother's surprise.¹⁴² This examination was a prerequisite for taking either an Ordinary degree or an Honours (Tripos) at Cambridge.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ See note 97.

¹³⁸ Hugh Babington-Smith to Miss Russell, February 21, 1937, Russell family papers.

¹³⁹ Gilbert Russell to Richmond, letter, May 27, 1940, DCA 1720.

¹⁴⁰ Emily Russell, email to author, April 8, 2016. His behaviour remained erratic for some time, a further attempt at running away is mentioned a year later: Maud Russell, August 7, 1939, Book II, 100.

¹⁴¹ "I have put your boy's name on our lists provisionally for 1939 or 1940. If he gets his Organ Scholarship in 1939 he will enter in the ordinary way for the competition: but if he enters as a Pensioner in 1940 I should be obliged if you would let me have some account of him from his Tutor again in the Summer of 1939." Donald Beves, Tutor, King's College Cambridge to Mr. G. Russell, August 12, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹⁴² "London, Wed. Dec. 21st, 1938. R[aymond] has passed his Little Go into Cambridge, rather unexpectedly, & the question was: what next? He seems to be giving up the idea of working for an organ scholarship at any college, no matter how inferior, at Cambridge & wants to work for his entrance examination at King's. This is all to the good. So we discussed work & plans for the next few months. I would like him to go abroad in the autumn & learn German & be away from the shelter & fleshpots of home life; but not to Germany. Holland perhaps? Or Belgium?" Maud Russell, December 21, 1938, Book II, 20.

¹⁴³ Rita McWilliams Tullberg, *Women at Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 191-193, and 194.

2.2.4 The Organ – a Historical Keyboard Instrument

Between 1938 and 1941 it was the organ and the subjects of music and history that took precedence whilst Raymond was privately tutored, interests that ultimately drew him further towards his fascination with historical keyboard instruments. By virtue of their technical complexity and the fluctuating economies of religious foundations, church organs, often having been maintained for hundreds of years in the settings for which they were originally built, are historical keyboard instruments. Martin Russell remembered Raymond spending a great deal of time touring British churches to try out their organs, and a couple of trips are documented by Maud in her diaries.¹⁴⁴ Here is one example, from a joint trip to the Russell family seat of Woburn Abbey in 1939:

This visit was to enable H[erbrand, Duke of Bedford] to hear Raymond play the organ. He had already talked once or twice about "our young organist". I had warned R[aymond] what to expect. The cortège arrived, we stepped out, H. suggested that Raymond should try the organ and then we all settled ourselves in a pew at the back of the church like birds on a telegraph pole. I then suddenly became shy for my son, fearing he might play too loud or too long or too badly! But, except for a few rolling and crashing peals all was well.¹⁴⁵

Both Herbrand Russell's interest and Maud's anxiety demonstrate how much family pride there was in Raymond's musical skill.

Raymond made attempts to stay abreast of contemporary highbrow musical activities both within academia and the performance world. A 1938 copy of Donald Tovey's *Essays in Musical Analysis*, now in the library at Mottisfont, must have belonged to Raymond. Its date coincides with his period of home tutoring and the intensification of his concentration on music, in preparation for his University application. He read *The Listener*, a magazine linked to the BBC considered an intellectual, non-partisan counterpart to the *Radio Times*, that previewed, among other things, musical broadcasts for the coming week and reviewed books.¹⁴⁶ Another letter, this time from Mottisfont in November 1938, demonstrates that Raymond possessed some knowledge, though limited, of the very recent revival of interest into Monteverdi and his music in Britain¹⁴⁷:

¹⁴⁴ Emily Russell, email to author, October 27, 2016.

¹⁴⁵ Entry written for May 14, 1939. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 55-56.

¹⁴⁶ "The Listener Historical Archive, 1929–1991", accessed 8 May 2020, <https://www.gale.com/intl/c/the-listener-historical-archive>; Collection of magazines, belonging to Raymond and Martin Russell, Russell family papers

¹⁴⁷ Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 6-9.

Chapter 2

I did not listen to the Monteverdi concert as I was at Chichester that afternoon [...] He [Monteverdi] caused a considerable upheaval in music, wrote for strange combinations of instruments, and did a good deal for the good. If you will please contain your desire to know more of him I will give you for Christmas, the 1st volume of the *Oxford History of Music* by Dr. CH Collins.¹⁴⁸

Raymond's musical education relating to the organ was immersed in two interrelated, backward-looking musical movements. The Anglican choral music revival aimed to re-establish the choral service throughout England and focussed on sacred repertoire from Tudor England and the Continental renaissance.¹⁴⁹ This movement was situated within the broader context of the drive to establish a national identity within music, seen in the English Musical Renaissance. In the Spring and Summer of 1940 Russell and his then tutor, Mr James Bransom, spent some of their study time together in Gloucester where they could "mingle a little music with his history".¹⁵⁰ In reality, musical instruments and working for the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were the overriding preoccupation for Raymond. Whilst there, he had organ lessons with the Cathedral organist Herbert Sumsion (1899-1995). Sumsion, whose own musical education exposed him to much early English repertoire, used his position and influence as organist and leader of the long running Three Choirs Festival to promote English composers.¹⁵¹ Raymond's experience in Gloucester and his studies with Sumsion, and Ley at Eton, reinforced the wider fascination of the Anglican church and the English Musical Renaissance with earlier repertoire.¹⁵² The concept of treating music as an object with history that could be researched was therefore an acceptable norm for Raymond. How strongly he ascribed to the ideas of the English Musical Renaissance, and attempts to rejuvenate interest in British music, as a teen is demonstrated by this paragraph, written to his brother from Gloucester:

I am trying to persuade Sir Walford Davies who is living at Bristol to educate the English Public in the music of their own country, which is quite as good as that of any other nation; but "the man in the street", who in this case is the ordinary music fan and

¹⁴⁸ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, November 9, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹⁴⁹ Hughes & Stradling, *English Musical Renaissance*, 76 and 77; Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Mr James S.H. Bransom, reference for Downing College, Cambridge application, May 23, 1940, DCA 1720.

¹⁵¹ Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 211-214.

¹⁵² Whilst at Gloucester Russell helped look after choristers during their festival of choral music, conducted by Sir Sydney Nicholson, "of the School of English Church Music". Russell to Martin Russell, letter, May 31, 1940, Russell family papers.

concert goer, criticises the music of his own country in ignorance not in knowledge, and shows what a shameful fool he is.¹⁵³

Raymond's language exemplifies the position of superiority over "the man in the street" that his Eton education had helped him to refine. One can only speculate on the reaction of the 70-year-old Sir Walford Davies to the advice of the 17-year-old Raymond!

Raymond's youthful and "diligent researches" into the history of organs are significant in showing the degree to which historical detail engaged him.¹⁵⁴ In further correspondence with his brother, Raymond referred to some research that he was engaged in on the organ at Spitalfields whilst producing a report for *The Organ*: "I don't think that the Univ. Lib[University College Oxford library] will be much help for this kind of research. More likely the Parish Register of Spitalfields. This I have access to. I have got considerable lexical information from a very old organ builder, who activated the bellows in 1851."¹⁵⁵ Later, Raymond mentioned further articles in *The Organ* and explained that he had also been asked to write one about the organs at Wells.

An article by Cecil Clutton on the Romsey organ appeared in this month's copy of 'The Organ': he considers it the best organ in England. There are one or two small mistakes, but nothing serious; and though I could write a long letter of criticism, I shall not bother to do so because I feel that any correspondence with him is only time wasted. The editor of 'The Organ' has asked me to write an article on Wells Cathedral organ for the October issue. I shall have to spend a night or two with Uncle Conrad and go over two or three times for the day. The searching of records for references to former organs is a long business.¹⁵⁶

The reference to archival research, at the age of 18, and the criticisms of an older and more experienced organologist further indicates an intense, single-minded and thorough approach to subjects that interested him. Both articles were eventually published in *The Organ* and reveal a young man already capable of careful research.¹⁵⁷ They display a detailed knowledge and

¹⁵³ Russell to Martin Russell, November 23, 1939, Russell family papers.

¹⁵⁴ "In the History of Music and of certain musical instruments, he has made some diligent researches." Mr James S.H. Bransom, reference for Downing College, Cambridge application, May 23, 1940, DCA 1720.

¹⁵⁵ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, November 9, 1938, Russell family papers.

¹⁵⁶ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, April 14, 1940, Russell family papers. Cecil Clutton (1909-1991), and A. Niland wrote *The British Organ* (London 1963). Clutton was not strong on factual accuracy. Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), xviii.

¹⁵⁷ Raymond Russell, "The Organs of Christ Church, Spitalfields," *The Organ: A Quarterly Review for its Makers its Players & its Lovers*, No. 75: Vol XIX, (January 1940): 113-117; Raymond Russell, "The Organs at Wells Cathedral," *The Organ: A Quarterly Review for its Makers its Players & its Lovers*, No. 79: Vol XX, (January 1941): 89-96.

Chapter 2

understanding of organ construction and a thorough acquisition of historical details relating to instruments and the buildings they inhabit, offering an early precursor for the type of organological research Raymond later became expert in.

2.2.5 First Acquisition

With hindsight Raymond claimed that his first purchase of a “special instrument”, as he so called it in the introduction to his book, occurred in 1939.¹⁵⁸ This is either a slight slip in memory, or he is referring to an instrument that is undocumented. The earliest surviving documentation of a purchase relates to an instrument found whilst he was studying in Gloucester in 1940. On April 22, 1940 he wrote to his brother, Martin:

I may appeal to you in the course of the next few days to lend me for a while £10. I have the opportunity of buying a unique Grunnert Clavichord, carriage payed, for that sum. As a bad modern clavichord costs about £35, it might be foolish to miss the opportunity of getting a first class old instrument for £10. I have not got all the details of it which I want.¹⁵⁹

Noteworthy here is that Raymond classes this find as an historical example, which he implies is inherently better than a “bad modern” version.

Raymond gave more details in his next letter to Martin:

I have now discovered all there is to know about the clavichord I mentioned in my letter the other day. It is of the usual size, 4, 1/8 octaves, and is by Grunert. This means that the instrument was built about 1800-1820; and in the ordinary course of events a clavichord of this description would cost about £50, and it therefore seems a great pity to miss the opportunity of getting it....If this meets with your approval will you please send me a cheque for £10, payable to Ellis Houghton of Ashington as soon as possible? Otherwise the clavichord is likely to be snapped up.¹⁶⁰

This is already the second time Raymond has mentioned the cost in comparison to its value – the fact that it seems to be a bargain is either remarked on because of its importance to Raymond or in order to persuade his brother that it is worth lending him the money. This bargain is reiterated in a further letter.

¹⁵⁸ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Russell to Martin Russell, April 22, 1940, Russell family papers.

¹⁶⁰ Russell to Martin Russell, April 26, 1940, Russell family papers.

As regards the CLAVICHORD not spinet, I have ordered the instrument, and await your cheque. How the instrument is not costing £40-£50 I don't know. If unsatisfactory, I may return it. The clavichord is the keyboard instrument which Bach used, and which was used in Germany when the harpsichord was popular in England and France. Consequently, Bach's keyboard music is written for this instrument. Clavichords are very fragile and require most delicate treatment. They have to be tuned every three days or so.¹⁶¹

His later collecting activities indicate that value was an important factor in his interest in the instruments he collected. It is also interesting to note that Raymond claims here that the clavichord was being used in Germany, in Bach's time, in place of the harpsichord. There were, perhaps understandably, some considerable gaps in his knowledge at this young age. The instrument finally came into his ownership in late June 1940.¹⁶² It was hot when the instrument was due to arrive in Gloucester, where he was staying. Russell anticipated that "it will probably have to be tuned each time it is played; and no keyboard instrument is half so delicate."¹⁶³ This shows a sensitivity and commitment to the construction and maintenance of historical instruments.

However, Raymond's probable first "special instrument" was likely not a clavichord at all. The information in his letters suggests an unusually late date for a clavichord, as few continued to be made in the nineteenth-century.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, an alternative identification is on offer: Alfred Hermann Grunert founded an eponymous company in 1897 in Johanngeorgenstadt, Southern Saxony.¹⁶⁵ Originally producing zithers (Akkordzithern), he introduced a kind of small, square piano for children marketed as the "Grunert Clavichord" in 1906.¹⁶⁶ Russell was either misinformed about the production date of 1820 for the instrument, mistaken, or the instrument itself was incorrectly labelled a Grunert. Whether Raymond returned what may have proved an "unsatisfactory" instrument and acquired an actual clavichord, or whether his youthful misapprehension persisted for some time, is not known.¹⁶⁷ He soon gained access to more

¹⁶¹ Russell to Martin Russell, April 30, 1940, Russell family papers.

¹⁶² Russell to Martin Russell, June 24, 1940, Russell family papers.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Howard Schott, "The Clavichord Revival, 1800-1960," *Early Music* 32, no. 4 (November 2004): 595–603.

¹⁶⁵ In 1920 the company was bought out by Hupfeld. See "History" accessed 26 October 2020, <https://www.hupfeld-piano.com/en/history>.

¹⁶⁶ The Grunert Clavichord had narrowed keys and a compass of 3, 4 and 5 octaves. One such instrument is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, No. MINE 220; it has a four-octave compass C-c3 and a down-striking action (oberschlägische Mechanik). Hubert Henkel, *Lexicon deutscher Klavierbauer*, Volume 73 Fachbuchreihe Das Musikinstrument (Birgkichen, DE: Erwin Bochinsky, 2000), 201-202. I thank Peter Bavington for sharing this information with me.

¹⁶⁷ Russell to Martin Russell, April 30, 1940, Russell family papers. His mother's diaries confirm that he still

'authentic' versions of historical keyboard instruments in Cambridge and began to show a discerning attitude towards them. It is clear, however, that although Raymond assumed to be knowledgeable about these instruments, he still had a great deal to learn at this point.

2.2.6 Struggles with Authority – from Eton to Cambridge

Raymond went to Cambridge and did his entrance exam for King's on Saturday and Monday. He came back here Thursday. On Friday Gilbert had a long letter from Beves saying he had failed, work superficial, appeared to have a dislike for learning and for authority, showed some originality. He, Beves, didn't know what to advise. Raymond thought he had passed and that there were two or three questions that were easy for him to answer. I suppose he thought them too easy.¹⁶⁸

Mottisfont, Easter Sunday, March 24, 1940.

Raymond's progress towards adulthood was marked by a struggle to achieve the high standards set out by himself, his parents and socio-economic status, and frequent clashes with authority. Early musical and intellectual accomplishments were starkly contrasted with his continual failure to meet externally prescribed benchmarks required for him to achieve his goals. As shown above, despite his publishing success Raymond did not pass the relevant examination to get into King's College Cambridge. The process of finding an appropriate place of study, acceptable to all parties, was lengthy and problematic.¹⁶⁹

Neither Sumsion or a Dr Pritchard, who had been teaching him in 1939, filled Raymond's parents with confidence in his abilities to attain the high standards that he was aiming at.¹⁷⁰ He had toyed with the idea of applying to be a college organist at Cambridge but gave up on the idea, perhaps due to the opinions of his elders.¹⁷¹ He would not contemplate applying for a position at any of the "inferior" colleges there and the fears of his elders were only confirmed in 1939 when he failed his exam for the Royal College of Organists.¹⁷²

owned a clavichord in August 1940. Emily Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 108.

¹⁶⁸ Maud Russell, March 24, 1940, Diary, Book III, 18.

¹⁶⁹ Maud Russell, April 1, 1940, Diary, Book III, 21.

¹⁷⁰ "[T]he organist Sumsion at Gloucester thinks his written work will never be very good and that he shows no aptitude for composition so he doubts whether he will ever get his Cambridge Mus. Bac." Maud Russell, July 25, 1940, Diary, Book III, 55. "Dr Pritchard, his master, complained to me a month ago that he was working badly." Maud Russell, July 18, 1939, Diary, Book II, 95.

¹⁷¹ See note 142. Maud Russell, December 21, 1938, Diary, Book II, 20.

¹⁷² Ibid. "Last week he [Raymond] went up for his organ exam at the Royal College of Organists & he has just heard that he has failed." Maud Russell, July 18, 1939, Diary, Book II, 95. No further details about the examination results have been found.

Raymond found it difficult to accept external authorities. His mother often vented frustrations in her diaries about Raymond's behaviour, displaying an almost continual undercurrent of concern punctuated by descriptions of volatile, at one point violent, reactions to difficult encounters.¹⁷³ One such example led to Raymond being sent away from home to continue his tutoring.

Thursday night G[ilbert] scolded Ray[mond] who was rude, & tapped his shoulder, R. sprang up from the piano & hit G. hard on the back of the head. Mama was present & caught hold of his hands. He called her a silly old woman. G. was very upset by it, & I, horrified and alarmed at his mentality. We decided to send him away with a tutor.¹⁷⁴

Although Maud and Gilbert were keen to send Raymond abroad "to learn some German and improve his French", the political climate was already too unsettled for them to consider this seriously.¹⁷⁵ Instead they had to settle for Gloucester. Maud interviewed and employed a series of tutors to work with Raymond.¹⁷⁶ Charles Bransom and Dr Pritchard were the two mentioned most frequently. Both individuals had criticised Raymond's abilities and work ethic, and their relationship with him seemed distinctly uncomfortable. In February 1940, Maud wrote that, "B[ransom] doubts R[aymond] getting into Kings. He is totally uninterested in history, which he is reading; and owing to his break with school life and concentration on Music, very ignorant."¹⁷⁷ This indicates very little confidence in Raymond's abilities from both parties. Raymond's relationship with Bransom appears to have been strained for their entire period together: "Bransom came to lunch & gave me an account of Raymond who has been cold & hostile to him all these months. B[ransom] is leaving him now for good."¹⁷⁸ Despite this, Bransom wrote glowing references for Raymond's application to Downing College, Cambridge, where Raymond was eventually accepted. His acceptance there seems to have relied heavily on the Russells' friendship with Sir Herbert Richmond, Master of Downing College, and his family, but may also have been partly due to the quality of Raymond's publications in *The Organ*.¹⁷⁹

Raymond's disassociation within familial, social and educational contexts was pronounced, and was noted by family and friends. He demonstrated a distinct lack of interest in some of the

¹⁷³ "Cambridge Thursday, February 26. Disastrous day. Saw Dr. Noble 12.15. Told him more about Raymond's unbalanced growing up years." Maud Russell, February 26, 1942, Diary, Book III, 232.

¹⁷⁴ Maud Russell, September 24, 1939, Diary, Book II, 111. By 1939 Gilbert was already 64 and frail with asthma, he only lived another 3 years, so any violence from Raymond towards his father would have been viewed with particular dismay.

¹⁷⁵ Maud Russell, August 8, 1939, Diary, Book II, 98.

¹⁷⁶ Maud Russell, September 28-29, 1939, Diary, Book II, 111; Mr Macdonald, the "new tutor", took Raymond to Gloucester in October 1939. Book II, 114.

¹⁷⁷ Maud Russell, February 12, 1940, Diary, Book III, 5.

¹⁷⁸ Maud Russell, July 25, 1940, Diary, Book III, 55.

¹⁷⁹ Gilbert Russell to Richmond, June 10, 1940, Downing College Archive

Chapter 2

privileged activities enjoyed by the rest of his family and appeared socially ill at ease.¹⁸⁰ His father, wanting to discourage Raymond's anti-social tendencies, requested he have "rooms in college" when he began at Downing, because "he is rather inclined to be self-contained".¹⁸¹ Richard Meinertzhagen (1878-1967), a family friend who lived at Mottisfont before the Russells, conflated Raymond's social awkwardness with his "musical talent":

Went to Mottisfont for lunch and spent the whole afternoon there. The Russell's youngest son Raymond was there, a boy with a highly developed musical talent; he did not talk much but in the afternoon I got him to talk. He cares for very little else other than music. I should think he possesses a good deal of moral courage and even physical courage if necessary.¹⁸²

As Philip Brett points out, the term "musical" was already a known euphemism for homosexuality at this time.¹⁸³ While Meinertzhagen's use may have been literal, the reference to his "moral...and physical courage" immediately afterwards would make more sense with the alternative reading. It is notable, however, that music was felt a safe territory for discussion by Raymond in social situations within and beyond the family.¹⁸⁴ If Raymond was already struggling to comprehend his sexuality at this stage in his life, compounding the heteronormative challenges of adolescence and early adulthood, this may have contributed to some of his behavioural extremes.

2.2.7 Pacifism and the Queer Connection

Apart from his intensifying interest in keyboard instruments and his self-directed abandonment of a standard education, Raymond's attitude towards the overwhelming presence of World War II further separated him from the societal norm. Prior to his arrival at Cambridge, Raymond expressed opinions about the forthcoming war that put him at odds with both his parents and the leadership of Downing College. In a letter addressed to the Senior Tutor of Downing College Raymond refused to accept the RAF pass that everyone working or living at college was obliged to

¹⁸⁰ The Russell's hosted regular shoots at Mottisfont. Raymond recorded 3 entries in his Game diary, and shot 1 bird on each occasion, recording "Dull day. Very cold wind." Raymond Russell, *Shooting & Fishing Record*, received December 24, 1937, National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey.

¹⁸¹ Gilbert Russell, letter to Mr Whalley-Tooker (Raymond's Senior Tutor), 6 Sept 1940, Downing College Archive

¹⁸² Richard Meinertzhagen, *The Life of a Boy: Daniel Meinertzhagen, 1925-1944* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1947), entry for July 26, 1941.

¹⁸³ Philip Brett, "Musicality, Essentialism and the Closet," in *Queering the Pitch* edited by Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 11.

¹⁸⁴ Musical discussion took up a considerable part of Raymond's correspondence with Martin Russell as evidenced already by multiple quotes from their correspondence.

hold: “my sympathies are not with the British Forces and I do not want even indirectly to place myself under their supervision or authority”.¹⁸⁵ Richmond, the Master of Downing, wrote a swift response to Gilbert explaining the necessity of a pass and that his son was at risk of losing his place at Downing if his letter was not retracted.¹⁸⁶ Raymond’s obstinacy was eventually overcome, but not before strongly testing his parents’ patience.¹⁸⁷

Raymond’s opinions on the war will not have come as a surprise to his family, who had already been involved in heated exchanges with him on the subject.¹⁸⁸ For example, Raymond, Martin and Gilbert had been corresponding about politics over the summer. Raymond’s views had evidently troubled Gilbert, noted here by Raymond in a comment to Martin: “I am surprised that Papa is upset at my political views. He invited me to correspond about them, so that is what I am doing.”¹⁸⁹ In August 1940, Raymond had undoubtedly exacerbated the situation when he arrived home visibly displaying his views:

Ray[mond] arrived that evening from Gloucester well pleased with himself and wearing a Peace Pledge badge. It is all just as I thought it would be. Gilbert asked him, as a favour to us, not to wear it. So far no result. [...] This time I asked Ray[mond] as a great favour to take off his P.P.U badge. It was a pleasant appeal and succeeded. He was nice and amiable, and I saw clearly for the first time what I had seen signs of over the last year, that his character is softening and expanding.¹⁹⁰

Notwithstanding their anti-appeasement stance, the Russells were not completely averse to the pacifist position. Maud in particular, despite being well informed about the effects of Nazism and by then actively engaged in rescuing her Jewish family members from Nazi controlled Europe, nevertheless had an open attitude to this viewpoint and had a number of pacifist friends.¹⁹¹ She did not, however, feel that her son’s opinions were based on logic and both she and Gilbert continued to press Raymond to change his position.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Raymond Russell, letter to the Senior Tutor, September 29 1940, DCA 1720. Information regarding the necessity of the pass from: Herbert Richmond to Gilbert Russell, letter, October 2 1940, DCA 1720.

¹⁸⁶ Herbert Richmond to Gilbert Russell, letter, October 2 1940, DCA 1720.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix A provides a full description of events as detailed in Maud’s diary, demonstrating the political and emotional mechanics within the Russell household at the time.

¹⁸⁸ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, June 24, 1940, Russell family papers.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Maud Russell, August 5, 1940, Diary, Book III, 56.

¹⁹¹ Derek Hill and Clive Bell both discussed their pacifist views with her. Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 68,74. Bertrand Russell, a very public dissenter, was a well-known and respected Russell family member. T. Irish, *The University at War, 1914-25: Britain, France, and the United States* (New York: Springer, 2015), pt. I, chap. 1.

¹⁹² See, for example, her diary entry for Thursday 6th March, 1941: “I found Raymond had discussed his pacifism with [Raymond’s senior tutor, Whalley-Tooker]. W.T. took a wise and a liberal-minded view. Advised Raymond to register as a C[onscientious] O[bjector] – if he must at Cambridge, where the Tribunal

This continued, but to no avail. On the contrary, Raymond entrenched himself further. On August 15th, 1941, he represented himself (despite receiving advice to take a solicitor) at a Tribunal to register officially as a Conscientious Objector, and later at an Appeal.¹⁹³ Maud expressed her frustrations with her son in her diary after the tribunal:

Had a talk with Ray[mond] who went before the C.O. [Conscientious Objectors] tribunal a week ago. He described the judge, Campbell, as fair and a King's don, on the Tribunal, called, I think, Claydon as trying to catch the C.O.s out, sarcastic and disagreeable. I gather the C.O.s as a crowd surprised even Raymond by their eccentric appearance and behaviour. Ray was posted for non-combatant duty which he resents and is going to appeal against. He says he stated he was willing to do Civil Defence duties. He objects to any form of duty in the army, he says, as he considers the army – all armies – an evil. His reasons were wholly illogical and I ended by getting, for once, very irritated with him. What bunk C.O.'s talk. No wonder the King's don was impertinent and sarcastic.¹⁹⁴

The other conscientious objectors at the tribunal will have represented the full spectrum of society who shared Raymond's stance. His reaction to the "C.O. crowd" indicates his disconnect from that broader picture. Unfortunately for Raymond both this tribunal and the appeal failed and he was ordered to take up "any duties in the Army".¹⁹⁵ The prospect for conscientious objectors who pursued their stance by refusing the Army was imprisonment.¹⁹⁶ With this in mind, and some careful persuasion on the part of his family and Tutor at Downing College, Raymond finally agreed to undergo the medical examination for joining the Army in December 1941.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, despite this recapitulation, the process of joining-up still held pitfalls for him.

Although Raymond's views were at odds with his parents, whilst at Cambridge he could place himself within a receptive, intellectual sphere. Raymond's brother Martin remained sympathetic and shared a circle of Cambridge educated pacifist friends who corresponded on musical and

was understood to be fair. Afterwards sat in Raymond's rooms till lunch and talked about this and other things. The reasons he gives for his pacifism are illogical and absurd. But there it is. He believes, I suppose, in the reasons he gives though the origin for his objections is based, I have little doubt, in self-interest. But I dare say he doesn't know this." Maud Russell, Book III, 123.

¹⁹³ Report of Conscientious Objectors tribunal, newspaper clipping, 16 Aug 1941, DCA 1720; Maud Russell, October 26, 1941, Book III, 193-194.

¹⁹⁴ Maud Russell, August 24, 1941, Diary, Book III, 174.

¹⁹⁵ Maud Russell, October 18, 1941, Diary, Book III, 192.

¹⁹⁶ Ann Kramer, *Conscientious Objectors of the Second World War: Refusing to Fight* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2013), 126; Maud Russell, October 26, 1941, Book III, 193.

¹⁹⁷ "R. has written to say his views have changed and he is thinking of the Air Force. G[ilbert] and I were staggered dumbfounded and relieved beyond belief." Maud Russell, November 9, 1941, Diary, Book III, 198.

pacifist matters.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, Cambridge had become associated with pacifism during World War I, in some part due to the publication of the *Cambridge Magazine* which became “the touchstone for pacifist opinion in 1917 and 1918, not only in Cambridge but far beyond”.¹⁹⁹ Edward Dent (1876-1957) had spent the First World War writing and translating for the magazine and, during that period, had surrounded himself with a pacifist milieu. The following chapter explores how, on his arrival in Cambridge some two decades later, Raymond was welcomed into and encouraged by a similar milieu surrounding Dent, whose influence on Raymond is traced through examining a newly discovered correspondence.

Dent played a significant role in Raymond’s integration into Cambridge life. I have already noted that during Raymond’s late teens, the period he spent contemplating university and his future, it is likely that he was grappling with questions surrounding his sexual identity. Although evidence from periods later in his life strongly suggest his homosexuality, he is unlikely to have confidently identified as homosexual at this point. Nevertheless, his emerging homosexuality may well have affected his decisions about what and where he wanted to study. His desire to study at King’s College, Cambridge, in the first instance, might not have been simply down to the social and musical prestige held by that college. Raymond may also have been aware of an “undercurrent of homosexuality” that harpsichordist Raymond Leppard claimed was already manifest there.²⁰⁰ Martin had already completed his studies at King’s so his younger brother, being party to Martin’s circle, was probably conscious of this special King’s aura. In fact, personal recollections of Raymond claim that he maintained a life-long “chip on his shoulder” having not studied there.²⁰¹ Raymond’s difficulties – at Eton and with male authoritative figures – perhaps display a need for a role-model who presented an unrepressed queer identity whom he could respect and emulate. In Dent he found such a figure. Their correspondence began in June 1940 before Raymond went up to Cambridge, and continued during Raymond’s time there in a way that suggests they met regularly and were part of the same social and musical scene.²⁰² It is well documented that Dent carefully cultivated a circle of homosexual artistic young men in Cambridge during the First World

¹⁹⁸ Henry Battock to Martin Russell, letter, March 11, 1940, Russell family papers. Battock offered some advice towards Russell about how to deal with the Tribunal as he had already been through one himself, as had a mutual friend of theirs. Henry Battock to Martin Russell, letter, April 21 1940, Russell family papers.

¹⁹⁹ Karen Arrandale, “Artists’ Rifles and Artistic Licence: Edward Dent’s War”, *First World War Studies* 2, no. 1 (March 2011): 7–16; Irish, *The University at War*, pt. I, chap. 1.

²⁰⁰ Raymond Leppard, *Raymond Leppard on Music: An Anthology of Critical and Personal Writings* (New York: Pro/Am Music Resources, 1993), 382.

²⁰¹ Sebastian Minton, “Raymond Russell: Reminiscences of an Old Friend, August 1996”, notes written in communications with Dr Grant O’Brien (then Curator of the Russell Collection), transcribed September 18 2008 by J. Raymond, Assistant Curator, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments (hereafter cited as EUCHMI).

²⁰² Edward Dent to Russell, 27 letters and postcards, sent between June 1940-August 1955, E2001.37 Tovey letters, Box CLX-A-397, Special Collections, Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh.

War, via which he actively helped those conflicted with their homosexuality; a practice he undoubtedly continued.²⁰³ Russell, with his pacifist thinking and musical interests quickly settled into a busy social scene, fostered by Dent, that saw him flourish.²⁰⁴

Raymond's behaviour can be interpreted as a similar type of identity construction through counter-discourse, as that modelled by Dent and others. Annegret Fauser and Phillip Brett have both highlighted how Dent's homosexuality can be tracked within his musicological practice via his "opposition to a perceived or actual hegemonic normativity".²⁰⁵ In fact, Florence Tamagne, in her description of "the cult of homosexuality" in the 1920s and '30s, "that concerned primarily the British male elite" explains that homosexuality was "touted as a sexuality of subversion[...]that could be substituted for the patriarchal model."²⁰⁶ This opposition to the normative can also be seen in both party's pacifism. The links between pacifism and homosexuality during the second quarter of the twentieth-century, particularly in relation to intellectual elite circles of Oxbridge, has been presented in a number of studies.²⁰⁷ Raymond may have already become acquainted with such outlooks via his mother's circle of friends, for instance those connected with the Bloomsbury set, and certainly via his brother Martin's. But undoubtedly Raymond's close friendship with Dent reinforced the links between his own sexuality and pacifist ideals, even if those ideals were ill-thought-through on Raymond's part. The long-lasting and caring friendship with Dent adds weight to the suggestion that the older scholar provided a much-needed role-model for Raymond at a fundamental time in his personal development.

Any difficulties Russell was having in coming to terms with his own sexuality were compounded by the pressure of conscription. At Cambridge it appears that Raymond was seen as a somewhat effeminate figure (see Figure 8).

²⁰³ Arrandale, "Edward Dent's War", 8; John Stuart Roberts, *Siegfried Sassoon - The First Complete Biography of One of Our Greatest War Poets* (London: John Blake Publishing, 2005), chap. 4.

²⁰⁴ "I am glad to see that my son, Raymond, returned home at Xmas, a different man after one Term at Downing...He is clearly as happy as a King at Cambridge." Gilbert Russell to Whalley-Tooker, letter, January 29 1941, DCA 1720. This turn for the better is confirmed by Maud Russell in a diary entry on Christmas Day, 1940: "Raymond came to church with me at three. His character is much sweeter." Maud Russell, December 25, 1940, Diary, Book III, 98.

²⁰⁵ Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent", in *Queer Episodes*, 183-186.

²⁰⁶ Tamagne, *A History of Homosexuality in Europe, Vol. I & II*, 202-203.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 25, 125, and particularly 270-271; Brett, Wood, and Thomas, *Queering the Pitch*, 21, 23 fn. nos. 9 and 354.

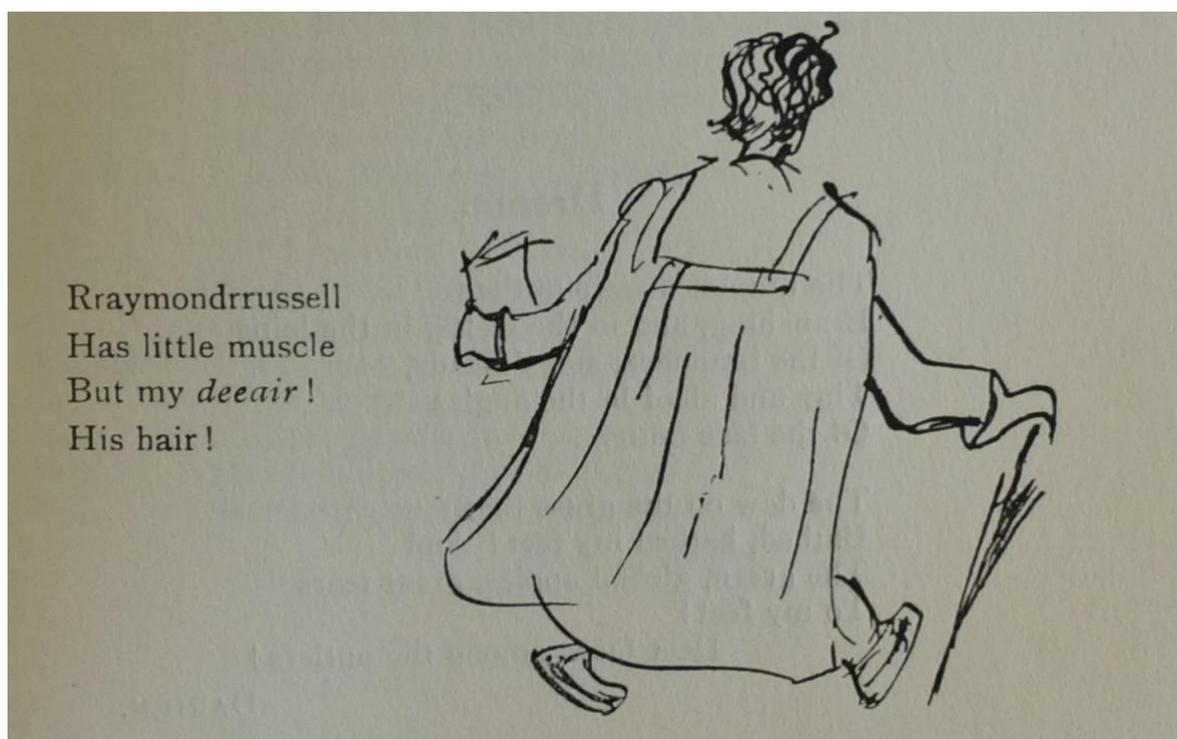


Figure 8 “Rraymondrrussell has little muscle.” Image from the Downing College Magazine 1940-1943, *The Griffin*, 5, Artist anonymous, DCA.

His appearance and focus on music may have contributed to this image. As Raymond’s pacifist opinions were, as yet, relatively unconsidered, his position might have unconsciously provided a cover for an underlying fear that conscription necessitated an adoption of a masculinity that he felt unsuited to. Whether or not Maud had her own suspicions about her son’s sexuality, his drastic actions during 1942 to avoid enlistment resulted in her visiting Cambridge and speaking to his tutor and friends with a level of candour that was rare. These conversations, which Maud covered in her diaries, provide unusual written evidence that those close to Raymond were aware of his sexuality and that he had relationships with other men.

Cambridge, Thursday, February 19, 1942.

Dr Salisbury whom Ray[mond] had consulted from time to time knew through Mr McCurdy[sic] about the overdoses and said R[aymond] was a case for a psychologist – which I knew only too well. Peter Hey, R[aymond]’s very pansy-ish friend said R[aymond] had complained of a great deal of depression, had wanted to go out to dinner with him for company, said he had taken morphine on one occasion, on the Saturday night said he had taken half a bottle of Adalin, had mentioned *en passant* that he had had a notice to report to the R.A.S.C.[Royal Army Service Corp] at Derby – or rather Matlock, on this very day. He said R[aymond] had not practised harpsichord or

piano this last week and had often locked himself in his room. Said he hadn't worked at his music as he should have all this term.

Mrs Prior, friend of Martin's, and rather less so of Ray[mond]'s, said she did not see him very much but last Wednesday he came to her house looking odd and talking oddly and wildly. Complained of depression, said he sometimes thought of putting his head in a gas oven, said he had taken morphine. She suggested he should go and see Dr McCurdy[sic] who was a friend of hers, R[aymond] said he would like to see a psychologist. R[aymond] saw him twice or three times but the visits weren't a success. Mrs P said he was a homosexual, thought R[aymond] might be one too and said that R[aymond] and Julian Huxley's son were rivals, both having an "emotional attachment" for a Greek called, I think, Dimitri Capitanikis[sic], an older man and working in London.²⁰⁸

The terminology used in reference to queer behaviour in this extract is noteworthy. Here and elsewhere, Maud— who was by no means prudish, and had a number of close, queer friends of whose relationships she was accepting — used terms such as "pansy", "pansyish" and "sissy" in the context of her son's circle. For example, following a recital of Raymond's in Paris she compares French and English audiences: "the audience consisting mostly of young intelligent looking people, not pansy or sissy looking as is generally the case in England but healthy and normal."²⁰⁹ She was not necessarily talking about sexual orientation, it is likely that she used it to refer to a certain look or behaviour, but her terminology is suggestive and derogatory.²¹⁰ While never talking about her son in this manner, her disapproval of his friend Peter Hey in particular is apparent in this quote. Maud did not fully accept the possibility of Raymond's relationship with Capetanakis until 1944, when the announcement of his death was made.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Maud Russell, February 19, 1942, Diary, Book III, 227.

²⁰⁹ Maud Russell, May 9, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 146.

²¹⁰ Another example of her use of the word pansy comes here: Maud Russell, August 27, 1941, Book III, 176. "How old Acton talks well but with all those strange emphases and pressures on words and lifting of the pressure common to many pansies. I don't know whether he is one. He knows Chinese and has an extraordinary face."

²¹¹ "Last night Alice rang up and gave me the news that Raymond's good friend Capitanaikis[sic] had died and that Beryl des Zoete wanted Raymond's address so as to write and tell him. I found Alexi already knew about it from the newspapers but not from Raymond who, being in hospital, may not have heard. And then I heard for the first time that Raymond used to lunch with him every day when he was on leave. So I suppose Mrs Prior's story was true. Poor R. It will be a blow. I sent a message to Mrs de Z not to write to Raymond till he is really convalescent, feeling it might be too shattering for him to hear about during early convalescence from broncho pneumonia. These two tragedies fill my mind." Maud Russell, March 15, 1944, Diary, Book VI, 13-14, Russell family papers. Demetrios Capetanakis (1912-1944) was a poet and literary critic championed by Edith Sitwell. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Capetanakis, Demetrios," by A.T. Tolley, accessed 7 July 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60659>.

Camille Prior, on the other hand, described Raymond as “homosexual”, and as having an “emotional attachment,” both terms suggesting a greater ease, understanding and respect. She seems to have acted as the mother-figure that Raymond turned to when requiring sympathy. Her friendship with Dent and role within the Cambridge musical scene will be explored within the next chapter. The difference in her approach to that of Maud’s is palpable, and additionally suggestive of the existence of an experienced support-network for queer students at Cambridge that Raymond was able to slot into.

It is clear from this entry that the ongoing pressure of enlisting for military duty had a corrosive effect on Raymond’s mental and physical health, and that by 1942 he had an established habit of drug-taking.²¹² He had been prescribed highly addictive barbiturates and opiates to deal with sleep problems and other “troubles” which had afflicted him since his teens.²¹³ The stress of enforced recruitment resulted in Raymond acting in the one way that he felt was still available to him to escape facing the perceived challenge. A number of overdoses on a variety of different drugs coincided with the continually deferred dates for him to report to the Royal Army Service Corp (RASC) in Matlock.

On Saturday night the University Lecturer on psychology, Dr MacCurdy, had put R[aymond] in Evelyn’s nursing home for the night as he’d taken half a bottle of Adalin. Whalley Tooker and Richmond decided after talking things over not to inform us, thinking it was a folly that mightn’t occur again. It did, in a more squalid way, yesterday. The surgeon in charge, Mr Pennell, knew about the two overdoses but thought there wasn’t a serious intention to commit suicide as otherwise why only take half a bottle and why go out to dinner after taking it?²¹⁴

If not suicide attempts – despite Raymond’s claims to be depressed and having considered suicide – they certainly appear to be a means of avoiding a situation he was not sure he could cope with.

Ultimately Raymond did join the army and, in some respects, appeared to flourish.²¹⁵ After a great deal of patient support from his Senior Tutor and Elsa Richmond (the wife of the Master of Downing College), he went up to Matlock and reported for duty on March 29th, 1942.²¹⁶ As a

²¹² Dr Noble to RASC, medical report, March 16 1942, DCA 1720; Maud Russell, February 19, 1942, Book III, 227.

²¹³ Dr Noble to RASC, medical report, March 16 1942, DCA 1720; Maud Russell, February 19, 1942, Book III, 227. Raymond’s “troubles” were referred to frequently by Maud in her diaries. “I am sure his troubles won’t be at an end. Poor R. - what an outlook.” Maud Russell, October 26, 1941, Book III, 194; December 7, 1941, Book III, 204.

²¹⁴ Maud Russell, February 19, 1942, Diaries, Book III, 226.

²¹⁵ Maud Russell to Whalley-Tooker, June 13 1942, DCA 1720.

²¹⁶ Maud Russell, Book IV, 15, 18.

Chapter 2

driver for the Royal Army Service Corps he did not see combatant service, but was probably involved in delivering military and medical supplies. In May 1942 his father, Gilbert, died after a long struggle with asthma.²¹⁷ The knowledge of his worsening health would have contributed to Raymond's unhappiness at that time, compounding his difficulties with leaving Cambridge for a new life with the army in Matlock. However, due to Gilbert's death Raymond was allowed to return home for leave, during which time he helped support his mother through the funeral before returning to duties "calmly."²¹⁸ According to his military records and Maud's diaries, he strived for some time to receive a commission but, partly due to frequent bouts in hospital, took some years to achieve this.²¹⁹ There is little to suggest he saw active combat, it seems that, as a Driver for the Service Corp, he was transporting provisions and medical supplies. It is likely that he developed his interest in medicine, referred to in Chapter 4, during his service. He was eventually commissioned to the Royal Fusiliers in 1945, with whom his final posting was to India in 1946.²²⁰ Raymond's military career is not explored further in this thesis, partly due to a lack of available evidence, but also, for obvious reasons, because it was not a fruitful time in terms of his development as a collector of early keyboard instruments.

To conclude, Raymond's upbringing exhibits an elite background where aesthetic, musical and historical interests were cultivated within the family from a young age. Growing up in the setting of Mottisfont Abbey where his interests were incorporated into the fabric of the building, within a social scene that accepted creative, Bohemian and unorthodox lifestyles, he nevertheless found it hard to conform. He had an exclusive and expensive education, going to preparatory school and Eton, where his musical interests could thrive but where he also experienced personal difficulties. Private tutoring helped him to further develop his abilities out of school, and begin to build up connections with individuals and a scene that could help him progress in his chosen field. This part of his education again testifies to his family wealth and their determination to get him "on track" in the footsteps of his brother and other young men of his class, despite difficulties that had prevented him from taking full advantage of his status and abilities. His experience in Cambridge and military service were defining in many ways. In this chapter I have talked about the personal challenges of these years; in the next chapter I will talk about how Raymond's work as a performer of early music and his interests in historical instruments developed in the Cambridge milieu and beyond.

²¹⁷ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, chap. 4.

²¹⁸ Maud Russell, June 5, 1942, Book IV, 56.

²¹⁹ Raymond Russell's Service and Casualty Form, Army no. 10686679 R2105, March 23, 1942, Personnel Records, Ministry of Defense.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*; Maud Russell, May 27, 1946, Book VII, 107.

Chapter 3 Networks of Revival: Cambridge, London and Beyond

The previous chapter highlighted the multiple sources of inspiration from which Russell's interest in early keyboard instruments emerged, within a privileged and intellectual environment. It also outlined how Russell's personal crises affected his social and academic interactions, which had repercussions on his decision-making processes and the paths of interest that he chose to follow. Russell is revealed as a single-minded young man with a clear sense of the direction he wanted to take his interests, but whose determination could be easily deflected by failure and challenge.

In Cambridge, Russell was able to settle into a network of individuals who shared his musical interests and provided a safe milieu within which he could explore his sexuality. In Russell's chronology, the figure of Edward Dent plays a significant role in his development as a harpsichord specialist and as an introduction point for connecting with other queer or sympathetic individuals. Throughout this chapter I explore Dent's influence, examining their correspondence that covers Russell's arrival at Cambridge, through his military and performing career. I trace a fluid stream of influence from the Mottisfont setting of privileged encounters with high culture, via that of the scholarly, organological based scene in Cambridge, to an analytical and practice-led inter-continental network. An interconnected group of keyboard specialists emerges as part of Russell's personal network in London and across the globe.

Through Dent's letters and Maud Russell's diary excerpts, this chapter explores the linked activities of performing and instrument acquisition that marked Russell's early career spanning the 1940s. Russell's early forays into public performance were on historical instruments, within an established musical scene of revival in Cambridge. Harpsichords were, by then, reasonably well established within some musical communities in Britain. In order to contextualise the scene in Cambridge, I begin with a broader picture of harpsichord usage in the earlier part of the century.

Revival projects of the early twentieth-century demonstrated a variety of attitudes towards instrument choice for performance. Questions surrounding "authenticity" in terms of appropriate instrumentation were sometimes different from those considered today.¹ One of the chief

¹ John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Haskell, "Playing Bach 'His Way,'" in *The Early Music Revival*; "The Medium is the Message: Period Instruments," in *The End of Early Music*; Taruskin, "The Modern Sound of Early Music", in *Text and Act*; Wilson, "Making Early Music Work", *The Art of Re-enchantment*.

influencing factors on peoples' concept of what might constitute authentic instrumentation was the availability of either surviving original or reproduction instruments, and the knowledge and skill-sets to utilise existing ones effectively.² For this reason, among others, the approach to instrument choice for performances of old music had a different set of parameters than today, and was not consistent (that is not to say that it has ever been consistent). There is no secondary literature offering an overview of the instrument choices of ensembles performing early music between 1900 and 1950, and, though it would be a useful resource, there is not space within this thesis to undertake such a project. However, it is possible to interrogate the role of keyboard instruments in some musical events because, although much primary evidence often doesn't mention what type of instruments ensembles played, they do often specify whether there is a harpsichord or clavichord present.³ This in itself indicates that such keyboard instruments (regardless of their historical appropriateness) were simply viewed as another musical tool to help interpret old music. For instance, the first revival of Purcell's *Fairy Queen* in Birmingham, 1897, had Dolmetsch playing continuo on his newly made Green harpsichord, yet almost forty years later, in France, Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979) felt more comfortable using a piano for continuo in her Monteverdi madrigal recordings.⁴ In another example, a piano was used for continuo and solo keyboard in Adolf Busch's (1891-1952) first complete recording of Bach's Brandenburg Concertos, released in 1937.⁵ Within this period, Ralph Vaughan-Williams's insistence on using the piano rather than the harpsichord in the orchestra for large-scale Bach choral performances, discussed in 1924 in correspondences with Cedric Glover (1924-1968), serves as an effective substantiation of a trend for using harpsichords in such settings in Britain by the mid 1920s already.⁶ These examples demonstrate that, despite certain fashions, there was no whole-scale stratagem towards choice of keyboard instrument for performance of old music. The same can be said for any systematised approach towards period performance style and techniques; these kinds of decisions and accompanying research were taken on by individual performers. Wanda Landowska and Arnold Dolmetsch are prime examples of this individualised approach and how different the resulting products could be. In Britain specifically, the practice of Dolmetsch and his protégées had already established a following by the 1920s.

² Wilson demonstrates this very effectively in the opening to "Holding History in Their Hands", in *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 93.

³ There was no precedent for mentioning whether the instruments used were based on historical models, or originals.

⁴ Dolmetsch, *Personal recollections*, 24; Timothy Bainbridge, "Wanda Landowska and Her Repertoire", *Early Music* 3, no. 1 (1975): 39-41, partic. 40.

⁵ Bainbridge, "Wanda Landowska," 40.

⁶ Hugh Cobbe, *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams, 1895-1958* (OUP Oxford, 2010), No. 141.

Between the wars, a proliferation of chamber orchestras and conductors who were concentrating on both Baroque and contemporary music, using smaller forces, emerged.⁷ In terms of sound the move to smaller forces for Baroque music was the most noticeable change to the listener, but there was also, sometimes, a different approach to the style of playing. These ensembles were working from modern instruments; however, the smaller forces enabled the entrance of the harpsichord as a solo or continuo instrument.⁸ Although individuals using historical keyboards – or keyboard instruments loosely based on historical ones – for recitals were already in evidence, and had a certain following as solo performers, the use of such instruments within an ensemble setting was less prevalent until the 1940s. There are a number of reasons behind this: the instruments themselves did not necessarily combine well with other contemporary instruments, in terms of volume and resonance; there were practical issues of actually having an instrument in the right place, tuned and ready to function; and, of course, the limited availability of anyone with the appropriate skills to work with the instruments. The Cambridge scene examined below indicates that, at least within this particular musical community, these difficulties were easier to overcome.

The role of organists in the British scene is important. The Oxbridge collegiate organ scholar tradition resulted in a plethora of talented organists who could turn their skills to harpsichord playing if given the opportunity. Their skills were informed by a preoccupation with counterpoint and voice leading, contributed to by the publication of the translation of Knud Jeppeson's *Counterpoint: The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century* in 1939.⁹ Examining Cambridge's scene in this chapter demonstrates that continuo was commonly being played on the harpsichord by organists, prior to World War II and this tradition continued afterwards.¹⁰

3.1 Cambridge: Setting the Stage of the Interwar Revival – Actors and Instruments

In the heterogeneous early music world of 1940s Britain, individual actors could have a decisive influence over musical choices including repertoire and instrumentation. A newly discovered correspondence between Dent and Russell highlights the strength of their connection, and the

⁷ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 92; Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, 70.

⁸ Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music*, 12.

⁹ Knud Jeppesen, *Counterpoint: The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. by Glen Haydon (New York: Prentice Hall, 1939).

¹⁰ Stephen Wilkinson (born 1919), former student of Queen's College Cambridge, prior to Russell's arrival, says this for himself, Thurston Dart and Boris Ord. Conversation with the author, August 12, 2017.

importance of Dent's guidance.¹¹ This correspondence spans fifteen years and was established by Russell circa June 1940, when he wrote to Dent for advice on preparation for Music studies at Cambridge.¹² In terms of Russell's biography this timespan covers his application for and studies at Cambridge, his military conscription and post war career – a key period of Russell's developing interests. It follows Russell's progress from early experiments with "special instruments" and counterpoint studies, through a brief performing career as a harpsichordist and owner of important historical examples, to his burgeoning research and publications related to historical keyboard instruments and collections.¹³ Throughout, the tone is friendly and quickly becomes quite informal, detailing personal information such as Dent's health and thoughts about music, people and musicians. It is frequently full of advice about reading material regarding counterpoint, recommendations and introductions to individuals deemed useful for Russell's own developing network. For instance, he recommends Jeppeson's book, among others, for counterpoint studies on more than one occasion.¹⁴ The initial two years of the correspondence is relatively sparse, the dates of letters corresponding to holiday periods. They often refer to times where the two have met, indicating that their relationship during this period was based on regular meetings in Cambridge rather than letters, when possible. Whether Russell was aware of Dent's sexuality before initiating their correspondence is not certain. However, their shared sexuality could help to explain Russell's quick integration into Dent's circle on arrival at Cambridge, and the increasing intimacy of their relationship seen through their correspondence.¹⁵

At Cambridge Russell's academic studies continued to be marked by uncertainty and failure. He had ostensibly gone up to Cambridge to study History and Music; both subjects evidently had a certain draw for Russell. The study of music as an academic subject at Cambridge had undergone some changes in its long history.¹⁶ Prior to Dent's influence taking hold, music studies at

¹¹ Although referred to in Dent's archive at Cambridge, the correspondence was only found in August 2014 amongst Donald Tovey's archive, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

Ref: E2001.37 Tovey letters, Box CLX-A-397, Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh University Library (hereafter referred to as Dent EUL. A postcard has been found at Cambridge, but further investigation of Dent's archive is needed to establish where the rest of the correspondence is.)

¹² Dent's reply was dated June 12, 1940 so presumably Russell had written to him not long before. Dent to Russell, June 12, 1940, Dent EUL.

¹³ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 7.

¹⁴ This is a book that Dent knew well, recommending it to Russell and discusses it in a number of correspondences. Dent to Russell, June 12, 1940, 2r; August 4, 1942, Dent EUL.

¹⁵ Russell and Dent holiday in Italy together in 1952. Russell and Ralph Kirkpatrick to Dent, postcard, September 2, 1952, EJD-4-342, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge.

Russell seems to have offered some financial help to Dent in 1955, which Dent, while appreciating the offer, turned down. Dent to Russell, November 9, 1955, Dent EUL.

¹⁶ Grove Music Online, s.v. "Cambridge," by Charles Cudworth and Richard M. Andrewes, accessed September 6, 2018,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004642>.

Cambridge had been composer/music director oriented; aimed at producing organists who could write a good fugue and anthem.¹⁷ It was through Dent, one of the first non-composer Professors with a standing within European musicology, that the tradition of music scholarship and musicological research – a more scientific and analytical approach to music – became established. Russell's relationship with his music tutors was poor, the Senior Tutor of Downing (H.C. Whalley-Tooker) received regular complaints from them and Russell alike; these lengthy tussles eventually resulted in Russell dropping History, to just reading Music.¹⁸ It was his close relationship to Dent that affected the way Russell approached his studies of music and instruments. Despite Russell's lack of focus on work set by his university tutors, the Dent correspondence shows that he persevered with his own research in a similar vein to that which he had undertaken for his organ articles throughout his time in Cambridge and beyond.¹⁹

Dent's work built on an active musical background in Cambridge that had seen a flourishing interest in historical instruments and musical revivals since at least the 1890s.²⁰ Cambridge early music activities between 1920-1940 involved a variety of performance situations in which early keyboard instruments were used. Russell's upbringing and previous experiences resonated with this environment so that it became a wider field for exploration and development of his interests.

The musical landscape of Cambridge was already abuzz with the joy of re-enactment well before Russell arrived on the scene in 1940. The 1920s and '30s saw a flourishing of revivals of dramatic works by Purcell, Handel, Mozart, Monteverdi and Shakespeare productions using appropriate period music. This movement could be viewed as part of broader political attempts at nation-

¹⁷ Claim quoted from Nicholas Marston's comments in: Martin Cullingford, "Cambridge Past", accessed July 24 2018, <https://www.mus.cam.ac.uk/about-us/history-of-the-faculty-of-music/CambridgePast.pdf>, 17.

¹⁸ A History tutor at Emmanuel College signing off as BJB[name unclear] states, "A man who so greatly resents criticism (as his letter that I sent you in the May Term shows) should be more precise" and suggests Russell comes on Wednesday with the others rather than dropping in a few days later "as is his custom". BJB(?) to H.C. Whalley-Tooker, letter, Oct 1 1941, DCA 1720. After an interview Radcliffe "gleans that Music certainly interests Russell, despite his languid manner, more than History and it is most likely that it is his subject." Philip Radcliffe to Whalley-Tooker, letter, Oct 7 1941, DCA 1720. Whalley-Tooker wrote a note of apology for the trouble Russell had caused to H.S. Middleton, explaining that Radcliffe had since agreed to take him on. Whalley-Tooker to Middleton, note, Oct 14 1941, DCA 1720.

¹⁹ "I have written to R.B. Brathwaite, the acting librarian at Kings, about you, and I am sure he will do all he can for you." Dent to Russell, April 23 1941, Dent EUL; "I don't know what the situation is as regards the RCM library: but I am writing at once to the librarian Rupert Erlebach." Dent to Russell, July 22, 1941, Dent EUL; "Research in libraries is rather difficult now owing to precautions against bombing; we must do the best we can with the Cambridge libraries." Dent to Russell, August 5 1941, Dent EUL; "I was much interested to hear of your going to Chatsworth and investigating the library there." Dent to Russell, August 4, 1942, Dent EUL.

²⁰ Dent purchased his first harpsichord c1899, and then a square piano which was later used in the Marlowe Dramatic Society productions c1909. Arrandale, email to author, December 2, 2014. According to Arrandale, many references come up amidst Dent's papers at King's that refer to this renewal of interest; it is an area that needs further research. Arrandale, conversation with the author, August 14, 2018.

building and artistic movements that were centred in appreciation of British architectural history and landscape, described by Harris in *Romantic Moderns*.²¹ Influenced by the post war “Elizabethan revival,” initiated by Edmund Fellowes and Richard Terry, since 1920 there had been regular pageant style events celebrating the combined art forms of music, drama and dance.²² An earlier pageant-like occasion, the revival of Purcell’s *The Fairy Queen* in 1920, saw the founding of the Cambridge University Opera Society, soon to change its name to the Cambridge Madrigal Society in 1924. Similarly to Eton’s Madrigal Society (discussed in Chapter 2), it was originally set up by students, in particular Bernhard (Boris) Ord (1897-1961), who was then a second year organ scholar at Corpus Christi College.²³ The Madrigal Society regularly performed Italian and English madrigals and, by the 1930s, became known for its May week concerts in massed punts on the river; the outdoor setting helping to reinforce the links between revival and the valorisation of English landscape.²⁴ In an example of this scene extending out of Cambridge a performance of Shakespeare’s “*Midsummer Night Dream*” in Fair Oak, Sussex, 1925 saw Ord directing the orchestra. An effusive review, mentioning Ord alongside the well-known oboist Leon Goossens (1897-1988), using the description of the surrounding landscape and the hidden orchestra to evoke a fairylike scene, epitomises the mood of the time.²⁵ Though at Cambridge slightly later than Russell, harpsichordist Raymond Leppard describes these ongoing pageant activities in his memoirs, and highlights an important long-standing figure of the scene. The pageants, illustrating different aspects of history, occurred during the long vacation term and were directed by the “doyenne of Cambridge productions” Pop (Camille) Prior (1883-1970).²⁶ They always consisted of a similar format, including a dance known to students as the “Prior Step” – “the only one [dance] she knew to give a semblance of corporate dancing.”²⁷ Prior, an actress and widow of a Professor of French at the university, is the same individual (discussed in the previous chapter)

²¹ Alexandra Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (Thames & Hudson, 2015).

²² Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 37.

²³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Ord, Bernhard (1897–1961)” by L. P. Wilkinson, accessed September 19, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35326>.

²⁴ “Concert programmes”, collection of the Cambridge University Madrigal Society, Arts and Humanities Research Council, Accessed January 17 2018, <http://admin.concertprogrammes.org.uk/html/search/verb/GetRecord/8135>.

²⁵ “The approach to Fair Oak is itself a preparation for the play. There, on the right as you face towards Rogate village, is a hill overlooking the Sussex meadows and on the hill a wood. [...] Behind them is concealed an orchestra which, under the direction of Mr. Bernhard Ord, is playing Mr. Arundel’s music, and it would be foolish to complain of a bush which permits the presence of Mr. Leon Goossens’s oboe. Listen to the music and let your eye wander from the hiding-place. It may wander freely, for there are no other boundaries to this stage.” “Fair Oak Players,” review of *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, by Shakespeare, *Times* (London), August 14 1925: 8, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, September 19, 2017.

²⁶ Leppard joined Cambridge in 1945, but Camille Prior was a long-standing figure on the dramatic sense. Leppard, *Raymond Leppard on Music*, 383.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

who suggested to Maud Russell that her son was homosexual.²⁸ She was a close friend of Dent's, who admired her work as producer on a number of opera productions at the Arts Theatre in the 1930s.²⁹ In association with Dent, Ord, and Dr Cyril Rootham (1875-1938) she appeared as a producer of and sometimes performer in numerous Handel, Purcell and Mozart revivals of the 1920s and 1930s.³⁰ Rootham, another example of an active figure within this scene, was organist and director of music at St John's College from 1901 until his death.³¹ As conductor of the Cambridge University Musical Society he organised much for the musical life of the town and university. A younger, but active member of that musical scene in Cambridge, Frida Knight (1910-1996) described a "zest for amateur music in Cambridge in the 'thirties" in her book *Cambridge Music*.³² Although not exclusively, many of these activities centred around reviving old music, and at the heart of these activities, throughout the 1920s and 30s, was Dent.³³

While Dent was the central actor in Russell's experience of early music at Cambridge, the organist Ord also had a significant role in Cambridge's early music environment. On the back of the preceding European organ revival, the work of Ord and other organists at this time is a signifier of prevailing attitudes towards the use of keyboard instruments in early repertoires.³⁴ Ord was appointed organist of King's College and the university in 1929.³⁵ Alongside the Revd. Eric Milner-White (1884-1963), he helped broaden the repertory of the chapel music, especially by strengthening the position of sixteenth-century repertoire within the choir's output. In 1936 he became a university lecturer in music, and in 1938 succeeded Rootham as conductor of the Cambridge University Musical Society. In these positions Ord had both an influential and very

²⁸ Sylvia Plath, *Letters of Sylvia Plath Volume I: 1940–1956* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017); Frida Knight, *Cambridge Music: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1980), 115.

²⁹ Arrandale, email to author, July 19, 2018.

³⁰ The joint forces of Prior, Dent, Ord and Mrs Hubert Middleton were involved in putting on two dramatic Handel cantatas for the Handel Festival in Cambridge in June, 1935. "Handel Festival," *The Times* (London) June 12, 1935: 10, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, January 31, 2018; A Correspondent, "English Music In History", *The Times* (London) August 5, 1933: 8, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, September 20, 2017; Howarth, *Cambridge between Two Wars*, 75; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ord, Bernhard (1897–1961)," by L. P. Wilkinson, accessed September 19, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35326>.

³¹ Rootham's links to the Purcell Society (founded in 1876) saw him conduct performances of Purcell's *Fairy Queen* and *King Arthur*. Grove Music Online, s.v. "Rootham, Cyril," by Jürgen Schaarwächter, accessed July 19, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023807>.

³² Knight, *Cambridge Music*, 115.

³³ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 140-141; Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 179-185; Edward J. Dent, *Selected Essays*, ed. Hugh Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Introduction.

³⁴ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 57.

³⁵ Grove Music Online, s.v. "Ord, Boris," by Hugh J. McLean, accessed September 7, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020410>.

active role in the choice and execution of early music repertoire performed within Cambridge, at the epicentre, which had an ever-increasing impact on the musical scene beyond the city. In part, because of the newly established 'Carols at King's' (that was rapidly being viewed as a tradition), but also because of his prowess as organist, Ord was someone who Russell, his brother and contemporaries knew and admired, well before Russell's arrival at Cambridge.³⁶ Indeed, a direct contemporary whose role in the early music revival is far more renowned than Russell's, Thurston Dart, acknowledged his debt to the work Ord did in raising the standards of both vocal and instrumental early music performance in England.³⁷ As well as his very visible work at King's and the running of the Cambridge Madrigal Society, Ord frequently worked as a freelance director and continuo player on the piano or harpsichord.³⁸ A 1920 performance of Purcell's *The Fairy Queen*, saw one of Ord's first public performances on harpsichord – playing continuo – in what was "then an innovation, but since [...] adopted whenever possible."³⁹ There is much evidence pointing to Ord's concert involvement on a variety of keyboard instruments including organ, harpsichord, clavichord and piano (sometimes within one concert), throughout the 1920s. For example, in 1925 he was performing harpsichord solos as part of the Orlando Gibbons Tercentenary, and in 1928 he performed Bach in a live radio broadcast on both harpsichord and clavichord.⁴⁰ A March 1933 review of an event held by the Bach Cantata Club (founded in 1926 in London by Charles Kennedy Scott (1876-1965)) not only demonstrates Ord's harpsichord activities but also, more broadly, the actions and status of those engaged in attempting to bring the sound of early music closer to the perceived intentions of the composer.⁴¹ The act of performing old music "in the manner in which it was written" was a popular and growing concern; the Bach Cantata Club is a

³⁶ "Will you consider taking tickets for the lovely King's Carol Service?" [...] "it was so lovely, last year, and we planned taking tickets if it were possible." R. Russell to Martin Russell, letter, October 17, 1939, Russell family papers. "Have you seen Mr Ord yet about music lessons?" R. Russell to Martin Russell, Eton, Feb 6 1938, Russell family papers. And this was sent after Russell's rejection from King's: "As regards King's, I think that I shall not bother Boris about it. He has no occasion to wish for me to be at King's rather than any other college, and might not want to interfere. In any case Boris might resent the interference. Still, I was very anxious to go to King's, but I am growing philosophical. Why they should turn me down because I do not know much history, (when my subject is music), I can hardly imagine." R. Russell to Martin Russell, letter, April 7 1940, Russell family papers.

³⁷ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 162.

³⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ord, Bernhard (1897–1961)," by L. P. Wilkinson, accessed September 19 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35326>.

³⁹ Knight, *Cambridge Music*. 105

⁴⁰ "Music This Week." *Times* (London) June 1 1925: 8. The Times Digital Archive. Web. Sept. 19 2017.

For a review of the concert: "Orlando Gibbons Tercentenary," *Times* (London) June 8 1925: 9, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, September 19, 2017; "Broadcasting." *Times* (London) March 20 1926: 4, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, September 19, 2017.

⁴¹ "Bach Cantata Club (Chamber Choir & Orchestra) - Short History," Bach Cantatas Website, last modified, May 28, 2017, <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/Bach-Cantata-Club.htm>.

fine exemplar of a group that was attempting to do so.⁴² By then already in its seventh season, a confirmation of the Club's place in society is evident in the fact that it was performing to the highest-ranking members of British aristocracy. The performance was held at Buckingham Palace before the Queen, the Princess Royal, and members of the Royal Household and "The Queen signified her interest in the aims of the club in presenting Bach's works in the manner in which they were written, and also expressed her appreciation of the high achievement of the performers".⁴³ The Queen's awareness and understanding of the aims of the Club also signifies the level of interest within high-society of such activities.⁴⁴

Dent and Ord were both strong advocates for scholarship through performance, and their activities inspired Russell's early investigations into historical keyboard instruments. In Wilson's, *The Art of Re-enchantment*, the role of performer-musicologists, such as Ord and Dent, in influencing generations of students to tackle the "problems" of performing early music is highlighted.⁴⁵ Ord's influence on Russell was conveyed through his prominent position in Britain's music scene, as organist and director of the choir at King's, and as an active member of the musical life of Cambridge. His pre-eminence as a keyboard player, and his choice of repertoire for the choir at King's, helped inform Russell's image of the performance of early music, and the keyboard's position within that. Rumours surrounding Ord's homosexuality were rife during his period of tenure.⁴⁶ Whether knowledge of these rumours also influenced Russell's associations with keyboard instruments and early music is speculative. However, Ord's model of queer behaviour – one's sexuality kept entirely hidden – was not a behaviour that Russell chose to emulate at this time of his life. The example represented by Dent, an open and approachable figure, was more attractive to Russell.

⁴² "The seventh season of the Bach Cantata Club opened yesterday evening with a command performance at Buckingham Palace before the Queen, the Princess Royal, and members of the Royal Household. The performance consisted of a recital of Bach's works, with an opening organ solo by Rheinberger played by Sir Walter Alcock, from whom the Princess Royal used to take lessons on the organ. [...] The Queen signified her interest in the aims of the club in Presenting Bach's works in the manner in which they were written, and also expressed her appreciation of the high achievement of the performers. [...] The Bach Cantata Club has once before given a command performance – in 1927, when the King expressed his approval of the club's musical standard. The arrangements for the coming season include two concerts of cantatas, one of motets, chorals, and organ solos, and an instrumental recital by Miss Isolde Menges (violin) and Mr. Bernhard Ord (harpsichord)." "Bach Cantata Club-Command Performance for the Queen," *Times* (London) March 10 1933: 12. The Times Digital Archive. Web. Sept. 19 2017.

⁴³ *Ibid.* The Queen in question was Queen Mary (1867-1953), married to King George V and therefore Queen between 1910-1936.

⁴⁴ The Queen's household owned at least one harpsichord and Dolmetsch was employed to teach "a youthful relative" of Queen Victoria, at St James' Palace. Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections*, 16.

⁴⁵ Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 21.

⁴⁶ Timothy Day, *I Saw Eternity the Other Night: King's College, Cambridge, and an English Singing Style* (London: Penguin UK, 2018), 150-151.

The Dent correspondence suggests a direct effect on Russell's viewpoint, through their friendship and discussions of musical literature, research and instruments. Dent's endorsement of performance scholarship was demonstrated via his continual promotion of live performances and revivals of works that he was engaged in studying.⁴⁷ The environment at Cambridge proved a useful channel for this work, and throughout his time there he was visibly involved in acclaimed revivals of operas and oratorios.⁴⁸ His opera revival activities have been well covered in secondary literature and his own seminal writings.⁴⁹ Here, a brief focus on a collaboration between Dent, Ord and Rootham for a festival of English music in 1933 highlights the central role that reviving early repertoires played in these musical academic circles and the prominence of the harpsichord within their activities. As President of the International Musicological Society, Dent arranged a week-long festival of English music, focussing on works between 1200-1700, to accompany the proceedings of the 1933 Congress which met at Cambridge that year.⁵⁰ This was seen as an opportunity to show the importance and quality of British musical culture within a scene that had been dominated by other European musical canons. Both Ord and Rootham were involved in conducting the best-known chapel choirs and the University Madrigal Society in concerts and services to promote English music.⁵¹ Ord also took part as a harpsichordist; his performance of Croft's *Suite in E major* for harpsichord, in a chamber concert of Restoration music, was highly acclaimed by the international audience.⁵² These incidents emphasise the importance placed on explorations of early repertoire within the Cambridge milieu.

3.2 Cambridge Collectors and Russell Firsts

Interwar Cambridge was a nucleus of engagement in organological keyboard research and collecting. Karen Arrandale, Dent biographer, described an emergence of interest in early instruments in Cambridge circa 1890.⁵³ This correlates with the Dolmetsch, London-centred

⁴⁷ Winton Dean, "Edward J. Dent: A Centenary Tribute," *Music & Letters* 57, no. 4 (1976): 353–61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/734276>.

⁴⁸ Dean, "Edward J. Dent: A Centenary Tribute," 357.

⁴⁹ E.J. Dent: *Mozart Operas: A Critical Study* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1913); "The Operas", *Handel: a Symposium*, ed. G. Abraham (London, 1954/R), 12–65; J. A. Westrup, "Dent as Translator," *Music Review*, 7 (1946), 198–204; Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Karen Arrandale's forthcoming *Edward J. Dent: A Life of Music and Words* (London: Boydell & Brewer, forthcoming) will illuminate us further about his broad ranging interests and far reaching activities.

⁵⁰ Knight, *Cambridge Music*, 113. Both sources of information about this event call the IMS the International Society for Musical Research – this can be understood as a direct translation from the German title of the Society – Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft.

⁵¹ A Correspondent, "English Music In History," *Times* (London) Aug. 5 1933: 8, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, 20 September, 2017.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ See note 20.

revival of the 1890s and Dent's own fledgling interest in historical keyboard instruments, which was spurred on after a visit to Alessandro Kraus (1854-1931) and his collection in Florence and resulted in Dent's first purchase of a harpsichord c.1899.⁵⁴ One individual linked to this scene, Rosamond Harding (1899-1982), was of particular consequence to Russell's own development. She read music at Newnham College from 1922 and, from 1927, undertook her doctoral thesis entitled "The Piano Forte - its History traced to the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851" under Dent, which she subsequently turned into a book, published in 1933 by Cambridge University Press.⁵⁵ Russell later credited her influence in the introduction to his own book.⁵⁶ In relation to Russell's future development, it is also interesting to note that she became expert in a number of fields, like Russell: she edited early keyboard works; was a published poet; and became highly regarded for her psychological analysis of the inspiration of artists in her publication *The Anatomy of Inspiration*.⁵⁷ The progress of her musical work was helped by introductions from Dent that furthered her research throughout Europe.⁵⁸ This is mirrored in Dent's support of Russell's work, seen through their correspondence.⁵⁹ Between 1927 and 1930, with the help of these introductions, Harding travelled Europe to research and make connections with European instrument collections and significant figures in the piano trade.⁶⁰ Although her book sold few copies in its first publication, it has since become an influential source of information for piano historians. Apart from his written mention of her influence, Russell undoubtedly drew from details in her book for his own.⁶¹ *The Piano Forte* covers, in detail, the experiments of harpsichord and clavichord makers in eighteenth-century Italy, France, Germany and England searching for a means to "make the harpsichord expressive".⁶² Russell built on that history in his own

⁵⁴Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections*, chap. 3; Arrandale, email to author, December 2 2014; Arrandale, email to author, August 15 2018.

⁵⁵ Michael Cole, "Rosamond Harding: Author and Musicologist", *The Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007): 71–84, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163894>; Rosamond E. M. Harding, *The Piano-Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).

⁵⁶ Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study*, Second Edition, revised by Howard Schott (London: Faber & Faber, 1959) 7.

⁵⁷ Cole, "Rosamond Harding", 76, 77, 78; Rosamond E. M. Harding, *Anatomy of Inspiration*, 2nd ed. (1940; repr., Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012); Timothy Clark, *The Theory of Inspiration: Composition as a Crisis of Subjectivity in Romantic and Post-Romantic Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

⁵⁸ Cole, 75.

⁵⁹ Dent made an introduction to Osbert Sitwell for Russell. Although Dent thought him "not very musical", he explained that he "is interested in it to some extent, and any way he is an unusually interesting personality." Dent to Russell, August 4, 1942, Dent EUL. Multiple introductions are offered to musicians and musicological colleagues in the Manchester area in, Dent to Russell, April 21, 1942, Dent EUL. If Russell is "in with University people in Belfast" he should "try to make the acquaintance of Professor Hugh Meredith," who was a contemporary of Dent's at King's. Dent to Russell, October 27, 1942, Dent EUL.

⁶⁰ Cole, 75.

⁶¹ Russell thanks Harding in his introduction and lists her book in his reference guide. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

⁶² Harding, vii, xv.

publications (see Chapter 5.). Harding held a research fellowship at Newnham College and was Director of Studies in Music during Russell's two years at Cambridge.⁶³ It is highly likely that he became well acquainted with Harding, her instruments and book at this time and, through her and Dent, other individuals of the keyboard community.

Harding herself owned a collection of historical instruments, including pianos and at least one harpsichord.⁶⁴ Her book contains evidence of another collection, showing plates of instruments belonging to Mr W. J. Moore, Cambridge.⁶⁵ Moore, of Bridge Street, was known to have owned a number of early keyboard instruments, some of which later became part of Christopher Hogwood's collection.⁶⁶ Apparently he was somewhat of a hoarder, with instruments "piled up" in a store room, and therefore not necessarily kept in playing condition.⁶⁷ Other names that have appeared in relation to early keyboard collecting are the Bullough's, who donated Eleanora Duse's Italian harpsichord to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1933, and a Cambridge based instrument restorer called Ingram, who worked on this instrument's restoration, among others.⁶⁸ These examples present a tight-knit community of keyboard organologists and enthusiasts surrounding Dent.

Further evidence of this community, an event in 1933 linked to the publication of Harding's edition of the *Twelve Piano-forte Sonatas of Ludovico Giustini of Pistoia, 1732*, demonstrates some precedent for organological application of historical performance practice. The concert programme, discovered in Harding's papers at Newnham College, reveals an evening performance at Peile Hall, Newnham, on April 30th 1933, given by Margaret Field-Hyde (soprano) and Katharine Stewart (piano) featuring six newly published Giustini sonatas, alternating with eighteenth-century songs accompanied by a restored Longman & Broderip square piano of c.1780, loaned for

⁶³ Cole, "Rosamond Harding", 78.

⁶⁴ Cole, 75, 84. Michael Cole, harpsichord and pianoforte maker, has done some extensive research into Rosamond Harding and her work. He has so far not been able to establish where her instruments ended up, although some were certainly sold at Sotheby's in 1954 and some were left in her Will to the V&A but were declined. Cole, 84; Michael Cole, "Rosamond Harding", Square Pianos.com, accessed 11 September, 2018, <https://www.squarepianos.com/harding.html>.

⁶⁵ Harding, *The Piano-Forte*, 54, 56, 182, 202.

⁶⁶ Karen Arrandale says that Christopher Hogwood gained several instruments from Moore's in the local dispersal circa 1970: Arrandale, email to author, December 2, 2014.

⁶⁷ Arrandale, conversation with author, August 14, 2018.

⁶⁸ Professor Edward Bullough (1880-1934), Fellow of Caius and Lecturer in Modern Languages, and his wife Enrichetta Angelica Marchetti, daughter of the well-known Italian actress Duse. John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 443; Arrandale, email to author, December 2, 2018; "I turned it into a palace' Sir Sidney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum," Music, The Fitzwilliam Museum, accessed September 11, 2018, <https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/cockerell/pigstytopalace/music.html>.

the occasion by Mr. Denys Pountney.⁶⁹ Stewart (1906–2006) was a distinguished musician, with a particular interest in Mozart.⁷⁰ Both her parents, Hugh Fraser-Stewart (1863–1948) and Jessie Graham Stewart (1878–1966), and particularly her sister Frida Knight were stalwart members of Cambridge’s music scene and knew Dent well.⁷¹ Stewart’s “exquisite playing” of the virginals in a recital for Dent’s IMS festival of English music was singled out by the musical correspondent for *The Times* as one of the highlights of that festival. Skills with early keyboard instruments were fast becoming a relatively conventional accomplishment for many Cambridge based musicians by the time of Russell’s arrival.

Actors in the scene of revival in Cambridge were not aware of being part of a wider movement of “Early Music revival”. Indeed, many historians do not equate this interwar period with being part of the broader, later movement. Brown refers to an increased number of musicians “interested in the problems of performing early music”, and states, quite rightly, that “they did much to establish early music as a normal part of the general musical life of the times.”⁷² Wilson quotes Roger Norrington (b.1934), a Cambridge graduate a decade after Russell, saying that there were “the beginnings of a lurking idea [relating to early music]; but nobody actually *did* it. And apart from the odd harpsichord there were no old instruments around at all.”⁷³ The evidence above indicates otherwise. Norrington’s comment, rather than discounting the evidence, suggests that the ideas and methods behind the kind of activities mentioned – as opposed to those behind the post 1960 movement – changed. These earlier activities did not come with the “early music” tag or the same notions of “authenticity” that surrounded the later movement. Another Cambridge graduate, Stephen Wilkinson (b.1919), who began his studies as a Queen’s organ scholar before Russell in 1937, confirmed this when he claimed that there was no “early music scene” at

⁶⁹ Cole, “Rosamond Harding”, 76.

⁷⁰ Stewart became Katharine Thomson when she married George Thomson (1903–1987), a Fellow of King’s College Cambridge, in 1934. The Thomsons moved to Birmingham in 1937, for George to take up a professorship in Greek. There Katharine helped found the Clarion Singers, an inclusive anti-fascist group that aimed to make music accessible to all. This group performed Dent’s version of *The Beggar’s Opera* in 1944 and borrowed a Longman & Broderip harpsichord, via Dent, for Katharine to accompany on. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Thomson, George Derwent,” by R.A.S. Seaford, September 11, 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-61301>; Katharine Thomson, *The Masonic Thread in Mozart* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1977); Birmingham Clarion Singers, “The Big Top”, *Birmingham Clarion Singers* (blog), May 14, 2013, <https://birminghamclarionsingers.wordpress.com/2013/05/14/the-big-top/>; Arrandale, conversation with the author, August 14 2018.

⁷¹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Knight, Bert Cyril James Gabriel,” by John R. Postgate, accessed September 11, 2018, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-51695>; Arrandale, conversation with the author, August 14, 2018.

⁷² Howard Mayer Brown, “Pedantry or Liberation?” in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, edited by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46.

⁷³ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 72.

Cambridge, but went on to mention his own activities playing continuo on the harpsichord there with Ord and Dart, and the work of the Madrigal Society.⁷⁴ The above information highlights a demonstrable circle of individuals that were at least preoccupied with early music and researching the role of keyboard instruments within that repertoire, whatever their attitudes towards emerging notions of authenticity might have been.

On arrival at Downing College, Cambridge in October 1940 Russell quickly became part of an established framework for musical revival, based on academic research, that saw his interest in historical keyboards flourish. His family's participation in Cecil Beaton's *fête champêtre* would likely have provided a flamboyant taster for the more erudite Cambridge pageant scene.⁷⁵ He arrived with some prior knowledge of historical keyboard instruments, having recently purchased what he had thought a nineteenth-century 'clavichord' and demonstrated a flair for research in his organ articles.⁷⁶ The arrival of Russell's 'clavichord', whilst he was studying in Gloucester, coincided with the beginning of the Dent correspondence and may have been an instigating factor.⁷⁷ This interest developed rapidly on his arrival in Cambridge. On December 4th, 1940, in a similar vein to the preceding interwar pageant-style activities described above, the combined forces of the Downing College Dramatic Society and the Downing College Musical Society put together an event at the Houghton Hall. The Dramatic Society presented Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus," prior to which the Musical Society presented "A Recital of Sixteenth Century Music by Ena Mitchell (soprano) and Raymond Russell (virginal)."⁷⁸ The play was produced by J. Gerrard Lowe with another appearance of "Mrs Prior", who was credited with the ballet. This is Russell's first recorded public performance on a copy of an early keyboard instrument. Its significance is manifold. The timing, individuals and instrument involved in the event indicate his swift integration into the local circle of revival actors and poses two pertinent questions: 1) How did Russell become so quickly integrated into the scene? 2) How had he become well acquainted with examples of historical keyboard instruments sufficiently to be ready for a public performance within one University term?

⁷⁴ Wilkinson, Conversation with the author, August 12, 2017.

⁷⁵ See the description of Beaton's *fête champêtre* that the Russell's attended in Chapter 2.

⁷⁶ See "First acquisition" in Chapter 2 about the origins of Russell's first 'clavichord'.

⁷⁷ Russell to Martin Russell, letter, June 24th, 1940, Russell family papers.

⁷⁸ Music programme, December 4, 1940, Russell family scrapbooks. The National Trust's description: "A Scrapbook containing a large number of items pasted in relating to Gilbert Russell c1890 and continued by Maud Russell up to the mid 1970's. Contains correspondence, newspaper cuttings, invitations, pamphlets, memorabilia, obituaries, theatre programmes etc. Hard covers with blue and beige patterned papers with blue leather corners and spine." Maids Room Box 6, Mottisfont Abbey, National Trust, Hampshire. The location of these scrapbooks has already changed and will be re-organised. They are effectively unarchived.

Ena Mitchell (fl.1920s-1979), signed under the agents Ibbs and Tillett, was already a well-established singer by this point, noted as an oratorio singer. It is perhaps surprising to see someone of her eminence performing with a new Cambridge student. She had previously figured in the Cambridge performing world, participating in early music projects involving Dent, Ord and Prior.⁷⁹ Russell's friendship with Dent, demonstrated by the correspondence, would have been one strong connection to Mitchell, but there is further evidence suggesting that Russell's introduction into this milieu was through multiple interconnections. Martin, who was at King's, was an active appreciator of music and the arts, and undoubtedly familiar with both Ord and Prior's work. Indeed Maud's diaries mention Prior in connection with both her sons, but as a particular friend of Martin's.⁸⁰ Martin could well have provided another introduction for his younger, historically engaged musical brother to the circle.

As an organist, and prospective organ scholar, Russell was highly likely to have had contact with Ord before coming up. In correspondence between Russell and his brother, Ord's name was used in a familiar fashion, confirming that he was part of the established musical landscape that they both knew.⁸¹ As a music student Russell would have had some contact with Ord within the Music Faculty.⁸² However, there is no evidence to suggest with whom Russell studied the organ, or whether he did, even, during his university studies. Not being an organ scholar at Cambridge – where there was a plethora of organists – will have meant that his organ skills were relatively unremarkable. It is possible that, having also previously failed his Royal College of Organists exam, he therefore decided not to continue that instrument as a point of study.⁸³ Only four months after the Downing concert Maud's diaries confirm Russell's shift of interest from organ to harpsichord paralleled with a perception that his organ playing was not up to scratch: "He has a passion for the harpsichord now. I can't help thinking he sees he will never become a very good organist and is consoling himself with the harpsichord."⁸⁴ If Russell had shifted his allegiance to the harpsichord and other early keyboard instruments within his first term, he must have had access to examples to work on. The virginal Russell used in this particular production was a

⁷⁹ In 1931 Miss Mitchell sang to illustrate a lecture given by Johannes Wolf of Berlin to the Musical Association, then to Cambridge, with Mrs Prior also performing. Arrandale, email to author, April 14, 2018. The joint forces of Prior, Dent, Ord and Mrs Hubert Middleton were involved in putting on two dramatic Handel cantatas for the Handel Festival in Cambridge in June, 1935. Ena Mitchell played one of the principal roles. "Handel Festival," *Times* (London) June 12, 1935: 10, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web, 31 Jan, 2018.

⁸⁰ "Mrs Prior, friend of Martin's, and rather less so of Raymond's." Maud Russell, February 19, 1942, Diary, Book III, 227, Russell family papers.

⁸¹ "I think that I shall not bother Boris about it. He has no occasion to wish for me to be at King's rather than any other college, and might not want to interfere." Russell to Martin Russell, April 7, 1940, Russell family papers.

⁸² Ord lectured in the Music Faculty. Leppard, *Raymond Leppard On Music*, 383.

⁸³ See "Struggles with authority" in Chapter 2.

⁸⁴ Maud Russell, April 17, 1941, Diary, Book III, 137, Russell family papers.

modern instrument by the maker, Alec Hodsdon.⁸⁵ Hodsdon was based in nearby Lavenham and had been active as an instrument maker and restorer for many years by this time.⁸⁶ There is no further evidence to suggest the instrument belonged to Russell. The repertoire and instrument for this programme was chosen to reflect the period of “Dr Faustus’s” first reception period. The full programme (see Appendix B.1) consisted of mainly British composers whose professional lives spanned the interchange from Elizabethan to Jacobean courts, with a finale of Italian works of the same period. Russell’s solos by English virginalists Orlando Gibbons and John Bull were well received, and his participation in such an event served to cement his position within the Cambridge scene.⁸⁷

It was Dent who facilitated Russell’s first regular access to a harpsichord. Russell credits Dent with this in the introduction to his influential study of the harpsichord, which he produced later in his career.⁸⁸ The specific instrument Russell was referring to has not been definitively determined, but there are a few possibilities. There was at least one harpsichord belonging to the University in Cambridge at the time, a Shudi Broadwood instrument with a Venetian swell.⁸⁹ This was kept in the music department at Downing Place.⁹⁰ It may be that Dent arranged for Russell to have regular access to this instrument, as this would have been close to his rooms in college. It is also known that Dent owned two harpsichords, a Haxby and a double manual instrument as well as other examples of historical keyboard instruments, which Russell may have been able to visit regularly.⁹¹ Dent’s involvement with the Fitzwilliam Museum, as Honorary Keeper of Music, may also have provided Russell access to historical instruments within their collection, such as the Bullough harpsichord.⁹² Although the specific harpsichord is in question, this evidence demonstrates a plethora of possible historical examples for Russell to practice on.

Russell’s earliest explorations with early keyboard instruments were on a broad spectrum of historical and contemporary instruments. The evidence above and Maud’s diaries confirm that

⁸⁵ Music Programme, Russell family scrapbooks, Mottisfont, National Trust; Wolfgang Zuckermann, *The Modern Harpsichord: Twentieth Century Instruments and Their Makers* (London: Peter Owen, 1970), 130.

⁸⁶ He restored an instrument that became part of Hogwood’s collection, the Thomas Culliford for Longman & Broderip 1782, in 1926. “Catalogue of the Christopher Hogwood Instrument Collection,” hogwood.org, accessed July 20, 2018, <http://www.hogwood.org/instruments/category/2/>; Zuckerman, 130.

⁸⁷ Newspaper clipping, Maud Russell’s scrapbook, Maids Room, Mottisfont Abbey.

⁸⁸ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

⁸⁹ Stephen Wilkinson, conversation with author, August 12, 2017.

⁹⁰ Downing Place, as suggested by its name, is close to (in fact the road that runs past) Downing College. The Faculty of Music has since been moved, and is now situated some distance west from Downing.

⁹¹ Dent bought his first harpsichord c.1899 and then a square piano which was later used by the Marlowe Dramatic Society (c.1909, performed on by Denis Stevens). Arrandale, email to author, December 2, 2014.

⁹² “‘I turned it into a palace’ Sir Sidney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum,” Music, The Fitzwilliam Museum, accessed September 11, 2018, <https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/cockerell/pigstytopalace/music.html>.

Russell was regularly involved in concerts as a harpsichordist, in and around Cambridge, in the two years he was there.⁹³ Although his first recorded concert was on a Hodsdon model, and his first “special instrument” seems to have been a nineteenth-century invention, the rest of the evidence covered suggests he was testing out a variety of historical examples from the summer of 1940 until leaving Cambridge in October 1942.⁹⁴ It was also during this period that he seems to have purchased his first historical harpsichord.

Russell’s own first harpsichord was an historical instrument that he cast off quickly. Comparison of the Dent/Russell correspondence and Russell family letters provides evidence of an instrument that Russell briefly owned in 1941. This instrument could also be a candidate for the harpsichord he had regular access to, facilitated by Dent. In a letter dated April 23rd 1941, Dent discussed a Ruckers harpsichord: “I am sorry the Ruckers was a failure, but it seemed to me to be more an instrument to look at than to perform on at concerts, however pleasant for private use”.⁹⁵ The final part of this statement may refer to Russell’s own regular use of the Ruckers instrument for practicing, but taken as a whole and out of context the rest of the reference is confusing. Once contextualised by his mother’s comment about his “passion for the harpsichord now”, and a letter dated a month earlier, from Russell’s grandmother to his brother, the picture becomes clearer.⁹⁶ The letter from ‘Granny’ refers to the purchase of a harpsichord that she had financed, but implies there is potential for Russell wanting to send it back. Read alongside the Dent reference to the failed Ruckers, the dates immediately suggest that the harpsichord ‘Granny’ purchased for Russell before March 1941 was the Ruckers instrument and that by the end of April that year he had returned it. Implicit in this is that Russell had prior experience of other instruments and was already making judgments about the suitability of certain examples for his own practice. Particularly notable for this chapter is that the instrument’s deficiencies were noted by Russell in performance, indicating that he had given a performance on this instrument already and the performances’ failure to meet his expectations had precipitated the instruments’ rejection.

Cambridge not only acted as a protective environment for Russell to explore the direction of his sexual interests (as outlined in Chapter 1), alongside his musical ones, but as a privileged spring-board from which he could develop his fledgling keyboard career. Establishing himself within the

⁹³ Maud Russell, February 21, 1942, Book III, 229.

⁹⁴ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 7.

⁹⁵ Dent to Russell, April 23, 1941, Dent EUL.

⁹⁶ “Raymond went back to Cambridge. We got on well on the whole. He is still, alas, unable to work seriously and his Cambridge reports are poor even in music. He has a passion for the harpsichord now. I can’t help thinking he sees he will never become a very good organist and is consoling himself with the harpsichord. I dare say he doesn’t quite know this.” Maud Russell, April 17, 1941, Book III, 137. “If Raymond does return that harpsichord and you and he should get another one it might perhaps go towards buying one or two chords.” Granny to Martin Russell, letter, March 7 1941, Russell family papers.

Cambridge music world as a keen early keyboard specialist was an important first step into the burgeoning scene of Early Music revival in Britain. After leaving Cambridge, maintaining his connections there enabled Russell to tap into a select, intellectually elite musical establishment that could further his career outside that localised scene via an exclusive network. With Dent's help, Russell was able to build on that network, eventually creating his own, intercontinental version that helped him to cultivate a unique position in his chosen field.

3.3 London, Paris and Beyond: Russell's Post-war Performing Activities

As for many men of the period, Russell's military conscription presented a significant interruption to his university education. Continuing his musical studies throughout his military career was an important part of Russell's identity confirming process. His correspondence with Dent proved instructive in many areas during this period, both in recommending avenues of thought and reading material and, similarly to Harding, providing introductions to influential individuals. Associations between homosexuality and an interest in early music and keyboard instruments can be drawn from Dent's introductions for Russell. For instance, that to Osbert Sitwell (1892-1969) and the rest of the Sitwells as suggested in a letter from Dent dated August 4th, 1942.⁹⁷ The significance of these associations is reinforced when exploring Russell's own London based network.⁹⁸

Meeting men who were able to maintain long-term homosexual relationships may have been an important part of both confirming Russell's own sexual identity and offering reassurance. Military life could have presented significant dangers to a known homosexual but, at least initially, a new sense of purpose and the busy activity of his duties offered some respite from the struggles he had experienced with his mental health, prior to signing up.⁹⁹ This can be seen in the evident relief his mother expressed via her diaries and private correspondence that Russell "seems to be settling down".¹⁰⁰ It was after the death of his father at the end of May 1942 that she mentioned

⁹⁷ "I was very glad to get news of you and I am glad you are able to do some amount of music and get some pleasure out of military life. I have written to Osbert Sitwell about you, as the chance of his being at Renishaw, the ? place near Bakewell, for the summer: if he is there I am sure he could do what he could to be kind to you. He is not very musical but is interested in it to some extent, and any way he is an unusually interesting personality. I have a great ? to all the Sitwells: it is an inherited friendship passing back 3 generations at least. Edith is a wonderful character: it is possible she might be there." Dent to Russell, letter, August 4, 1942, Dent EUL. Renishaw is close to Bakewell where Russell was doing his military training. Although Russell didn't manage to make the Sitwell's acquaintance on this particular occasion, a further Dent letter confirms that by the end of April 1943 Russell had made their acquaintance and befriended them. Dent to Russell, letter, April 24, 1943, Dent EUL.

⁹⁸ See "Keyboard friendships" later in this chapter.

⁹⁹ See "Pacifism and the Queer Connection" in the previous chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Maud Russell to Mr. Whalley-Tooker, June 13, 1942, DCA.

his presence as being particularly helpful and noted that he returned to his duties in Matlock “without any sort of fuss”.¹⁰¹

After Cambridge and military service, Russell gradually became established in London with a considerable income and influence to fully pursue his preoccupation with early instruments and performance. Russell’s socio-economic status enabled him to hone his interests in early keyboard instruments despite the insecure nature that any type of work relating to them might hold. The death of their father in 1942 meant that both Russell sons had significant sums of money bestowed on them.¹⁰² In 1946 their mother gifted them an additional sum of £40,000 in cash and shares, equivalent to £1,645,629.63 in 2018.¹⁰³ These sums were enough to make their financial futures secure. Prior to his homecoming from India Maud purchased, furnished, decorated and staffed a house for Russell in Eldon Road, Kensington.¹⁰⁴ An entry written after Russell’s homecoming details not only some of the preparation of his new home, but offers a window to the type of lifestyle he would be welcomed back into.

Went early to Eldon Road [Russell’s new house]. Curtains were going up and carpets down. The Polish caretaker left and the “couple” [staff to look after Russell and the property] came in. [...] As we were finishing our cocktails the telephone rang and there was Raymond speaking from Guildford having arrived at Southampton early that morning. He was about to take a train for London. I promised he should sleep in the flat if his room at Claridges, ordered for the 20th, wasn’t ready which, indeed, proved to be the case. I was delighted and very excited but, at the same, a little sad my evening with Boris was to be so short. We hurried out to Shanghai [a restaurant] and had dinner with an eye on the clock. I was back here before 830 and 20 minutes later Ray arrived, thinner in the face, rather older looking, fading ochre in colour and obviously rather pleased to be back. We talked till late and then he went to bed as on VE night on a mattress on the floor of the sitting room.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ “He was given a week’s leave when my husband died, came to London and was with me all the time. He was very nice and considerate and when the day came for his return to Matlock went off without any sort of fuss.” Maud Russell to Mr. Whalley-Tooker, June 13, 1942, DCA.

¹⁰² “London, Sunday, March 31st, 1946. Presents. I made over £40,000 each to Martin and Raymond half in cash, half in shares, so that they are now independent of me and quite rich. Each of them already had well over £50,000.” Maud Russell, March 31, 1946, Diary, Book VII, 75, Russell family papers. £50,000 in 1946 is the equivalent of £2,057,037.04 in 2018. ‘Inflation Calculator’, accessed 12 February 2019, <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Maud Russell, 1946, Diary, Book VII: July 24, 124, October 20, 158, October 27, 159, November 19, 166.

¹⁰⁵ Maud Russell, November 19, 1946, Diary, Book VII, 166, Russell family papers.

Chapter 3

Financial security allowed Russell to make significant investments in instruments and purchase properties large enough to house them. It meant that he was not required to use his time earning money and could afford staff to manage the day-to-day running of his household. Like a true amateur gentleman he could dedicate himself to thorough examination of auction catalogues, and subsidise visits to museums and private collections across the globe. This high socio-economic status facilitated Russell's engagement with others of a similar status who owned instruments of interest, that might otherwise remain hidden from the emerging scene. He could also enter into lengthy correspondence with individual owners, developing a network of interested interlocutors. Not only this, but a secure financial background enabled Russell to fund his own performance career.

The intersection of performing and collecting interests that characterised Russell's career is particularly evident during his early London years, at a time when he actively aimed to establish himself as a professional performer. It was the late 1940s and early 1950s, once Russell's army duties were completed, that saw him focus on harpsichord performance and experimentation with instrument types. This was matched by Russell's first period of concentrated instrument acquisition. He returned from duties in India at the end of 1946 and, having spent some of his free time continuing his music studies and building up connections, had formulated some ideas about his next steps.¹⁰⁶ In March 1947 his mother wrote in her diary:

Raymond lunched & I asked him what his plans were. At first he was prepared to be on the defensive but when he saw, or understood, I wasn't going to interfere he said he was aiming at going to New York to have harpsichord lessons from Wanda Landowska & that in the meantime he was working hard at the piano. I said that was a short-term plan, what did he intend to do ultimately. I don't think he had got as far as that, or else he didn't like to say what, I think[,] he hopes to do & that is become a first-rate harpsichord player, an accomplishment I don't think he can possible[sic] succeed in. I hope something will uncoil itself out of this.¹⁰⁷

This evidence is important for a few reasons: first of all it states Russell's intentions to focus on harpsichord performance; it also confirms a continuing perception that he had issues of commitment and a lack of sufficient musical ability (from the family's point of view); and most importantly, it demonstrates the significance of Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska's influence on Russell's notions of harpsichord playing at that time. Russell and his mother Maud

¹⁰⁶ It has not been possible, within the scope of this thesis, to explore what Russell's activities in India were.

¹⁰⁷ Maud Russell, March 6, 1947, Diary, Book VIII, 9, Russell family papers.

were familiar with Woodhouse's playing, through live performance and probably also through knowledge of her recordings.¹⁰⁸ Yet it is to Landowska Russell wanted to turn for lessons, rather than Woodhouse or one of her protégés, despite having heard her live as a young boy. This may not be down to a deeper respect for one musician's playing over another, but rather for practical reasons. We have seen that Russell maintained his musical interests throughout his military service. The correspondence with his brother shows that he had a continued awareness of Landowska's movements and safety throughout the war.¹⁰⁹ A correspondence with his Aunt, Flora Russell (1869-1967), during the same period, indicates that Russell also kept tabs on Woodhouse and still esteemed her playing: "I long for Bach & Mozart, & Mrs Woodhouse playing the harpsichord. But, alas, she plays no more having fallen and broken both her wrists, so a friend tells me."¹¹⁰ Russell, embroiled in his duties and travels with his unit, may have maintained an assumption that Woodhouse had stopped playing and teaching. It is clear, however, that Woodhouse did in fact return with renewed energy to both, but with a distinct focus on the clavichord.¹¹¹ Whether Russell was aware of this or not, his focus was still directed at the harpsichord, over any other keyboard instrument, and, at least for teaching purposes it was to Landowska he wished to turn. In a note written later in life, when Russell sent her a copy of his book, it is Landowska that he credited with first introducing him to the harpsichord.¹¹² Evidence from his first public performances suggest that it is Landowska's influence that presents most strongly in Russell's early performance choices of instrument and repertoire.

¹⁰⁸ She had been producing records for the Gramophone Company under its trademark "His Master's Voice" from 1920-1928. Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 184 & 328.

¹⁰⁹ "Dear Martin, Granny has just written me a letter of six pages about Haydn Klavier concertos. I wish you wouldn't discuss the work I am doing with other people; it is very annoying for me. Is there any news of Mme. Landowska? She appears to have fled from Paris before March, so may easily be in America by now. Love from Raymond." Russell to Martin Russell, letter, May 12, 1941, Russell family papers.

¹¹⁰ Russell to Aunt Flora, letter, date unknown but script and details suggest between 1942-1946.

Gordon-Woodhouse broke her wrists in January 1942. Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 264.

¹¹¹ Douglas-Home, "Late Flowering Passions" in *Violet*.

¹¹² "To Madame Wanda Landowska, by whose playing I was first introduced to the harpsichord, and to whose work we are all so deeply indebted, with respect and admiration. Raymond Russell" Photograph of Wanda Landowska at the keyboard and note from Russell to Landowska, 4359R04, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. This implies that he had contact with her playing prior to being taken to hear Gordon-Woodhouse. There is no evidence suggesting he heard her perform live as a child, but they would have been familiar with Landowska's work through her records and broadcasts. Landowska's recordings were broadcast on various BBC stations throughout the 30's. "B.B.C. Symphony Concert-XI", *The Radio Times*, January 16, 1931, <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/913f113918c84e848e43a86fae59e113>; "WANDA LANDOWSKA (Harpsichord)", *The Radio Times*, 22 September 1939, <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/89598bc5bc214a58a7236c1dbca4f1a2>; "Gramophone Records", *The Radio Times*, July 21, 1939, <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/ae174ebf66094e78ac0e0f70e3d5ee58>. Certainly Russell and his brother Martin were avid consumers of music on record, as the surviving pile of "The Monthly Letter and Critical Review of Recent Recordings from E.M.G Hand-made Gramophones Ltd" attests, and their correspondence is often taken up with discussions of music, concerts, and recordings.

Appendix B draws together evidence from Maud Russell's diaries and scrapbooks, articles and reviews from *The Times* and Dent's post-concert comments from their correspondence. A close examination of repertoire, instruments, and reviewer opinions, compared with the personal reflections of Russell, his friends and family, gives an important insight into Russell's changing perspective on playing technique and instrument choice, and that of societal attitudes towards keyboard performance at the time.

Comparing the venues and locations of Russell's concerts indicates a swift transition from the provincial to capital cities, within a relatively brief timeline. Russell's initial post war concerts, in December 1947, were few and in provincial Britain.¹¹³ One in Oxford that "went off respectably" and one in or near Bristol.¹¹⁴ There was some sensitivity, at least on his mother's side, in broaching the exact location of the Bristol concert. Russell had presented it as a recital in Bristol, however a family friend insisted it had actually taken place at a girl's school near Bristol.¹¹⁵ The prestige of the concert venue may have been an important factor for Russell, linked to his desire to show that he was successfully following through with his intentions of making a serious attempt at a career in performance. Between December 1947 and December 1950 Russell performed a handful of recitals at well-known venues including the Salle Cortot in Paris, Chelsea Town Hall and the Wigmore Hall, in London, as well as private recitals amongst friends. The final concert he planned was to be in the Festival Hall, London, in 1953.

Russell's programming implies a close adherence to a Landowska inspired repertoire.¹¹⁶ This is not a fully comprehensive study of Russell's repertoire, but enough programmes survive to see that Russell focussed on the music of the High Baroque, chiefly the work of four composers: Handel, J.S. Bach, Domenico Scarlatti and Francois Couperin.¹¹⁷ A selection far removed from the programme of his first Cambridge recital, but that reflects the repertoire that Landowska and other contemporary early keyboard specialists were championing.¹¹⁸ The year 1950 saw Russell venture into a broader repertoire encompassing a wider timeline and other nationalities, with the addition of Chambonnières, Rameau, Haydn and Purcell (see Appendix B.7 and B.8).

¹¹³ "Wednesday, December 10, 1947. Ray lunched and talked naturally about his concerts past and future. He gave one at Oxford which John and Alexie went to and said went off respectably. There was one at Bristol – or was it at a girls school near Bristol? Riette says he played at the school Philippe's daughter goes to, near Bristol. I refrained from asking as Raymond gave out it was at Bristol. He seemed well and content." Maud Russell, December 10, 1947, Diary, Book VIII, 104, Russell family papers.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix B, the "Programme" column for all programmes mentioned.

¹¹⁷ It has not always been possible to track down full concert programmes, or unstick those glued into albums.

¹¹⁸ Timothy Bainbridge, "Wanda Landowska and Her Repertoire", *Early Music* 3, no. 1 (1975): 39–41, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125306>.

If a performer's choice of instrument can be read as a physical demonstration of another player's influence, Russell's initial post-war instrument choice would certainly indicate Landowska as a significant inspiration. Surprisingly, for anyone who knows the instruments of Russell's collection and Russell's advocacy of historical harpsichords, Russell owned one of the Landowska-designed, *Grand Modèle de Concert* Pleyel harpsichords, made and probably purchased new in 1947, on which he began his performing career.¹¹⁹ Pleyel, based on Landowska's suggestions, created the model, which continued to be made until 1969. The instrument is recognisable in Figure 9 because of the cut-away sides, specified by Landowska so that her hands were more visible, and distinctive music stand.¹²⁰ Russell owned his from 1947 and sold it at auction in 1953.¹²¹ The frames of Pleyel instruments were initially entirely constructed of wood, but from 1923 a metal frame was added in an effort to maintain a more consistent pitch and increase sound projection; this had no precedent in historical examples.¹²² Although their work was going on over the channel, it was still highly influential on the British scene partly through Landowska's reputation and recordings. The idea of making heavier, metal framed instruments, and other modern French adaptations took off within some British firms, such as Robert Goble & Co.¹²³ Although Raymond began his performing career on Pleyel models, he quickly moved on to "lighter" instruments.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Sotheby & Co, Auction Catalogue, June 5, 1953, Lot. 80 "A very fine modern concert harpsichord, by Pleyel, Paris, 1947", 4359R21, Box S27, Russell Collection Archive, University of Edinburgh.

¹²⁰ Johnson, *The Death and Second Life*, 208 and Fig. 5.

¹²¹ Russell's Pleyel was listed as Lot 80 in the June 5th, 1953 Sotheby & Co sale. It sold for £380. See note 119.

¹²² Johnson, *The Death and Second Life*, fn. 77.

¹²³ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 424.

¹²⁴ Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800" 1 January 1955, 65.



Figure 9 Russell at his Grand Concert Pleyel Harpsichord. Image taken from the Russell family photo albums, with kind permission of the National Trust, Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

Reviews of Russell's concerts map a swift progression both of his abilities and a change in societal attitude toward the use of the harpsichord to interpret old music. Post-war Britain saw a burgeoning interest in clavichord and harpsichord performance that Russell hoped to be part of.¹²⁵ A broader analysis of reviews of other concerts and performers on harpsichord would be

¹²⁵ In Dorothy Swainson's (1882-1959) unpublished memoirs she refers to many private soirées where amateurs and professionals alike played to select private audiences, in keeping with the sort of performances that Woodhouse and Dolmetsch had initiated. She refers to 1949 as being a particularly important year for "the clavy." See Appendix E, 1949. Dorothy Swainson, transcribed by Katharine Cobbett, unpublished memoirs, private collection of the Cobbett Family, Bishopsbourne, Canterbury (hereafter cited as private collection). The post war "boom" in early music is addressed by Haskell, but without a specific focus on the keyboard world: Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, chap. 8, specifically 161-168. Brown also refers to the swift renewal of activities in musicians "interested in the problems of performing early music" after the Second World War. Howard Mayer Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation?" in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, edited by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

needed to fully assess the scope of this argument, but the changing perspective comes across in the reviews in Appendix B.

Russell's first three metropolitan concerts of this period were in the Salle Cortot, of the Ecole Normale de Musique, Paris and the Institut Français du Royaume-Uni, London between December 1947 and May 1948. The instrument used in Paris, a Pleyel harpsichord, is advertised on the front of the concert programme and would probably have belonged to the venue (see Figure 10).¹²⁶ Although the instrument for the Institut Français concert in February 1948 is not listed, it was likely that Russell played his own Pleyel Grande Concert.¹²⁷ Maud wrote some detailed analysis of the Institut Français and Paris 1948 concerts in her diary and also mentions Martin Russell's feedback about the success of the first Paris concert in December 1947 (see Appendix B.2 and B.3). Her comments are analytical and her opinions unmarked by any positive bias towards her son. In February 1948 her surprise at Russell's evident improvement and technical skill is tempered by an unflattering comparison to Woodhouse's "fiery" playing and a derogatory comment about the monotonousness of the harpsichord due to "its lack of modulation".¹²⁸

Rushed out to try on South African hats & then again at 6 to the Institut Français where Ray[mond] had been invited to play – a quartet from Paris having failed – & which he had to do with very little notice. He was very pale & uncompromising looking but deliberate & composed. He played Couperin "Les Fastes" etc, a sonata of Handel's & 3 little ones of Scarlatti's. The first I thought least well played but he may have been nervous. One movement of the Handel was excellent & some of the Scarlatti. I was very pleased on the whole because he seems capable of very great improvement indeed. His time is pretty good, his turns excellent, his trills good, his runs not quite perfect enough also his "attaque" – which seemed to me (who knows nothing about the harpsichord) to be his weak point. And there is a total absence of fire which I imagine is wanted in harpsichord playing which Mrs Woodhouse excelled in & by which she held one's interest. For the harpsichord, by reason of its lack of modulation becomes monotonous to listen to. In his least good moments there was a student-like flatness about the playing. But on the whole I was very well pleased & very proud & think he has enough talent & application to become in the first rank. I felt very glad for him after his stormy

1988), 46 to 51. An increase in harpsichord manufacturing and re-establishment of workshops is referred to in Kottick, but not of performance. Edward L. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), chap. 19, "The Modern Harpsichord".

¹²⁶ Maud Russell, Scrapbook, Russell family albums, Mottisfont.

¹²⁷ This is based on evidence from other concerts and later diary entries, and photographs addressed later in the chapter.

¹²⁸ See Appendix B.3.

and almost disastrous youth & recompensed myself. Showed Ray[mond] my very pleased face afterwards.¹²⁹

Maud's reference to "modulation" indicates her acquaintance with what persisted as a dominant feature of performance ideology at that time – that true musicality and 'successful' musical interpretation could only be demonstrated through a preponderance of rubato and contrasting colours.¹³⁰ In harpsichord performance at the time, performers of Landowska's ilk used the many adaptations of the revival harpsichord as a means of "colouring" their performance with the use of different stops, pedals and registrations to add variety.¹³¹ The third concert, in May 1948, received additional compliments of improvement both technically and in the area of "musicality", where Maud described her son playing "with greater decision" and even making "concessions to rubato" (see Appendix B.4). For her, these accoutrements of playing defined better skill in the expression of music.



Figure 10 Paris concert 1947. The programme can be found in Maud Russell's Scrapbook, Russell family albums, Mottisfont.

¹²⁹ Maud Russell, February 13, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 125.

¹³⁰ Robert Philip, "Flexibility of tempo" and "Tempo Rubato," in *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹³¹ Martin Elste, "From Landowska to Leonhardt, from Pleyel to Skowronek: Historicizing the Harpsichord, from Stringed Organ to Mechanical Lute," *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 15-16, of 13-22, <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cau009>.

Related to the criticisms of lack of colour and “modulation” in harpsichord tone, was a trend for frequent pedal usage with revival models and performers, such as Landowska, in order to change registration. Many of the revival instruments had pedals to change registration.¹³² Harpsichords whose tone and register (and therefore also volume) could be changed at the touch of a pedal or knee-lever had become common in Britain by the late eighteenth-century.¹³³ Revivalists used similar mechanisms in their instruments and playing in order to match their musical interpretations to the performance ideology of their time. Albeit frequent criticism in the reviews surveyed that his playing lacked modulation and changes in registration, Russell’s instrument purchases during this period suggest that his post-war harpsichord playing technique had relied heavily on pedals. As a pianist and organist, he would have felt comfortable utilising both feet frequently to pedal. Although apparently not using them enough to colour his performances sufficiently to please his early critics, he must have been using pedals to a certain extent.

Later in 1948, a concert at the Wigmore Hall highlighted issues with Russell’s harpsichord that precipitated a change in tack towards instrument choice (See Appendix B.5). The earliest *Times* review from October 1948 demonstrates an indifference, on the part of the reviewer, to the choice of the harpsichord over the piano.¹³⁴ Although he complimented Russell’s “delightful programme” he critiqued his ability to deal with the “mechanics” of his chosen instrument and pointed out the “limited range of colour” of this specific harpsichord, stating that the performer might as well have used a piano.¹³⁵ This attitude towards harpsichords is in line with Maud’s opinion on harpsichord tone, and mirrors a widely held belief that harpsichords were not suitable instruments to purvey a variety of musical colour and expression, deemed necessary for interpreting music well. A later conversation recorded by his mother revealed that Russell had been uncomfortable with the sound of his Pleyel instrument in the situ of the Wigmore Hall.

Ray dined and we talked a lot about the harpsichord and his playing and I returned criticism on the two or three points I have mentioned above. He listened very generously and asked a number of questions. He wants to go to New York in the spring to get Wanda Landowska to listen to his playing and to criticise him. Very good idea especially if he listens! He said he had been disturbed by the sound of his harpsichord in

¹³² Pedals were not a revival invention, but it was unusual historically for them to be used for registration change. Since the shift towards building harpsichords on more historical lines, pedals on harpsichords have gone out of fashion. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 78, 79 & 464.

¹³³ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, chap. 16 particularly, 387.

¹³⁴ The author of the *Times* reviews examined in Appendix B is the same throughout.

¹³⁵ The opinion of one critic is entirely subjective, and such opinions about the use of harpsichord over piano still prevail in plenty of musical circles. These comments may simply apply to the specific instrument that Russell was using, in relation to the reviewer’s knowledge of other harpsichords, but they give the impression that the reviewer in question had a distinct preference for the piano over the harpsichord.

the Wigmore Hall. It was the 1937[sic] Pleyel. I too was startled. It was very resonant, perhaps too much so. Possibly the other harpsichord would have sounded better.¹³⁶

There are plenty of statements to note in this brief extract. Firstly, Russell again expressed a wish to play to Landowska for advice, confirming her position as a strong influencer on him. Secondly, Russell put his dissatisfaction with the concert down to his instrument, a habit which fast became a trait of his. I have so far interpreted the evidence to suggest that Russell was using his Grand Concert 1947 instrument for his recitals up until this point. Maud's uncertainty about the date of the Pleyel instrument in this entry does not necessarily disprove this assumption, but it could indicate that Russell owned further Pleyel instruments not mentioned in this thesis. Lastly, the mention of another instrument of Russell's that Maud suggested might have sounded better, raises an important question. Which "other" instrument does Maud refer to? Russell already owned his early Italian single-manual harpsichord by this point, but the evidence surrounding his performances during this period suggests that he performed publicly only on his contemporary harpsichords, that had double-manuals.¹³⁷ As Landowska favoured double-manual instruments, it would make sense that Russell followed suit.¹³⁸ Figure 11 shows that Russell did, in fact, own at least one other Pleyel instrument.

¹³⁶ Maud Russell, October 8, 1948, Diary Book IX, 17.

¹³⁷ All his publicity photos at this time are with him seated at a Pleyel instrument, see Figure 9 for one example. "Single-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 12 February 2019, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/17031?highlight=*.

¹³⁸ Elste, "From Landowska to Leonhardt, from Pleyel to Skowronek," 14-17.



Figure 11 Russell and his pre-1912 Pleyel. Note the multiple pedals and two keyboards. Image taken from the Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.

Russell's earliest post-war performing experience initiated a move away from the largest, Landowska model Pleyel towards earlier, less robust instruments. A few months after his Wigmore Hall debut, for Russell's next performance there, on January 4th 1949, he tried out a different harpsichord in public – "another Pleyel."¹³⁹ This is likely to have been the chequered design pre-1912 harpsichord pictured in Figure 11. The diamond chequered marquetry of the art case veneer was not standard and can be seen, to a smaller extent, on some Pleyel pianos, but it is a relatively unusual design for a Pleyel harpsichord.¹⁴⁰ The *Times* review of this concert noted a marked improvement in Russell's technical abilities by referencing his awareness of the possibilities of registration, and complimented his "musical insight". His mother also noted an improvement in that his "playing was smoother" and that there were fewer wrong notes; indeed,

¹³⁹ See diary quote in Appendix B.6, Maud Russell, January 4, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 38.

¹⁴⁰ David Gerrard to author, email, August 11, 2016.

her friend Edward Sackville-West, who she had turned to for helpful criticism of Russell's playing in the absence of a teacher, noticed fewer than four or five mistakes. However, both Maud and the *Times* reviewer still found fault with a lack of "temperament" and that the performer's musical insight "outreaches their technical equipment." Russell also found fault with his own playing but, in a move towards a Woodhouse inspired approach, had decided that this was down to his Pleyel instruments; by November 1949 he had ordered a new Dolmetsch harpsichord.¹⁴¹

Russell developed specific requirements from his instruments, based on his performing experience, that he was prepared to stand by against the judgement of other experts. The order Russell made for his 1949 Dolmetsch instrument was made with strict specifications which went against the firm's standard offerings and for which he "had many a battle".

Dined with Ray and saw the new harpsichord made for him by the Dolmetsches according to his instruction and incorporating, it appears, new features. He said he had many a battle with them and I guess he won most of them. The harpsichord looks handsome, very handsome, but has a large and rather affronting Latin maxim on the inside of the lid addressed, as it were, to the public. I told him I didn't care for it. Stupidly and unaccountably I didn't ask him to play a few notes for me. He told me it was resonant and that he thinks a harpsichord should be very resonant. I wonder though?¹⁴²

This mention of battles indicates that Russell had already formed opposing opinions to some well-established practices, although at this stage in his career these were not necessarily with any notion of historical authenticity. One of Russell's requirements was that the instrument must have pedals in a particular arrangement, probably closer to that of the instruments he'd been used to playing up until this point, as opposed to the standard design offered by the Dolmetsch workshop.¹⁴³ With evidence pointing to Pleyels as Russell's previously preferred harpsichord for performance, the arrangement he was looking for was probably closer to their design.¹⁴⁴ Figure

¹⁴¹ "In November I had to miss the Dolmetsch Foundation Annual because I was in bed with a bad cold. They had an evening party at which Leslie's new harpsichord, made for Raymond Russell was presented. However, I went to see (and admire) it at Russell's house about two weeks later, and on that occasion he played me a remarkable record of Landowska's of the Chromatic Fantasia." Dorothy Swainson, November 1949, unpublished memoirs, private collection.

¹⁴² Maud Russell, January 5, 1950, Diary, Book IX, 129.

¹⁴³ The information about a specific pedal requirement, making the instrument closer to those that he was used to, comes from conversations with Dr Brian Blood, August 1, 2018.

¹⁴⁴ This instrument now resides at Jesse's, the Dolmetsch family property. Memories of Russell's requirements are still clear, indicating that Maud's references to "battles" were not over-dramatising things. The Dolmetsch workshop's principles were probably offended by a request for an instrument to be more Pleyel like. Some "unsympathetic" restoration work was carried out on the instrument circa 30 years ago and the pedals were redone to match the standard Dolmetsch design, which means it is not possible to

12 shows the harpsichord in question, with the pedals and “Latin maxim” visible. The instrument was made by Leslie Ward, in the Dolmetsch workshop.¹⁴⁵



Figure 12 Russell's Dolmetsch 1949 harpsichord photographed for its sale at Sotheby's June 29th, 1956. Image found in Maud Russell's scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont, Hampshire.

“Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignoratem,” translates as “Knowledge has no enemies but the ignorant,” indicating how much emphasis Russell placed on knowledge over artistry. There are eight pedals visible in this image and there were seven pedals in the Pleyel Grand Concert

check what the previous set up had been. Dr Brian Blood, email to author, Aug 7, 2018.

¹⁴⁵ Charles Stuart, “‘Dolmetscherie’ Today,” *The Musical Times* 92, no. 1301 (1951): 300, <https://doi.org/10.2307/935387>. This instrument has recently joined Russell’s other instruments at the University of Edinburgh and its catalogue number is MIMEd 6499. It had previously been in Haslemere in the Dolmetsch family home.

model.¹⁴⁶ Dolmetsch's Chickering and Gaveau harpsichord models tended to have six pedals, so the instrument above has an unusually high number for Dolmetsch instruments.¹⁴⁷

Another important feature for Russell, mentioned by Maud above, was that of resonance: a harpsichord must be resonant, but there was a level that was acceptable, and for Russell the Pleyels now overstepped the mark. He was quick to try out his new Dolmetsch in front of friends and held a musical party in January 1950 where he played the Bach D minor concerto with the Martin String Quartet; among the audience were a number of "distinguished musicians and critics," including clavichordist Dorothy Swainson (1882-1959), who reviewed the event in her memoirs.¹⁴⁸

This instrument, however, did not entirely satisfy Russell's requirements and he ordered a further new Dolmetsch instrument that was ready in 1950.¹⁴⁹ A letter from Tom Goff (1898-1975), a builder of harpsichords and clavichords and colleague of Russell's, explains that Russell's 1949 Dolmetsch was sold in 1956:¹⁵⁰

The Dolmetsch H[arpsichord] is an instrument with a bad tone wh[ich] Raymond Russell wanted got rid of. The pedal arrangement was unsatisfactory & it had none of the contrasts or subtleties wh[ich] mine has. It lacks a lute stop & the stringing is not right, the quality on one stop varies from octave to octave.¹⁵¹

Goff's need to explain Russell's sale stems from a massive difference in price between the Russell owned Dolmetsch instrument (sold for £850 in 1956) and the sale of one of his own newly made instruments to the New Zealand Broadcasting Service for £1300 in 1956.¹⁵² Although these comments are made in hindsight, it is noteworthy that the instrument's tone and long-battled-for

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, "The Death and Second Life," 209.

¹⁴⁷ Comparison made from viewing multiple images of the different models.

¹⁴⁸ "Raymond Russell gave a party this January, playing his new harpsichord, Bach D minor concerto with the Martin string quartet. There were about thirty people present, many of them distinguished musicians and critics, but there was no food or drink! At the end of the month he gave a recital with the Boyd Neal Orchestra in Chelsea Town hall, not an unmitigated success." Dorothy Swainson, unpublished memoirs, January 1950, private collection. See Appendix E for all quotes taken from Swainson's memoirs.

¹⁴⁹ "Raymond Russell took me in his car to Haslemere [the location of the Dolmetsch workshop] to see his second harpsichord." Swainson, October 1950.

¹⁵⁰ Their relationship be examined later in this chapter, and also in "The Queen's Ruckers Ruckus," Chapter 5.

¹⁵¹ Quote from "The Fall and Rise of Harpsichord 6," Radio New Zealand, 19 April 2016, <https://www.radionz.co.nz/concert/programmes/sundayfeature/audio/201797637/the-fall-and-rise-of-harpsichord-6>.

¹⁵² Ibid. There are other factors which would influence the difference in value, such as materials, techniques and mechanisms used within the structure, but it is notable that Goff thought it worth pointing out the comparison with one of Russell's instruments.

pedal arrangement was felt “unsatisfactory.” This example illustrates how far Russell’s perspective changed within the ten years since he left India.

Towards the end of his performing career Russell had adapted his playing technique based on his experience with historical instruments and treatise, which put him at odds with prevailing trends in harpsichord performance practice. An illuminating discussion, documented by Maud, goes some way to explaining how her son’s concept of harpsichord performance had developed, moving away from the societal expectations that was based on familiarity with ‘modern harpsichords’.

London Wednesday, April 26, 1950

Lunch[ed with] Ray. [at the] Etoile. Had two things much on my mind which I wanted to talk about: the first his music, the second – recurrence of the old and dangerous habit [Russell’s drug taking]. Courage was needed for both and I didn’t want to alienate him. I am so little claimative[sic] that his good is all I think about. So I told him I didn’t think his progress in the last year had been what I had expected. He was extremely good and began to ask for my criticisms which I gave him as well as my little knowledge of the harpsichord and not very great knowledge of music allowed. He cross-questioned. I said: not complete understanding of harpsichord music and the harpsichord itself, as I understand it, from having heard Mrs Woodhouse just once! By that I meant lack of musical understanding of the music itself, and of what the harpsichord could make of it. So: importance of finding a teacher, of considering afresh and studying carefully the phrasing and a review of the functions of a harpsichord. All this he took very well. Said: impossible to find a teacher, that he submitted his playing all the time to musicians and critics for dissection and advice, that he had been accused of coldness in his playing, and that that struck to the root of the matter namely the change in the structure and compass of the harpsichord in recent times, he adhering to the earlier use. He explained that in earlier times there were mainly stops for changing the affects and so owing to physical circumstances long passages were played in the same “idiom” (my word, not his) and that this seems dull and sounds – monotonous – to many people nowadays, used to modern harpsichords with their many pedals easily manipulated during the playing and so capable of constantly altering the effect of the music. That he preferred the fewer changes in “idiom”, in other words, the earlier rendering of harpsichord music. This he said, was where my criticism lead to and he may be right. But this still

remains I think the musical reading (phrasing?) and “attack”. I didn’t broach the other subject. It would have been too much.¹⁵³

This paragraph demonstrates succinctly the opposing views on harpsichord performance practice at play between mother and son and, more widely, other practitioners. Allowances must be made also for the fact that Russell’s playing, however steeped in what he thought was an appropriate historically informed performance practice, may not have been very technically accomplished or expressive. Basing our judgement on his playing abilities solely through reviews – which have their own intrinsic bias – of relatively few concerts, would be problematic. His later publications and organological discussions, that appeared between 1956-1959, where Russell elaborated his theories on appropriate playing technique, indicate a further shift towards what we might in hindsight label as historically informed performance practice. See Russell’s own words from *Musical Instruments through the Ages*, in Appendix C.¹⁵⁴ In this text, Russell’s criticism of a lack of authenticity refers to the performers’ deficient knowledge of historical treatises on technique and touch, both of which would reflect on a performer’s musical interpretation. For Russell, by 1956, the presence of pedals served as an encouragement to the “unenlightened player” for a constant change in colour, which he felt inappropriate.¹⁵⁵ Without recordings of his playing it is difficult to form a definitive assessment of his own technique in relation to the opinions he voiced. It is, however, possible to analyse the many influences that affected his playing.

3.4 A Collection Emerges

This chapter has so far demonstrated the types of instrument and repertoire that Russell worked with in the earliest part of his performing career, and the influence of pioneers such as Landowska and Dolmetsch on his instrument choices. As Russell’s public performances continued the number of instruments he could choose from amongst his private possessions increased. The development in the technical demands he made of his instruments through his changing playing technique continued to be reflected by his instruments and repertoire during the later 1940s and 1950s.

¹⁵³ Maud Russell, April 26, 1950, “Talk on Music with Raymond”, Diary, Book IX, 162. The “other subject” Maud felt unable to “broach” was Russell’s drug taking.

¹⁵⁴ Raymond Russell, “The Harpsichord, Spinnet and Virginal” in *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, ed. Anthony Baines (Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), 79-80.

¹⁵⁵ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*. 442

By 1950 Russell's concert programmes presented a wider selection of concert repertoire. This began to be matched by his choice of performance instruments', selected from what had already become a collection of keyboard instruments with a broad heritage. The introduction of further French Baroque composers other than Couperin – Chambonnière and Rameau – appeared in the repertory for his Chelsea Town Hall recital on January 31st 1950 (see Appendix B.7), as well as a step into a later era of keyboard music with Haydn. His second concert that year, on November 27th, also contained works by Purcell, in addition to his more standard choices of Bach, Handel and Scarlatti (see Appendix B.8). This increased palette of pieces may have signified Russell's improved skill and confidence as a performer. Russell's expanding horizons are represented in his first 1950 concert by the performance of two concertos (Bach Concerto in D minor and Haydn Concerto in D) with the Boyd Neel Orchestra; playing with an orchestra is a big step up in terms of financial investment and musical commitment (see Appendix B.6). For the second concert that year he brought three instruments to the stage (see Appendix B.8). Such steps reflect an increased confidence in his ability to work with larger forces and to adapt his playing to multiple instruments within the public sphere.

Notions of appropriate performance practice for different repertoires appear in the reviews of Russell's 1950 concerts. When covering his January performance the *Times* critic talked about an improved approach to "programme building," where the focus of the performances reviewed had a more educative orientation (See Appendix B.7).¹⁵⁶ The first concerts mentioned in the review, by the South African pianist Adolph Hallis (1896-1987), consisted of four "historical" recitals providing a survey of keyboard music from the sixteenth-century to the present day, all performed on the piano. In his appraisal of the first recital, that covered the earliest repertoires surveyed (Lully, Couperin, both Scarlattis, Bach and Handel), the reviewer indicated his awareness of the approach thought appropriate to performing these repertoires, as opposed to playing later genres, saying that Hallis "rarely failed to bring the music to life, but such ardent and liberally pedalled playing will be much more in place in a fortnight's time when he comes to the romantic school." For Russell the critic's comments edged towards praise – again focussing on his registration – commenting that it, "is now a good deal more imaginative and his approach more commanding than when he first ventured into public".¹⁵⁷ Russell's family and friends were less impressed with this particular recital. Swainson, a rare female friend of Russell's, described the concert in a passive-aggressive way as "not an unmitigated success".¹⁵⁸ As a fellow and more

¹⁵⁶ The assumption is made that it is the same reviewer throughout these reviews; he is at least acquainted with Russell's playing because he directly compares his performance here, to his previous ones.

¹⁵⁷ For comparison see the reviews for the earlier concerts in Appendix B.

¹⁵⁸ See note 148 for the full quote. Dorothy Swainson, unpublished memoirs, January 1950, private collection

experienced performer (on clavichord) of the Dolmetsch school, she had her own pre-conceived ideas about performance on early keyboard instruments.¹⁵⁹ Maud's comments are more helpful in terms of contextualising her son's performance. There were balance issues between his harpsichord and the Boyd Neel Orchestra, and she complained about a "lifelessness" in his playing, which may be partly explained by Russell's claim that he was suffering from influenza.¹⁶⁰ But for Maud the biggest barrier to Russell's success as a performer was her sense that he lacked "musical understanding." Maud referred to Russell's inability to play "the harpsichord as a harpsichord." The *Times* reviewer, on the other hand, alluded to the ill-suitedness of excessive pedal use in music of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century on piano. These views, and both their continued insistence on the vitalness of variety in the use of registration in the harpsichord, indicate how strongly established concepts of "authentic performance" for keyboard music were already by 1950.

In his final recorded performance Russell changed tack again, taking a more didactic approach to his programming and tentative steps towards historical performance practice. For a recital at the Wigmore Hall on November 27th, 1950, Russell brought three instruments from his collection to the stage, enabling a comparison of the different instrument qualities (see Appendix B.8). It is this recital too that brings our attention back to Dent and their correspondence: see Appendix D for a full transcript of Dent's letter of congratulations after the concert.

Dent's account of the concert clearly described an "instructive" programme where pieces were directly compared on different instruments. For this more varied programme, Russell used a seventeenth-century virginals, a Kirkman harpsichord and a Dolmetsch harpsichord.¹⁶¹ This type

¹⁵⁹ More details about Swainson and her friendship with Russell follow in "Key(board) friendships."

¹⁶⁰ Maud Russell, January 31, 1950, "Ray's Concert", Diary, Book IX, 138. "[W]ent alone to Ray's concert at the Chelsea Town Hall. Row R. Hall fairly full. He played with the Boyd Neel Orchestra. 1st Concerto in D minor by Bach then some harpsichord pieces Chaconne in F minor by Chambonnières La Favourite in C minor by Couperin also Les Vergers Fleurs in A & 1st and 2nd and double dor 3rd Rigaudon in E by Rameau. The orchestra followed with Overture No. 1 in C for 2 oboes, bassoon and strings by Bach. And Ray finished with Concerto in D for harpsichord strings etc etc [sic] by Haydn. I had the impression Ray wasn't playing as well as he can there was almost total lifelessness. But technical proficiency I think. In two pieces only he seemed to be on the way to breaking down the barriers that prevent him from playing the harpsichord as a harpsichord. He has a long way to go – not in mechanical proficiency but in musical understanding. I told no one but I was disappointed. I had hoped for a more musical performance. The Boyd Neel Orchestra played too loud and very little of the harpsichord could be heard in the Bach concerto. The Haydn was more successful from that point of view. But I prefer the harpsichord alone when all its charm and strangeness can be felt. Many friends and relatives were there. I dragged Mary along to see Ray afterwards. He said he had influenza and a temperature of 100°. He looked green. Elsa Richmond appeared. They hadn't seen each other since those troubled times in Cambridge in 1942 when she was so good to him."

¹⁶¹ Russell purchased his Stephen Keene, 1668 virginal in 1949, so it is likely that the virginal used in this recital is that instrument. "Virginal," accessed 7 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/14879?highlight=*. The Dolmetsch instrument used would

of lecture recital follows in a long line of such, in which there is particular focus on comparison between harpsichords and other keyboards, in an attempt to demonstrate which are most appropriate for different repertoires. Haskell attests to this long history in his discussion of lecture recitals.¹⁶² Thurston Dart, a direct contemporary of Russell's, was another who had performed such recitals, as had A.J. Hipkins (1826-1903) and Swainson.¹⁶³ In doing this Russell shows the beginning of an alignment to the idea of interpreting a composer's music with an historically appropriate instrument.

The sound-quality or tone of the instruments was the overriding preoccupation of all three documenters of this particular concert.¹⁶⁴ All three compared the older instruments favourably with the Dolmetsch. The *Times* reviewer praised the "magically plangent quality" of the virginals, and the "clarity" of the "glorious" Kirkman, whilst admiring the "fat-toned" but resonant Dolmetsch instrument. Dent, in a demonstration of his preference for tone over historical appropriateness, stated a preference for the Kirkman which "sounded so incomparably better than all the other instruments" that he wanted to hear the entire programme on it.¹⁶⁵ It is again Maud's account that helps situate the concert in terms of Russell's own technical and musical development and, for once, she observed a marked improvement, also noting that the entire programme was memorised – indicating a significant commitment on Russell's part.

A further stylistic ideology that concerns the concert reviewers and Russell reflects an aspect of musical performance that is still an intrinsic part of musical interpretation today: that is the desire for 'line' or "cantabile" as Dent puts it.¹⁶⁶ Landowska refers to Bach and other contemporaneous composers' interest in Cantabile (or singing style) playing in keyboard music in "Cantabile Art".¹⁶⁷ In essence, the concept focuses on the execution and interpretation of a musical line. The ability to produce a cantabile line relates to playing technique and an instrument's tone qualities. The characteristics of plucked stringed instruments, which harpsichords are, does not easily lend itself to such an execution. Dent's reference to the "cantabile" of Russell's virginals implies that he gave much of the credit for the singing quality to the instrument, which detracts from Russell's

have been his newest Dolmetsch harpsichord, mentioned by Swainson. See note 147. The Kirkman instrument would have been the double manual harpsichord purchased by Russell in 1955. Raymond Russell's personal copy of Donald Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956), 62, kindly lent to the author by David Owen Norris.

¹⁶² Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 21, 27 and 50.

¹⁶³ Stephen Wilkinson remembered a notable Dart lecture recital comparison in Cambridge in 1946. Wilkinson, conversation with the author, August 12, 2017; Haskell, 27; Swainson, "America 1912", 18; "Back to Paris 1918", 41.

¹⁶⁴ Appendix B.8.

¹⁶⁵ Appendix D.

¹⁶⁶ Appendices D.

¹⁶⁷ Landowska, *Landowska on Music*, 165-170.

playing. Maud emphasised line when writing about Russell's January, 1949 concert in which she referred to Russell's "smoother" playing.¹⁶⁸ Russell, in his text on touch, relates the pressure on the harpsichord keys to the ability to "produce good tone and *cantabile* playing."¹⁶⁹ This attribute of keyboard playing relies on the sound-qualities of an instrument in combination with the performer's technique, so these "improvements" reflect well on Russell's concerts in this period. However, one's ability to hear the musical line is also subjective so there is still room for other interpretations of these comments.

The investment implications of a performing career became an increasing concern for Russell as his career progressed. Although it has not been possible to clarify the contracts of engagement for his concerts, it is likely that the majority of his performances were self-funded.¹⁷⁰ Events in concert halls would have taken a reasonable amount of financial investment, aside from the commitment to programming and practising. The hire of the venue, the transportation and tuning of the instruments used and the cost of publicity may all have fallen to Russell. The larger the venue, the larger the outlay and therefore the larger the audience he needed to attract. Corroborative evidence is detailed by Maud. They met up shortly after his second Wigmore Hall recital, in December, 1950: "We talked about his concert. He thought the hall had been rather empty. He doesn't like playing Scarlatti. Odd."¹⁷¹ Although this concert had seemed relatively successful to both Dent and Maud, Russell was concerned by the audience size. This concern makes more sense when Russell later discussed with Maud his plans to hire the Royal Festival Hall, Peter Pears and the London Mozart Players for a concert in 1953. The intention behind hiring a larger venue and a well-known figure, was to ensure that a larger audience could be attracted in order to recoup some of his investment, rather than lose it. He explained that, "at the Wigmore Hall, playing with an orchestra you can only lose money, at the Festival Hall he might make some, it being so very much bigger."¹⁷² By this point in his performance career he had begun to view concerts as unsound investments.

The perception that the interest in early keyboard instruments and their music is situated within an elite milieu is upheld by an examination of Russell's public audiences. Although it is not

¹⁶⁸ Appendix B.6.

¹⁶⁹ Appendix C.

¹⁷⁰ Russell family members have spoken of Maud buying-out rows and rows of seats to support her son. This diary quote confirms that there was some financial investment on Russell's part for his concerts: "He has settled to give a concert in the autumn with Blech and the Mozart Orchestra. He wants it in the Festival Hall. I feel it is rather big for harpsichord and Ray may lose money over the venture. He explained that at the Wigmore Hall, playing with an orchestra you can only lose money, at the Festival Hall he might make some, it being so very much bigger." Maud Russell, January 21, 1953, Book XI, 38.

¹⁷¹ Maud Russell, December 6, 1950, Diary, Book X, 5.

¹⁷² Maud Russell, January 21, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 38.

possible to examine every individual who attended his concerts, further instructive details come from Dent and Maud in their selective listing of other audience members. Both documenters felt it necessary to highlight certain audience members who they knew, or were acquainted with, additionally confirming the idea of a network surrounding Russell. Dent listed Patrick Savill (b.1909-n.d.) – another Cambridge music alumnus; Eddie [Sir Edward] Marsh (1872-1953) – a well-known arts patron and civil servant; and Christopher Hassall (1912-1963) – actor, librettist and musical partner of Ivor Novello (1893-1951).¹⁷³ Marsh’s presence was emphasised by Dent in ellipsis with three exclamation marks, and he and Christopher Hassall – who were great friends – attended together. All three individuals were very well connected in the British music scene but, more significant for the concept of a Russell network, were their queer connections. Marsh was a celibate homosexual and Hassall – a close friend of Marsh and Novello – was a trusted friend and sympathiser within the artistic community surrounding Marsh.¹⁷⁴ What Dent was possibly unaware of was that Marsh had been part of Maud’s circle of friends for some years already.¹⁷⁵ Maud mentioned the presence of Elsa Richmond, for the second time at one of Russell’s concerts, and “Bongie” – a familiar name of Sir Maurice Bonham Carter (1880-1960).¹⁷⁶ Richmond appeared in the previous chapter as a supportive friend towards Russell during his pre-military-conscription crisis in Cambridge. Both individuals were, if not known queer sympathisers, at least further examples of the high society circle supportive of Russell’s performing career.

Behind the shift from Pleyel to Dolmetsch for performance purposes, was a series of further instrument acquisitions of a broader heritage. The late 1940s saw Russell purchase a number of instruments, enough to require a sizeable room to house them; many of these never made it into the final Russell Collection.¹⁷⁷ In the Summer of 1948 Russell purchased and moved to a large and historically significant property in Hampstead.¹⁷⁸ The property, known as Romney’s House, had a grand “studio” with impressive dimensions, big enough to house his “collection” of instruments

¹⁷³ Savill was a conductor and Professor of Composition at the Royal Academy of Music 1951-1974. He was Musical Director of the touring production of the musical comedy, *1066 And all that*. E. Ansell, *Admissions to Peterhouse* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 137; “Marsh, Sir Edward Howard (1872–1953), Civil Servant and Patron of the Arts,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 7 November 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34892>; “Hassall, Christopher Vernon (1912–1963), Writer and Librettist,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 7 November 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33752>.

¹⁷⁴ Harry Ricketts, *Strange Meetings: The Poets of the Great War* (London: Random House, 2015), 6.

¹⁷⁵ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 65.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 32.

¹⁷⁷ “Joined Ray. and went to a larger house he has seen and thinks of buying. Rather too big, plumbing poor. He needs a big room for his many harpsichords.” Maud Russell, January 22, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 115.

¹⁷⁸ “Ray. came to dinner saying he proposed to get into Romney’s house in August. He is booked for three concerts at the Wigmore Hall in October December and February.” Maud Russell, July 11, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 173.

and to hold concerts; his aspirations for it to be a public concert venue, however, were dashed.¹⁷⁹ Greater London Council rejected Russell's application for a license to hold public recitals, which led to his swift onward sale of the property, but he lived in Romney's House for a year and possibly kept instruments there even after he had moved out.¹⁸⁰ In itself, the desire to hold concerts from home demonstrates the influence of Woodhouse's practice on Russell's plans. As discussed below in 3.5, most of her performing career took part within more intimate surroundings than concert halls. However, her influence on Russell is present in other ways too.

Although there is less written evidence of Woodhouse's influence on Russell, in the way it is for Landowska, it is conspicuous in the type of instruments Russell had acquired by the end of 1949. He already owned two Dolmetsch instruments: a Beethoven style piano and a Gaveau harpsichord, both made originally for Woodhouse.¹⁸¹ Maud described seeing these instruments at Romney's house:

Dined [with] Ray. Hampstead Garden house looked charming he wants to keep it now and I begged him to. Tony and Sally were there. We had all had rather a lot to drink and the talk was wild. Looked at Raymond's beautiful Dolmetsch piano and his German harpsichord made in London in the 1780s. We talked and got on as we nearly always do now.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ "Before lunch I went with Ray to see Romney's house at Hampstead which Ray is trying to buy. It has a magnificent room 50x30x perhaps 20 high with three great windows. Good for harpsichord and musical evenings. He is very excited." Maud Russell, May 28, 1948, Book VIII, 155. "About 1947 he bought the painter George Romney's studio house in Hampstead hoping to give public recitals in the studio. However the G.L.C. [Greater London Council] would not license it for public entertainment on safety grounds. The house was again soon on the market. I only went there once for lunch one Sunday. The collection was then in its infancy – two or three instruments. I am not musical, I mean I do not play any instrument but admired each new arrival in following years for the beauty of its case and painted lid." Sebastian Minton, "Raymond Russell," EUCHMI. Minton's reference to and labelling of the "collection" as being "in its infancy - two or three instruments" is less associated with Russell's own concept of his activities in 1948, than with Minton's posthumous visits to the Russell Collection. For information about the original owner and the many well-known previous occupants of Romney's House, read Marilyn Mountford, *Behind Closed Doors* (Self-published, The Cloister House Press, 2017)

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, Minton; Maud Russell, Diary, Book IX: July 19, 1949, 89. "Ray. telephoned he was changing house and too busy to dine that night or any other night that week;" August 9, 1949, 93. "Lunch Ray. at 7 Dilke Street, his new quarters. Eldon Rd. & Romney's House are still on his hands. Dilke St. is practical but not charming. He has bought an early virginal. The instruments are ranged around him, guarding him from the outer world."

¹⁸¹ Mabel Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections*, 20; Maud Russell, June 8, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 76.

¹⁸² Ibid, Maud Russell.



Figure 13 Russell at his Gaveau/Dolmetsch harpsichord. Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.

The lineage of these instruments – Dolmetsch instruments that had passed through Woodhouse’s hands – was an important strand in Russell’s purchase of them. Not only would Woodhouse’s ownership have had some sentimental value for Russell but, with his growing interest in the history of the instruments and the shape of the revival of interest in them, their provenance was becoming a prime concern of his; as it was already for collectors of other antique items and therefore helped to improve future resale value.¹⁸³ The harpsichord in Figure 13 was the instrument Dolmetsch made for Woodhouse during his time working in Paris for Gaveau.¹⁸⁴ Woodhouse not only studied with Dolmetsch but also favoured his instruments, which were very different in build to the larger, Pleyel instruments, espoused by Landowska and, up until this point in his performing career, Russell. Although Russell did not use these instruments to perform publicly on, a Woodhouse/Dolmetsch link to the instruments he acquired remained a trait right into the 1950s: he purchased Woodhouse’s 1912 Gaveau-Dolmetsch clavichord at a Sotheby’s

¹⁸³ Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 150-155.

¹⁸⁴ With thanks to David Gerrard for the help in identifying the instrument. David Gerrard, email, August 11, 2016; Dolmetsch, 104.

auction in 1951.¹⁸⁵ Maud's reference above to a "German harpsichord made in London in the 1780's" is harder to trace. Russell purchased a Kirkman harpsichord, which fits the relevant origins mentioned, from Morley in 1949 for £425.¹⁸⁶ However this instrument was dated 1755, and a further Kirkman he owned dates from 1764.¹⁸⁷



Figure 14 Russell at his pre-1912 Pleyel in Romney's studio. Image from the Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.

¹⁸⁵ "The Property of Violet Gordon-Woodhouse," her 1912 Gaveau- Dolmetsch clavichord, No. 19 Signed Arnold Dolmetsch, Paris, 1912, Purchased by Russell for £70, Sotheby's July 20th, 1951, Box S27, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁸⁶ Raymond Russell's personal copy of Donald Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956), 62, kindly lent to the author by David Owen Norris.

Boalch, 62, price and seller info in handwritten note. Boalch. P62. Kirkman instruments. No. 4. 1755 dual manual. Past owners Padworth House. Mr. O.J.S. Moore. Now owned by Mr. Raymond Russell. Handwritten note - bought from Morley in 1949 for £425.

Another Kirkman instrument noted in Boalch was also purchased by R.R.

P. 63. No. 26 (and 29?) 1764. One manual. Handwritten note. Past owner R.R. Bought for £120 - further info about date of purchase needed.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. The confusion here may be explained by Maud mistaking the date or it could be that a further London based German maker was represented in Russell's collection at the time. A Shudi instrument could be a candidate.

Photographs of Russell with instruments, and the distinct nature of the Romney and Clough-Ellis designed studio, make it possible to identify certain items and narrow the parameters for the series of acquisitions that happened prior to his leaving the property.¹⁸⁸ In making comparisons between images of Romney's studio and family images of Russell, both the large chequered floor of the studio and the design of its pillars, doorways and radiators have helped confirm the situation of the photos.¹⁸⁹ Figure 11 and Figure 14 are so far the only surviving evidence that Russell owned this early Pleyel example. The chequered floor, the window and radiator are easily identifiable in Figure 14, and the pillars and doorway in Figure 11. The instrument must be placed on a rug as the floor pattern is not visible in Figure 11. The Italian Harpsichord 1620 that ultimately remained in Russell's possession and made it into the Collection in Edinburgh, is also pictured in Romney's House in Figure 15. This instrument was purchased by Russell in 1947 and restored by Leslie Ward in 1948.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Marilyn Mountford, *Behind Closed Doors*, 84-87.

¹⁸⁹ This has been made possible by the kind help and research of Marilyn Mountford, a more recent resident of Romney's House, who sent images and helped identify characteristics of the room in Figure 11 and Figure 14.

¹⁹⁰ "Single-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 12 February 2019, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/17031?highlight=*.



Figure 15 Russell with his Italian 1620 harpsichord in Romney's house. Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.

Russell made multiple sizeable investments with his wealth over a short period in the late 1940s to an extent that would be considered unstable and profligate in someone of a lower socio-economic status. In the summer of 1949, only a year after settling in to Romney's House, Russell moved house again, to his third property since returning from India three years earlier.¹⁹¹ Maud's pertinent remarks about these purchases indicate that she had underlying concerns that are otherwise unvoiced.

Lunch Ray. at 7 Dilke Street, his new quarters. Eldon Rd. & Romney's House are still on his hands. But as they are freeholds I dare say they aren't bad investments. Dilke Street is practical, but not charming. He has bought an early virginal. The instruments are ranged around him, guarding him from the outer world.¹⁹²

These statements are illuminating for a number of reasons. Russell had moved to a new property, an apartment in Dilke Street, within a year of purchasing Romney's House. It can also be established from the date of Maud's entry that the virginal she mentions was Russell's Stephen

¹⁹¹ Maud Russell, July 19, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 89.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

Keene instrument, of 1668, which he purchased at Sotheby's in 1949 for £450, a figure close to £15,000 in today's money.¹⁹³ Most telling however, is the last intuitive sentence, suggesting that his instruments are a form of protection "from the outer world," that indicates a level of understanding of the difficulties Russell encountered with life; that his acquisition of these instruments had become a self-protective act of entrenchment within a carefully curated, enclosed personal world. In Cambridge Russell had been part of a vibrant social and musical network that offered relative safety and understanding to queer behaviour. After a certain degree of freedom experienced by some during war-time, post-war London underwent a relative "clamp-down" on homosexual relations, that began to push some behaviours back towards the margins of society or into private spaces.¹⁹⁴ Moving into the 1950s, societal constraints and Russell's background and status required a closer adherence to an outwardly heteronormative way of life. When his mother suggested changing her will to leave him the family estate of Mottisfont Abbey in 1951, he turned it down on the grounds that he did not see himself marrying for some time and that the place ought to be filled with children.¹⁹⁵ Maud came to understand that "he will never marry and have children and the warmth of a family of his own."¹⁹⁶ She was concerned for his happiness, but he was not comfortable voicing his queerness to her.

For Russell, an engagement with historical keyboard instruments as a means to a public presence in the music performing world had begun to become a mechanism for creating a safe, close-knit and private community for organological discussion, collecting and friendship.

3.5 Key(board) friendships

Just as Russell's connection to the Cambridge scene offered useful connections for furthering his performance and research, Russell's post-war network helped induct him into a scene of keyboard instrument collection and advocacy. This new network, that centred on London but spanned the globe, helped Russell shape his fortune, time and energy towards developing his performer identity into that of an influential harpsichord advocate and collector.

When not performing, Russell needed to maintain his relevance within the burgeoning keyboard scene. One way he kept abreast of current practice was with an avid interest in recordings,

¹⁹³ The entry in Boalch says: No. 1. 1668, Stephanus Keene Londini fecit 1668, London, Mr. R. Russell. (Formerly at Goodrich Court, Ross.) F-D, 57 keys, without lowest F#. Gilded paper embossed with the royal arms of the House of Stuart. Handwritten note: b[ought] £450. 1949 Sotheby. Raymond Russell's copy, Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord*, 58, lent to the author.

¹⁹⁴ Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*, New edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 238.

¹⁹⁵ Maud Russell, July 19, 1951, Diary, Book X, 74.

¹⁹⁶ Maud Russell, April 4, 1960, Book XV, 63.

amassing a significant collection of records.¹⁹⁷ But he also needed to sustain his presence visibly; this he did by attending concerts and musical soirees of other keyboard practitioners.¹⁹⁸ This would have achieved a number of objectives for him. Not only would it have kept him up-to-date with contemporary practice, both in terms of playing techniques and instrument choices but, importantly, it helped him expand and maintain his network of keyboard advocates. It kept him part of the scene, even if his own performances were few and far between.

Unlike many of his contemporary keyboard practitioners, Russell was a self-taught harpsichordist. Notwithstanding his early claims that he wished to study with Landowska, there is no evidence to suggest that he ever had a lesson with her or anyone else. Other practitioners followed a particular teacher's practice and some studied with multiple individuals, drawing on a number of influences to form their own approach.¹⁹⁹ For those who were making performing their profession, learning from and aligning oneself with a particular teacher would have provided access to more performing opportunities. As demonstrated, Russell chose to make his own path. Either through a sense of superiority of thought, fear of critique, a continued difficulty with those in authority or simply through the knowledge that he could afford to please himself, Russell avoided studying harpsichord with a particular individual. Rather, similarly to earlier periods of Russell's youth, he preferred to learn from his own research via archival work, historical playing treatises, and practical experimentation with instruments.²⁰⁰

Although Russell did not take lessons from other harpsichordists he did, as acknowledged to his mother, play for other practitioners.²⁰¹ To what extent he was looking for advice or accepting and learning from critique of others is not possible to establish. What is clear from the evidence surrounding Russell's own audiences, and that of the musical events he attended, is that – despite the lack of that useful networking connection of a teacher – Russell did not isolate himself from the scene. Although his mother believed that by increasing his acquisition of instruments her son was putting up a barrier between himself and the outside world, he was all the while actively engaged in immersing himself in a niche milieu. He did not go to others to study, but brought

¹⁹⁷ Russell's record collection was donated to the Pendlebury music library, Cambridge, by Maud Russell. Maud Russell, June 3, 1964, Diary, Book XVI, 238.

¹⁹⁸ Swainson makes a number of entries in her memoirs about visiting private concerts with Russell. Swainson, memoirs, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 99.

¹⁹⁹ The pupils of Woodhouse for example: Valda Aveling and Vere Pilkington. Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 190 and 260. Ralph Kirkpatrick travelled throughout Europe visiting many experts in the field, including Dolmetsch, Landowska and Nadia Boulanger. Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Ralph Kirkpatrick: Letters of the American Harpsichordist and Scholar* (Rochester, US: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 1 and chap. 1.

²⁰⁰ See earlier in this chapter, and Chapter 2 for evidence of this.

²⁰¹ Maud Russell, December 7, 1950, Diary, Book X, 6.

selected individuals to his space to both admire his instruments and critique his playing.²⁰²

Russell's privacy was important, other practitioners and interested parties were invited to engage on his terms.

In the first half of the twentieth-century a considerable proportion of the keyboard scene in London revolved around private musical parties or soirees, organised by wealthy individuals with enough room to host or enough wealth to hire private venues. As these events were invite-only, surviving evidence of their existence has come through written memoirs or diaries, rather than posters, tickets and published reviews. The majority of the evidence discussed in the rest of this chapter relies on such material. Woodhouse and Dolmetsch both spent much of their performing career through engaging in such events.²⁰³ As evidence in this section demonstrates, Russell and many of his keyboard practitioner acquaintances also participated in such occasions, either as performers or within the audience.²⁰⁴ This example of twentieth-century patronage through musical soirees within the keyboard scene continued at least until the end of the 1960s, as seen through Maud's diaries, with the same individuals appearing alongside a newer generation of keyboard player, but my research has not extended beyond that.²⁰⁵ For professional performers these types of events offered a valuable occasion to expand their network of interested individuals in positions of wealth and influence who could provide further performing engagements and support. For Russell, they provided an opportunity to keep abreast of the scene and to try out his own instruments in front of a select audience.²⁰⁶

Surviving correspondence emphasise Russell's relationships with particular individuals who were key to his developing career. The letters from Dent are one example, but there are many others in the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh. These correspondence however, were selected posthumously by Maud and may not reflect the full span of Russell's network.²⁰⁷ In fact,

²⁰² Swainson, memoirs, January 1950, 92.

²⁰³ Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*; Douglas-Home, *Violet*.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix E: Swainson, memoirs, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 99.

²⁰⁵ One example from Maud's diaries: "My heart sank when I saw one of Tom [Goff]'s tiny clavichords in the drawing room and saw we were in for nothing more. As usual with Tom's instruments there was little resonance and in that room of 40 or 50 people the sound was minuscule. The ear hardly received it. But gradually one's reception improved and Valda Aveling's playing was pretty enough for the hour to pass pleasantly. I spent the rest of the time with Raymond Leppard whom I like so much." Maud Russell, April 14, 1968, Diary, Book XIX, 15. For a similar scene in America refer to Ralph P. Locke, "Music Lovers, Patrons, and the 'Sacralization' of Culture in America," *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (1993): 149–73, <https://doi.org/10.2307/746331>; Ralph P. Locke, "Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America," *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 798–825, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/742510>.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix E January 1950 and note 148.

²⁰⁷ Maud admitted to burning Russell's correspondence with Tom Goff, when going through his papers. Maud Russell, October 5, 1970, Diary, Book XX, 148.

Chapter 3

a prime example of one influential figure who does not feature in Russell's surviving correspondence will be examined next.

Swainson's interactions with Russell only came to light recently, through the discovery of her memoirs; she is a rare example of one of Russell's female friends.²⁰⁸ Swainson had been a professional pianist but was introduced to the clavichord by Dolmetsch in Paris circa 1910, with whom she ultimately studied and established a lasting, mutually respectful connection.²⁰⁹

Swainson's early career began around 1905 and comprised of piano recitals and teaching; her clavichord performances began to accumulate throughout the 1920s and '30s.²¹⁰ During the Second World War however, and particularly afterwards, she experienced significant renewed interest in her clavichord playing and in the instrument in general.²¹¹ One example from her memoirs highlights this increased interest; the list of audience members and invitees introduces us to the milieu that both she and Russell were part of:

In 1949 the clavy was very much to the fore. On the 21st January I had the big clavy for the Cowdray Hall Dolmetsch Concert, then it was moved to Hyde Park Gardens where we gave a big party in the library where it sounded lovely. I played Bach Prelude and Fugue in C, Andantino attributed to J.C. Bach (I think it is really by Beck, as Stanford Terry could not identify it). Musette en Rondeau and Rappel des Oiseaux by Rameau, Scarlatti Pastorale and A major Sonata, Haydn Largo and Rondo in D, Lyre d'Orphée of Dandrieu, Carillon de Cythère by Couperin and the E major Haydn Minuet and Rondo. It is rather amusing to remember who was there: Mary Shield, Kitty Maxwell, Charlotte Bonham Carter, Mademoiselle Zwingli, Margot and Felix, Griselda, Michael Warre and Ursula, Hylde and Gertrude Sharpin, Mary Phipps, Michael Carey, Rex Leeper, Primrose and Ann, Ian, Constance and Mary Hamilton, Prue Mackower, Christopher and Mrs Holme, Raymond Russell, Robin Mackworth-Young, Richard Blackham, Peter Ward Jackson, Ewald Junge, John Simons, Artemy Raevesky, Joseph Saxby, Cecil Gould and Janet and Katharine Leeper. Invited but couldn't come; Gerald Hayes, Tom Goff, Teddy Craig, Richard Buckle, John Godley, Laurence Whistler, John Raynor, Leslie Hurrey and Seymour Whingates.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Thanks to Brother Hugh and the Cobbett family who allowed me to read and refer to parts of this memoir. For a full list of quotes referred to in this chapter from Swainson, refer to Appendix E. Dorothy Swainson, transcribed by Katharine Cobbett, unpublished memoirs, private collection.

²⁰⁹ See Appendix E, 1907-1914.

²¹⁰ Swainson, memoirs, 12-76.

²¹¹ Swainson, 76-99.

²¹² Swainson, 1949, 89.

This is the first appearance of Russell in Swainson's memoir; their friendship developed from this point on. Although the evidence of their relationship is one-sided, from Swainson's point of view they appear to become reasonably close friends, taking dinner together after concerts and heading out for excursions in Russell's car.²¹³ Russell also shared personal information with her that he did not divulge to his mother until many years later.²¹⁴ They attended many concerts with each other, sometimes comparing views on players. The catalogue of performers reads like a *Who's Who* in the Early Music Revival.²¹⁵ After a recital of Adelina de Lara's in July 1949 she claimed that "even Raymond found her playing 'most exciting'"; this must have been high praise indeed!²¹⁶ Earlier in 1949 they had both attended a clavichord recital at the Belgian Institute performed by John Lade.²¹⁷ She was uncomplimentary about his "inaudible" playing, but found his programme interesting. She compared his presentation style unfavourably with that of Vere Pilkington's, another member of Russell's circle. Her dislike for Pilkington's playing comes across elsewhere. Her description of a party she attended in the late 1920s, where Pilkington played, underlines how long the two of them had been part of the British keyboard scene, "Margot then gave a clavy party at Church Street and Vere Pilkington annoyed me by playing my clavy extremely badly."²¹⁸ From nearly two decades later, another review demonstrates Swainson's disdain for Pilkington's skills:

Music Club near Holland Park, March 1946

People gathered, Pilkington appeared with a small clavichord and an enormous pile of large volumes. The clavichord was all but inaudible and a big volume of music would be lifted from the floor on his left-hand side, a piece played from it, and then dumped on the floor on his right. As the evening went on, the pile on the left decreased and that on the right piled up. I was indeed thankful when the left hand pile was exhausted and the evening came to an end.²¹⁹

Her biggest complaints directed at both Pilkington's and Lade's playing are linked to volume and performance style. Clavichords are famously gentle in volume so her criticism could be read as disapproval of their technique or the instruments that they performed on. Swainson was much

²¹³ Appendix E, April 1950, April 1951.

²¹⁴ Swainson, 1950-1953, 93. He was having dizzy spells and difficulties with his hearing, caused by Meniere's Disease, which he didn't mention to his mother until 1957. Maud Russell, March 10, 1957, Diary, Book XIII, 4.

²¹⁵ Appendix E.

²¹⁶ Appendix E, July 1949.

²¹⁷ Appendix E, January 1949.

²¹⁸ Swainson, circa 1930, 54.

²¹⁹ Swainson, 80.

fonder and respectful of another mutual friend of hers and Russell's. She played privately for "Professor Dent" on two occasions, the first in June 1945. Her description of their meeting gives us a glimpse of the license she felt able to take with her own performance style on the clavichord in comparison to that on the piano:

One day in June, Professor Dent came to dine and afterwards I played clavy to him. Being very deaf, I doubted if he would be able to hear. He leant forward in his chair with a hand behind his ear then his hand dropped and he leant back. He liked it, but asked if I played Bach like that on the piano and of course I said no, much less freely.²²⁰

Swainson's clavichord proficiency and experience was sufficiently impressive for Russell to value her judgement, particularly regarding instruments. Their relationship was mutually beneficial in that respect. Russell invited Swainson to "admire" his new Dolmetsch harpsichord at his home in November 1949, on which occasion he also introduced her to a record of Landowska performing the Chromatic Fantasie.²²¹ That same month she invited him to a party, with other guests including Joseph Saxby, where they played a comparison game with a Dolmetsch clavichord that she had been lent to try out, with a view to replacing her own.²²² As well as having her own private introduction to his new Dolmetsch harpsichord in 1949, Russell also took her to Haslemere in 1950 to visit his second Dolmetsch harpsichord purchase.²²³ In fact, the value Russell placed on Swainson as a musician was high enough for him to seek out and prize one of her past instruments which he, cheekily, attempted to sell back to her.²²⁴

An important and lifelong friendship with Vere Pilkington (1905-1983) began in this post-war period, quite apart from any family connections to the Pilkingtons built upon by Maud. As director of Sotheby's (1927-58) Pilkington had frequent professional interactions with Russell, who had begun making regular visits to the auction house in order to peruse available keyboard instruments.²²⁵ Pilkington had long been a harpsichord enthusiast and had studied with Woodhouse.²²⁶ His interest in harpsichords was similarly broad to Russell's: not only was he engaged in playing and performing on them, as described by Swainson, but he was also interested

²²⁰ Swainson, 1945, 79.

²²¹ Swainson, November 1949, 91.

²²² Swainson. November 1949, 91.

²²³ Swainson, 94.

²²⁴ Appendix E, March 1923, Easter 1952.

²²⁵ James Lees-Milne, Diaries, 1942-54 fn. 78, 1948; Maud Russell, Diary, Book X, December 6, 1949, 5; April 24, 1950, 46. Russell had a large selection of catalogues from auctions that he attended. Auction catalogues, 4359R17-4359R39, Box S27, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²²⁶ Douglas-Home, *Violet*, 190.

in their history and appropriate materials to make historically based copies, seeking out interesting exemplars to add to his own collection, which he wrote to Russell about.

As you know, partly due to you, I have 3 of the best harpsichords in the world and three of the best clavichords (preserved by infra-red thermostatic heating!) I am trying to get them all back to normal, after so many months of disuse and what-not. [...] But I have almost finished doing up from scratch the best harpsichord in the World. O.K. You don't believe me; but it happens to be a Ruckers 1636, done over by Taskin in 1783 for the Queen of Piedmont (it even has a Loud Pedal!), and hasn't been spoiled by anyone else since 1790. It belongs to a friend of mine, and anyhow is in a staggering Louis XVI lacquered case! Never mind about all that: but it has now probably the best sound of any harpsichord in the world (too tiresome, no 16 foot, but the Bass is quite good enough without!) [...] Before I make any harpsichords, copying my Best: I want to know about the Woods, the metal of strings, and why all plastics have failed so far. O.K. You know! Come and tell me.²²⁷

This extract gives an interesting insight into the types of technologies, including developments in plastics, that Russell and his contemporaries had been experimenting with to preserve and restore historical keyboard instruments. It expresses the levels to which Russell and Pilkington took their interest: the type of heating to maintain the instruments and the most suitable materials for making and restoring them. Pilkington, who was based in Portugal at this point, had been given permission to make copies of the Taskin instrument he mentioned, in a later letter exclaiming that "one might end by producing the first reliable modern instrument! especially with plastics and the new metal alloys for the wires."²²⁸ It is worth noting that from Pilkington's point of view at least, their experiments were directed at producing "reliable modern instruments."

There were further strands to Russell and Pilkington's friendship: Pilkington was accepting of queer sexualities, and had separate links to the Russell family. In the 1920s he kept a harpsichord in the rooms he shared at Oxford with the composer Lennox Berkeley.²²⁹ He was a close friend of Berkeley's and rumoured to be more than that whilst they were room-mates together.²³⁰ Berkeley's homosexuality is better attested to but both men ultimately married and led outwardly

²²⁷ Vere Pilkington to Raymond Russell, March 11, 1962, 4357R043, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²²⁸ Pilkington to Russell, January 31, 1963, 4357R043, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²²⁹ Which inspired Berkeley to write three works for harpsichord: Mr Pilkington's Toy (1926), For Vere (1927) and a five movement Suite (1930). Peter Dickinson, *The Music of Lennox Berkeley* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), 8.

²³⁰ Julian Berkeley and Tony Scotland, conversation with the author, October 2016.

heteronormative lives.²³¹ Berkeley was also an acquaintance of Maud's, visiting Mottisfont on more than one occasion.²³² Maud, in her motherly angst to help her son's progress, consulted other contemporary players for advice. Sackville-West, as we have seen in Maud's diary entries, was someone that she consulted for feedback after concerts, but in 1950 she too made the acquaintance of Pilkington. They conferred together about Russell's playing on more than one occasion. They first met in March 1950, not long after Russell's Chelsea Town Hall recital:

Thursday. Met Vere Pilkington a harpsichordist. Nice. Talked of Raymond. Saw he thinks Ray[mond] needs a teacher, and that he realises what a difficult person he is to help, alas.²³³

Later that year, in analysing the November Wigmore Hall recital together, it is her perception that Pilkington is sympathetic to Russell's "difficulties" that helps fill out the picture of Pilkington as an affirmative figure for Russell.

Vere P[ilkington]. Is a very nice very kind man. He told me Ray[mond] had rung him and asked to discuss his concert with him. And they had gone through the music actually bar by bar. "I thought it the best way" said VP. He is very interested in Ray[mond]'s progress and also, I think, concerned at what he guesses are difficulties, complications in Ray[mond]'s character. I told him they are gradually being smoothed out but I didn't say that I am still anxious myself. And probably always shall be.²³⁴

Not only does this indicate to what extent Russell turned to Pilkington for advice but, also hints that Pilkington is sensitive to Russell's queerness. Such relationships, that combined a mutual understanding of each other's sexuality with an interest in keyboard instruments, offered Russell a certain sense of security. The interconnected nature of all these relationships eloquently demonstrates the musical network that Russell, and to some degree his mother, was part of.

A further friendship, in connection to Pilkington and Russell, is that with harpsichordist Geraint Jones (1917-1998) and his wife, the violinist "Winnie" [Winifred] Roberts (1923-2012).²³⁵ The surviving correspondence between them dates from the later 1950s and early 1960s but suggests

²³¹ Tony Scotland, *Lennox & Freda* (London: Michael Russell, 2010).

²³² Maud Russell, Nov 16, 1942, Diary, Book V, 52; March 10, 1957, Diary, Book XIII, 10; and he features in the Russell family albums, National Trust, Mottisfont.

²³³ Maud Russell, March 11, 1950, Diary, Book IX, 149.

²³⁴ Maud Russell, December 7, 1950, Diary, Book X, 5-6.

²³⁵ Tim Bullamore, "Obituary: Geraint Jones," *The Independent*, accessed 9 July 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-geraint-jones-1163755.html>; "Winifred Roberts," *The Daily Telegraph*, 26 September 2012, Gale Primary Sources, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/QFNKOI462006424/GDCS?u=unison&sid=zotero&xid=abd3f3c4>.

a close and well-established friendship between them all. It was Winnie who informed Russell of the tragic car accident the Pilkingtons suffered in Spain, that left Pilkington a widower.²³⁶

Of particular interest in terms of the harpsichord scene is the way in which Russell apparently helped to elevate Jones's performing career in the face of debt and "a bad patch".²³⁷ A letter from Winnie's refers to Russell offering to help Jones "rise from the ashes of the Festival Hall concert."²³⁸ It may be that this comment refers to an underwhelming reaction to Jones' Festival Hall organ recital, seen in particular in one review published in May 1955.²³⁹ Jones had produced a series of twelve recitals that year entitled "The Genius of Bach" some of which had received glowing reviews. The general perception of his playing, though, was that it lacked "emotional content", and this particular review of the final recital of the series stated, "As a player, Mr Jones has a clean technique and an austere taste; his playing of the big Prelude in E flat could only be described as antiseptic."²⁴⁰ These criticisms were not dissimilar to those targeted at Russell's own playing, and are of a kind directed at all early music performance of the post-war early music movement by critics attached to Romantic playing traditions. Russell's theories about technique and interpretation were aligned with those of Jones', so he offered financial support throughout a series of concerts at the Victoria and Albert Museum that raised Jones' profile with recording companies and boosted his confidence.²⁴¹

Russell's network of keyboard contemporaries spanned the globe. Amongst all Russell's close keyboard friends, the American scholar and harpsichordist Ralph Kirkpatrick (1911-1984) was one of his closest and most high profile, at least in terms of his international musical and scholarly reputation. Their surviving correspondence starts in 1952 and suggests they were on close terms, often travelling together for holidays and visiting instruments, sharing many ideas and thoughts about instruments, collections, string and plectra materials and friends in common.²⁴² Kirkpatrick, Pilkington and the Jones's were mutual friends, making stop-overs at each-others residences

²³⁶ Winnie Jones to Russell, letter, July 26th 1961, 4357R042, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²³⁷ Winnie Jones to Russell, letter, July 30th 1958, 4357R042, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ "Aspects Of Bach's Genius," *Times*, May 30, 1955, 3, *The Times Digital Archive* (accessed June 27, 2020), <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS52253886/GDCS?u=unison&sid=GDCS&xid=f935e569>.

²⁴⁰ Bullamore, "Obituary;" "Aspects Of Bach's Genius," *Times*, May 30, 1955.

²⁴¹ Geraint Jones to Russell, letter, July 31st 1958, 4357R042, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²⁴² Ralph Kirkpatrick to Russell, 10 letters, 1956-1962, 4357R044, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. Russell refers to being with Kirkpatrick in Dublin in 1955 in the introduction to his book. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 7. Russell and Kirkpatrick sent a joint postcard to E.J. Dent from Mallorca. Russell and Kirkpatrick to Dent, September 2, 1952, EJD-4-342, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge.

amidst their travels.²⁴³ Kirkpatrick was already a well-established figure in the inter-continental keyboard scene by the time their surviving correspondence began, and it appears that their friendship was already well-fledged. It was Kirkpatrick's encouragement and advice that saw Russell through some challenging periods in the writing of his book.²⁴⁴

Russell's circle esteemed Kirkpatrick and American makers and restorers above those from the British scene. Russell respected Kirkpatrick's knowledge, playing and teaching skills beyond any other, later recommending him as his first choice for the person to oversee the teaching associated with the donation of his keyboard collection to the University of Edinburgh.²⁴⁵ In fact, others in Russell's community extolled Kirkpatrick's playing over the established English players such as Dart and Malcolm. Violet "May" Crawley (1874-1952), who owned an historical instrument prized by many including Pilkington, Kirkpatrick and Russell, stated that she would rather have Kirkpatrick record on her instrument than anyone else.²⁴⁶ This comment, amongst others made in Russell's correspondence, suggests an anti-English establishment, pro-American mentality amongst Russell's network. Pilkington expressed it most strongly in a letter recommending that Russell donate his final collection to Yale, "since [...] Ralph [Kirkpatrick is] in a strong position there", and the instruments "would be much better looked after" in America.²⁴⁷ It is the way he rounded off his letter that is most indicative of an grievance over the playing of well-established British specialists, "Anyhow what with [George] Malcolm on the Harpsichord and Bob Dart on the Clavichord, one couldn't leave playable instruments in England, could one?" This comment gives the distinct impression that the playing techniques of these two dominant figures in the British scene were felt to be too "heavy" and potentially damaging to fragile historical instruments. How far this opinion persisted amongst Russell's circle is difficult to pin-down but, when taken into account with Russell's own suggestions about playing technique outlined above, and the indications he gave that some contemporary players ignored "the old masters'" suggestions for a "light touch", would imply that, within the Russell network, the playing of Dart and Malcolm was not up to their own set of standards. Whether any threat to Russell's position by these individuals was felt more keenly whilst he tried to pursue a performing career until 1953,

²⁴³ Kirkpatrick to Russell, letters, Feb 25, 1959; May 12, 1962, 4357R044, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²⁴⁴ Ralph Kirkpatrick to Russell, October 23, 1956, 4357R044, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh; Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 7.

²⁴⁵ Russell to Sidney Newman, December 24, 1959, 4355R059, Box L 26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²⁴⁶ Kirkpatrick to Russell, letter, July 13, 1959, 4357R043; May Crawley to Russell, letter, February 27th (possibly 1959), 4357R041, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

²⁴⁷ Pilkington to Russell, letter, October 6, 1959, 4357R043, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

is a possibility; by the time of the publication of his book in 1959 Russell and Dart at least seemed to have acquired a certain level of mutual respect.²⁴⁸

Tom Goff and Russell, on the other hand, struggled to maintain friendly relations; one lengthy argument of theirs, surrounding the Queen's Harpsichord, is examined closely in "The Queen's Ruckers Ruckus," Chapter 5. Goff had become established as an important maker of harpsichords and clavichords after the war.²⁴⁹ He had been a friend of Maud and Gilbert Russell in the 1920s, and Maud had reconnected with him in 1947.²⁵⁰ Maud quickly became aware of his instruments, having admired Lady Mary Baring's Goff clavichord at a private concert in 1948 and they became part of her own musical scene in the 1960s.²⁵¹ Although her knowledge of the long-running quarrel between Goff and Russell may have coloured her opinions of his instruments in the 1950s she later turned to Goff for recommendations about the care of Russell's instruments after his death, and they became firm friends again.²⁵² Goff was a very present figure in the English keyboard scene, attending many of the same events as Russell, and they were both on the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee.²⁵³ Goff's cachet within the scene was aided by his regular "Jamboree" concerts, held in the Royal Festival Hall.²⁵⁴ These concerts, with the orchestra conducted by none other than Boris Ord, would feature three or four Goff made harpsichords.²⁵⁵ They began in 1952, occurring yearly, and always had Dart and Malcolm appearing on the harpsichords, with an assortment of other harpsichordists making up the rest of the performers over the years.²⁵⁶ They became popular and well-thought of events and helped establish Goff and his instruments as a firm fixture of the British scene. Similarly to Russell, Goff too remained a bachelor, sharing his Pont Street home with his mother and later just his butler for many years.²⁵⁷ Suggestions of his homosexuality are hearsay, but between the three men, Dart and Malcolm – both of whom's homosexuality was kept private – the possibility of a link provided by a shared sexuality is worth considering.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 5.

²⁴⁹ Zuckermann, *The Modern Harpsichord*, 124, 125.

²⁵⁰ Maud Russell, December 20, 1947, Diary, Book VIII, 106.

²⁵¹ Maud Russell, March 12, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 132; February 16, 1961, Diary, Book XV, 161.

²⁵² Russell "is engaged in a quarrel with Tom Goff and talks of solicitors letters." Maud Russell, November 13, 1957, Diary, Book XVIII, 68. Tom came to tune and play Russell's harpsichords at Mottisfont, after his death. Maud Russell, May 22, 1966, Diary, Book XVIII, 16.

²⁵³ See Chapter 5.

²⁵⁴ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 102-103.

²⁵⁵ "London Symphony Orchestra," *Times*, May 19, 1953, 10, *The Times Digital Archive* (accessed June 28, 2020), <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS168644787/GDCS?u=unison&sid=GDCS&xid=60800716>.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*; Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 103.

²⁵⁷ Lorna Arnold, *My Short Century*, 119.

²⁵⁸ For reference to Dart's "obscure homosexuality" as opposed to Dent's. See Phillip Brett, "Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent, in *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future: Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*

In fact, almost every single keyboard specialist or enthusiast mentioned in this chapter, bar Geraint Jones and Dolmetsch, have been associated with queer sexualities in some way: the living arrangements and relationships of Dent, Sackville-West, and Woodhouse are the best attested to within the literature.²⁵⁹ Swainson mentioned being “in love” with a man early in her memoirs, but spent the rest of her life living with other women.²⁶⁰ Whether this was an additional connecting factor for Russell or not, as he shifted his focus from public performance to private organological study his network of keyboard specialists provided advice, support, encouragement and influence that were essential to his developing career.

Russell’s use of these interconnected networks can be viewed as part of a careful process to safely construct a presentable identity that would suit his class and ambitions. His wealth and skills positioned him outside the academic and collegiate musician spheres that individuals such as Dart, Dent and Ord inhabited. Despite his financial security, the other pressures placed on him as a professional performer proved too difficult for Russell to process, leaving that avenue closed to him too. He was not content, though, to be viewed as a Gentleman Amateur, in the late nineteenth-century sense of the phrase.²⁶¹ He was far better positioned to deal with the pressures of a collecting career and developed a network accordingly.

(Oxford University Press, 2000), 426. Goff was rumoured to be in relationship with his butler, known as “Pink”. “Interview - John Rawson,” Radio New Zealand, 28 October 2016, <https://www.radionz.co.nz/concert/programmes/sundayfeature/audio/201821636/interview-john-rawson>. George Malcolm’s homosexuality was also a very private matter. “Obituary: George Malcolm,” *The Independent*, 14 October 1997, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/obituary-george-malcolm-1235845.html>.

²⁵⁹ Nino Strachey, *Rooms of Their Own* (Pavilion Books, 2018), chapt.1, Eddy Sackville-West, Knole, 1926; Douglas-Home, *Violet*; Phillip Brett, “Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent,” in *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, 177-188.

²⁶⁰ Swainson, 12.

²⁶¹ In reference to the OED definitions of amateur 1 and 2a, Russell certainly cultivated his love of keyboard instruments, and did not need to earn from this, but the cultivation was more than simply a pastime. The financial implications of his work were an important factor for him, as shall be demonstrated more fully in the next chapter. “Amateur, n.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 9 September 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6041>. See the OED definition of a gentleman, 4a. “Gentleman, n.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 9 September 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77673>. Duncan Stone, ‘Deconstructing the Gentleman Amateur (Article Version)’, *Cultural and Social History*, accessed 9 September 2020, https://www.academia.edu/34556804/Deconstructing_the_Gentleman_Amateur_article_version_.

Chapter 4 Collecting

The occasional purchase of a special instrument here and there [...] gradually resulted in my possession of a large armamentarium[sic] in this field, demonstrating every national school, style, and period, better [...] than does any other such collection in the world.

Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), 9.

Adopting the cultivated modesty of the gentleman scholar, Russell implies in this quote a gradual, even accidental, acquisition process rather than a driven and goal-oriented period of collecting. His reference to his own notions of how the resulting collection is structured, however, provides a rationale behind that collection that suggests a finely tuned selection process, encapsulating in one sentence the changing nature of Russell's collecting. This quote demonstrates eloquently Russell's self-awareness of that changing collecting process. Defining changes in Russell's selection process will help to construct the different phases of his collecting career.

The phenomenon of collecting goes back centuries and there is a great deal of literature associated with the history of this practice.¹ The parameters of the terminology used to describe the act of "collecting," what constitutes a "collection" and who defines someone as a "collector," are broad and difficult to define. In *On Collecting* Pearce discusses these definitions and their history, and the significance to our understanding of history that collecting represents at length. Significantly, she highlights the importance of investigating collecting processes as a contributing element to our understanding of collections. Despite this, the study of collecting processes is still young and, when considering collections of musical instruments, in its infancy. For the purposes of this thesis, Pearce's statement that "the selection process clearly lies at the heart of collecting" will underline the methods used to analyse Russell's collecting.

In terms of the revival of early music, collections of instruments were vital to the exponential blossoming of interest in this area and the developing perspectives on performance practice. Nick Wilson highlights the importance of instrument collections to performers and makers, listing a considerable number of those available privately and publicly to both types of 'consumer' in

¹ See Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*; Pearce, *On Collecting*; Frances Larson, *An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Britain in the twentieth-century.² Studying the formation of such collections and the people undertaking the collecting informs us on many levels. It helps to expand the story of the revival itself; to historicise the changing perspectives surrounding authenticity; and, exploring the social history of a collection, contextualises it within broader twentieth-century movements. Russell's collection is not mentioned in Wilson by name, but the multiple collections at St Cecilia's Hall are. In order to establish the importance and impact of Russell's collecting, it is necessary to situate it within a timeline of keyboard instrument collecting. Studying Russell's collection held by the University of Edinburgh involves highlighting his instruments amidst those of other collectors, whose collections arose before and since his own. Therefore, to gain an understanding of his collecting process involves studying it within a wider history of keyboard collecting that is as yet little known.

4.1 The Final Quarter of the Nineteenth-Century and the Great Exhibitions

To situate the work of keyboard collectors of the British twentieth-century Early Music movement, knowledge of significant musical activities occurring within the closing decades of the nineteenth-century is paramount.³ Far from being "The Land Without Music", a plethora of studies describe musical life in nineteenth-century Britain as abundant for both the casual listener, the amateur and the professional musician; societies large and small, church music, domestic music-making, festivals and an "explosion" of London orchestral culture at the turn-of-the-century, all served to provide a colourful musical scene.⁴

A significant feature amidst the musical landscape, its foundation often attributed to the nation-building movement of the English Musical Renaissance, was the founding of the Royal College of Music.⁵ This institution "emerged from the economic success and the liberal-minded philosophy underpinning the 1851 Great Exhibition", with the purpose of training up "British talent,

² Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 106-107.

³ Haskell covers nineteenth century musical activities related to earlier repertoires extensively in "The Musical Pompeii" and dedicates an entire chapter "The Apostle of Retrogression" to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century development of interest in Britain, which includes the Great Exhibitions in Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, chaps. 1-2.

⁴ Bennett Zon, *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 1, 5. For an examination of the blossoming of musical festivals and large scale Handel oratorio performances see Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914* (Farnham, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), chap. 16.

⁵ David C. H. Wright, *The Royal College of Music and Its Contexts: An Artistic and Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), Introduction.

regardless of class or position in society.”⁶ In contrast to its success in showcasing British manufacturing, the Great Exhibition emphasised Britain’s apparent weakness in the arts, particularly in music. This lack, noted with concern by Prince Albert and Henry Cole, “the administrative force behind the Great Exhibition,” generated the forces that ultimately succeeded in establishing the college in ‘Albertopolis,’ South Kensington, London.⁷ Despite beginning under the auspices of accessibility to talented musicians from all walks of life, by the time of its opening in 1883 it was being portrayed in the press as “a plaything of the aristocracy.”⁸ Its successful funding and establishment certainly relied on the great and the good of British high-society, and it attracted a significant proportion of fee-paying students from the middle-classes who saw their musical education there as a good investment.⁹ Whatever the political undercurrents and the RCM’s societal status, its existence and survival in London alongside the Royal Academy of Music attests to the strength of musical culture within British society at the end of the nineteenth-century, and the heightened levels of interest generated by the Great Exhibitions.

The 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nation in London sought to demonstrate the culmination of technological advancements in manufacturing and industry. According to Flora Willson, the many musical instruments on display were present “as representative works of industry” as opposed to being “musical masterpieces.”¹⁰ Developments in keyboard instruments, specifically pianos and organs, were advertised by exhibits from manufacturers such as Broadwood, Gray & Davison and Willis, among others.¹¹ Of particular importance was an emphasis on the affordability of their products by some of the piano manufacturers.¹² The advances in technology and instrument availability aggrandised by the Exhibitions and exemplified by the new developments in piano technology exhibited in 1851 was reflected in a new drive to improve professional performance training espoused by the Royal College.¹³ A musician’s training must encompass these new advances for musicians to fully master their instruments. This held

⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁷ Ibid, 2, 4

⁸ Ibid, 9.

⁹ Ibid, 60.

¹⁰ Flora Willson, “Hearing Things: Musical Objects at the 1851 Great Exhibition,” in *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), accessed 12 July 2021, <https://www.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.7208/chicago/9780226402109.001.0001/upso-9780226402079-chapter-010>.

¹¹ Peter & Ann Mactaggart, ed., *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition* (Welwyn, Herts: Mac & Me Ltd, 1986).

¹² Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (London: Dent, 1976), 10, 39-41;

¹³ Rosamond E. M. Harding, *The Piano-Forte* (CUP Archive, 1933), 164, 199, 208, 236, 266, 305; David Wright, “The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130, no. 2 (2005): 236–82.

implications for older repertoires and the instruments used to perform them. The musical ‘Establishment’ was in a state of flux and ripe for disruption from powerful quarters of society.

In *The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord* Edmond Johnson stresses the importance of the Great Exhibitions in stimulating interest in historical musical instruments, particularly keyboard instruments.¹⁴ Beginning with the Special Exhibition of Ancient Musical Instruments, in London 1872, he explains how the “situation began to change around the last quarter of the century with the advent of a series of high-profile exhibitions that presented historical musical instruments, typically on loan from both public and private collections” and lists some of those events from 1872 to 1904 in Europe.¹⁵ The 1851 exhibition mentioned above focussed on active musical instrument makers, rather than historical ones, and relied on the manufacturers themselves for musical demonstrations.¹⁶ As Johnson and others detail, many of the post 1872 exhibitions however, such as the 1889 Exposition Universelle Internationale in Paris and the 1890 Edinburgh exhibition, featured collections of historical musical instruments amidst larger expositions with a few dedicated solely to musical instruments.¹⁷ Fauser highlights how placing historical instruments in the same exhibition as their modern counterparts was a deliberate act of “musical archaeology,” attempting to demonstrate the progress achieved by contemporary manufacturers.¹⁸ In dealing with the historical examples these exhibitions “privileged the historical over the musical” and the instruments were presented as items for display and study.¹⁹ At both Edinburgh and Paris, recitals were a dominant feature of the musical programme and, in particular in Paris, historical repertoire played a role.²⁰ In general though, these recitals rarely featured music performed on old instruments. With one important exception – which will be addressed shortly – the historical examples exhibited remained silent.²¹

¹⁴ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 190-195; Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 190.

¹⁵ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 192. Johnson’s list of exhibitions that had musical instruments on display is incomplete. For instance he does not list the 1890 Edinburgh exhibition. Jenny Nex, “Edinburgh’s last International Exhibition and its Music” in *Music and the Second Industrial Revolution: 2 (Music, Science and Technology)*, edited by Massimiliano Sala (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2019), 3-28.

¹⁶ Willson concludes that the lack of detail surrounding musical demonstrations in the minutes of the organisers suggests that, apart from the music in the opening ceremony, musical performance was not part of their agenda. However it is clear that the instruments exhibited were often played. Willson, *Hearing Things*, 9-10.

¹⁷ Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World’s Fair* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 27-32; Nex, “Edinburgh’s last International Exhibition and its Music,” 13-14; Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 191-192.

¹⁸ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 27-28.

¹⁹ Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 193.

²⁰ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 30; Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 191-193; Nex, “Edinburgh’s last International Exhibition and its Music,” 16-17.

²¹ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 30.

The 1889 Paris Exposition and, in Britain, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1896 hold special positions in the story of, and literature surrounding, the revival of harpsichord making.²² It was the 1896 Exhibition for which William Morris persuaded Arnold Dolmetsch to make his first, now famous Green Harpsichord.²³ And in France it was at the Exposition Universelle that three “modern” harpsichords were featured by contemporary instrument makers: Louis Tomasini (no dates available) and the instrument manufacturing firms Érard and Pleyel.²⁴ All three instruments, although very different in their decoration and design, were ostensibly built after the same model – the 1769 Taskin harpsichord that had been restored by Tomasini in 1882, later owned by Russell and now on display at St Cecilia’s Hall.²⁵ These names and instruments, and the man who performed on them at the exhibition, Louis Diémer (1843-1919), are consequential to the revival and to Russell’s collecting habits, as we will see.²⁶ Notably, it was Diémer who performed on the 1769 Taskin with other “authentic instruments” (copies of a viola da gamba, a viola d’amore and a quinton) in two concerts of French music performed during this Exposition.²⁷ These concerts were lauded in the French press for using old instruments to interpret the Baroque French repertoire performed, and it was the harpsichord, “this precious relic,” that particularly caught the attention of the critics and audience.²⁸

In Britain and France, the visibility of historical instruments at the exhibitions – in particular keyboard instruments – sometimes juxtaposed with their modern examples, served to heighten awareness of their special nature in a period of increased historicism. These exhibitions were a chief point of access for the public to engage with old instruments and, in many cases, this was done amidst a musical environment otherwise dominated by pianos.²⁹ These pianos, however, were not of a standardised form or look, with many different shapes (based on the grand, square, or upright structure) and sometimes highly decorative exteriors.³⁰ The visuality of the harpsichord, therefore, was not necessarily out of the ordinary, but its sound and the antiquity of the old examples marked the instrument out. With the increasing availability and affordability of pianos, the appeal of harpsichords, both in their historical form and as a new tool to interpret old

²² Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 409-414; Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 205-207; Edmond Johnson, “Arnold Dolmetsch’s ‘Green Harpsichord’ and the Musical Arts and Crafts,” *Keyboard Perspectives* 10 (2017): 145–67, https://works.bepress.com/edmond_johnson/14/.

²³ Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 16; “Arnold Dolmetsch’s ‘Green Harpsichord’”.

²⁴ Kottick and Johnson describe the three instruments in detail. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 407, 409-414; Johnson, “The Death and Second Life,” 206-207.

²⁵ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 412.

²⁶ *Ibid*; Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World’s Fair*, 27-32.

²⁷ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 31 and footnote 60.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 31-33.

²⁹ Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 25; Nex, “Edinburgh’s last International Exhibition and its Music,” 10; Mactaggart, *Musical Instruments*, 3.

³⁰ Mactaggart, *Musical Instruments*, 15-44, Plates 1-9.

music, appeared as something exclusive and modern whilst maintaining an essence of the past.³¹ Importantly, Johnson and Nex answer a fundamental question for the basis of this thesis, stating that public and private collections were the main source for the old instruments on display at such exhibitions.³² Not only does this confirm that collecting old musical instruments was already an activity that had gained traction in the nineteenth-century, but acquainting the public with collections of musical instruments in this way served also to enhance the image of collectors and collecting, and the items they collected. Whether the presence of old keyboard instruments at such exhibitions was a sign of their popularity or something that sparked their popularity is a question for another study. Nevertheless, harpsichords had caught the public's attention and the exhibitions helped to attract further focus on them.

4.2 “Choice pieces” – Defining Difference Through a Collection

This chapter sets out to define what Russell's collection was and how and when it 'became,' by defining the different phases evident in Russell's collecting and the reasons behind the change in process. It will describe the underlying agendas at play, the events that precipitated Russell's change in tack, and the contributing factors of provenance, means of acquisition, and value (including financial, musical and historical value).

Analysis of thematic strands running through all of Russell's collecting, and where his habits depart from or adhere to other collecting norms will help to situate his collecting within a broader scene.

Collecting was a fundamental aspect of Russell's life from youth to adulthood. Chapter 2 has demonstrated the familial trends towards collecting art and artefacts of status; influences that surrounded him as a child. His mother formed an important collection of modern French art and, as a young man, his brother Martin began to collect Sri Lankan paintings, in particular works by the artist George Keyt.³³ In both examples the collecting process was not “just” about possessing works of art, but came from a deeper level of interest in the artists and their work. An example of this is Martin's passionate advocacy of Sri Lankan artists, and the publication of his own book -

³¹ Fauser points out the fashion for and importance of evoking the past to emphasise current progress. Fauser, *Musical Encounters*, 28-29.

³² Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 190; Nex, “Edinburgh's last International Exhibition and its Music,” 11, 14.

³³ Russell, *A Constant Heart*, 14, 27; “Martin Russell,” *Telegraph.Co.Uk*, 02:11, sec. obituaries, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1456344/Martin-Russell.html>.

The Art of George Keyt (published by Marg, 1950, in Bombay).³⁴ As we saw in Chapter 2 Maud both commissioned and befriended artists and fully researched her commissioning activities.

Russell's collecting activities began when he was young. As a child he collected stamps, amassing "a collection of such renown" that he was invited to give a talk to the National Philatelic Society.³⁵ They were, apparently, very surprised when a boy in shorts turned up to speak. As a young adult Russell actively assimilated or "collected" information about organs. He visited Parish Churches and Cathedrals up and down the country to view and try out their organs, showing a fascination with the instrument that led towards his early archival research and publications described in Chapter 2. As we have seen, that fascination was a precursor and initiator for his interest in plucked string keyboard instruments, an interest that also emerged at a relatively young age. The obsession for detail that is present in Russell's youthful publications about organs could be read as a predisposition towards collecting.³⁶

Current available evidence indicates Russell's first early keyboard instrument purchase was the Grunert Clavichord purchased in Gloucester in 1940.³⁷ Although the opening statement to this chapter suggests 1939 for the timing of his first "special instrument" purchase, surviving documents point to the Grunert as the first purchase. Even keyboard connoisseurs are unlikely to have come across instruments by this particular maker, and many will know that this instrument does not appear in the final Collection at Edinburgh. But, as Pearce states, "Collections are reworked according to the structuring notions of the individual collector," and for Russell, a teenager at this point, acquiring keyboard instruments had not yet turned into "collecting" them.³⁸

It is worth pausing here to clarify my use of the terms 'collection', 'collecting' and 'collector', for this chapter. Pearce outlines a number of historical definitions for what constitutes a collection, and the inherent issues with laying down such parameters.³⁹ "Choice pieces", part of the title of her section on the subject, is an easy to understand and concise phrase to describe "the gathering together of chosen objects for purposes regarded as special."⁴⁰ That is a process easily ascribable to Russell's actions throughout the lifetime of his instrument acquisition. I have so far avoided

³⁴ Ibid, "Martin Russell."

³⁵ There are two versions of this anecdote, both originate from Sir Humphrey Wakefield. Marilyn Mountford, "Raymond Russell" in *Behind Closed Doors*; Susanna Austin, email to author, February 1, 2016.

³⁶ Russell, "The Organs at Wells Cathedral," *The Organ*, No. 79, Vol. XX (January 1941): 89-96; "The Organs of Christ Church, Spitalfields," *The Organ*, No. 75, Vol. XIX (January 1940): 113-117.

³⁷ See "First Acquisition" in Chapter 2.

³⁸ Pearce, *On Collecting*, 23.

³⁹ Pearce, "What is a Collection? Choice Pieces," in *On Collecting*, 20-33.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 20 and Preface, VII.

Chapter 4

labelling Russell's actions, up until 1953, as collecting, partly in respect of Russell's own self-identification, instead referring to his work as a process of acquisition and experimentation.⁴¹

Russell did not label himself as a collector until the early 1950s, and even then, this was only self-imposed in hindsight. This personal rebranding of his actions appeared at a turning point in his engagement with keyboard instruments in 1953. For the purposes of this thesis therefore, Russell's conscious collecting phase began in 1953. That is not to say that he wasn't collecting before, and that other people weren't already labelling his acquisitions as a collection, but in order to define the two different phases, I will continue to refer to his gathering of instruments before 1953 by using verbs such as to acquire, gather, or purchase. Thus Russell's collecting can be divided into two phases, the first of which has already been outlined in Chapter 2. This chapter will interrogate that initial process more carefully, examining the underlying motivations behind his acquisitions, before closely examining the active phase from 1953 that covers the variety of means he used to create and shape his collection.

Russell understood the "special" nature of the keyboard instruments he chose to engage with from his first introduction to them. His early encounters with them via the playing of Violet Gordon Woodhouse and Wanda Landowska highlighted an alternative means of engaging with music that could incorporate his historical and musical interests. That these individuals also led non-heteronormative life styles may not have been immediately apparent to the young Russell but their flamboyant appearances and performance style in interpreting old music attracted him.⁴² Examining the roots of the object choice of a collector's focus is a key factor in understanding their methods and agendas. Jean Baudrillard relates the underlying impetus behind the collecting process to sexuality and control; he suggests "that the activity of collecting may be seen as a powerful mechanism of compensation during critical phases in a person's sexual development."⁴³ For Baudrillard, these phases happen most commonly in pre-pubescent children and men over forty. We have seen that Russell's childhood collecting tendency emerged via stamp collecting, but his interest in historical keyboard instruments appeared during his late teens, during a period of upheaval and uncertainty about his future. As previously demonstrated, Russell's interest in these instruments had since developed within an academic scene of revival, a scene within which he also found queer allies.⁴⁴ Through his association with other queer

⁴¹ Gathering is another useful verb to describe Russell's actions prior to 1953.

⁴² Douglas-Home, *Violet*; Claude Summers, *The Queer Encyclopedia of Music, Dance, and Musical Theatre* (San Francisco: Cleis Press Start, 2012), 153.

⁴³ Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *Cultures of Collecting*, ed. Roger Cardinal, (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 9.

⁴⁴ See "Cambridge," Chapter 3.

individuals who shared his intense interest in historical keyboard instruments Russell found a safe environment in which expressing his ‘difference’ from the societal expectations of heteronormativity was not a concern. As his mother had perceived, his collecting of keyboard instruments could be seen as a “protective” act to control his world.⁴⁵

At Cambridge, the prevalent models of existence for a queer musician were demonstrated by Ord and Dent. The church organist, Boris Ord, who outwardly conformed to heteronormativity and kept his sexuality under-wraps, felt quickly unavailable to Russell through his failure to attain the expected standards for organists.⁴⁶ The Dent model, however – a successful gay man in the music and musicological world who offered introductions to a network of people who Russell felt an affinity with – was a far more attractive option, except that someone of Russell’s social class did not need to turn to academia for financial security. Dent’s own example of a keyboard collection and experience of experimentation with their uses and, through him, Russell’s acquaintance with other collectors of keyboard instruments initiated Russell’s own process of gathering historical keyboard instruments.

Russell’s ‘gathering’ quickly became a process of discernment; his selection of instruments to purchase and perform on was informed by an extra-curricular practice, overseen by Dent, rather than through his official academic studies. Dent offered introductions and access to instruments, libraries and archives that helped Russell further his keyboard practice.⁴⁷ An example of Russell’s selectiveness is also provided by Dent in a letter discussing the offer of his “so called clavichord,” thus labelled due to its recent conversion from a square piano.⁴⁸ Dent had a low opinion of the instrument and was dismissive of its use. It is unlikely that Russell ever took up the offer as the

⁴⁵ “The instruments are ranged around him, guarding him from the outer world.” Maud Russell, July 19, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 89. See the full quote towards the end of 3.4.

⁴⁶ Day, *I Saw Eternity the Other Night*, 150-151. Russell failed his “Royal College of Organists” exam and didn’t get an organ scholarship at a Cambridge college. See “Struggles With Authority” in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, footnote 172.

⁴⁷ For example the discussions of counterpoint and continuo studies mentioned in Chapter 3, and Russell’s visits to various libraries for research purposes. See “The Organ – A Historical Instrument” in Chapter 2, and the first half of Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ “Do you still want to have my so called ‘clavichord’? If so you are welcome to take it away when you like, but I would earnestly beg you not to spend any money on it, for it is not worth it. It was an experiment in conversion and not a success. I don’t think anything can be done with it. But it might amuse you to have it for a time, and perhaps teach yourself to tune it – and when you are tired of it ? Get it converted again into a writing table!” Dent to Russell, July 22, 1941, Dent EUL. The provenance of the instrument is unclear, there being two stories about who Dent acquired the instrument from. It was either inherited from the poet Charles Style (1864-1924), or acquired from a porter at King’s College. Whether Dent or the previous owner commissioned the conversion is also unclear but the work was possibly undertaken by Ingram of Cambridge. Karen Arrandale, email to author, March 30, 2016; Alec Cobbe and Christopher Nobbs, “Roberto Gerhard’s ‘Clavichord,’” in *Three Hundred Years of Composers’ Instruments* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2014), 86.

instrument was ultimately passed on to the Catalan composer Roberto Gerhard (1896-1970) in 1942.⁴⁹

Russell avoided collecting objects of the mundane, seeking to express his class, learning and difference through the objects with which he surrounded himself. His mother highlighted part of this approach when she described “the instruments arranged about him, guarding him from the outer world,” after the purchase of an “early virginal.”⁵⁰ In fact, throughout his collecting career he embarked on multiple areas of collecting, none of which encompassed commonly in use items. Whilst using such objects to project his socio-economic status, he maintained a position of difference from similarly privileged circles (such as that of his family), by becoming a specialist in areas that excluded those not “in the know.” His mother and brother both collected, but confined their collecting habits to works of art.⁵¹ The collections Russell spent most time cultivating – surgical instruments, medical books and harpsichords – had very particular uses within contexts that were already obsolete.

Pearce explains that one way in which items have arrived in a collection is that they have “been selected out and set apart from the ordinary consuming processes of life.”⁵² She uses the example of groups of objects on kitchen or bathroom shelves in comparison to those items selected to appear on a mantelpiece to demonstrate the existence of the difference in process by which these objects form a collection. Such items have undergone a selection process to achieve a certain special status, ascribed to them by their collector, as part of a collection. She states that this “quality of separateness” happens when such “objects taken from the profane” have been “wrenched out of their own contexts and become dead to their living time and space in order that they may be given immortality within the collection. They cease to be living goods working in the world.”⁵³ She highlights, as a “key characteristic of collections”, that these objects – through being collected – “have passed from the [...] secular world of mundane, ordinary commodity [...] to the sacred.”⁵⁴

It cannot be said of Russell that he was attempting to make sacred objects from the profane, in the way Pearce describes. His objects of focus were already “set apart” from the every-day by virtue of their antiquation, and their original specialist use. In fact, neither musical instruments

⁴⁹ Cobbe and Nobbs, “Roberto Gerhard’s ‘Clavichord.’”

⁵⁰ Maud Russell, August 9, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 93.

⁵¹ See note 33.

⁵² Pearce, *On Collecting*, 24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* This “set-apart”, “sacred” status was discussed in Russell W. Belk, “Possessions and the Extended Self,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 15, no. 2 (1 September 1988): 139–68, <https://doi.org/10.1086/209154..>

nor surgical instruments could ever be considered “commonly in use”; they have always been intended for use by people with specific skills and training. Yet both types of objects existed as tools for such specialists to use, and Russell’s initial acquisition process of musical instruments at least had begun as an acquisition of such tools for his own use. The prolonged existence of the historical examples that Russell collected had already taken these objects out of their original living contexts. They might temporarily have “cease[d] to be living goods” but the musical instruments had been given a new or “second life” by revivalists in a twentieth-century context.⁵⁵ Russell’s involvement with keyboard instruments as a performer had already exposed him to contemporary culture’s repurposing of them. His experience and links to the burgeoning scene of post-war keyboard specialists alerted him to an area of research and musical experimentation that sought direction. For Russell, and many others who had an interest in them, historical keyboard instruments already had a special status that separated them from other musical instruments (or tools), and part of the aim of working with and collecting them was to establish them more firmly within the public consciousness.

4.3 The Gentleman Polymath: Scholarship and Experimentation through Acquisition

Scholarship was at the heart of Russell’s collecting. Collecting as a means of scholarship is a phenomenon described by Larson in “An Infinity of Things”.⁵⁶ In this, we find the example of Henry Wellcome (1853-1936), a highly successful businessman who wished to be taken more seriously by academia, and who purchased items on his travels in order to inform his research. Wellcome used his wealth to access spheres he was otherwise not party to, particularly scientific and academic. There are many parallels with Russell. This section draws on Larson’s ideas to explore Russell’s initial acquisitions and early phase of collecting, and compares some of his practice to that of Wellcome.

Russell’s collecting and research habits were those of a polymath. He, like Wellcome, had the benefit of personal wealth in order to fund his methods. Alongside his historical keyboard instrument collection he amassed important collections of historical surgical instruments and medical books and, later in life, a valuable collection of historical Maltese coins.⁵⁷ Whether

⁵⁵ Johnson describes the life cycle of such historical instruments. Johnson, “The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord,” 180-181.

⁵⁶ Larson, *An Infinity of Things*, 31-32, 33-34.

⁵⁷ The Maltese coin collection and surgical instruments are mentioned by Maud a number of times in her diaries as she sorted out their dispersal after her son’s death. One example is here: Maud Russell, May 9, 1964, Diary, Book XVI, 234. The value of his books was judged double that of his musical instruments by

consciously or not, like Wellcome, Russell was not content to collect for the sake of collecting; with the exception of art, the objects he collected were always part of a broader set of activities that engaged him in acquiring in-depth knowledge on a subject area.⁵⁸ On moving to Dilke Street, London in 1949 Russell began collecting art.⁵⁹ With the example of his parents, and particularly his mother's prodigious art purchasing and commissioning, Russell assimilated the required acumen to appreciate, acquire and invest in art of cultural and monetary value.⁶⁰ His position as a connoisseur of art had been pre-established through his upbringing. For his other collecting areas however, he had first to become better informed. Examining the methods of Russell's scholarship helps to establish any behavioural patterns in the processes by which he chose to develop himself towards a position of connoisseurship in all areas of his collecting. This cross-disciplinary knowledge can inform our understanding of his engagement with keyboard instruments.

In a corresponding fashion to the emergence of his keyboard fascination, his initial interest with medicine, established during his military service, was as a subject to study in order to practice.⁶¹ He attended lectures, though it is not clear for how long, but he never qualified as a doctor. Instead, he turned his attention to objects used in the practice of medicine, and not contemporary practice, but historical practice. Two competing obituaries, almost trying to out-do each other with their personal knowledge of Russell's "many notable antiquarian interests" offer illuminating details about his polymathic life. Sir Russell Brock (1903-1980), in line with his profession and specific acquaintance with Russell, chose to emphasise his important collection of surgical instruments, particularly "some splendid seventeenth-century examples" and "two restored specimens of a seventeenth-century amputating knife and saw" which he had donated to the Royal College of Surgeons shortly before his death in 1964.⁶² A move to Malta in 1959,

Sotheby's in the administration of his estate. The books were valued at £20,815 a considerable sum then, worth £366,722.83 in 2017. Smiles (solicitor) to Mrs Gilbert Russell, June 11, 1964, Russell family papers.

⁵⁸ Sebastian Minton, "Reminiscences", 1996, trans. by John Raymond, EUCHMI.

⁵⁹ Russell acquired Dilke Street in 1949. Maud Russell, August 9, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 93.

⁶⁰ One notable acquisition was the large canvas of "The Flight into Egypt" by the influential artist John Martin (1789-1854), which Russell sold on some years later, having had it cleaned. An example of taste, wise choices, art purchase for investment and increasing the value of something. Minton.

⁶¹ Maud Russell, October 23, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 105.

⁶² The Royal College of Surgeons were presented with some of Russell's surgical instrument collection. "Mr. Raymond Russell," *The Times*, 24 April 1964, Gale Primary Sources, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS302737048/GDCS?u=unisoton&sid=zotero&xid=d2c289cb>. They also have his extensive notes on surgical instrument makers and his preparatory notes for a biography of Sir William Blizard (1743-1835), an important surgeon and founder of the Hunterian Society. MS0174, Royal College of Surgeons (RCS) Archives, London. In addition, a pamphlet and newspaper clipping referring to the "Operating Theatre at Old St Thomas's Hospital" detail the events surrounding Russell's discovery of the site of Britain's first operating theatre for women in 1956. Raymond Russell, *The Operating Theatre at Old St Thomas's Hospital*, Reprinted from Guy's Hospital Reports, Vol 106, No. 3, 1957, 4357R037, Archive Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. This discovery was seized upon by Sir Russell Brock, a pioneering heart surgeon and friend of Russell's, who gained funds and momentum for the

ostensibly to study the medieval fortifications on the island, resulted in a fine and valuable collection of Maltese coins, which were sold after his death for £8000.⁶³ These were collected, or possibly even found, whilst undertaking research on the Maltese fortifications. In both areas what remains of his notes, relating to his medical and Maltese fortification studies, indicate that he ultimately sought to publish books on both subjects.

Russell's musical instrument acquisitions outlined in the previous chapters were not part of a conscious collection-forming process, but were acquired from the perspective of a performer-scholar. Russell's intellect and attention to detail, set against his continual otherness from institutionalised academic and musical study, is also clear. Instead, Russell's desire to engage, fully-informed, with keyboard instruments was sustained through a self-imposed practice-led research that involved trying out a vast span of instruments from different workshops and periods. From very early in his performance career, if the instrument did not work well for him in the act of performance, he moved on to experiment with a different age or make of instrument.⁶⁴ As Russell's knowledge, technique and performance practice developed, so did the number and variety of instruments he had to hand. In a similar vein to his role-model Dent's practice-based musicological research, these instruments played the role of providing a means of scholarship through practice. In fact, Russell bears this out in his use of the term *armamentarium* to describe his collection of keyboard instruments; denoting the conception of his body of instruments as a resource, rather than "just" a collection.

The scholarship that Russell undertook, in relation to his instruments, adapted to the different phases of his career and collecting focus. The term scholarship, in this context, is applied to all learning processes undertaken by Russell surrounding his work with harpsichords, and includes that of playing the instruments. During his initial acquisition process between 1940 and 1942 and then post-war until circa 1950 that scholarship was directed at his performance activities on such instruments. Chapter 3 shows all those methods of scholarship, related to performance: the way Russell 'tested' many models available to him at Cambridge and afterwards (virginals, historical and revival harpsichords and his "clavichord"); his elimination process of instruments via performance; his experiments with repertoire; his surveying of the practice of other contemporary performers through listening to recordings and concerts; and a thorough

transformation of the site into a reconstructed theatre and museum, now known as The Old Operating Theatre. Russell's own description of his discovery emphasises the nature of his research which led to it, his interests lay both in the history of the architecture of the buildings and the history of surgery.

⁶³ Maud donated £200 worth of coins to the museum in Valetta, but Russell's main coin collection fetched nearly £8000 at auction. Maud Russell, December 5, 1957, Diary, Book XVIII, 171.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3.

Chapter 4

engagement with both primary and secondary sources related to technique. Undeniably, particularly during Russell's lifetime when instrument technicians were far less common, ownership of such instruments also entailed acquisition of at least some of the skills needed to maintain and tune them too. Russell acquired these skills to a high degree, and the necessary tools such as strings, spare jacks and a tuning key, for maintenance (See Figure 16).⁶⁵



Figure 16 Russell's attaché case. In the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh.

Using these skills, Russell's experiments extended further than performance technique and types of instrument. In the 1950s he and his contemporaries trialled different materials for the instruments' plectra: both historically used raven quills and modern replacements that the latest technology could provide.⁶⁶ See Figure 17 for a letter from the "Raven Master" at the Tower of London sent in 1955 with a consignment of raven feathers.⁶⁷ The tone and contents indicate that this was not the first or last consignment, which suggests Russell regularly used this source to replace the plectra on his instruments. Ability to make such adjustments and replacements

⁶⁵ Maud refers to Russell tuning his Dolmetsch harpsichord whilst at Mottisfont for Christmas in 1953. Maud Russell, December 25, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 121.

⁶⁶ Yeoman Quarter Master H.T. Johns to Russell, April 29, 1955, Maud Russell, scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

demonstrates that those skills had been learnt and refined by this later phase, rather than signifying a lack of skill in his earlier phase. In 1959 Kirkpatrick discussed the merits of one of the latest materials, DuPont, in comparison to that of leather, which was most commonly used for harpsichord plectra at that time.⁶⁸ He had recently tried Russell's "ex-Blanchet" harpsichord which had been "done up with quills by Dupont[sic]." Kirkpatrick was so impressed by the qualities of the DuPont plectra over leather that he suggested, half-jokingly, that Russell should take all his instruments "to the US to be done with Dupont[sic]." This evidence, falling as it does during Russell's concentrated collecting phase, contradicts the traditional collection model suggested by Higonnet.⁶⁹ Russell's continued focus on an instrument's playability confirms that, even whilst creating a collection, Russell still viewed his instruments as tools of use. The instruments had not been entirely abstracted from their original context on arrival in Russell's collection. His concern for how well they could function in use, and the best methods for their restoration, indicates an underlying agenda to his collecting.

⁶⁸ Kirkpatrick to Russell, January 22, 1959, 4357R044, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. The DuPont product Kirkpatrick referred to is now known as Delrin. DuPont trademarked Delrin acetal resin in 1960, having spent the 1950s developing this acetal homopolymer. Delrin has been used quite consistently in place of leather or quill plectra in harpsichord making ever since. Kenneth J. Persak and Richard A. Fleming, "The History of Acetal Homopolymer," in *High Performance Polymers: Their Origin and Development*, ed. Raymond B. Seymour and Gerald S. Kirshenbaum (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1986), 105–14, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-7073-4_10.

⁶⁹ See "Departures from the Norm," Chapter 1 and Higonnet, "Acquisition on the Highest Terms" in *A Museum of One's Own*, 25, 73.74.

29/4/55

Yeoman Quartermaster H. T. Johns
 Raven - Master
 The Cradle Tower
 H.M. Tower of London
 London E.C.3

Dear Mr. Raymond Russell,
 Please received
 first consignment of raven's feathers.
 Trusting you are in good
 health.
 will forward more later,
 when my clipping.

Yours sincerely,
 H. T. Johns
 Raven Master

Raymond Russell Esq.
 7. Ditch St.
 Chelsea, S.W.3.

Figure 17 Letter from the Raven Master. Maud Russell's scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont.

A theme running through Russell's two chief collecting areas is that the history of the subject matter at hand drew Russell away from his original intention to practise, towards historical research. His attention to historical details, already demonstrated early in his teen articles in *The Organ*, is substantiated within his research related to surgical and keyboard instrument collecting.⁷⁰ Further examples, related to his initial ideas to study medicine exist too: in his collection of important historical medical books; and his discovery of the original site of the first women's operating theatre at St Thomas's Hospital.⁷¹ Russell's own description of his discovery

⁷⁰ Russell, "The Organs at Wells Cathedral," and "The Organs of Christ Church, Spitalfields." There is an abundance of Russell's notes and research in Boxes L40, L41 and Archival Box D at the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. Of particular interest are 3 notebooks of Russell's, 4357R092, Box L40. Also Russell's notes on William Blizard, and makers of surgical instruments: MS0174, Royal College of Surgeons (RCS) Archives, London.

⁷¹ Sir Russell Brock, "Mr. Raymond Russell," Obituaries, *The Times* (London, England), April 24, 1964, 18.

emphasises the nature of the research that led to it: his interests lay both in the history of the architecture of the buildings and the history of surgery.⁷²

What emerges from this, specifically within the two areas of instrument collecting, is an interest in the makers of those instruments. Again, a precedent can be seen in Russell's interest in organs, and is common among organists, as practitioners become attached to specific makers.⁷³

Instrumentalists do develop preferences for a particular instrument builder, or choose an instrument for the qualities associated with a specific instrument builder.⁷⁴ Russell's early phase acquisitions saw him form attachments to specific contemporary makes of instrument. For example, his ownership and performance on Pleyel instruments at first whilst also beginning to amass a selection of Dolmetsch instruments.⁷⁵ It is possible, however, that this attachment was founded in those instruments' associations with specific performers, rather than intrinsic qualities of the instruments themselves: Landowska with Pleyel and Woodhouse with Dolmetsch.⁷⁶ The most likely scenario is that the two layers of interest were inextricably linked. The value of the sound and playability of Pleyel instruments to Russell was strongly linked to his respect for Landowska's work, likewise with Woodhouse's playing with Dolmetsch instruments. Within collecting there are further layers of consequence implied by knowledge and study of the creators of the objects of focus; these layers are related to perceptions of value (through provenance) and the development of a collector's structuring notions, and both will be discussed shortly. Prior to that though, an examination of the turning point in Russell's collecting career, and an interrogation of its underlying causes are necessary to establish what precipitated this change.

What drove Russell's assiduous pursuit of scholarship? Larson has demonstrated that in Wellcome's case, the driving factor behind his method of scholarship was an effort to position himself amongst scientists and academics who had not, initially, taken him seriously.⁷⁷ Through his abundant collecting he gained possession of items and documents that were of interest to those who had previously chosen not to engage with him, and through corresponding about them he was able to raise his position in their (and his) eyes. Russell did not need to earn a living. He did not need, or indeed exhibit the skills and mindset, to follow a career in academia, medicine, or

⁷² Raymond Russell, "The Old Operating Theatre at Old St. Thomas's Hospital: Survival of an Early Nineteenth Century Theatre," in *Rediscovery*, ed. by Karen Howell, Julie Mathias, Iris Millis, Valentina Lari, Kirsty Chilton and Gareth Miles, revised edition (London: Guild of Brave Boor Things Press, 2014). There is also a copy of the original publication in 4357R037, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁷³ See "The Organ – a Historical Instrument," Chapter 2.

⁷⁴ Based on the author's twenty-year experience as a professional musician.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Larson, 31-32.

performing. But, since his youth, a pattern of behaviour emerged that demonstrated a proclivity for meticulous research and a desire to get his point of view validated, whilst failing to do so within the institutional outlets available to him. Analysing personal and professional events surrounding the change in Russell's collecting process helps to offer an answer to the question above, as the shift from performing to collecting exemplifies a behavioural pattern that has already been prevalent in Russell's short life.

4.4 A Turning Point or a Process of Elimination?

Later in his career, Russell identified "the early 1950s" as the point in his career where he "resolutely gave up the concert platform for historical studies."⁷⁸ Although with the benefit of hindsight he was able to define such a moment, the shift from his perceived identity as a performer to that of a collector was more gradual. There is much evidence demonstrating that his interest in keyboard instruments had always been on a number of levels, inclusive of performance. His organ research offers one example, as do those instruments that had been amassed already at Romney's House and which were never used in public performance. However, evidence surrounding Russell's health and concert arrangements in 1953, discussed in this section, offer a number of strong influential factors that precipitated Russell's change in approach and point to 1953 as a specific turning point in his collecting career.

Prior to 1953 Russell had already begun acquiring more instruments than he used publicly. Again, pertinent remarks by his mother in her diary entries offer insight into Russell's purchase practice and suggest that his acquisition aims were currently directionless:

Lunch[ed with] Ray[mond] at Dilke Street. Which he hasn't asked me into for about two years. Looked at harpsichords old and new. He has got two identical harpsichords made by the Dolmetschs and the wood cut out at the same time. Their tone however is quite different, he says. He goes on buying instruments and says himself he doesn't know when it will stop and how. I wish he had confined himself to music.⁷⁹

What is also notable here is that Maud does not connect the acquisition of musical instruments with Russell's interest in "music." She views this dimension of his engagement with music as another, almost entirely separate, passion.

⁷⁸ Russell to Sidney Newman, December 24, 1959, 4355R059, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁷⁹ Maud Russell, June 6, 1952, Diary, Book X, 167-168.

It is no coincidence that Russell's final attempt to invigorate his public performance career also occurred in 1953. This may have been partly in response to a concert series begun in 1952 by Tom Goff to showcase his instruments; a yearly "Jamboree" concert in the Royal Festival Hall, where a quartet of Goff harpsichords were always performed on by Thurston Dart and George Malcolm in addition to Eileen Joyce, Valda Aveling or Denis Vaughan.⁸⁰ This event continued right into the 1960s and helped propel Goff's instruments into the limelight. Russell began 1953 with not dissimilar plans to perform on a grand scale at the Royal Festival Hall. He wanted to perform with an orchestra again, the size of which has obvious implications for the size of the venue; this was a further reason for the Festival Hall booking. Perhaps it was also an effort to put himself on a similar footing to Tom Goff's crew, by placing his event in the same venue. One important factor influencing the scale of this concert was money, however. Balancing the costs of this large venue and accompanying ensemble was an important consideration that Russell expressed to his mother:

Ray[mond] dined. He has settled to give a concert in the autumn with Blech and the Mozart Orchestra [Harry Blech and the London Mozart Players]. He wants it in the Festival Hall. I feel it is rather big for harpsichord and Ray[mond] may lose money over the venture. He explained that at the Wigmore Hall, playing with an orchestra you can only lose money, at the Festival Hall he might make some, it being so very much bigger.⁸¹

This extract and the following, from Maud's diaries, provide important details and context for the planning and reasoning behind this event.

Ray[mond] dined. His concert date is now uncertain. He was planning to get Peter Pears to sing some Britten songs as a counter attraction but Peter Pears couldn't do so on the day Ray[mond] had got the Festival Hall. I thought Ray seemed in low spirits.⁸²

⁸⁰ These concerts are referred to as the "Thomas Goff Circus" in Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 103. But "Jamborees" elsewhere: "Four Harpsichords A-Glittering," *The Times*, 21 May 1958, *The Times Digital Archive*, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/Bg2sf9>; "How Famous Is Scholar, Conductor and Harpsichordist Thurston Dart, 40 Years on? Part 2 - Semibrevity," 9 September 2011, <https://www.semibrevity.com/2011/09/how-famous-is-scholar-conductor-and-harpsichordist-thurston-dart-40-years-on-part-2/>. The four performers varied over the years but invariably included four of those performers listed in the text. The first performance is documented here: "Festival Hall," *The Times*, 21 May 1952, *The Times Digital Archive*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CS152260277/TTDA?u=unisoton&sid=zotero&xid=aa916378>. Harpsichordists "under [Goff's] wing" are also listed here.

⁸¹ Maud Russell, January 21, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 38.

⁸² Maud Russell, October 8, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 100.

In the eight months that passed between these entries, Russell made attempts to engage a “name,” Peter Pears, to attract a larger audience to his concert. Goff’s “Jamboree,” which always took place in early summer, would have occurred within this period too. These gained swiftly in popularity, and the rise in profile of the musicians involved, especially in relation to the harpsichord revival, was distinctly apparent.⁸³ In 1954 when *The Times* published an article about the “rehabilitation of the harpsichord” there were many names mentioned in association with the recent harpsichord revival – Tom Goff, Thurston Dart, George Malcolm among them – but not Russell.⁸⁴ In 1953 it may well have been dawning on Russell that he was not attaining a position within the harpsichord scene in Britain on a par with other contemporary harpsichord advocates. Although Russell was socio-economically secure, he was not content to sit on the side-lines and had ambitions and strong opinions about the harpsichord scene that he wanted heard. His desire to work with musicians such as Blech and Pears exemplified the status he wished to achieve.⁸⁵ However, his failure to follow through with this concert had significant consequences, as seen only weeks later in a further entry of Maud’s where she detailed a very surprising announcement of Russell’s:

I asked Ray[mond] about himself, his music et cetera and he told me that though he was still working at it he had decided to try and get a degree in medicine and had started reading and lectures at London University. For the third time in the course of the few hours I was left bouche béante [gaping]. I didn’t try and dissuade him because I knew it wouldn’t work and perhaps the study of medicine may enrich his life even if he never practices. But I felt disappointed because of all the work he has put into his music. I had a feeling the decision was made in anger perhaps with when he found he couldn’t get Pears for the concert he was planning. I think it must be so because one can’t read medicine and work for a concert at the same time. He says he considered medicine when he came out of the Army – medicine, the army itself as a career, and music. And chose music then.⁸⁶

A personality trait of Russell’s, highlighted by his mother here, is that when his goals for achievement were frustrated he discarded an object or interest in order to achieve – or assert his

⁸³ “Four Harpsichords A-Glittering,” *The Times*, 21 May 1958, The Times Digital Archive, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/Bg2sf9>.

⁸⁴ By our music critic, “The Harpsichord,” *The Times*, 23 April 1954, The Times Digital Archive, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/Bg2ya6>.

⁸⁵ There is no evidence suggesting Russell new Pears, or his partner Benjamin Britten well. However, it is worth noting that Pears was in a long term homosexual relationship Britten, and both registered as Conscientious Objectors in the Second World War. Paul Kildea, *Benjamin Britten: A Life in the Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin UK, 2013), Chapter 3, part 14.

⁸⁶ Maud Russell, October 23, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 105.

authority – another way. He had ambitions to achieve a certain level of acclaim as a performer but, when Russell felt there were issues with the standard of a performance, he blamed the instrument (and occasionally his health) for the failure, swiftly trying out a new one. In doing so he distanced himself from that perceived failure. Performance had so far given the process of buying and selling on instruments its relevance and importance. By 1953 it became clear that his performing career was not going as planned, and Russell's focus on playing was waning. This was further evidenced by Maud in December of that year when she noted that Russell did not play either instrument that resided at Mottisfont (his Dolmetsch harpsichord and a clavichord), despite spending a certain amount of time tuning the Dolmetsch.⁸⁷ Russell was left with the now directionless buying and selling of instruments. As suggested above, initially he attempted to forge a new direction entirely for his attentions: the study of medicine. Although he attended some lectures it is unlikely that he completed his medical studies, and certainly never practiced. Instead, as described earlier in this chapter, he was drawn to the history of medicine and surgery, from which the development of two further areas of collecting emerged. However, Russell could not entirely discard his interest in harpsichords; his purchasing of instruments did not stop. Russell had to find an alternative justification for these purchases and his continued related scholarship.

Health issues were also a likely cause of Russell's diminished confidence in his ability to perform. Diary entries from 1957 explain that Russell was diagnosed with Meniere's disease, a condition of the inner ear, causing attacks of vertigo, tinnitus and hearing impairment, which can eventually lead to permanent hearing loss. Russell revealed that he suffered some hearing damage to Swainson far earlier, in 1950, claiming that involvement in an explosion during the war had led to partial hearing loss.⁸⁸ Whether this was due to the explosion Russell mentioned, or early symptoms of Meniere's (or perhaps the two were related), it is not inconceivable that early attacks of this condition would have caused significant anxiety related to performance and music. Hearing loss for a musician, working at any level, would have significant consequences for their ability to function musically and would have an impact on those with already fragile mental health. The link between Russell's mental health and playing were already highlighted in Chapter 2 when he had stopped practicing before the overdose incident.⁸⁹ A further spell of not playing, documented by Maud in 1949, also led to a depression in mood and – especially feared by Maud – further drug abuse.

⁸⁷ Maud Russell, December 25, 1953, Diary, Book XI, 121.

⁸⁸ Swainson, 93. See Appendix E, April 1950.

⁸⁹ See "Pacifism and the Queer Connection" in Chapter 2.

Lunched with Raymond at the Etoile. His poisoned hand is almost alright again and he has been given permission to start practising it lightly. He says if his arm had got much worse it would have had to be amputated, which fortunately he didn't know at the time. He said he was still feeling very drugged by the sedatives given him by the doctor. And he looked very extraordinary and heavily doped. I am afraid he is at it again. I think now – that whenever he can't work at his harpsichord he dopes heavily. Probably he always does so a little.⁹⁰

Collecting emerged from this turmoil as a practice that Russell could immerse himself in fully and through which he could construct a new position within the harpsichord community. Though the collector identity may not have been conscious at this time, his collecting process became more focussed; becoming a process that Russell drew on to help reform his identity. Ultimately collecting replaced performance as the justification for the purchases.

4.5 Connoisseurship and Cultural Capital

Russell transformed his position from harpsichord performer to that of a connoisseur through collecting. Pearce states that “collections play an important part in the construction of power and prestige and the manifestation of superiority.”⁹¹ Russell desired a position of superiority and authority that would match his class status and scholarship, and strove to do so within his chosen communities – those of the keyboard, history of surgery, and other circles. He perceived such a position as unobtainable to him through the standard societal, heteronormative methods of marriage, building a family, or through a profession. In a similar way to Higonnet's identification of the 4th Marquess of Hertford as a member of the “elite of taste” in which “the occupied man” distinguished himself from the “idle” by cultivating aesthetic pursuits that masked the withdrawal or exclusion from political affairs, Russell – having failed at a military and performing career – turned to collecting to provide that mask.⁹² Although Russell was active in a number of other scenes, for the purposes of this thesis I focus on keyboard activities, often comparing Russell's collecting to those of Hertford's fine-art collecting.

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu emphasised the importance of economic capital to the development of cultural capital in his study on social taste, *Distinction*.⁹³ Cultural capital, as

⁹⁰ Maud Russell, October 6, 1949, Diary, Book IX, 105.

⁹¹ Pearce, *On Collecting*, 20.

⁹² Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 99.

⁹³ David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 78-80; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Routledge, 2013).

defined by Bourdieu, is a set of “symbolic elements” such as taste, skills, a certain level of education, knowledge and etiquette that is acquired through being part of a particular social class.⁹⁴ In terms of such elements that define a high social class – such as an expensive and well respected education, specific tastes in art and music, and material wealth – Russell was rich, endowed with the cultural capital of the social elite imparted to him via his upbringing. Deploying Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital in association with the harpsichord scene helps to interrogate Russell’s self-redefinition within it. Many members of this scene held a shared cultural capital either through their education at Oxbridge, or their social class, in addition to their shared musical interests surrounding keyboard instruments. Through creating a collection of highly prized instruments, Russell could use his wealth and accumulated knowledge to provide himself with more of this specific cultural capital within the harpsichord community. In his home Russell could use the presentation of his collection to a select community to elide his wealth and status with taste, in much the same way as Hertford, to create a space “for the performance of social dominance” that he may have believed impossible via other means.⁹⁵ The combination of Russell’s sexuality, health and high socio-economic status, put limits on his access to such “spaces” in the public sphere, but he wanted to dominate a scene beyond his home. He successfully utilised the advantages given by the attributes of wealth and class and an ability to network, to redefine himself amongst the harpsichord community. A friend from outside that community, from a lower social background, indicated his recognition of Russell’s high cultural capital when he said of Russell that, “he had the eye.”⁹⁶ This admiration of Russell’s taste and ability to acquire items of value that others may not recognise, was misconceived as an innate, untrainable talent. However, Russell’s biography demonstrates eloquently how one’s taste or “eye” is developed through scholarship, practice, background and wealth. To embody the cultural capital that he acquired through collecting, Russell positioned himself as a connoisseur of and advocate for harpsichords.

To be a connoisseur of something is to acquire the ability to make value judgements of an object, related to its artistic, aesthetic and historical value. To be in the position of a connoisseur is to have one’s opinion on the object accepted as a certitude. The example put forward by Higonnet of the working relationship between art collector Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840-1924) and art historian Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), in which Gardner both developed and utilised Berenson’s connoisseurship to create an art collection that could rival European ones, emphasises

⁹⁴ “Cultural Capital | Social Theory Rewired,” accessed 25 August 2020, <http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital>.

⁹⁵ Higonnet quotes Katie Scott when she described long-standing aristocratic behaviour of “eliding wealth with taste.” Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*, 27.

⁹⁶ Minton, “Reminiscences.”

the importance of connoisseurship in forming collections of prestige.⁹⁷ Initially Berenson tried to incorporate the role of dealer with his position as connoisseur, but his awareness of the difficulties that arose from this combination led him to cultivate “a stance of scholarly disinterest” in the growing prices works of art were achieving.⁹⁸ To disassociate himself from the monetary value of art helped maintain his position as a scholar, and benefitted the long term collaboration he had with the well-known art dealer Joseph Duveen (1870-1939).⁹⁹ The Huntingtons, who famously paid “record-breaking prices for the treasures,” bought almost exclusively from Duveen.¹⁰⁰ Importantly, Huntington did not label himself an “art connoisseur”: he relied on others to be that on his behalf.¹⁰¹ The examples of Gardner and Huntington demonstrate how, in the art world at least, many collectors relied on agents to provide the role of the connoisseur, to point out “masterpieces” and investments. Wellcome too employed a number of agents to source objects for his collection. Russell, on the other hand, sourced all his instruments himself, through a variety of means. Examining those means is the next step to understanding how Russell used his developing position as a connoisseur to increase his cultural capital within the harpsichord world.

4.6 Means of Acquisition

Russell did not use agents but, as part of his connoisseur development, did the hunting, negotiating and purchasing himself. Wilson briefly addresses the routes of acquisition of historical instruments through auction houses and dealers, and the skills necessary to do this.¹⁰² Scouring auction houses, scanning their catalogues, networking and publicising that he was in the market for instruments were essential activities to maintain awareness of instrument availability. Russell became expert at these things. As mentioned above, refining a collection to consist of quality pieces required the skills not only of a connoisseur, but also those of a dealer to be able to handle issues of monetary value. Russell had the skills to take on both these roles and, therefore, questions of value and market manipulation must also be examined.

⁹⁷ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 43-50.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 52.

⁹⁹ “At every phase of his long career, Berenson profited from his appreciation of the beautiful. Every time he [Berenson] authenticated a painting for Duveen and signed a guarantee the status of the artist to whom he ascribed the work determined how much he would earn.” Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 52.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 51. Henry E. Huntington (1850-1927) and Arabella Huntington (c.1851-1924) established a collections based educational and research institution now known as The Huntington Library, Art Museum and Botanical Garden.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 69.

¹⁰² Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 106-107.

Russell successfully networked in a number of ways, and surrounded himself with a community of harpsichord advocates and practitioners.¹⁰³ Not only did he attend concerts of other practitioners, but he also held his own musical soirees where a select party of individuals were invited to come and hear a new instrument, or some new repertoire that he'd been working on.¹⁰⁴ This helped Russell maintain important connections, and also enabled him to keep those circles informed of when he was looking for instruments. He built on his relationships with individuals such as Edward Dent, Dorothy Swainson, Ralph Kirkpatrick, Geraint Jones and Vere Pilkington through regular correspondence, trips abroad, dinner invitations and joint visits to instruments in private collections, museums, and auction houses.¹⁰⁵ Cultivating the relationship with Pilkington in particular was key to developing Russell's cultural capital. Pilkington's position as Director (1927-1958), and Chair (1953-58) of Sotheby's, and their mutual interest in keyboards, was particularly advantageous to Russell's collection development. Pilkington knew to notify Russell of specific instruments, and would actively work to achieve the prices Russell hoped for when selling on his instruments.

9th May 1958

My dear Raymond,

I have incurred your displeasure by allowing the Ruckers to go for £1150. We are perfectly willing to forego sufficient of our commission to treat it as sold at £1200. The reason I let it go was that there was much bidding up to £950, but after that there was only one nervous private buyer, so that I could not switch the bid so as to land on the round figure, and I felt pretty certain that he would not go on to £1,250. As it was a record price for any keyboard instrument at any sale as far as I know, I thought I must let it go and risk losing some of our commission.

Apart from that, I thought I ought to tell you that as expected Gough had not put them in perfect playing order: there was a chip in the decoration of the Ruckers about which I questioned the removers, who were absolutely certain, and had a note of the fact that the damage was there when they fetched the instrument. On the Italian harpsichord lid, just behind the hinge, there was a large smear of some yellow varnish, or glue, which I am pretty certain was not there when I catalogued it. I think you arranged the insurance and everything, so you ought to know about this. Gough had done to the Italian

¹⁰³ Some of these ways have been examined in "Key(board) friendships," Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix E, 1950. Swainson, 92.

¹⁰⁵ See Swainson's memoirs, Appendix E and "Key(board) friendships."

Chapter 4

harpsichord exactly what he had done to mine, namely that the quills worked in one position on the keyboard, but not in the other.

I hope, however, I have done the best in all circumstances for you.

Yours sincerely,

Vere

Handwritten note: The buyer was a medical man, a Dr. Mirrie.¹⁰⁶

The receipt for this transaction shows that Russell sold two instruments: The Ruckers (Lot 24) to Dr. Mirrey for £1150 and Lot 25 The Italian for £350 to H.T. Adler

This letter and receipt tell a great deal about the working relationship between Pilkington and Russell and Russell's views on instrument value. Pilkington, with his own knowledge of the scene and awareness of Russell's desired value, worked towards achieving that figure but took the professional decision to let it sell slightly under, knowing that it had achieved a price that had never previously been paid for a keyboard instrument at auction. Assuming Pilkington's thorough knowledge of the auction market, that statement would also include pianos. Russell's stated aim was that fine examples of historical keyboard instruments should achieve similar prices to those "by the best modern makers of these things" and that those prices should compare favourably "with most other things in the field of the fine arts."¹⁰⁷ Pilkington also indicated who the buyer was, knowing the necessity of Russell's tendency to keep track of instruments. It is important to note that the Dr. Mirrey mentioned was also a collector of keyboard instruments, of the same generation as Russell, who later donated his collection to the University of Edinburgh to join the Russell Collection.¹⁰⁸ Further implications of the sum achieved will be investigated in "Value and Provenance." Pilkington's comments to Russell about "Gough", presumably Hugh Gough (1916-1997), and his work are illuminating. The way that paragraph is phrased suggests that they have had past exchanges regarding Gough's work and, in all likelihood, that of other harpsichord practitioners too. Pilkington is clearly dissatisfied with Gough's work on this occasion and has been in the past. What comes across here, and in other documents discussed in the following chapter, is that harpsichord advocates of Pilkington and Russell's social-standing, who tended not

¹⁰⁶ Pilkington to Russell, May 9, 1958, 4357R043 (these have been mixed up with the Kirkpatrick correspondence in the archive list), Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁰⁷ See "Value and Provenance" for a transcript of part of the letter. Russell to Pilkington, January 8, 1958, 4357R043, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁰⁸ Rodger Mirrey (1919-2007) started his collection with square pianos but later got rid of them to leave room for the "more precious" harpsichords, clavichords and fortepianos. "Rodger Mirrey Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments," accessed 5 March 2020, <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/record/695>.

to do any of the instrument restoration work themselves, held the artisans that did to very high account and viewed them as a lower class.¹⁰⁹ This evidence backs up the idea that Russell aimed to cultivate a position of high esteem and connoisseurship within this community that was distanced from those doing the manual work.

Cultivating his position as a gentleman connoisseur facilitated Russell's access to instruments, giving him a broader selection from which to refine his collection than other collectors might have had available. His upper class status put him on a level footing with wealthy and aristocratic owners, enabling access to private instruments and collections that might remain off limits to others.¹¹⁰ His close relationship with Pilkington and Sotheby's, meant that he would know as soon as an instrument became available there.

Russell crafted his own collection on the back of intimate knowledge of other collections.¹¹¹ By Russell's own claims, he began a study of the world's historical keyboard collections in 1951, but even since his time in Cambridge in the 1940s he had been acquainting himself with other collectors and collections.¹¹² Russell's research and collecting activities in the 1950s demonstrate a thorough knowledge and awareness of the world's then extant instruments and collections. His financial and temporal resources enabled global travel to view and research the background of instruments and their makers, providing a much broader scope than many collectors. His rise as a connoisseur meant that the owners of these instruments, such as museums and private collectors, were comfortable dealing with him.¹¹³ He could spend his time visiting potential sources, and use his skills to unearth an investment. In this way he tracked down Swainson's 1912 Dolmetsch/Gaveau in a "piano shop" in Paris and, in 1954, tried to sell it back to her for £175; she felt the sum was too much and did not take up Russell's offer.¹¹⁴ Whether Russell was seeking this instrument, or came across it by luck, he recognised its heritage and sought to sell it on to an individual he felt would value it highly. In this way he acted as both connoisseur and dealer.

¹⁰⁹ See the discussion of work done by the Dolmetsch workshop in "The Queen's Ruckers Ruckus," Chapter 5.

¹¹⁰ See the Russell/Crawley correspondence, 4357R047, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹¹¹ He lists some significant precursors of his in Raymond Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1955-1956): 64, of 61-74, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765868>.

¹¹² Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

¹¹³ For example the Hass 1764 harpsichord which Russell purchased from Miss Mary Dunne of California in 1955. Edinburgh, *The Russell Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments*, 31.

¹¹⁴ Appendix E, 1923 and Easter and October 1952. Swainson, 48 and 57.

Russell's earliest acquisitions were influenced by other collectors, but as his collecting career progressed the significance of other collectors changed. Hertford purchased, overwhelmingly, from the auction sales of other collectors and in doing so knew that he was acquiring already prized artefacts.¹¹⁵ Russell too purchased instruments from a number of other collections, but his sources varied over time. One particular collector predecessor though, from whom he purchased three valued instruments over a period of six years, had the majority. The name Harold Moffat was associated with collecting and expertise in Tudor furniture rather than instruments, but as a reasonably skilled organist, he had acquired an interest in historical English instruments too.¹¹⁶ It was from him that Russell purchased his prized Stephen Keene Virginal 1668 in 1949, relatively early in his collecting career and, in 1955, purchased two Bentside Spinets: the Hitchcock 1728 for £180 and the Stewart 1784 for £80 via Sotheby's auction.¹¹⁷ All three instruments remained in Russell's possession, the Keene instrument kept in preference over a John Player 1664 virginals linked to Henry Purcell, indicating the quality of instruments he'd acquired from this source.¹¹⁸ The Player virginals were sold on to the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, in 1957 for £450.¹¹⁹ This and further examples of Russell's onward sales to other (now important) collections, such as the record-breaking Ruckers sale to Dr. Mirrey, illustrate how far Russell's prestige within the scene had risen.

Russell used catalogues and contemporary keyboard literature to keep track of instruments in circulation. He kept catalogues from auctions that he attended and recorded purchases of instruments with hand written notes, indicating the name of the buyer and the price.¹²⁰ For example, when the piano historian Dr. Rosamund Harding's instrument collection was sold at Sotheby & Co. in 1954, Russell noted down the name of the dealer, E.C. Legge, who purchased it

¹¹⁵ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 31.

¹¹⁶ Clive Aslet, "Hamptworth Lodge: An Arts-and-Crafts House in the New Forest That Blends in a Touch of the Cotswolds," *Country Life*, 17 March 2019, <https://www.countrylife.co.uk/architecture/important-arts-crafts-house-combines-owners-woodworking-skills-cotswold-architect-193567>; James Rush, "Inside the Incredible Edwardian Tudor-Style £11m Mansion That Has Been in the Same Family for 140 Years after Being Won over a Game of Cards," Mail Online, 13 July 2013, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2362546/Inside-incredible-Edwardian-Tudor-style-11m-mansion-family-140-years-won-game-cards.html>. Harold Moffat of Goodrich Court (Herefordshire) and (Hamptworth Lodge, New Forest) had a Willis organ, like that of Salisbury Cathedral, built into his Hamptworth home that he designed to house his collection of Tudor woodwork.

¹¹⁷ "Virginal"; "Spinnet," accessed 14 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/15589?highlight=*; "Spinnet," accessed 14 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/16280?highlight=*.

¹¹⁸ The John Player 1664 was purchased from Captain J. Wanstead at Sotheby's in 1955 for £250. Raymond Russell's copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord*, handwritten notes, 58, lent to the author.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. The instrument was later bought by Alec Cobbe for his collection of composer keyboard instruments. Cobbe and Nobbs, *Three Hundred Years of Composers' Instruments*, 20.

¹²⁰ Russell Collection Archive, Boxes S27, S28 and S29, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

and the price, £55.¹²¹ This was one of Russell's record keeping methods. He also had a considerable number of instrument manufacturers' catalogues, demonstrating his thorough overview of the market.¹²² Russell kept up-to-date with contemporary harpsichord literature too. He owned a copy of Donald Boalch's, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440 to 1840*, published by George Ronald in 1956 and maintained a correspondence with the author.¹²³ For its time the book was a comprehensive overview of all known keyboard makers, their surviving instruments, who owned them and their provenance. This tome, since receiving a number of updates, is still a valuable asset to harpsichord enthusiasts now and Russell's copy, which contains many handwritten notes, corrections and updates on instruments, shows how well informed he was about the circulation of instruments. For instance, this note of Russell's by Boalch's entry for Bertolotti:

¹²¹ Sotheby & Co. catalogue, 1954, 4359R22, Box S27, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹²² See note 105.

¹²³ D.H. Boalch to Russell, letters regarding details of instruments sent in 1956, 4357R075, 4357R084, Box L40, and one letter in response to receiving Russell's book, listed as 4357R049 Box L28 in archive list, but 4357R050 written on letter, St. Cecilia's.

BERTOLOTTI (Alexander) of Venice, virginal & harpsichord maker [Va]. Dates ascertained, 1585-'86.

Surviving Instruments:

(1) 1585. Brussels Conservatoire. Claviorganum inscribed *Alexander Bortolotti MDLXXXV*. The harpsichord compass is G/B-C, 4 oct. and 3 notes. 2 × 8' registers. Formerly in the Correr Coll., Venice. (The catalogue gives the name as 'Bertolotti')

(2) 1586. London, Mr. R. Russell. Polygonal virginal. Nameboard inscribed: *Alexander Bertolotti 1586. MDLXXXVI*

BEYER (Adam) maker of claviorgana. Dates ascertained, 1774-'95 [J].

Probably a German by birth, he settled in London about 1770. His address was Compton Street near Soho Square. Besides claviorgana he made pianofortes and piano-organs. A square piano by him is in the Neupert Collection, dated 1777.

BIAGIO (Stefano di)

See: Bonissimo (Stefano).

BIDERMAN (Samuel) born at Ulm in 1540; died at Augsburg in 1622. Organ builder and spinet maker, best known for his automatic spinets, – ottavinos with a clockwork mechanism which may be used or turned off at will. (The action of one of these instruments is photographed in A. Protz, *Mechanische Musikinstrumente*, Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, [1943], p. 56.)

4/11?

bought from
Gough for
£175
He b. at Sotheby
for £65. (1951)

7

Figure 18 Boalch's "Bertolotti" entry with Russell's notes. Russell's copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956) currently on loan to the author by David Owen Norris.

Here Russell indicates one of his own purchase histories with the name of the individual he purchased it from, in this case Hugh Gough, for the price of £175. He has also noted the sum, location and date of Gough's purchase of the instrument, saying "He bought it at Sotheby for £65. (1951)." This would also be noted down in the relevant Sotheby's catalogue, and in one of Russell's many notebooks. Gough restored the instrument before selling it on, at a profit, to Russell for £175.¹²⁴ In the following image of Russell's notes, Figure 19, this time on part of

¹²⁴ Sidney Newman and Peter Williams, *The Russell Collection and Other Early Keyboard Instruments in Saint Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh*, 3. This catalogue, published by the University of Edinburgh, lists the instrument as built in 1585 but Boalch's entry is correct, according to the current museum instrument list: "Virginal," accessed 26 August 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/17163?highlight=*. Boalch and the catalogue differ on the spelling of Bertoloti/Bertolotti.

Boalch's list of "Surviving instruments by the KIRKMAN family", Russell has added a number of significant notes.¹²⁵ In this example it is possible to see that he has added information to almost every column of Boalch's work, including additional instruments, their past owners, their present owners and further information about their purchase history. The fact that this information is documented at all is strong testament to the amount of interest in keyboard instruments and their history in Russell's generation and demonstrates that Russell kept track of all sales of keyboard instruments, not just his own. At the top of the page Russell has added a 1775 J & A Kirkman harpsichord with two manuals, that he owned, having purchased it from "Morley's" in 1956 for £350.¹²⁶ A further note added later in ink shows that Russell made a significant profit when he sold the instrument on to Gustav Leonhardt only a year later. There are countless entries of Russell's like these, and even places where he has added makers into the alphabetical list that Boalch has provided, that Boalch was either unaware of or had omitted by accident. The level of detail about the surviving instruments known across the globe, both on display in this book and in Russell's publications and many notebooks, shows a depth of knowledge Russell had at his finger-tips that many experts in any field would envy. Russell was organised, observant and meticulous and these traits, combined with his knowledge and networking skills, helped him towards his goal of creating a world-class collection.

¹²⁵ Russell's copy of Boalch, 65.

¹²⁶ "Morley's" stands for the English company Robert Morley & Co. It was chiefly a piano and harp business until John Morley, who became head of the firm, became interested in historical keyboard instruments in 1955. Zuckermann, *The Modern Harpsichord*, 148.

THE MAKERS

Number	C.D. (Sol) no.	Date	Maker(s)	Kbs	Past Owners	Present or Recent Owner	Remarks
57a	—	1775	J&A	2		R. R.	2x8, 1x4, Lute, Harp. Machine, Lid Swell. (1956)
58	38	1776	J&A	1		Hon. Wayland H. Young	Sotheby's 27 April 1956. £390
59	39	1776	J&A	1	Steinert Collection, (Chicago version of catalogue)	Messrs. J. G. Morley (1946).	2x8', 1x4'.
60	40	1776	J&A	1		Washington, Smithsonian Inst.	2x8', 1x4', Kirkman machine. Presented by Hugo Worch in 1892.
61	—	1776	J&A	2		London, Trinity Coll. Mus.	2x8', 1x4', Kirkman machine.
62	41	1777	J&A	2	Acquired by V+A. 1927	Balmanno Castle, Hon. James Bruce. Bethnal Green Museum Mr. T. R. C. Goff.	Machine stop; IK rose. <i>Magnety. Clav. Bull (not long side reverse)</i>
62a	—	1777	J&A	1	Mr Alan Steinert	Yale University.	2x8', 1x4'.
63	42	1777	J	2		London, Benton Fletcher Coll.	Lid-swell. All stops. IK rose.
64	43	1777	?	1		Messrs. H. Taylor & Son, Walsall.	2x8', 1x4'.
65	44	1778	J&A	1		Miss Joyce Riddle.	2x8', 1x4', buff, simple machine stop.
66	45	1779	J&A	2	Miss Rosemary Howard.	Mr Raymond Barnett, London.	Lid-swell.
67	47	1782?		1	Mrs. A. E. Southall.	Mrs. Hutchinson, Hampstead.	
68	48	1781	J&A	2		Osterley Park.	Removed by Lord Jersey.
69	49	1781	J&A	1		New York, Metr. Mus. Art.	
70	—	1781	J&A	1		Forsyth Collection, Manchester.	Machine; no swell.
71	50	1783	J&A	2	Van Raalte Coll., Brownsea Island.	Mr John Ticehurst. <i>Mr. F. J. S.</i>	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell.
71a	—	1785	J&A	1			Sold at Christie's 15 December 1955. <i>to Reuben.</i>
72	—	1785	J&A	2		Mr C. Brackenbury, Berwick-on-Tweed.	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell.
73	51	1785	J&A	2	Mr G. S. Hughes, Hitchin.	Mr R. R. Henshaw, Bradford-on-Avon.	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell.
74	—	1786	J&A	2	at Robertsbridge.	Mr John Barnes, Slough.	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell; IK rose. Restored in 1915 by Charles Hersant of Finsbury Park.
75	52	1786	J&A	2	Major Benton Fletcher (1934).	Mr Eric Johnson, London.	Originally single-manual with 2x8', 1x4' stops. Another manual and a lute stop added recently.
76	53	1787	J&A	1	H. J. Dale. Mrs. Trafford, Goodrich Court.	Mr John Ticehurst.	2x8', 1x4', buff. Pedal to disengage second unison. Exhibited 1885.
77	54	1787		1		Birmingham (1946).	
78	—	1787	J&A	1	Duke of Rutland.	Mr G. M. Grocott.	2x8', 1x4', no buff. (Purchased by the present owner in 1936).
79	55	1787	J&A	2	<i>See Humphrey (Bart)</i> H. B. Noble (sold it at Sotheby's, 13 Dec. 1935, to E. C. Legg, Cirencester).	Mr Roger Yates. <i>Quaint Jones</i>	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell.
79a	—	1787	J&A	2		St. Albans, Mr L. Larholt	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; lid-swell. IK rose.
80	—	1788	J&A	2			Inventions Exhib. 1885.
81	56	1788	J&A	2	Dr. Charles Burney. ?	Mr Edward Croft-Murray.	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine. Venetian swell.
82	—	1788	J&A	1		Forsyth Collection, Manchester.	Machine; Venetian swell. 2x8', 1x4', lute, buff.
83	57	1789	J&A	2	J. K. Pyne.		Venetian swell (originally lid swell). Exhibited 1885. 2x8', 1x4', buff, lute, machine.
84	58	1789	J&A	2	Norman Wilkinson.	Bought by Messrs. Hodsdon at Sotheby's 6 July, 1934.	Full range of stops; machine; lid swell. IK rose. Length 7'. ?
85	—	1789	A&Jo	2	Said to have been made for Dr. Philips Hayes, organist of Magdalen Coll., Oxford. Miss Nellie Chaplin (until 1932).	Bought in 1932 by Mr David McKenna, who now (1953) owns it.	2x8', 1x4', lute, buff, machine; had at one time a lid swell. Rose IK and harping figure. Restored by Charles Hersant, 1907. Was used in Nigel Playfair's production of <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> , Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith 1920-22.

Figure 19 Boalch's Kirkman list with Russell's notes. Russell's copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956) currently on loan to the author by David Owen Norris.

4.7 Value and Provenance

When a collector negotiates with an agent, an art historian, or a dealer, [...] they are creating value by articulating it verbally. [...] Collectors are creating value [...] by declaring affinities, establishing hierarchies.¹²⁷

Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Periscope Publishing, 2009), 25.

The term value can be attached to many aspects of Russell's collecting. Russell valued keyboard instruments for a number of reasons: because they were an important tool in his musical and social life; because they were often historical objects (even revival ones with interesting provenance are historical); because of their aesthetic beauty; because of their sound and versatility; and because of their potential value as an investment. This thesis has already demonstrated how Russell used his instruments within his musical and social life. The following section interrogates the importance of cultural and monetary value to the development of Russell's collection, before analysing the importance of provenance and sound. No single attribute was paramount to Russell's instrument choice, but an instrument's financial worth became a fundamental part of Russell's collecting and trading activities.

Russell saw his instruments as investments and traded them when their value to him changed. Before 1953 his investments were associated with performance and his fascination with harpsichord pioneers.¹²⁸ Many of these were what would now be termed revival instruments. As demonstrated, his performing experience and research ultimately drew him away from Pleyel type instruments and, in fact, his other revival instruments did not stay the course into his final collection either.¹²⁹ Alongside the decision to leave performing behind came an intensified period of research into other collections around the world, which led Russell to concentrate his mind and money on "authentic instruments" – the term he used to describe historical examples made before 1800.¹³⁰ Most of his revival instruments were dispersed over time via auction or other means, but some remained in his ownership beyond 1953.¹³¹ Through his work Russell began to

¹²⁷ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 25.

¹²⁸ Chapter 3.

¹²⁹ His Dolmetsch harpsichords, piano and clavichord were not part of the donation to Edinburgh.

¹³⁰ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9; Russell to Crawley, March 6, 1959, 4357R048, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹³¹ Russell's 1947 Pleyel Grand Concert instrument was lot 80 in the June 5th, 1953 Sotheby & Co sale. It sold for £380, for more than an important Kirkman duet harpsichord 1722, that Russell purchased for £350. This Kirkman instrument was in the Collection of Cecilia, Countess of Strathmore. Sotheby & Co. catalogue, 1953, 4359R21, Box S27, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

understand that the prestige of such instruments was waning and that there were advantages to channelling his efforts and finances towards historical instruments.

Key to Russell's success as a gentleman keyboard connoisseur were his efforts to stoke the market for historical keyboard instruments. Unlike the aristocratic art collector, the 4th Marquess of Hertford, who objected to the perception of his role in the stoking of the fine art market escalation, Russell did so deliberately, with the help of Pilkington.¹³² Russell's familial background of art appreciation and collecting informed his awareness of ever-increasing prices in fine art throughout the previous century, and how that market worked in his lifetime. As stated in the following extract from a letter to Pilkington, Russell aimed to develop a market for keyboard instruments that valued them to an increasing level – on a par with that of antique furniture.

As you know, I feel that the present market value of early keyboard instruments is low in comparison with most other things in the field of the fine arts. I do not think that good harpsichords or spinets, etc, made in the 16th-18th centuries, should change hands at figures lower than those charged by the best modern makers of these things. When the old instruments are also fine examples of the furniture of their period, their price should rise accordingly.

The situation has definitely advanced in the last two years or so and I think there is every reason for believing that it will continue to improve until the approximate value I have in mind has been achieved. You will agree, however that these adjustments cannot be hurried.¹³³

Not only would this plan of Russell's increase the value of his investments but, more importantly, by increasing keyboard instruments' financial worth, the perception of their prestige (and therefore his cultural capital) would increase too.

We have already seen how, by the middle of 1958, one of Russell's instruments achieved a record-breaking price at auction, despite being sold under his desired figure, and how closely he worked with Pilkington.¹³⁴ A further extract from the above letter not only confirms that close working relationship but also that Russell was then engaged as an agent of Sotheby's, and brought in business for them.

¹³² Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 32.

¹³³ Russell to Pilkington, January 8, 1958, 4357R043, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹³⁴ See note 106.

It was very good of you to recommend me to your partners for the regular cataloguing of the keyboard instruments, and I shall look forward to this work. I confirm that the payment of one fifth of the firm's gross commission, which is increased to three tenths if I introduce the business in addition to cataloguing, will be satisfactory.¹³⁵

This demonstrates how swiftly his activities between 1953-58 had successfully transformed his position from an under-rated performer to that of an esteemed and sought-after connoisseur.

Provenance in collecting of artefacts has always been a key facet of object value and interest and is therefore strongly associated with value. Its importance is a prevalent feature of collecting across many genres. In creating his fine art collection "Hertford's "revealed preference"" was for royal provenance.¹³⁶ Russell, throughout his collecting career, also coveted instruments with special provenance, specifically those linked to the cultivation of the harpsichord's revival in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries either through makers' workshops, or well-known advocates. His choices show an inclination towards instruments that had already featured significantly in the revival. The most important of these is the Taskin 1769 harpsichord, probably the most famous of harpsichords because of its integral position to the revival of interest in harpsichord making since its role in the production of the three instruments on display in the Paris Exposition Universelle 1889.¹³⁷ Pascal-Joseph Taskin (1723-93) was considered, in Russell's time and still, one of the greatest and most innovative of eighteenth-century harpsichord builders and restorers.¹³⁸ The bulk of the Taskin workshop's output were *ravalements* of older Flemish instruments, so there are few surviving purely Taskin-made harpsichords now and these specimens were and are highly prized.¹³⁹ In Boalch's publication of 1956 he only listed four surviving instruments, but by the time Russell published his own study in 1959, he knew of eight harpsichords.¹⁴⁰ This fact alone indicates the rate at which the amount of research and interest in historical keyboard instruments exponentially increased in the late 1950.

¹³⁵ Russell to Pilkington, January 8, 1958, 4357R043, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹³⁶ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 27.

¹³⁷ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 269,272,401.

¹³⁸ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 271. Boalch also describes him as "the best-known French harpsichord maker", and his innovation with leather plectra or *peau de buffle*. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 122.

¹³⁹ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 268; Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 59.

¹⁴⁰ Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 122; Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 59. Kottick claims there are in fact nine, "possibly ten" surviving harpsichords. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 269.

Russell purchased the instrument directly from a member of the Taskin family in 1952, at which time a certain amount of the instrument's important history was passed on to him.¹⁴¹ The harpsichord had been restored in 1882 by Tomasini, another key actor in the instigation of the revival.¹⁴² It had, on various occasions, been lent to and then sold to the well-known French pianist Louis Diémer, who used it in his harpsichord recitals, before returning to the Taskin family.¹⁴³ Whether Russell comprehended the full significance of these links to the instrument when he first purchased it is not clear, but by 1959 he had documented its history and, most importantly, its loan to Érard "from where", he states in the close of his book, "the commercial development of the modern harpsichord began."¹⁴⁴

Many of the instruments in Russell's final collection had a busy provenance having been through multiple, often well-known, owners and workshops and acted as models for revival makers.¹⁴⁵ For example the Russell Collection Hass harpsichord 1764, was said to have belonged to Mozart, had been extensively restored by Érard in 1935, and had already been loaned to various museums by its previous owner Miss Mary Dunne.¹⁴⁶ Russell's J. Broadwood 1793 harpsichord was purchased from the Dolmetsch workshop in 1955, having formerly been in Blüthner's Perivale workshops; on its nameboard is inscribed JOHANNES BROADWOOD HARPSICHORD 1793 NO 1155.¹⁴⁷ This was the "last recorded number and date of a harpsichord and the only instrument inscribed by Broadwood alone" and this fact would have appealed to Russell, along with the other names in its history that were all strongly associated with the development of keyboard instruments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁴⁸

The other most renowned instrument of his collection, now known as the Goermans-Taskin instrument, had a similarly colourful, significant and well-documented history.¹⁴⁹ A "mania for

¹⁴¹ Newman and Williams, *The Russell Collection*, 33; Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 122.

¹⁴² Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 124.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ The Andreas Ruckers 1608 double manual came from the Charles van Raalte collection (Dorset, Brownsea Island). It had been converted to a pianoforte in the eighteenth century (upper keyboard removed) and returned to a harpsichord in 1928 by Alec Hodsdon. Restored in 1953 by Andrew Douglas with new keyboards and jacks, the original lower keyboard being preserved separately. The name batten is not original. "Double-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 14 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/15210?highlight=*. The Ioannes Ruckers 1637, restored by and bought from Hugh Gough, had undergone an eighteenth century ravalement. "Single-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 14 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/18062?highlight=*.

¹⁴⁶ Newman and Williams, *The Russell Collection*, 31.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁴⁹ The instrument has a lengthy history of attempts at attributing it correctly, made by Russell, Maud Russell, John Barnes and Geraint Jones, among others. Part of the attribution history is documented here: Sheridan Germann, "'Mrs Crawley's Couchet' Reconsidered," *Early Music* 7, no. 4 (1979): 473–81, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3126483>. There are a number of letters concerning this in the archive

[older] Flemish instruments” in the eighteenth-century, particularly for Couchet and Ruckers models, had led Taskin to remodel a far more recent example by J. Goermans (made in 1764) to make it appear to be a Couchet with a Taskin *ravalement* to achieve a higher price.¹⁵⁰ This “mania” never entirely wore off; in Russell’s lifetime the instrument was known as the Couchet-Taskin, and was particularly admired by Russell’s generation of harpsichord advocates as a fine example of both highly prized makers.¹⁵¹ Russell eventually purchased this instrument after a lengthy correspondence with its owner, Mrs George Crawley.¹⁵² The purchase was much celebrated by Russell’s contemporaries.¹⁵³ Russell, Frank Hubbard and Kirkpatrick had visited the instrument at Mrs Crawley’s home in Virginia Water prior to its transference to Russell’s ownership.¹⁵⁴ In Russell’s copy of Boalch, beside Boalch’s table of surviving Couchet instruments, there is a note in Sidney Newman’s handwriting explaining that Russell bought the instrument in 1959 for £1200 but didn’t take delivery of it until November 1962.¹⁵⁵ The correspondence between Russell and Mrs. Crawley began in 1958, with Crawley asking Russell for advice regarding her harpsichord.¹⁵⁶ The reason for the three-year period that the instrument remained with her becomes clearer on reading the whole correspondence. From 1959 Russell had begun to spend most of his time in Malta, working on a new research project, although he still maintained a London address and storage facilities for his instruments.¹⁵⁷ Crawley was extremely attached to the instrument and, in the process of persuading her to sell it to him, Russell had suggested that it stayed with her but that he be allowed to visit and to play it.¹⁵⁸ This arrangement saved him the cost of storage and the risks of damage involved with storing such a valuable antique. It also increased the chances of the instrument being played which he and many other harpsichord practitioners felt and still feel is better for the instrument. As mentioned before Russell had a predilection for instruments that had been through the hands of pioneering keyboard performers,

attached to the Russell collection. Eight letters from Mrs. Crawley to R. Russell, regarding Couchet and Taskin harpsichords, listed as 4357R040 in the archive list (but all marked 4357R041), Archival Box D; Newman Scrapbook EUA Acc7000/036, Special Collections, Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh (hereafter cited CRCUnivE). Kottick refers to the instrument in note 12 attached to his chapter “Harpsichord Building in France up to the Revolution,” *A History of the Harpsichord*, 252.

¹⁵⁰ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 252.

¹⁵¹ Boalch singles it out in his Taskin entry as “the lovely Couchet instrument belonging to Mrs. George Crawley”. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 123.

¹⁵² Russell, letters to Mrs Crawley, 4357R040 and 4357R047, Archival Box D; Newman Scrapbook, CRCUnivE.

¹⁵³ Pilkington to Russell, January 31, 1963, 4357R043, Archival Box D.

¹⁵⁴ It is worth noting that Hubbard took measurements of the instrument on this occasion. Frank Hubbard to Maud Russell, letter, November 6, 1965, Newman Scrapbook, CRCUnivE.

¹⁵⁵ Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 18.

¹⁵⁶ Crawley to Russell correspondence, 1958-1959, 4357R047, Archival Box D.

¹⁵⁷ Russell used 7 Dilke Street, SW3, Chelsea Embankment as his London address at this time and kept 16 instruments at Flat no. 6, 61 Onslow Square, London, SW7. Valuation lists of instruments for insurance, 4357R044, Archival Box D.

¹⁵⁸ Russell to Crawley, March 6, 1959, marked 4357R048 but probably listed amongst 4357R047, Archival Box D.

or had links to the revival in making, and this was evident in his purchase of both the Taskin 1769 and the Goermans-Taskin instrument. The Goermans' strong link to the revival was through its connection to Dolmetsch. Dolmetsch owned, worked on and used the instrument for performances for a period from 1903.¹⁵⁹ Russell was probably aware of its twentieth-century history through his own dealings with the Dolmetsch family and Mrs. Crawley.

Russell valued certain makers over others in the same way Hertford valued authorship.¹⁶⁰ He was willing to pay high prices for late eighteenth-century, particularly Franco-Flemish, instruments – such as the Goermans-Taskin and Taskin 1769 – and expected high prices for them at the point of sale. The Ruckers sold by Pilkington for a record price is one example. His earliest harpsichord purchase, possibly inspired by the continued perception that these were the *crème de la crème*, also had Flemish origins; the Ruckers instrument discussed in Chapter 3. Although that particular instrument was not his for long, the interest in Ruckers instruments was strong and ever-increasing, which resulted in Russell's eventual presentation of four Ruckers family instruments in his final collection.¹⁶¹ A further example of a French workshop that produced *ravalements* acclaimed by Russell and his contemporaries is the Blanchet firm.¹⁶² Russell owned at least two Blanchet harpsichords at one stage, which he sold for high prices in the late 1950s.¹⁶³ The German, Hass instruments were also valuable to Russell, indicated by the fact that he owned three, and paid \$5000 (equal to £1400 at the time) for the 1764 Hass.¹⁶⁴ The attention Russell paid to these instruments, via his collecting and onward sale of them, intensified interest in them and therefore their value.

Questions of authorship are associated with provenance and have a significant impact on object value. Russell sometimes went to great lengths to establish who the original makers of certain

¹⁵⁹ Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 48; "Double-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 27 August 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/14796?highlight=*.

¹⁶⁰ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 29.

¹⁶¹ 'Search Results', accessed 27 August 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/search/*/Collection:%22raymond+russell+collection||Raymond+Russell+Collection%22?offset=.

¹⁶² Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 266-268.

¹⁶³ "B. Blanchet, 1. 1730 b[rought] Paris, by R. £750, 1952. Sold 1957 for £750 to Ch. Fisher, Boston, USA; 2. no date, b[rought] Paris, by R. £350, 1952. Sold Sotheby (£400?), 1958, now in S.A." Maud Russell, list of Russell's instruments, Russell family papers.

¹⁶⁴ The sum he paid for the Hass 1764 is written into his copy of Boalch. Russell's copy of Boalch, 45. Two instruments stayed in the Russell Collection and the remaining clavichord was kept by his mother after his death. "Clavichord," accessed 27 August 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/15366?highlight=*:*; "Single-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 27 August 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/15496?highlight=*:*. Maud Russell mentions John Barnes coming to work on the "Hass Clavichord" at Mottisfont. Maud Russell, September 8, 1967, Diary, Book XVIII, 146-147. There are also details and images of the Hass Clavichord on page 68 of Newman's Scrapbook, CRCUnivE.

instruments were, not only to enhance the monetary value but also to increase or sustain an instrument's perceived prestige. Even before his purchase of the then-named Couchet-Taskin, Russell researched the Couchet attribution carefully, partly to present to its owner Mrs Crawley some of the reasons for his interest in and high valuation of the instrument.¹⁶⁵ The multiple files and images surrounding Russell's work to attribute the original hand behind the Goermans-Taskin harpsichord demonstrate his tireless efforts.¹⁶⁶ Attribution of a maker can be a problematic business as prestige and monetary value vary according to specific makers, hence Maud Russell's upset with the reattribution to Goermans-Taskin after her son's death, in case it would affect the value of the instrument which her son had cherished and that she ultimately wished to sell.¹⁶⁷ The continued enthusiasm for Stradivarius violins is the obvious comparison to this obsession with attribution in harpsichords; Russell even conveyed that comparison himself in a letter to Crawley:

Dear Mrs Crawley,

It was very kind of you to let me come to lunch yesterday, and to take the records (which are much clearer than Vere [Pilkington]'s), and to play on that wonderful harpsichord. I was telling a violinist that evening how the instrument "warms up" and becomes more resonant and sensitive when you have been playing for a few minutes. "Just like my Stradivarius" she said. I think I have certainly looked really carefully at a larger number of old harpsichords than anyone else – all the collections in Europe, and many privately owned instruments – and there is no doubt in my mind that your Couchet is the clear winner: sensitive, able to deal with the whole literature in a most musical way, all the stops so individual yet discreet, and blending with each other so well that there is the level or "terrace" of sound for every occasion. Thus you have the perfect medium for the music of 300 years, though the tone never intrudes above the music as is the unfortunate case with the modern instruments. Rather you receive the impression of music and instrument in one. I always wonder what restoration the date 1764 on the soundboard records. [...]

May I come again one day with some Scarlatti?

¹⁶⁵ Russell to Mrs Crawley, October 16, 1958, 4357R048/4357R047, Archival Box D.

¹⁶⁶ Images of Couchet and Taskin roses, 4357R073, Box L40; Russell to Mrs Crawley, October 15, 1958, 4357R048/4357R047, Archival Box D.

¹⁶⁷ Newman Scrapbook, Maud Russell to John Barnes, October 12, 1972, 57, CRCUnivE. The same concern for attribution can be seen in the stringed instrument market, particularly with Cremonese instruments. Gino Cattani, Roger L. M. Dunbar, and Zur Shapira, "Value Creation and Knowledge Loss: The Case of Cremonese Stringed Instruments," *Organization Science* 24, no. 3 (2013): 813–30, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42002879>.

Yours sincerely

Raymond Russell¹⁶⁸

Russell's effusive admiration for the instrument comes across strongly in this letter. The significance of some of these statements to Russell's concepts of authenticity and historically informed performance will be explored in detail in the next chapter, but what is abundantly clear from Russell here is how much he enjoyed playing the instrument. Although he no longer publicly performed on harpsichords, the idea that such instruments should be played on was still of vital importance and value to Russell. Their use as a tool to interpret music was still first and foremost in his mind. This was one reason why the Goermans-Taskin harpsichord was so attractive to him.

Certainly Russell's initial interest in the Goermans-Taskin instrument was its attribution to Couchet and its recent history. However, on closer acquaintance with the instrument it was the harpsichord's sound and versatility that made it, in Russell's eyes, "without question one of the finest instruments from every point of view."¹⁶⁹ His perception that its sensitivity, tone and stops made it suitable as "the perfect medium for the music of 300 years" indicate again how important the playability of an instrument was to him.¹⁷⁰ Russell was in no doubt about its aesthetic appeal either, saying that, "It is also a very beautiful object to look at; I have a special love for walnut furniture & decoration, and I believe people are often scared by decorations in the style of Couchet. There again I can hardly believe that anyone who actually saw your harpsichord could think it anything but an object of quite exceptional beauty."¹⁷¹ But it was Russell's certainty that "musically it is the best harpsichord I know, as it can do anything the whole range of music can ask for" that sealed it as his favourite and most prized instrument.

Higonnet explains how, "Collecting changes things. Each time an object is exchanged, its value is altered." [...] "Some kinds of objects considered great since their creation were invested with new qualities. Some were demoted, and others were elevated."¹⁷² Through Russell's collection process revival instruments, with which he began, were demoted and eighteenth-century instruments elevated; his perceptions of value affected the market.¹⁷³ Many of Russell's instruments moved from his possession to other collections, both private and museum based. Once Russell's name was associated with the provenance of an instrument, its value increased

¹⁶⁸ Russell to Mrs Crawley, October 11, 1958, 4357R048/4357R047, Archival Box D.

¹⁶⁹ Russell to Crawley, March 6, 1959, 4357R048/4357R047, Archival Box D.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 25.

¹⁷³ Apart from the Flemish instruments, two early Italian examples and the Keene 1668 virginal, the rest of the Russell Collection constitutes eighteenth-century examples.

and he could sell them at a profit. The Kirkman instrument sold to Leonhardt is one example, and the Ruckers sold at auction for a record price to another collector, Dr. Mirrey, is a further example.¹⁷⁴ The market for provenance was stoked by Russell's interest in it, demonstrating how effective Russell's mission to be the purveyor of taste amongst harpsichord advocates was.

The year, 1951, that Russell began his survey of the world's keyboard collections precipitated his decision to focus solely on collecting. Throughout the 1950s, from concentrating on individual instruments and their performance qualities, Russell's attentions gradually shifted towards an awareness of collections as a whole, encompassing how the instruments within them related to each other, what each collection reflected, and what he could do with one himself. By the end of 1953, with his failed Festival Hall concert and health problems affecting his ability to perform, collections and collecting had become tools of scholarship to further Russell's career. Russell was not a frontrunner; he knew the preceding collections well and, whilst involved in his own collecting process, influenced other important collections. The process of change from performer, to collector, to connoisseur, was fluid and complex. It reflects many aspects of social and musical history that are important to understand and document to fully comprehend Russell's collection of keyboard instruments.

¹⁷⁴ See Figure 19 and note 91.

Chapter 5 Making Monuments: The Harpsichord

Advocate

Russell could not rest on his laurels as a known connoisseur; this was a position that needed constant work to maintain. His collecting became a mark of his connoisseurship, and the two fed on each other for growth and prestige. Not only was he keenly aware of the need to reinforce his position, he did so publicly in written and spoken form. In 1956, for example, in a paper given to the Royal Musical Association he simultaneously put down the opinion of those who had “only heard two or three different types of harpsichord”, whilst upholding his own by explaining that “one is not really in a position to judge [the tonal merits of different makes of harpsichord] unless one has constantly studied many types, old and new, and has their respective tone qualities ingrained in the ear as so many yardsticks.”¹ Here he specifically drew upon the expertise and opportunities he had had as a collector to “authenticate” his expertise. He sought to create an environment that valued his expertise and instruments and used this position to advocate for instruments and makers that he esteemed. This chapter explores Russell’s advocacy of the harpsichord: his methods, opportunities, and the outcomes of his work. I outline his conclusions and unpick some of the processes that led to them.

Russell’s eventual establishment as an authority within the harpsichord world is attested to by a number of events. His appointment at Sotheby’s mentioned in the previous chapter was one example, followed up in the 1950s by a number of prominent engagements and publications. Entries in the *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the cataloguing of the keyboard instrument collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum and Benton Fletcher Collection, a book chapter, BBC Third Programme broadcasts, a paper given to the RMA, and the publication of his book, all contributed to consolidating Russell’s position as well as promoting the harpsichord. Apart from the catalogues, these forms of advocacy will be examined in the first half of this chapter.

Indeed, Russell was at the forefront of Anglo-American research into the history of historical keyboard instruments.² In his journey towards connoisseurship Russell perceived significant gaps

¹ Raymond Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1955-1956): 70.

² Kottick highlights the work of Russell and Hubbard in the post-World War II boom in interest in keyboard instruments. Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 3.

in knowledge surrounding them.³ With the recent advent of commercial air travel, his linguistic versatility and ability to self-fund, Russell's research accomplished a perspective that had not been achieved or attempted before. Through the period of intense global research via archive, museum and collection visits between 1950-53, he sought to acquire the most comprehensive vantage point possible over extant historical keyboard instruments in order to begin to historicise their development. This work informed both the detail and structure of his own collection, and fed into plans to produce a book to fill the gap in the market. Coinciding with this period, Russell built on this knowledge-bank through work with the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee from 1951. Major George Henry Benton Fletcher's (1866-1944) collection was a forerunner of Russell's own. The links between the two and issues surrounding Russell's cataloguing of Benton Fletcher's collection will be discussed in the second half of this chapter. Following on from that, the context of Russell's donation to Edinburgh, underlining the role Maud Russell played, will be closely examined.

5.1 Historicising the Harpsichord: Russell's Research in Print

One sure-fire way to bolster Russell's position within the harpsichord world, and to be taken seriously by academic circles, was to publish. Producing publications not only backed up his position, but helped communicate his ideas and values more widely. His publications related specifically to the history of the making of harpsichords; the first, a "revised list of instruments from the Ruckers workshop at Antwerp," which appeared in the 5th edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954), is a prime example of his fascination with the output of historical makers.⁴ Notes for this were gathered in the period since 1951 in which he had begun a thorough and "methodical study of the principal foreign collections".⁵

Russell's publications were well placed within circles of other early musical instrument connoisseurs. For example, Russell wrote a chapter covering "The Harpsichord, Spinet and Virginal," for a Galpin Society publication: *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, first published

³ Harding's account was related to the history of the pianoforte, rather than that of the harpsichord. Harding, *The Piano-forte*. According to Johnson, Hipkins' book was more of a "lavishly illustrated Victorian coffee table book" preoccupied with the instrument as an historical artefact and object of beauty than in the history of its development and construction. Johnson, "The Death and Second Life," 194; Alfred James Hipkins, *A Description and History of the Pianoforte and of the Older Keyboard Stringed Instruments* (London: Novello, 1896). And there was 20 years further development and research since Philip James', *Early Keyboard Instruments* (London: Peter Davies Ltd., 1930).

⁴ Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9; George Grove, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th Edition, Edited by Eric Blom, Volume I [-IX]*, (London: Macmillan, 1954).

⁵ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

in 1961.⁶ The list of other contributors, including the editor Anthony Baines, includes many leaders in their field, and attests to the position Russell gained by this point.⁷ His introduction to the keyboard instrument family of the plucked string variety gives a clear and concise description of the stringing and plucking mechanism, based on that of an English Kirkman instrument (in Russell's possession), an approach to playing, and a brief history of the making of the instruments – separated into national schools – and ends with a discussion of the pros and cons of “modern harpsichords.”⁸ The main bulk is dedicated to a discussion of the different attributes of the national schools and their influences within the instrument's history, highlighting the tone of Italian instruments and their usefulness in continuo playing, the importance of the Ruckers family of makers within the Flemish school, and their influence on the French school. Russell singled out early Italian and Flemish makers as of particular importance to the harpsichord's development: “France, England, and Germany relied early on Italian, and later on Flemish, instruments for much of their supply, and they received many instruments from the Ruckers workshops in the seventeenth-century.”⁹ Examples of both early Italian and Ruckers-made instruments feature in his own collection. In fact, this is a feature of this publication, as Russell frequently highlights makers and instruments he owned. He went on to emphasise the Flemish school by explaining that those “Antwerp” instruments that received an eighteenth-century French *mis en ravalement* (enlargement) in the workshops of Blanchet and Taskin, retain “qualities of richness and brilliance” that, according to him, “place them in a special class as general purpose instruments, suitable for all the literature, which cannot be said of the simple Italian [earlier] instruments”.¹⁰ Russell heightened the importance of the Ruckers family's influence in claiming that the “first real sign of a national school in England[...]found in the group of oblong virginals [...]made between 1641 and 1679” were “no doubt” inspired by Ruckers virginals.¹¹ The quick turn to English spinets mentions three generations of the Hitchcock family, neatly presenting another maker who features in his collection. For German makers, Russell identifies Hiernoymus and his son Johann Hass (their work span covers 1710-1770) as “[f]ar the most distinguished”.¹² Although there are

⁶ Raymond Russell, “The Harpsichord, Spinet and Virginal” in *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, ed. Anthony Baines (Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), 74-87.

⁷ Other contributors included Cecil Clutton, Thurston Dart, Kenneth Skeaping, Christopher Bunting, Eric Halfpenny, James A. MacGillivray, Christopher W. Monk, R. Morley Pegge and James Howarth. Baines, *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*, 5, 6.

⁸ Russell, “The Harpsichord, Spinet and Virginal,” 75-76, 85-86.

⁹ *Ibid*, 81-82.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 82. Chapter 4 demonstrates how Russell's fascination with these workshops was reflected in his purchase of instruments from them.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 83.

¹² *Ibid*, 84.

only two Hass instruments in the collection at Edinburgh, Russell owned three on his death in 1964; again demonstrating his opinions through his collecting habits.¹³

Giving prominence to Flemish and, in particular, late Franco-Flemish harpsichords was not a new phenomenon. By doing so Russell was, in fact, perpetuating the eighteenth-century French obsession with original Flemish instruments described by Kottick, and discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁴ His reasons for doing so were inextricably linked. It is impossible to unpick whether Russell's preference stemmed from knowing that these instruments had historically been highly valued, thereby increasing the level of interest in them in his time; from his appreciation that examples of these instruments precipitated the harpsichord revival; or through his aesthetic preference as a performer for the sound and playability of a particular Franco-Flemish instrument (his Goermans-Taskin).

Russell believed that it was a mistake to base new instruments on historical models that dated from a time when harpsichords were already being superseded by (and therefore trying to compete with) the pianoforte of the late eighteenth-century; this was one of his main criticisms of many revival instruments. He explained that "[t]he swell, the machine stop, and various other devices planned to vary tone colour were a last attempt to display powers of romantic expression comparable with those of the pianoforte" and that "this same phenomenon [is] displayed by many harpsichord makers today, whose preoccupation with contrasted tone colour and with expressive powers inherent in the pianoforte but foreign to the harpsichord betrays both a lack of appreciation of the sterling musical quality of the classical instrument and also doubts concerning its popular acceptance."¹⁵ This argument, for the issues found with instruments from the early part of the revival, is often still put forward today. The problem here is that two important historical instruments that acted as models for early revivalists became the two most favoured, copied, and influential instruments within Russell's own collection. To put it differently, two of the most copied harpsichords in the history of the harpsichord revival, two instruments that helped spur the initial revival that Russell claims was unfortunate to be based on "already decadent", "condemned" instruments, were some of Russell's favourite instruments. One of these is the Taskin 1769, whose links to Tomasini and Diémer have already been discussed, and the other is the Goermans-Taskin (also mentioned in the previous chapter), adapted by Dolmetsch for his own use in concerts.¹⁶ Both are fine examples of late French baroque

¹³ See "Value and Provenance," Chapter 4.

¹⁴ Kottick, *The History of the Harpsichord*, chapt. 13.

¹⁵ Russell, "The Harpsichord, Spinet and Virginal," 85.

¹⁶ Mabel Dolmetsch refers to Dolmetsch's substitution of the original knee levers of the harpsichord with pedals. Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections*, 48.

instruments. They are both late instruments built at a time when the piano was in the ascendance, and yet they have both been highly influential in the history of harpsichord building partly due to Russell's efforts to single them out. On the one hand Russell concisely pinpointed the difficulties of the early revivalist attempts to compete with romantic ideals of musical appreciation whilst, through his own collecting, advocacy and instrument preference, helping to entrench the nineteenth-century notion of teleological progress in instrument building. The idea that the 'best' instruments, produced after a chronologically linear development of improvements, constitute an appropriate 'one size fits all' instrument for all genres of early keyboard music is flawed. With a more nuanced position from my own, twenty-first century, perspective I would suggest that both the eighteenth-century and revival harpsichords were simply facets of their own musical environments, rather than competing instruments to the piano, and that approaches to instrument choice for any repertoire have multiple considerations at play that ought not to be generalised or ignored.

5.1.1 Addressing his peers: The Royal Musical Association (1956)

Russell would have known that he addressed a knowledgeable and invested crowd in 1956 when he gave his paper "The history of the harpsichord since 1800", to the Royal Musical Association. The unassuming title hid what quickly became a "piquant" criticism of the concurrent state of harpsichord making and performing in Britain.¹⁷ His audience contained a number of prominent makers and performers, representatives of both the British and American scenes.¹⁸ Russell discussed the issues of the "two schools of thought" within the harpsichord industry that had flourished since the 1890s.¹⁹ Whether the concept of these "two schools" was generally acknowledged by then, or was first highlighted by Russell, is unclear, but it has since gained traction.²⁰ A succinct explanation divides the schools thus: the English, Dolmetsch style, which was also transmitted to the US, consisted of handmade instruments within a workshop production run by one or two people; the French Énard/Pleyel style, which influenced the German scene, involved instruments that were manufactured in a factory on a much quicker production line. Diémer's influence can be traced in the initiation of both traditions.²¹

¹⁷ Comment made by the Chairman of the RMA, Frank Howe. Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," 72.

¹⁸ Thurston Dart, Carl Dolmetsch, Alec Hodsdon, Marshall Johnson, Ralph Kirkpatrick, Basil Lam, Harold Mann, and Vere Pilkington were all called on to comment at the end of the paper. Ibid, 74-75.

¹⁹ Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," 65.

²⁰ See Kottick, "The Revival Harpsichord", *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide*, 49-51. Kottick covers the different revival schools extensively in "The Harpsichord Revival from the Paris Exposition to World War II," *A History of the Harpsichord*, chap. 18.

²¹ Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," 64.

Russell stated that in both making traditions, instrument copies very quickly departed from any similarities to their original models.²² He used comparisons of weight to help describe these departures. There are multiple examples in this paper alone where Russell elides lightness and delicacy with authenticity, the premise being that a light construction is ‘better’ and more authentic than a heavy construction, which is more akin to that of a piano.²³ According to Russell, “the Érard was conceived on a far heavier plan[...]more on the lines of an early piano”, and with Pleyel instruments, “at first lighter than the Érard[...], heavy casework inevitably followed.”²⁴ He also claimed that “Dolmetsch’s first instrument was a much lighter affair, [...] based on Italian traditions”, implying that Dolmetsch’s instruments too became heavier in construction.²⁵ For Russell, instrument tone and resonance were adversely affected when a light construction was abandoned.

By its inherent nature the harpsichord is an instrument for a room, possibly a large room, but not for a large hall. Brilliance and volume are qualities which almost any instrument, however lacking in resonance, can be forced to produce, but this is only apparent at close quarters. The vibrations transmitted to the soundboard by thin strings, delicately plucked by small quill or leather plectra, are quite inadequate to influence the air of a hall in a manner comparable with the effect of a piano. The instrument can be clearly heard in the largest halls or churches, but unless lightly constructed the tone loses all substance when put to this test, and we are left with the effect of the ‘toasting fork drawn over the parrot’s cage’.²⁶

Russell felt that the light construction of historical models gave them superior qualities that modern versions were unable to compete with: “The drum, light and resonant, is a highly efficient soundbox[sic], and so was the old harpsichord which also was made as light as possible. Good classical instruments can be satisfactorily used in far larger halls than their heavy modern counterparts.”²⁷ In favourably comparing the simple construction of the drum with that of the old harpsichords, he implied that the more complex construction of modern examples was detrimental to their sound qualities.

²² Ibid, 65-68.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, 65.

²⁵ Ibid, 66.

²⁶ Ibid. Russell does not cite anyone for the “toasting fork” quote, but it is a phrase attributed to the conductor Sir Thomas Beecham (1879-1961), commonly used as a criticism against harpsichords. Robert Andrews, *The New Penguin Dictionary of Modern Quotations* (Penguin UK, 2003).

²⁷ Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 66.

Russell also applied weight comparisons when addressing issues with keyboard playing technique, chiefly “touch”, and in doing so aligned himself more closely to Dolmetsch’s legacy as opposed to Landowska’s. Dolmetsch’s notion was that a good harpsichord and clavichord player required a “light touch” with “deft fingers”.²⁸ For Dolmetsch and Russell a heavier touch was associated with piano and organ playing technique. The sound production mechanism in historical harpsichords (and virginals and spinets) – the act of plucking the string – can be felt as the key is depressed. The sensation of the action when depressing the keys on pianos and organs is different again. To enable musically sensitive playing on a harpsichord, unless one has done their entire musical training on that instrument, adjustments must be made to a performer’s playing technique to fully engage with the instrument’s capabilities. Russell’s complaint against contemporary instrument makers was that the technique of adding “weighted jacks and bushed and weighted keys,” were unhistorical inventions aimed at making the instruments more comfortable for pianists, and that they ignored the expertise of “the old masters.”²⁹ As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, Russell’s own playing experience had led him towards a study of historical harpsichord playing treatises; he critiqued others for a heavy touch and over use of different registrations. Thus, by the later 1950s, Russell was advocating for an historically informed approach to both playing and making techniques, for the effective utilisation of harpsichords.

Instrument tone and the sound qualities appropriate for certain music were significant preoccupations of Russell’s. They drew him away from the objective stance he portrayed, towards contradictory conclusions that were disassociated from the instruments’ highlighted origins.

Italian harpsichords and spinets have a most characteristic tone in which the twelfth (the third harmonic) is prominent, and the suggestion of clarinet tone which results is often quite marked. These harpsichords and spinets usually blend very well with strings and voices, and they are unsurpassed for continuo playing, perhaps their most usual duty when first made.³⁰

He did qualify his statement with “perhaps”, but having just compared the tone of those instruments to that of clarinets, the subjectivity of Russell’s opinion is difficult to hide.³¹ Of Flemish instruments, specifically Ruckers, he said that they have a “very satisfying” tone, and he

²⁸ Ibid, 67. Dolmetsch, *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*, 14 & 15.

²⁹ Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 67.

³⁰ Russell, “The Harpsichord, Virginal and Spinnet,” 81-82.

³¹ Jenny Nex has helpfully pointed out in her suggestions for this thesis that, “The clarinet overblows at the 12th and its sound only includes half the partials of, say, a flute, so perhaps there is something in what he says.”

claimed that those instruments that had not been enlarged in the eighteenth-century “have some of the tone quality associated with Italian instruments.” Russell felt that the tone of such Ruckers instruments was not “much altered by *ravalement*, though the operation tended to make them less percussive.” For him, “their qualities of richness and brilliance place them in a special class as general purpose instruments, suitable for all the literature, which cannot be said of the simple Italian instruments.”³²

Here Russell suggests that there is a “special class” of instrument, a “general purpose instrument,” as if it is desirable that there be one type of harpsichord suitable for performing all the many centuries of harpsichord “literature.” We have already seen him make similar statements about the Goermans-Taskin harpsichord:

I think that musically it is the best harpsichord I know, as it can do anything the whole range of music can ask for, and each stop sounds so lovely alone, and they all blend so marvelously[sic] with each other.³³

Again here there are echoes of the phrase “general purpose instrument.” Russell used all his acquired knowledge and experience to back up what was in fact a subjective preference for particular instruments that he favoured within his collection, and aesthetic preferences in line with wider trends. In his RMA paper a “general purpose” harpsichord has an “unostentatious” tone that makes it suitable for both solo and continuo playing.³⁴ In his *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* chapter, Russell criticises modern harpsichords equipped with 16-foot and pedals on historical grounds, while grouping together a whole series of European composers spanning the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries to explain that these “masters of harpsichord-writing [...] were content with small or moderate-sized instruments with one or two manuals, a maximum of two 8-foots and one 4-foot, and without means of changing the stops while playing.”³⁵ On the one hand, Russell eulogised the individual characteristics of historical instruments whilst on the other, he amalgamated three centuries of music, and recommended that future makers strip the idiosyncrasies of the geographical schools to favour a one-size-fits-all approach. Russell called himself “a great champion of the authentic instruments” and advocated

³² *Ibid*, 82.

³³ Russell to Crawley, March 6, 1959, 4357R047/4357R048, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh

³⁴ Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 70 & 71.

³⁵ Russell, “The Harpsichord, Virginal and Spinnet,” 86.

an historical approach to making, but his suggestions do so at the expense of individualism and temporal variation within instruments and the music written for them.³⁶

Russell's expressions of preference for lighter instruments and a playing technique adapted to them resonate with wider aesthetic concerns in the mid-twentieth century. As Richard Taruskin has pointed out "[l]ightness is as old as Satie."³⁷ Taruskin claims that the "style of performance" that, since the 1960s, was "revamped and re-outfitted with a new instrumentarium", and which has been known as "historical" or "authentic," has "been a contender since the 1920s" and that "Early Music is no earlier than that."³⁸ Taruskin's point is that lightness is a preference that has pervaded modernist performance discourse for all repertoires, not just early music, but that in the early music revival this preference had been legitimised by recourse to history. Whatever one thinks of this interpretation, Russell's career fits snugly into Taruskin's timeline: Chapters 2 and 3 have outlined Russell's musical experience at Eton and Cambridge in the 1930s, and as a performer in the 1940s and 50s, within an aesthetic shift towards preference for smaller forces and period instruments. His position as advocate shows this blend of modernist aesthetics and historical validation and demonstrates some of the internal contradictions of the larger movement.

Russell was chiefly directing his criticisms at the "amateur attitude" of the English scene.³⁹ This is undoubtedly something that caused offence to instrument builders like Goff and Alec Hodsdon.⁴⁰ To remedy what Russell viewed as this unsatisfactory situation, he made a number of proposals. He insisted that makers should have to serve an apprenticeship, similar to those in piano factories and, importantly, that they "must have proper historical knowledge of [their] subject."⁴¹ Taking into account the demands of "concert artists," he suggested that the two- or three-person workshops were of "no use," and that a business model based on piano firms where they could produce instruments quickly, cheaply, and on a larger scale, whilst also providing "the basic services of hire, transport, servicing and tuning" was "essential for concert work."⁴² Although, aesthetically, Russell bent towards instruments like those that the Dolmetsch workshop produced, it was their practice that he critiqued. His suggestions seem to attempt a synthesis of the good elements of the two schools of making that he outlined.

³⁶ Russell to Crawley, March 6, 1959, 4357R047/4357R048, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

³⁷ Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 167.

³⁸ Taruskin, 167.

³⁹ Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," 68-69.

⁴⁰ See "The Queen's Ruckers Ruckus", below, for further details about Goff's reaction.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 69 & 70.

⁴² *Ibid*, 70.

Perhaps surprisingly, when considering his life-work, Russell proposed the idea of the production of a “general purpose” instrument: a ‘one-size-fits all’ instrument based more closely on historical lines – stripped down of over-complicated mechanisms and additions such as the “modern coupler” and the sixteen-foot, that added weight, and expense to make and maintain – in order to be “tonally unostentatious.”⁴³ These suggestions had much practical sense and good business-oriented thought behind them, particularly in considering the needs of the professional performer, and led him to further criticise other modern practices, such as the use of amplification:

The requirements of modern concert giving, of radio, and of recording, must be borne in mind, but demands should not be made of the harpsichord which it is basically unable to fulfil, i.e. the Albert Hall. I have never seen a modern harpsichord as resonant as a good old one, and the prosthesis of electrical amplification is no solution to basic problems of construction, besides creating new difficulties for player and listener alike.⁴⁴

These suggestions were put to discussion amongst Russell’s peers at the RMA event. In the discussion, Howes, the Chairman, noted the value of contextualising the modern revival and thanked Russell for doing so.⁴⁵ Kirkpatrick backed up his friend “on the inherent weakness of the amateur tradition of players and makers in England” saying that “he had long given up any hope of influencing modern harpsichord makers” and that “in his experience a number of old instruments worked far better than their modern counterparts.”⁴⁶ Hodsdon, who may have felt personally attacked by Russell’s paper, provocatively renamed the general purpose harpsichord suggestion as the “Volksklavier” and said that “the public would not buy it.”⁴⁷ If this comment was implied with its Nazi connotations, it would have been extremely insulting.⁴⁸ Pilkington, Dolmetsch, and Marshall Johnson backed up Russell’s statements about the unhelpfulness of amplified instruments. They discussed the example of four amplified harpsichords at the Royal Festival Hall, where the instruments were inaudible below the middle of the keyboard.⁴⁹ This was probably a reference to one of Tom Goff’s Jamboree concerts (discussed in the previous chapter), where four Goff harpsichords, always played on by a quartet including Dart and Malcolm, were

⁴³ Ibid, 70 & 71.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 70.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 72.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 72 & 73.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 73.

⁴⁸ The origins of the Volkswagen Beetle are strongly linked to Nazi Germany. Hitler commissioned the design of the affordable “bug shaped car”, the “people’s car” or Volkswagen. He introduced the prototype, designed by Ferdinand Porsche, in 1938. Bernhard Rieger, *The People’s Car: A Global History of the Volkswagen Beetle*, (United States: Harvard University Press, 2013), Prologue.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

annually brought together with an orchestra in the Royal Festival Hall. Dart responded in partial defence, when asked by the Chairman if he would use a general purpose instrument, but was not dismissive.⁵⁰ He noted how well instrument amplification was then being done in Germany, and claimed that it was the only acceptable way “in this present age”; which suggests he recognised the limitations of the Royal Festival Hall approach.⁵¹ He did admit that the standardisation of pedals would be useful. Inherent in the criticism of amplification was the notion, outlined earlier by Russell, that harpsichords built on historical lines would be more resonant and therefore would not need to be amplified.

Bearing in mind the aesthetic trend described by Taruskin, Russell’s RMA presentation and subsequent publications can be read as an attempt to push this ‘modern’ aesthetic shift towards a unified approach through instrument standardisation. In so doing, he presents a juxtaposition of opinions held at this bridging point in twentieth-century musical history: Russell advocated for an historically informed approach whilst clinging to nineteenth-century notions of instrument perfectibility.

5.1.2 Monuments of the harpsichord world: Russell’s book

Russell aimed to produce a book and collection that would express as fully-informed and objective a viewpoint of the development of harpsichord making that he could achieve, by capitalizing on his unique experience and network. His first book deal came about via Cecil Clutton (1909-1991), as he explained in its introduction.⁵² Raymond had been aware of Clutton’s work since his youth and, as a teenager, expressed reservations about his expertise, nevertheless he was happy to “piggy-back” on the opportunity when it was offered.⁵³ Kirkpatrick was of particular importance for the development of the book. Apart from their close friendship, they had a mutual respect for each other’s work; Kirkpatrick’s advice after reading Russell’s first draft, and his continued encouragement and help to find a new publisher proved invaluable.⁵⁴ Their correspondence maps the trials and frustrations experienced by Russell in finally getting *The Harpsichord and*

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Clutton had been asked, in 1954, to write a book on all the keyboard instruments, “stressing of course the organ.” Clutton “invited” Russell to write the chapters about the harpsichord and clavichord but, once Russell had drafted what he felt ought to go in and it became obvious that it would be too much material for two chapters, Clutton “generously withdrew,” leaving the entire book for Russell’s own work. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

⁵³ Russell to Martin Russell, April 4, 1940, Russell family papers; Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

⁵⁴ In 1955, after feedback from Kirkpatrick, Russell’s rewrote his first draft and “cut out masses”, but by 1956 the contract with his publishers was withdrawn and Russell. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9-10; Kirkpatrick to Russell, April 12, 1956 and October 23, 1956, 4357R043/4357R044, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

Clavichord: An Introductory Study published by Faber and Faber Limited in 1959. Like his other publications, this work was entangled with his collection in important ways: a quarter of the images used to illustrate his points are photos of his own instruments and the geographical based structure mirrors that of his collection.⁵⁵ Furthermore, as with the other publications discussed, Russell was unable to avoid expressing his subjective opinion throughout the book.⁵⁶

Russell used the publication of his book to validate his reputation. He made sure that copies were sent out to all "the right sorts of people" to consolidate his position amongst them.⁵⁷ Copies were sent to Dart, Landowska, Nadia Boulanger, Andrew Douglas, John Challis, Eric Halfpenny and members of the Dolmetsch family to name but a few.⁵⁸ The list of thanks in his introduction, to contributors and helpers, covers many of Russell's keyboard friends and colleagues already featured in this thesis. Dent's role is mentioned last but one; positioned thus, Russell highlights his indebtedness to Dent's support throughout his career and the acknowledgment acts as a fitting posthumous tribute to their friendship.⁵⁹ Donald Boalch is the final person to be acknowledged, whose collaboration – whilst working on his own tome of harpsichord knowledge – was paramount.⁶⁰ Between them Russell and Boalch contributed the first real overview of the history of the harpsichord in the West.

Russell also used the list of acknowledgments to exclude individuals from his circle. Noticeable by his absence is Tom Goff, a long-standing friend of the Russell family and a fellow member of the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee. The rift between them, detailed later in this chapter, persisted for a number of years, but Goff initially responded gratefully and graciously to being sent a copy of the book.⁶¹ However, a letter sent by Goff a few weeks later indicates that his first effusive response was written before he had read the book. His second letter, written in a far

⁵⁵ His book and collection were constructed around the idea of national schools of instrument building. See "National Schools," below.

⁵⁶ Here are a couple of examples, from many within the book, Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*: Of Ruckers harpsichords he said, "Though of rather crude construction they are of exceptionally good tone, and as a result were altered and enlarged rather than discarded in favour of new instruments." 46; "The two best harpsichord makers in England in the eighteenth century were Burkat Shudi (or Tschudi) and Jacob Kirckman." 79. Jenny Nex, in her suggested corrections to this thesis, has helpfully pointed out that although these are subjective views based on Russell's experience, certain makers – such as Hass – were more "meticulous" in their construction and their instruments showed "impeccable craftsmanship" whereas some other makers were indeed less careful and their instruments could therefore be seen as cruder.

⁵⁷ For this trope, see Robert Bliss in Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 76.

⁵⁸ A collection of notes, comments, and correspondence regarding R. Russell's book, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, all marked 4357R050 but listed as 4357R049, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁵⁹ Dent died before the book was finalised. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Tom Goff to Raymond Russell, June 12, 1959, 4357R049/4357R050, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

more abrupt tone, expressed his “hurt” by Russell’s “remark that our work was ‘in a state of adolescence’ and ‘you hoped’ of change”.⁶² Goff took personally any criticisms Russell had made of the contemporary scene of harpsichord making in Britain, both in print and verbally. What is not clear is whether Russell had meant to personally attack Goff’s instruments, or whether sensitivities within their mutual network were the fault-line.

Correspondence surrounding Russell’s book – in particular, letters from Kirkpatrick and Dart – provide further indications of the possibility of an intercontinental queer harpsichord network. Dart sent two letters referring to the success of Russell’s book: one encouraging Russell to pay a visit to the ailing Boris Ord (who had also read and appreciated the book), to “gossip” with him and pass on “anecdotes”, and the other referring to a review he was just about to write of Russell’s book.⁶³ It is the undertone of a comment within the second letter, that offers the strongest hint at a clandestine shared network. In a handwritten asterisk and note, appended to a mention of an upcoming trip to New York, Dart asks, “know anyone nice I might call on?”.⁶⁴ This Anglo-American network is confirmed in a letter from Kirkpatrick who was based in the U.S.:

All the members of the harpsichord world who have seen the book on my table have pounced upon it with rapture. No doubt a few will pounce upon you too, but just buy yourself a copy of your ex-Chelsea neighbour Whistler’s *Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, into which I recently dipped again, not without thoughts of you and T R H...G, (or whatever the initials are).⁶⁵

This extract contains the most direct reference to any sexual advances that might be made on Russell within the harpsichord world. *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* is a book written by the painter James McNeill Whistler which, in part, consisted of a libel suit against the art critic John Ruskin.⁶⁶ The initials mentioned refer to Tom Robert Charles Goff, and are linked to the rift between Goff and Russell, which is discussed below. There is a strong implication here that their fall-out was not solely about harpsichords.

⁶² Tom Goff to Raymond Russell, letter, June 28 [1959], 4357R049/4357R050, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁶³ Dart to Russell, September 28, 1959, and June 8, 1959, 4357R049/4357R050, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁶⁴ Dart to Russell, June 8, 1959, 4357R049/4357R050, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁶⁵ Kirkpatrick to Russell, letter, July 13, 1959, 4357R049/4357R050, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁶⁶ James Whistler, *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, ed. Sheridan Ford (Paris: Delabrosse & company, 1890).

5.1.3 National Schools

Russell constructed his book around the idea of geographical categories that represented different schools of instrument building and sought to identify their characteristics. It was not the first time the idea of national schools had been associated with keyboard instruments. Russell himself had posited the example of Alfred Hipkins and his collection of historical keyboard instruments in his 1956 RMA paper, explaining that Hipkins had demonstrated to “this Association in 1885,[...] the various schools of early keyboard music with the aid of five early instruments.”⁶⁷ In this instance however the example given relates to keyboard music, not the origins of the instruments themselves. Russell may have been the first to categorise the instruments in this way in print. Russell’s early 1950s research period, from whence he conceived the idea of his book, engendered the formulation of this structuring notion that, once formed, had ramifications on his collecting process.

The concept of national schools of harpsichord making plays an important part in Russell’s historicising of the harpsichord. Indeed, in his chapter for *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* he wrote that “[t]he history of the early keyboard instruments of the harpsichord kind is a history of national schools, originating in Italy, spreading to the Low Countries, and thence to the rest of Europe”, indicating just how fundamental this concept was to his own understanding of the development of the instruments.⁶⁸ As mentioned above, much of this chapter was dedicated to a description of the traits and influences of those national schools, tracing their journeys throughout Europe. Russell’s preference for certain traits meant that the different schools were not given equal weight. Russell’s collection mirrors that view point: the earliest instrument is an Italian harpsichord; the foremost later instruments are late Franco-Flemish, with Kirkman and Hass examples bringing up a close second – signifying Russell’s preferences and the linear trail of development traced in his writings and ideas.

Russell’s focus on national schools was in keeping with the societal preoccupation with nationhood but his collection sacralised the work of other nations over his own.⁶⁹ In comparison, other collectors attempted to raise the profile of their own nation’s work. For example, Higonnet describes how Henri d’Orleans, the Duc d’Aumale (1822-1897), “systematically used collecting to

⁶⁷ Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 63.

⁶⁸ Russell, “Harpsichords, Spinets and Virginals,” 80.

⁶⁹ I discuss the relationship between the origins of the revival and English nation-building in Chapter 2. For further use of early music for nation building see John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn’s Revival of the ‘St. Matthew Passion’* (Cornell University Press, 2014).

constitute a French history of art”, while Benton Fletcher advocated the work of early English composers.⁷⁰ Russell used his collection to represent his concept of the history of harpsichord making.

The idea of nation-based categorisation of harpsichord making that Russell advocated for has persisted to the present day. Only relatively recently has Kottick suggested that modifications “to Russell and Hubbard’s geographical approach” have become necessary, citing the ever increasing entries in subsequent editions of Boalch’s *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord*, that necessitated the “erosion of paradigms” set by Hubbard and Russell.⁷¹ Published three times at intervals of roughly 20 years over the twentieth-century, Boalch’s book offers a helpful viewpoint of the exponential increase in knowledge of extant instruments and their makers.⁷² Even in Russell’s own copy of the first edition, he has pencilled in updates and corrections, demonstrating this ever expanding knowledge accumulation.⁷³ Importantly, Kottick points out that Russell (and Hubbard’s) approach “did not account for the profound differences between earlier and later instruments.”⁷⁴ Yet this thesis has demonstrated just how aware of those differences and their functions Russell was. The heart of the problem lies in the fact that Russell’s conclusions were formed when the hegemonic attitude towards history was teleological. Russell saw the historical development of harpsichord making as a march of progress towards a highpoint at the end of the eighteenth-century, when the fully developed Franco-Flemish instruments held sway, with other monuments of harpsichord making such as Hass and Kirkman holding a close joint second place.

Although Russell was fully aware of the “profound differences” amongst keyboard instruments, his agenda was to advocate for the development of an “ideal” harpsichord based on a thorough knowledge of all the ‘best’ achievements of past masters. He called for a closer adherence to historical models, but in a way that selected the ‘best-bits,’ rather than making direct copies of single instruments. This selective sampling of Russell’s is well represented by the “Picture Book” of the keyboard instruments at the Victoria & Albert Museum that he produced in 1958.⁷⁵ In closing the introduction to the booklet Russell explained: “This picture book does not show all the

⁷⁰ Higonnet, 40; Mimi S. Waitzman, “George Henry Benton Fletcher: The Improbable Collector,” in *Through the Eyes and Ears of Musical Instrument Collectors c.1860-1940*, ed. Christina Linsenmeyer (forthcoming).

⁷¹ Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord*, 3.

⁷² The 1956 Boalch’s *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord* listed six hundred makers. With more than twelve hundred entries, Boalch II doubled that number in 1974, and Boalch III, in 1995, listed more than sixteen hundred builders. This does not include anonymous builders and their thousands of instruments. Kottick, *The History of the Harpsichord*, note no. 4, 475.

⁷³ Russell’s copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (London: George Ronald, 1956), currently on loan to the author by David Owen Norris.

⁷⁴ Kottick, *The History of the Harpsichord*, 3.

⁷⁵ Katherine Dougherty and C.H. Gibbs-Smith to Russell, April and July 1958, 4357R099, Box L41, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

instruments in the Museum[...] The author has selected the plates to show instruments [...] of the best musical quality [...] and associated with the best makers.”⁷⁶ Unfortunately the subjectivity of designating ‘best attributes and achievements’ undermined the objectivity of his overview.

Russell’s advocacy for learning from past masters could be misinterpreted as an endorsement of what is now called the historical harpsichord making scene, where individual artisans hand-craft copies of single instruments. However, while some such workshops had already cropped up in his lifetime, we have seen that Russell did not support them, neither in terms of their working practice, nor of the ideology behind their models.

5.1.4 Addressing the public

Russell wanted his views to reach beyond the limited circles of his peers and fellow keyboard specialists. Unlike Kirkpatrick he had not given up hope of influencing makers and the future of the harpsichord, and sought opportunities to make his thoughts more public. One way was to engage more closely with keyboard collections that were open to the public; I will discuss those activities in more detail below. The second method was to utilise the resources of the BBC Third Programme to reach a broader audience.⁷⁷ Two broadcasts he gave, on January 25th and May 24th 1957, use the same title he gave his RMA paper: “The Harpsichord Since 1800.” Sadly, no recording or transcript survives. It seems likely that the broadcasts were based on the RMA presentation that has been discussed above, perhaps with some adjustments based on the discussions after the paper. Although audiences were relatively small in comparison to other BBC programmes, Russell’s views would still have reached well beyond those he could access on a regular basis.⁷⁸ The broadcasts gave Russell the opportunity to address a music appreciating public with his view of the harpsichord revival and the direction he felt the scene ought to move in. Evidence suggests that these broadcasts did have an impact, though possibly not in all the directions that Russell had intended. The career of the Dublin based maker Cathal Gannon (1910-1999) is a prime example. Gannon, who in 1957 would have fallen into the category of the amateur maker, heard one of Russell’s broadcasts and took the advocacy for learning from old

⁷⁶ Mock-up of Russell’s Picture Book, 4357R096, Box L41, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. In 1964 Russell offered to produce a full catalogue for the collection, which he left incomplete. This was completed and published after his death. For further information about Russell’s catalogue for the V&A see 4357R098-4357R100, Box L41, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁷⁷ “The Harpsichord Since 1800,” *The Radio Times*, 24 May 1957, <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/79d423508d5340cba2b3b1a3be4fb09f>. Also broadcast on January 25th, 1957.

⁷⁸ Robert Hewison, *Culture and Consensus: England, Art and Politics since 1940*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015).

harpsichords to heart.⁷⁹ His first harpsichord (Harpsichord No. 1, 1951-52) was based on the 1777 Jacob & Abraham Kirkman harpsichord of the Benton Fletcher Collection.⁸⁰ On hearing Russell's broadcast, "[h]e removed the unnecessary bars from under the soundboard, unstrung it and put in lighter strings" and "abandoned his plan to fit seven pedals", modifications that were inspired by Dolmetsch's work.⁸¹ For Gannon, "the effect was immediate" and the instrument suddenly sounded "absolutely lovely."⁸² Henceforth, Gannon took on board Russell's emphasis on learning from the old masters and stripping instruments of more recent modifications, however, like many other small-scale British workshops, he was not interested in expanding his workshop's production beyond a scale that he could manage on his own.

A chief goal of Russell's advocacy was that it placed great importance on others learning via his collection and publications. Russell did not expect all instrument makers to study harpsichords in the way that he had spent the previous decade doing. He was actively positioning his collection and own expertise, and that of others with similar learning, at the forefront of the future of the harpsichord industry. To be an historically informed maker, he argued, one needed to study excellent examples of historical instruments, ideally grouped together. The same goes for establishing a well-informed playing technique: one needs to have worked with historical instruments to fully comprehend how they can be used most effectively. In order to do so a student builder or performer needs access to a working collection of historical examples that offers a broad spectrum of historical models. By the time Russell's RMA paper had been given, he had already begun to formalise ideas for his collection, with similar aims to those of a collection already in existence – The Benton Fletcher Collection.

5.2 Advocacy through collections: Benton Fletcher and Russell

Russell was already intimately acquainted with another working collection before he conceived the idea of formalising his own. Mimi Waitzman has published extensively about Benton Fletcher, his eclectic and opaque biography and the constituents of his collection.⁸³ It is not certain when Benton Fletcher began collecting historical keyboard instruments. However, it is clear that by

⁷⁹ Charles Gannon, *Cathal Gannon: The Life and Times of a Dublin Craftsman (1910-1999)*, (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2006), 226.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix A, 377.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 227 & 377.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 227.

⁸³ Mimi S. Waitzman, "Ancient Musicland' to Authenticity, a study of the Benton Fletcher Collection Archive," *Music and Musicians*, Vol. 37 No.3, (November 1988); *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*, (The National Trust, 2003); "George Henry Benton Fletcher: The Improbable Collector," in *Through the Eyes and Ears of Musical Instrument Collectors c.1860-1940*, ed. Christina Linsenmeyer (forthcoming).

1934 when he purchased Old Devonshire House, in Holborn, he already had a growing collection of historical keyboard instruments including harpsichords, spinets, virginals, clavichords and pianos.⁸⁴ He restored this dilapidated Charles II building, filled it with antiques and gave it to the National Trust in 1937.⁸⁵ In May 1941, during a Luftwaffe bombing raid on Holborn, the property and its contents were totally destroyed – including some of his instruments.⁸⁶ However, Benton Fletcher had the foresight to have moved most of his collection to a property in Gloucestershire, ensuring the main collection's survival.⁸⁷ In 1943 the National Trust bought No. 3 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and housed the collection there until 1952, when it was moved to Fenton House, Hampstead, to live amongst the collection of furniture and china bequeathed to the Trust with that property.⁸⁸ Benton Fletcher, who had died in 1944 prior to seeing the reopening of his collection to the public, was an antiquarian so the criteria for his collection encompassed historical models only – a more specific criteria is not now known.⁸⁹ Waitzman points out that those instruments lost in the destruction of Old Devonshire House indicated that, "instruments with struck actions, that is early pianos and clavichords, were to have been more fully represented, as were early organs."⁹⁰

Throughout the 1930's Benton Fletcher strove to make his collection available to a broad sector of British society: loaning instruments to music societies and utilising public media outlets including television, radio and popular publications, such as *The Listener*.⁹¹ He aimed to encourage more interest in historical keyboard instruments and inspire more musicians to commit to them, whilst advocating for historical British composers, such as the Purcells, Blow, Arne and Pepusch.⁹² The majority of his instruments are English models which, in line with his advocacy for old English composers, signifies the underlying nationalistic concept.⁹³

The importance of the Benton Fletcher Collection to the harpsichord revival lies in his emphasis on the instruments' playability. Waitzman outlines how Benton Fletcher, in 1938, shrewdly

⁸⁴ Waitzman, "George Henry Benton Fletcher."

⁸⁵ Edgar Hunt, "The Harpsichord Odyssey (II)," *The English Harpsichord Magazine*, Vol. 3 No 1 (1981); The National Trust, *A Catalogue of Early Keyboard Instruments*, The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House, (The National Trust, 1981), 3 ML 462.L6 Rus., University of Edinburgh Library; Waitzman, "George Henry Benton Fletcher."

⁸⁶ Waitzman, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, 11.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ The National Trust, *A Catalogue of Early Keyboard Instruments Fenton House Catalogue*, 3.

⁸⁹ Waitzman, "George Henry Benton Fletcher."

⁹⁰ Waitzman, *The Benton Fletcher Collection*, 11.

⁹¹ Waitzman, "George Henry Benton Fletcher"; Benton Fletcher, "Early Music at Old Devonshire House," *The Listener*, October 1938, loose page in scrapbook, Box VI, Fenton House Archive, Fenton House, Hampstead, The National Trust.

⁹² Waitzman, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, 11.

⁹³ Waitzman, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, 11 and 14.

“formed a Specially Authorized autonomous society, The Friends of Old Devonshire House” (which eventually became the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee), foreseeing the necessity for a group of specialists to oversee maintenance and curation of his collection that could continue after its donation to the National Trust and his eventual death.⁹⁴ It is unclear when Russell became a member of the collection’s Advisory Committee but he was an active member from at least 1951, when its meetings began to be minuted.⁹⁵ In 1953 he took over writing a catalogue for the collection from his friend and fellow committee member, Vere Pilkington.⁹⁶ Russell had already written an introduction to the Benton Fletcher Collection for a Fenton House guide book, published in 1953, presented alongside introductions to the china and porcelain collection by A.E. Martin and to the property itself by James Lees-Milne.⁹⁷ In it he emphasised the special qualities of the collection, explaining that it is “one of the few collections in the world where the instruments are alive, in playing order, and available to musicians and students.”⁹⁸ The importance of his choice of the word “alive” is manifold: that Russell was aware of its distinctiveness is testament to his experience of other collections across the globe, and how they are interacted with; it implies Russell’s own sense of the vitality of keeping historical instruments in playing order; and suggests that those not in such a state should therefore be considered ‘dead.’ Keeping antique instruments “alive,” however, does not come without pitfalls; in learning to curate and conserve such a collection, Russell and the committee became all too aware of the difficulties that could be encountered.

5.2.1 The Queen’s Ruckers Ruckus

Issues with maintenance and restoration of instruments were the main preoccupation of the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee. For a lengthy period its most engaged members were Goff, Pilkington, Russell, Richard Stewart-Jones (1914-1957) and Humphrey ap Evans (1922-2009) – who acted as secretary until all the roles were formalised.⁹⁹ The first business in the minute book,

⁹⁴ Waitzman, *The Improbable Collector*. The name of the committee was not consistent for some time. For the purposes of this thesis it will be referred to as the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee (or just Committee) - as it is most consistently titled within its minute book.

⁹⁵ Minutes of the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee, Fenton House Archive. The first meeting minuted in the book occurred on March 5, 1951. Goff, Pilkington and Russell were all in attendance. The contents confirm that the committee had been active prior to this

⁹⁶ 12th meeting, Fenton House, October 28, 1953, Item 79 (relating to Item 52) “The Catalogue,” Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee minute book, 23, Fenton House Archive, (hereafter known as BFAC).

⁹⁷ Raymond Russell, “The Musical Instruments,” Fenton House Hampstead, A Property of the National Trust, London, Country Life Limited, 1953, 10-13; A.E. Martin, ‘The China and Porcelain’, 6-9; James Lees-Milne, ‘Fenton House’, 3-5, 4359R45, S28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

⁹⁹ In addition there was a live-in instrument technician, Robert Arnold, who had studied instrument building and restoration work with Tom Goff. Arnold, *My Short Century*, 121. It wasn’t until the 14th meeting of the Committee that the National Trust elected members of the committee and chairmanship were finally

and perhaps the driving factor for its creation and a more formalised approach, was discussed under the heading “H.M. The Queen’s Harpsichord,” and is copied out below. The instrument had also been known as the Handel Harpsichord but soon after this entry, it has become known as The Ruckers Harpsichord, within the collection.¹⁰⁰

2. H.M. The Queen’s Harpsichord

Mr. Evans reported that the Handel Harpsichord, which Her Majesty The Queen was graciously lending to the Cheyne Walk collection, was being re-lacquered at Le Serve Galleries, in accordance with previous instructions from the committee. The work would be complete by the beginning of April.

Mr. Vere Pilkington said that the instrument needed requilling and restringing.

Mr. Raymond Russell said that its pitch was 5 tones down: he suggested that Mr. Douglas Brown be asked whether he would undertake the necessary work, if possible at 3 Cheyne Walk. The approval of the Committee should be sought before commissioning Mr. Douglas Brown.¹⁰¹

Now, as then, significant complexities surround restoration and repair of instruments. When the need arises for repairs to be undertaken, particularly if an instrument is to be maintained in playing order (as the Benton Fletcher Collection was and is), many aspects must be carefully considered: the impact of replacement and repair of what equate to historical artefacts; what should be replaced and which materials are appropriate for making such repairs and replacements; if attempting to return an instrument to a particular historical state (therefore potentially undoing previous restoration work), how far that work should go; what pitch is appropriate historically, sustainably for the instrument and practically for the user; and many others.¹⁰² For the committee, this process presented a significant learning curve as there was no standard of ‘best practice’ to compare to. Additional sensitivities surrounding an item from the Royal Collection meant that any restoration and maintenance had to be considered meticulously; the Advisory Committee took their role very seriously.

announced. 14th Meeting, 42 Queen Anne’s Gate, London, April 20, 1955, Item 13, “Election of the Committee”, 28, BFAC.

¹⁰⁰ The attribution to Handel has been addressed by Waitzman, who describes it as “Ioannes Ruckers, Antwerp, 1612, enlarged in England, 18th century.” Waitzman, *The Benton Fletcher Collection*, 36. Russell also discussed its attribution in “Handel’s Harpsichord,” *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, Appendix 12, 166.

¹⁰¹ Minutes, 3 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, March 5, 1951, 1, BFAC.

¹⁰² Waitzman, *The Benton Fletcher Collection*, 28; Robert Barclay, ed., Canadian Conservation Institute and Great Britain Museums and Galleries Commission, *The Care of Historic Musical Instruments* (London: Museums & Galleries Commission, 1997).

Differing attitudes towards restoration and repair work quickly became contentious. This is apparent, for example, in the restoration work undertaken on the “Shudi[sic] harpsichord” in the Dolmetsch workshop.¹⁰³ Upon that instrument’s return from the workshop the committee assessed the work as unsatisfactory. It noted that “many of the quills [were] broken, among other deficiencies” and agreed to ask Leslie Ward (joint director of the Dolmetsch workshop) to evaluate the work before they paid the invoice.¹⁰⁴ On his inspection Ward evaluated the work done as satisfactory, offering only to replace faulty plectra.¹⁰⁵

The Dolmetsch workshop, represented by Leslie Ward in this case, was a long-standing commercial concern and presented a tradesman’s attitude to the repair work done – they did the job in a commercially viable way. Tom Goff’s own instrument making business was not run on the same scale, or with the same ethos behind it, and both Russell and Pilkington (with their collecting and auction house hats on) represented an antiquarian point of view. Their concern was for quality, longevity and their own notions of authenticity. Ward affirmed their different positions when, in a letter dated some years later, he referred to himself as “in the trade,” separating himself from Russell’s position and area of expertise.¹⁰⁶ The committee as a whole had different standards and felt that in the instance of the Shudi restoration done by Dolmetsch Ltd:

The felting was unsatisfactory, the quills were of such poor quality that they would constantly require renewal, the cracks in the soundboard were still open and alive and some of the tuning pins were only finger tight and also rusty, so that it was extremely difficult to keep the instrument in tune.¹⁰⁷

Entries such as this in the minutes of the committee strongly suggest that the group prioritised quality and longevity over cost, as opposed to the sort of repair work that Ward found acceptable.

The work and interactions of the committee represent a microcosm of the larger scene. As this was the first collection kept “alive” by such a committee, establishing a best-practice approach for them had to be achieved through trial and error. This was a complex process because, just as in the scene overall, different attitudes towards repair and restoration work also existed between members of the committee. Their concerns map onto broader networks and fault-lines in discussions of historical instruments and collections.

¹⁰³ Minutes, 3 Cheyne Walk, March 5, 1951, Item 3, “The Shudi Harpsichord,” 1, BFAC.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes, 3 Cheyne Walk, June 13, 1951, Item 20, “The Shudi Harpsichord,” 5, BFAC.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, 3 Cheyne Walk, November 27, 1951, Item 33, “Shudi,” 8, BFAC.

¹⁰⁶ Leslie Ward to Raymond Russell, June 23, 1959, 4357R050, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁰⁷ See footnote 104.

Returning to the Ruckers, a significant disagreement arose amongst the members surrounding the work undertaken on it during the period 1950-1951. This case appears to be a prime example of restoration work taken beyond the boundaries that were set but, as no clear records were made at the time, details of the exact state of the instrument prior to the work or details of the work undertaken were hard to pin down.¹⁰⁸ The discussion in the committee minutes about the re-lacquering of the instrument by Le Serve Galleries, cited above, is reflected in Russell's description of the instrument printed in the 1953 guidebook to Fenton House. He wrote that, "[t]he red and black decoration was refreshed in 1950, when the action was repaired. Most of the decoration on the soundboard is contemporary with the original instrument."¹⁰⁹ The contentious issue, however, relates to the originality of the decoration of the instrument's case, the parts that were re-lacquered in fact. Re-lacquering would have indeed "refreshed" the decoration, but what Russell doesn't say in this description, is that this work significantly changed the instrument's appearance.¹¹⁰

Disagreement over the details of the Ruckers instrument restoration, which coincided with the process of compiling a catalogue of the collection, led to a rift between Russell and Goff. The catalogue work was originally begun in 1952 by Pilkington.¹¹¹ Deliberations over the cataloguing, and Russell's eventual offer to undertake its completion, appear throughout the minutes from that point.¹¹² Although the minutes indicate that the committee as a whole had the opportunity to read Russell's draft in 1955, Tom Goff, having missed some of the relevant meetings, claimed not to have seen that draft.¹¹³ Much of the correspondence surrounding the ensuing discussions

¹⁰⁸ The 1981 reprint of the Benton Fenton Collection of Instruments catalogue details many changes over the years. It asserts that the original outside decoration was "Red/brown faux-marbre[sic] between grey - painted bands" and that the inside was decorated with "printed papers". It then goes on to say that during an eighteenth century *ravalement* the instrument was "painted brown and possibly grained to resemble mahogany". A later eighteenth century update resulted with further redecoration in "the French taste, in black, vermilion and gold leaf". Then, in preparation for the International Inventions Exhibition of 1885 the outside was re-painted olive green. In relation to the later restoration, the catalogue only states that: "By 1951, the outside was again painted black." NT, *A Catalogue of Early Keyboard Instruments* (1981), 8.

¹⁰⁹ Russell, "The Musical Instruments," Fenton House, Edinburgh Archives, 11.

¹¹⁰ For clarity's sake, the soundboard (with the mainly original decoration) is the part of the instrument, under the lid, that the strings run over the top of. The contention arose because of the work undertaken on the case of the instrument.

¹¹¹ "Mr Pilkington reported he'd completed about half the catalogue, would circulate the whole when finished." Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1, December 8, 1952, Item 52, "Catalogue," 18, BFAC.

¹¹² Minutes, Fenton House, October 28, 1953, Item 79, "Catalogue (Minute 52)," 23.

¹¹³ Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, April 20, 1955, Item 16, "Catalogue of Instruments," 29, BFAC.

"Unfortunately I could not attend the meeting of the Committee in April 1955 when stencil copies of the Catalogue were issued. Otherwise before the type was set up I could have pointed out the points on which the Catalogue, in my opinion, needs correction. Mr. Russell is mistaken in thinking that he sent his MS to me. [...] I think [...] that this Catalogue, which will be relied on as a work of reference, should be made as correct in every particular as possible. Signed TRC Goff, dated 14 Oct 1957." Tom Goff's comments on the proof of Russell's catalogue, 4357R050, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

does not appear in the minutes, and Maud Russell subsequently destroyed the bulk of the private correspondence between Russell and Goff.¹¹⁴ Enough information survives, however, to ascertain the greater part of the argument. Russell's notes about the Ruckers harpsichord for the publication state that, "[t]he case was entirely stripped and repainted in 1950 and is black outside and red inside the lid, while the keyboard surround is painted gold. Formerly the outside of the case was gessoed, with panels of olive green, the inside being vermilion with gold leaf over the keys."¹¹⁵

In Goff's last-minute and abundant comments on Russell's proof, he refuted Russell's claims about the restoration process entirely:

Harpichord by Joannes[sic] Ruckers.

"The case was stripped and repainted in 1950". This is not correct. I believe that since the last century the case has always been red (vermilion) inside and black lacquer (gesso) outside. Certainly it has been since I first saw this harpsichord at the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1935. The harpsichord was lent to the National Trust by Queen Elizabeth in 1950 with a condition that the National Trust might do necessary repairs to the instrument and have it put in playing order. All that Messrs. Le Serve did, on the instructions of the National Trust, was to treat the lid and case for worm and clean and touch up the lacquer where necessary. Anyone reading this statement would believe that in 1950 the National Trust did away with the original decoration of the case and repainted the case in new and different colours. This would have been very wrong and certainly a breach of the conditions of Her Majesty's loan."¹¹⁶

Here Goff rightly points out that Russell's catalogue text implied misdoings by the National Trust, and therefore the committee, in their duty of care to the Queen's property. Indeed Russell felt strongly that the restoration work undertaken had gone too far and that the committee representative who had supervised the work had been at fault.¹¹⁷ It is not possible to establish who the individual concerned was, but some of Goff's actions and Russell's own notes from the meeting, imply that Goff was in charge, and was attempting to absolve himself from

¹¹⁴ On October 5th 1970 Maud writes that she destroyed some of her son's letters "including those concerned with the comical row with Tom Gough[sic] about the Queen mothers' harpsichord." Maud Russell, October 5, 1970, Diary, Book XX, 148.

¹¹⁵ Raymond Russell's "Notes for a catalogue of the keyboard instruments at Fenton House", 4357R048, Archival Box D, Saint Cecilia's. Russell writes a detailed description of the instrument in 'Handel's Harpsichord', Appendix 12 from *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 166.

¹¹⁶ Tom Goff, (no date given) comments on Russell's draft BF catalogue, No. 3, 4357R050, L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix F.

responsibility.¹¹⁸ Goff refuted all of Russell's claims but later, after the committee and National Trust had spoken to him, he made a statement withdrawing ALL his comments, claiming that he had misremembered the details.¹¹⁹

Russell reacted to tensions surrounding the catalogue in a tempestuous manner. In July 1956 he abruptly tendered his resignation from the Advisory Committee, but by October had been persuaded to withdraw it.¹²⁰ This was likely due to his frustration with the work on the catalogue, exacerbated by his dealings with Goff, which had taken a great deal of his time. Following the circulation of his draft catalogue in 1955, requests had been made of him to add to it. For instance, it was suggested that Russell be asked to add entries for other non-keyboard instruments to the catalogue, an idea that he felt inappropriate.¹²¹ Having spent time cultivating his position as an expert in the field of keyboard instruments it is likely that he felt aggrieved by this request and that such work on other instruments was not part of his remit. Russell had loaned one of his own instruments, a Blanchet harpsichord (c.1723), to the collection; to do so indicates a certain amount of trust in the care of the collection.¹²² Yet, within a couple of months of his instrument arriving, he had resigned. The proclivity of events – with Russell's rejection of the request to add instruments given at the 18th meeting, his resignation at the 19th, and return on the 20th – strongly suggest the issues to be linked, and result from an inability to overcome personal differences within the group.¹²³

The central point of the argument appeared in the minutes of the 25th meeting, held at 42 Queen Anne's Gate, Wednesday, November 20th, 1957.¹²⁴

Mr Russell [...] made certain allegations regarding the conduct of Mr T.R.C. Goff, stating that Mr Goff had repeatedly challenged the accuracy of the catalogue, with particular reference to the account on page 13 of the restoration of the Ruckers Harpsichord. Mr Russell explained in detail what had taken place, and after discussion

¹¹⁸ Minutes, Queen Anne's Gate, December 6, 55, BFAC. Russell's own notes from a Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee Meeting at Queen Anne's Gate, November 20, 1957, 4357R050, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹¹⁹ The full statement is copied out below. Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, December 6, adjourned from Wednesday November 20, 1957, Item 35, 55.

¹²⁰ Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, July 18, 1956, Item 22, "Resignation," 40, BFAC. At the 20th meeting he had already withdrawn his "tentative" resignation. October 17, 1956, Item 34, 43.

¹²¹ "The Committee asked Mr. Wallace to suggest to Mr. Raymond Russell that a section should be added to the Catalogue of Instruments to cover all the musical instruments in the building." Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, January 18, 1956, Item 8, 36, BFAC; Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, April 18, 1956, Item 15, "Catalogue of Instruments," 38, BFAC.

¹²² Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, January 18, 1956, Item 3, "Loan of French Harpsichord," 35, BFAC.

¹²³ His response to the request to add other instruments to the catalogue was given in April at the 18th meeting, and his resignation tendered at the 19th meeting, July 18, 1956, 40.

¹²⁴ Minutes, 54.

The committee

- i) Reaffirmed their approval of the instrument catalogue as printed
- ii) decided to adjourn the meeting until 5.45pm on Friday, December 6th to enable Mr Goff to be present.

Although the argument is framed by Goff's criticisms of the catalogue overall and a difference in opinion about the extent of restoration work undertaken on the Ruckers instrument, the root of the divide was likely to have been more personal, and related to a jostling for a position of authority within this scene between two generations of gentleman connoisseurs. Neither individual liked having their professional judgement questioned but it seems that, at least regarding this event, Russell had the upper hand.¹²⁵ Goff's eventual recapitulation suggests that he was the party at fault in the first place:

25th meeting, December 6th, 5.45pm, QAG, adjourned from Wednesday November 20th 1957,

35. Catalogue

Mr. T Goff made a personal statement acknowledging that his recollection of the events that had led up to the publishing of the stencilled and the printed editions of the Catalogue of Keyboard Instruments was at fault, and he confirmed that he withdrew all the statements which Mr Raymond Russell had challenged. Mr Goff added that he intended the statement which he had just made to the Committee to be a full withdrawal.

After Mr Raymond Russell had made detailed comments on Mr Goff's actions, the committee i) unanimously decided to take no further action. ii) asked Mr Wallace to draft a letter to Sir Arthur Penn, enclosing a copy of the new catalogue, putting on record the history of the restoration of the Ruckers Harpsichord in 1950/51 for consideration at the next meeting.

- iii) recommended to the Trust that:- a) instruments should be photographed before and after restoration work was carried out, and b) no departure from the specified work

¹²⁵ The historical details of the instrument's decoration in the 1981 print of the catalogue, after "extensive investigation" between 1977 and 1981 seem to correspond with Russell's own records, as does an account written by Eileen Jackson, curator of the Benton Fletcher Collection: Eileen Jackson, "Harpsichord – Ruckers of Antwerp 1612," November 1, 1957, Box V, BFAC.

should be allowed without reference to the Committee. c) a member of the Committee should be asked to supervise any such work while in progress.

iv) recommended that no attempt should be made to restore the Ruckers Harpsichord to its condition prior to its restoration in 1950/51.¹²⁶

Clearly, Russell came out on top in this dispute, with the committee and National Trust offering their full backing to his version of the catalogue. In fact, behind the scenes and therefore not minuted, conversations and correspondence went on between the National Trust management and Russell in order to appease him and to remonstrate with Goff (see Appendix F). Russell was very clear that he felt Goff ought to resign over the matter, and had some support from other members of the committee.¹²⁷ The draft letter to the Queen's Secretary, Arthur Penn, mentioned in the minutes above ultimately avoided being reviewed by the whole committee (and therefore Goff), but was sent to Russell. In return, he supplied an alternative, less inflammatory version (see Appendix F.1.1), which attempted to explain the events whilst protect the reputation of the committee as a whole.

The Benton Fletcher committee had a distinct social value to its members beyond the technicalities of its designated work. It provided another example of queer connections within the harpsichord world, and queerness can provide another lens through which to view the Ruckers argument. A mutual acceptance of queerness within the committee extended Russell's and his contemporaries' network, which they would not want damaged. Waitzman suggests the possibility of Benton Fletcher's own queerness, and this is backed up by the diaries of James Lees-Milne (1908-1997) who was aware of the possibility of Benton Fletcher's relationship with the composer Roger Quilter.¹²⁸ Although some committee members were unlikely to have ever met him, it is possible to posit a link with Benton Fletcher's sexuality and that of the members of the committee in the period examined in this thesis. Whether or not there was a spoken or tacit awareness, a significant proportion of the members identified as either homosexual or bisexual at some point in their lives, and the committee may therefore have been viewed as a relatively protected circle in the increasingly vigilant 1950s society.¹²⁹ Russell, Goff and Pilkington's sexuality has already been discussed in Chapter 3. Lees-Milne, often the National Trust

¹²⁶ Minutes, 55.

¹²⁷ Appendix F.3. Russell's own notes from a Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee meeting, Meeting at St. Anne's Gate, November 20, 1957, 4357R050, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹²⁸ Waitzman, *The Improbable Collector*; James Lees-Milne, *Diaries, 1942-1954*, ed. Michael Bloch (London: Hachette UK, 2011), January 9, 1945.

¹²⁹ Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*, New edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 238, 239.

representative at committee meetings, identified as queer.¹³⁰ Further evidence to support the idea of a queer network can be read into the committees' employment of one of Goff's protégées, the American organist and choir director Robert (Bob) Arnold, to look after the collection.¹³¹ Instead of a salary, he and his wife were able to live rent free in a small flat above the collection at Cheyne Walk, in return for regular maintenance work on the collection. After the move to Fenton House, where accommodation was not possible, he was given a small salary to continue the work.¹³² Although outwardly presenting a heteronormative lifestyle with a wife and two children, Arnold's homosexual identity had been relatively easy to reconcile with that life within the Cheyne Walk setting.¹³³ After the move to Fenton House however, he found the two strains of his life impossible to continue and left his family and the country to return to America.¹³⁴

The concept of a safe queer community could be one reason why the rift between Russell and Goff became so heated and sensitive. Goff was a dominant presence both within the committee and, through his instruments, the larger harpsichord scene. He was also a long-standing friend of Russell's parents, which added another personal layer of complexities between them.¹³⁵ Geraint Jones suggested that Goff felt personally attacked by Russell's RMA paper (1956) and BBC radio broadcasts (1957) and may have tried to use the events surrounding the Queen's Ruckers Harpsichord to wage a personal vendetta against Russell.¹³⁶ With the draft catalogue circulated in 1955 and the debate surrounding it lasting until the end of 1957, the timeline of the coinciding events corroborates Jones' analysis. Any hesitancy by other members of the committee to broach the subject directly with Goff, and force his resignation, could be understood as a desire to preserve a carefully maintained equilibrium and to remain sheltered from the public eye. Too much noise surrounding a Royal object could have encouraged a rather more public platform for the argument, which was undesirable on a number of levels.

The recommendations made after this argument reached its resolution marked a significant step forward in setting up a more rigorous approach to a 'best practice.' Key to the recommendations was that a photographic record be taken of instruments before and after restoration work (see recommendation "iii" above). Detailed descriptions of each instrument and a history of previous

¹³⁰ Clinton Elliot, *Hidden: The Intimate Lives of Gay Men Past and Present* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2014), 179. Lees-Milne wrote openly about various male and female partners in his published diaries. James Lees-Milne, *Diaries*. Michael Bloch, *James Lees-Milne: The Life* (London: John Murray, 2009) xii.

¹³¹ Arnold, *My Short Century*, 120, 121.

¹³² *Ibid*, 127.

¹³³ *Ibid*, 129.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 130.

¹³⁵ See "Key(board) friendships," Chapter 3.

¹³⁶ See Appendix F.3.

work done would also be needed, hence the necessity of a catalogue in the first place.

Recommendation “iv,” that there should be no attempt made to restore the Ruckers to its prior condition, indicated a tacit agreement amongst the committee that the previous contentious work done to the instrument had gone too far, but that a line ought to be drawn under the affair.

Amongst the committee there was no specific loyalty to any one workshop; different instruments were sent to different workshops for repair and restoration work. This would, in part, have been done in order to avoid a backlog of instruments waiting for work to be done; few workshops were big enough to work on more than one instrument at a time. Douglas Campbell-Brown worked on the Ruckers 1612 (the Queen’s Harpsichord) and Kirkman Harpsichord 1762 in 1951, and two of the grand pianos were entrusted to two different workshops in 1959 and 1961.¹³⁷ It is perhaps surprising that instruments from the collection were regularly sent to the Dolmetsch workshop, considering Benton Fletcher’s general avoidance of any connections with that family and, particularly as the first minuted work done by the Dolmetsch workshop, on the Shudi instrument, was felt to be unsatisfactory.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, after the Goff/Russell quarrel, the Ruckers Harpsichord was from then on entrusted to Mrs Ward (Cecile Dolmetsch) only, which indicates that certain individuals within the workshop were trusted with particular work. Leslie Ward had been entrusted with the majority of the instruments during the 1950s.¹³⁹ Even the collection’s resident technician, Arnold, who regularly maintained the instruments, had to competitively quote for his work.¹⁴⁰ By doing this, the committee ensured they were getting competitive rates, but perhaps to the detriment of a consistent approach to conservation work.

Establishing the parameters of a collection was a fundamental part of Russell’s learning experience with the Benton Fletcher Advisory Committee. Keyboard instruments of varying types, age and origin were continually being offered to the collection, some of which were accepted whilst plenty of others were turned away.¹⁴¹ There was also some discussion over whether to sell certain instruments, for instance Goff suggested selling all the unplayable instruments, which again implies there was a mutual understanding of what made the collection a

¹³⁷ Waitzman, *The Benton Fletcher Collection*, Appendix 1, 90.

¹³⁸ Waitzman has alluded to Benton Fletcher’s dislike of the work of Dolmetsch, possibly due to the Dolmetsch firm’s commercialism. Waitzman, *The Improbable Collector*.

¹³⁹ Waitzman, *The Benton Fletcher Collection*, Appendix 1, 90.

¹⁴⁰ Quotes for regular tuning and maintenance were gained from Hugh Gough, Andrew Douglas, Arnold Dolmetsch, Broadwoods, and Arnold. Arnold was asked to continue. Minutes, 42 Queen Anne’s Gate, August 26, 1952, Item 59, “Tuning at Fenton House,” 16-17.

¹⁴¹ A “Galpin Society clavichord” was already on loan by 1955. Minutes, 42 Queen Anne’s Gate, January 19, 1955, Item 9, 27. An Eavestaff Piano was offered as a gift and refused, and the loan of two unspecified instruments from the Gunnersbury Museum was considered. Minutes, April 18, 1956, Item 18, “Offers of Instruments,” 39.

cohesive whole.¹⁴² Between them the committee had an idea of what Benton Fletcher's collection of instruments was, what it signified, and how they thought it could be added to.

The experience of the Advisory Committee had implications for the future of Russell's collection and set a precedent for later collections. Their questions surrounding the ethics of conserving instruments coincided with a period of development for other conservation practices such as those of furniture, buildings and art. They learnt that keeping instruments in playing condition meant making certain compromises to principles of authenticity and necessitated a different approach to conservation than with other museum artefacts. Russell was able to use the committee to flex his muscles as a connoisseur and conservation manager before negotiating the process of donating his own collection. His experience of the complexities of keeping the Benton Fletcher collection in working order informed his decisions surrounding arrangements for his own collection to become publicly available and 'living'. He had direct experience of the strictures met by the committee in their attempts to broaden the availability of Benton Fletcher's collection beyond the links set up by Benton Fletcher himself. Between 1955-59 the committee was also occupied with providing a performance space for concerts, within Fenton House.¹⁴³ The Historic Buildings Committee, however, frustrated their efforts by restricting changes to the fabric of the building.¹⁴⁴ These experiences led Russell to pursue a different route for his own collection.

5.2.2 Contextualising the Collection

The greater part of this thesis has focussed on contextualising Russell, his career as a musician and collector, within a scene of renewed interest in historical keyboard instruments and the music they were built to perform. In this final section I focus on the context of the formalised keyboard collection as a unified entity and Russell's aims for it.

There are multiple values at play within a collection of musical instruments of the type described by Russell as an "armamentarium", or set of tools.¹⁴⁵ These values will experience continual change when new instruments join a collection (which changes how the instruments relate to each other), and in reflecting different phases of the collector's career. Russell's collection demonstrates this. Some instruments were acquired because of what they represented in terms of historical value, or their financial value at purchase, or potential after restoration; and some

¹⁴² Minutes, 3 Cheyne Walk, June 13th, 1951, Item 22, "Other Instruments," 4.

¹⁴³ Minutes, June 20, 1955, Item 23, "Concert Accommodation," 31; Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, February 13, 1957, Item (number not visible) "Concert Room – minutes 18 and 23 of 1955 refer)," 46; Minutes, 42 Queen Anne's Gate, January 14, 1959, Item 4, "Alteration to concert and lecture room," 67.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, 9.

because they exhibited the traits of the 'perfect' example of a specific type. Others were purchased because Russell wished to explore playing them. Often, though, instruments were valued for a combination of reasons. For example, Russell's single manual Italian harpsichord was purchased in 1947, early in his performing career, so it is likely that it was initially valued for its use-value, but, as it remained in his collection until the point of donation, it became valued as an example of its type.¹⁴⁶ Generally speaking, instruments acquired late on in his collecting career were more likely to exemplify a certain category, whereas the earlier acquisitions were used to practice and sometimes perform on. The Goermans-Taskin is an interesting case, as it fulfilled a number of functions: Russell valued it for its sound and playability; as a specific, highly valued 'type' of instrument; and for its historical value within the recent history of instrument making.

"Structuring Notions"

An important component of forming a collection is the classification of items within it; defining how constituents relate to each other.¹⁴⁷ This classification trend is demonstrated throughout the history of nineteenth-century museum formation where the role of nationhood, particularly where art and *objet d'art* were concerned, played a strong part within the classification process.¹⁴⁸ Identifying characteristic traits within national schools of artistic creation and mapping their influence became part of the broader process of constructing national identities.

Russell's collecting patterns mirror and nourish the kinds of classifications he posits in his writing. The opening phrase to the previous chapter quotes Russell saying that his collection represented "every national school, style and period, better [...] than does any other such collection in the world."¹⁴⁹ The point at which Russell began classifying his own instruments within the boundaries of their geographical national schools, and selecting the 'best' examples of each, defines his transformation from musician to collector. Using Durost's 1932 definition of a collection, "[i]f said object is valued chiefly for the relation it bears to some other object, [...] a specimen of a class, then it is the subject of a collection", helps to clarify this.¹⁵⁰ However, for Russell the process was a gradual shift from one perspective to another, not a transformational moment of reinvention.

¹⁴⁶ See 1.2.2 "Departures from the norm" for an explanation of Higonet's terms "use-value" and its source. 'Single-Manual Harpsichord'.

¹⁴⁷ The concept of "Structuring Notions" is from Pearce, *On Collecting*, 23. The tradition of classification and categorisation of collections came out of natural history and species development theory, and has been linked with the history of museum development that flourished in the nineteenth century. Pearce, 123-124, 133-135; Tony Bennet, *The Birth of the Museum*, 96.

¹⁴⁸ Higonet, *A Museum of One's Own*, 4-5; Pearce, *On Collecting*, 134-136.

¹⁴⁹ See note 145.

¹⁵⁰ Quote cited by Pearce as "Durost 1932:10." Pearce, *On Collecting*, 20.

It cannot be argued that every single instrument Russell bought was acquired or kept for its use-value; not all of his acquisitions filled the ‘tool’ function. Throughout Russell’s collecting period instruments were bought and placed in the collection only to be sold onwards: due to ‘better’ examples becoming available; because they did not fulfil the role Russell needed them for; or because he intended to make a profit in selling them on. In some cases instruments were purchased because of their monetary value, their aesthetic appeal, or because the ascribed value of their maker was prized by Russell over their use-value. Russell amassed so many instruments that it was unlikely that he ever intended to keep playing all of them – we have seen also that there were periods where he played far less frequently than others – but, as far as possible, all instruments were maintained to a playable standard. Those that were kept in his living quarters were the most likely to be used frequently.

This flexibility should caution us against viewing any one state of the collection as authoritative, especially when considering the circumstances of his abrupt demise. Russell died in 1964 before completing the work on his collection and its donation to Edinburgh.¹⁵¹ Whether accidental or deliberate, his death arose from an overdose after a difficult and sustained period of low mood.¹⁵² Since 1961 he had had increasingly frequent bouts of ill health that had brought him back to the UK for treatment. Maud’s diaries portray an ongoing sense of fear for his safety:

Martin arrived from London and in answer to my question: how were things today? Said [...] there is very bad news: Raymond is terribly ill [...]. I took him aside and asked him the details. He showed me a letter written to Flora saying he had had two stomach ulcers and had spat blood and that he had lost his memory on two occasions once for five days I think he said and once for three. The letter was not written with his usual clarity. He mentioned that a young sailor of 25 was helping him – or giving him a hand. I did not like this idea knowing the loss of memory and I wondered as I have wondered before if he was having a bout of drugtaking. There was a feeling someone should go out to Malta.¹⁵³

The symptoms alone are worrying, and Russell’s confusion is distinct. Maud’s concern for his state of mind and for the risks taken by Russell, that he had put his trust in “a young sailor” and may be drugtaking, were later confirmed by details from the last few days of his life. His final letter to his housekeeper “Concetta,” referred to in Chapter 1, paints a stark picture.¹⁵⁴ In it

¹⁵¹ Copy of an Act of Death registered in the Public Registry Office of Valletta, Malta, April 14, 1964, Msida, Issued on April 19, 2014 by the Public Registry Office, Malta.

¹⁵² See Appendix G for a timeline of events leading up to Russell’s death.

¹⁵³ Maud Russell, August 28, 1961, Diary Book, XV, 107.

¹⁵⁴ Russell to “Concetta” (Russell’s housekeeper in Malta), March 15, 1964, Russell family papers.

Russell described the break-down of a relationship with a young lover of his, “a good sailor” who he called Blondie, that he felt he was “going to die” and how he’d since been “attacked” and robbed by two “divers” from a ship docked in Msida, Malta.¹⁵⁵ Russell had, for undocumented reasons, handed Blondie over to the Maltese police. The letter implies a sense of guilt and shame at this cowardly act, as it was likely to have been done as a means of protecting his own reputation. Two days after the letter was written he was found dead, having taken another overdose, in his apartment in Pieta on March 17, 1964.

Sadly the evidence surrounding this upsetting period for the Russell family, and the transferral of Russell’s belongings back to the UK, has been lost, but it is believed that he had a couple of keyboard instruments with him in Malta.¹⁵⁶ Prior to his death, Russell had become heavily involved in the lengthy process of donating his collection to the University of Edinburgh, since his initial approach to David Talbot Rice (1903-1972) in 1958.¹⁵⁷ Russell’s frustrations with this process, particularly the work of the architect overseeing the renovations of St Cecilia’s Hall (the building that Russell had helped choose and purchase to house the collection), led him to withdraw the offer of the collection to the University in March 1964, just days before his death.¹⁵⁸ This decision, taken in the context laid out above, can be read as an impetuous act of Russell’s to exert control in a life that was otherwise on the point of collapse. Thus, Maud subsequently rekindled the relationship with Edinburgh, and chose to adhere to Russell’s original plan to help found an institution for keyboard instrument research and instruction. What can never be certain, however, is how closely the resulting collection represents Russell’s concept.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. He had already been in trouble with the Maltese authorities for “picking up sailors”. In 1960 Russell wrote to “My dear Governor” to explain an incident which saw him detained and questioned by the Assistant Adjutant and Provost Sergeant of the Royal Fusiliers. He seems to have picked up two soldiers in his car whilst looking for a safe place to swim. Russell to Admiral Guy Grantham (Governor of Malta 1959-1962), August 9, 1960, Russell family papers.

¹⁵⁶ Maud’s diary for this period is missing. The evidence that Russell had keyboards in Malta came via Susanna Austin, freelance researcher for the National Trust, whose mother lived in Malta and was acquainted with Russell during his time there. Susanna Austin, email to author, February 1, 2016.

¹⁵⁷ Talbot Rice held the Watson Gordon Chair of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh. He met Russell in late 1958 who explained that he was looking for a “body” who would be interested in his collection of keyboard instruments from an “artistic” as well as “musical[...] point of view.” Talbot Rice passed this on to Sidney Newman in the music department straight away. Talbot Rice to Newman, December 17, 1958, 4355R063, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh; Russell to Newman, Regarding the “Harpichord Museum”, June 19, 1959, 4355R062, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁵⁸ Russell to E. Appleton (Principal of the University), March 8, 1964, 4355R013, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

5.2.3 Donating the Final Collection – Russell Sets a New Standard

When a private collection is donated to an institution, whether posthumously or not, it is at risk of losing its use-value at the point of donation, unless stringent stipulations are made with that donation. Collections of instruments that are situated within an institution may have fewer permutations of constituents and values, but these will still happen. The steady addition and subtraction of instruments to the Benton Fletcher, Bate and Russell Collections demonstrate this.¹⁵⁹ The majority of instruments that comprise any collection will have started their life with use-value but, on arrival in an institutionalised collection (as for example in the former V&A collection) and some dedicated musical instrument museums, their use-value will be exchanged solely and immediately for exhibition value.¹⁶⁰ This fate could have befallen Russell's instruments after his death, despite his clearly stated aims for the collections' didactic purpose.¹⁶¹ In fact, when Maud was trying to disperse his remaining private instruments after his death, she offered the Goermans-Taskin to the V&A.¹⁶² In the V&A's response they pointed out that Russell's instrument would need to be exhibited in a glass case to preserve it, since "the public will insist on fiddling with" the instruments in the Music Instrument Gallery.¹⁶³ These were considerations that Benton Fletcher, Russell – and Maud on his behalf – grappled with in deciding the future of their respective collections.

As is commonly seen in the foundation of posthumous collection museums, it befell a woman – in this case Maud – to decide and organise the ultimate destination of Russell's collection.¹⁶⁴ She was aware that Russell had retracted his offer to Edinburgh, but decided to follow through with the original plans for the donation, offering initially seventeen instruments from his collection.¹⁶⁵ Two "small practice instruments" were added to that list before the donation went ahead: the

¹⁵⁹ A discussion of what constitutes the Russell Collection occurs in the Chapter 1. The Benton Fletcher Collection and its suggested additions and subtractions are discussed in "The Queen's Ruckers Ruckus." The Bate Collection, originally donated to the University of Oxford in 1968, now consists of many other instruments and collections including those from: Anthony Baines, Reginald Morley-Pegge, Edgar Hunt and the Taphouse keyboard collection. "The Bate Collection | Oxford University Faculty of Music," accessed 23 November 2020, <https://www.music.ox.ac.uk/about/resources/the-bate-collection/>.

¹⁶⁰ Although some instruments will have maintained the possibility of use, and occasionally be lent out, the majority of musical instruments within museums are never played.

¹⁶¹ Early on in the donation process Russell wrote a letter of 6 pages to Newman with a number of suggestions for "how you are going to begin to incorporate a department of early keyboard music in the teaching of your Faculty." A very clear indication of the role he saw his collection taking. Russell to Newman, December 24, 1959, 4355R059, L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁶² P.K Thornton (Keeper, Department of Furniture and Woodwork, V&A) to M. Russell, July 19, 1971, 4357R050, Box L28, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, xv.

¹⁶⁵ List of 17 instruments, "Keyboard Instruments comprised in the Intended Gift to Edinburgh University by Mrs Gilbert Russell"; Smiles & Co. to Sir E. Appleton, draft letter, August 12, 1964; Documents referring to Maud Russell's Intended Gift to Edinburgh, September 1964, "Ray's Estate," Russell family papers.

octave spinet by Orlandus and the clavichord, made circa 1700, by an unknown builder.¹⁶⁶ Four of Russell's more valuable instruments, however, had different destinations: a Kirkman 1772 harpsichord that had also been stored in the Pantechnicon, with those being donated to Edinburgh, was given on life-long loan to Geraint Jones; a Kirkman double-manual harpsichord, 1755; a J.A. Hass clavichord, 1767; and the Goermans-Taskin were kept by Maud for a time.¹⁶⁷ The latter three instruments were not stored in the Pantechnicon, indicating that these were kept either in Russell's household in London, or possibly in Malta.¹⁶⁸ It may never be known whether he intended to add these instruments to the donation to Edinburgh. Their provenance and the fact that these instruments were not stored in the same way as the others indicates that they were favourites of his. Maud's decision to remove them to Mottisfont after his death may well have been related to his affection for these specific instruments over the others, providing a symbolic presence of her son through them.¹⁶⁹

Russell chose the culmination point of his keyboard collecting career by deciding to donate his collection to an institution within his lifetime; he did not, however, conceive of the collection as complete.¹⁷⁰ Founding a collection museum offers the donator a chance for self-representation after their death.¹⁷¹ Leaving a collection to an institution in one's will allows for work on the collection to continue until the physical end-point of the collector's ability to collect and leaves the tricky negotiations of managing the donation to others posthumously. The integrity of that collection is then inherent in its constituents being collected solely by the individual who has

¹⁶⁶ Two letters concerning further "small instruments" to be part of the donation. Noel Anderson (The Senior Administrative Officer, University of Edinburgh) to Smiles & Co., September 11, 1964; Smiles & Co. to Senior Administrative Officer, September 23, 1964, Russell family papers.

¹⁶⁷ The Kirkman 1755 was purchased by Edinburgh at auction in 1970, and the Goermans-Taskin in 1974. "Double-Manual Harpsichord," accessed 24 November 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/17693?highlight=*; "Double-Manual Harpsichord." The Hass Clavichord was still in Maud's possession in 1974, and was later purchased by keyboard specialist Linda Nicholson. Photo, "Image of Hass Clavichord in the possession of Mrs Gilbert Russell 1974," Newman Scrapbook, 68, CRCUnivE; Mountford, "Raymond Russell."

¹⁶⁸ The Goermans-Taskin had certainly been kept in his apartment in Onslow Square after his death, and it is questionable whether Russell would have risked shipping such valuable instruments between the UK and Malta. Letter concerning the movement of the "Couchet-Taskin" from Onslow Square to Douglas's workshop: Andrew Douglas to Maud Russell, September 22, 1964, Russell family papers. Douglas also worked on the Kirkman and Hass instruments. Douglas to M. Russell, September 3, 1964, Russell family papers.

¹⁶⁹ Maud had the Goermans-Taskin moved to Mottisfont in November 1964. Andrew Douglas to Maud Russell, November 30, 1964, Newman Scrapbook, 24, CRCUnivE. Her diaries from the late 1960s and early 70s refer frequently to the instruments at Mottisfont. They were often visited by Tom Goff, John Barnes and Geraint Jones to either play, tune or work on. Maud Russell, Diaries, Book XVIII March 1966-Fri Feb 16th 1968, Book XXI Feb 15th 1971 to Nov 24th 1972, Russell family papers.

¹⁷⁰ Russell explained that he might want to add to the collection at a later date, indicating that at least in 1959 he still had an interest in collecting keyboard instruments. Russell to Newman, February 21, 1959, 4355R059, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁷¹ Higonnet, xiv.

passed it on. Like many collectors, however, Russell wanted to maintain control over the details of the donation, and had no intention of stopping the honing of its constituents after handing it over.¹⁷² He attempted to oversee every detail of the instruments' subsequent care and housing, and how it ought to be used to educate others; these were aspects of Benton Fletcher's legacy that he felt had been problematic.¹⁷³

A departure from the collection donor norm was Russell's insistence that it remain a 'living' collection – i.e. that its constituents use-value must never be exchanged with exhibition-value. The instruments were never abstracted from their original context in that sense. While the instruction on maintaining the collection in a playable condition mirrors Benton Fletcher's ideology, Russell went a number of steps further, integrating tuition, performance and organology into its operation.¹⁷⁴ He aimed for his collection to continue to embody his viewpoint on the history of the harpsichord and its future.

The idea that keyboard collections ought to be available for use by keyboard students and specialists went beyond Russell's own collection. As early as October 1951, Russell was invited to advise on a collection of instruments in Manchester, demonstrating a reasonably quick rise to the position of a keyboard consultant/connoisseur in this career change.¹⁷⁵ His recommendations were that the owner or institution in question should "only" consider "spending money on putting them in order [...] if students and other serious people were allowed to play on them."¹⁷⁶ The implication here is that Russell had already developed the notion that one of the chief purposes of a collection of keyboard instruments was for that of educating musician specialists. The timing of this with the beginning of the Advisory Committee notes confirms that Benton Fletcher's collection strongly influenced Russell's plans for his own.

For Benton Fletcher, the antiquarian, the setting of his collection was vital to the appreciation of the instruments' use and the music performed on them. In this respect his ideas were similar to some of the art collectors discussed by Higonnet, who were preoccupied with the setting of their collection when opened to the public.¹⁷⁷ The choice of Old Devonshire House and then Cheyne Walk as the setting for his living collection was important.¹⁷⁸ Benton Fletcher sought to create a

¹⁷² See note 155.

¹⁷³ There is an extensive and detailed correspondence between Russell and Sidney Newman concerning the donation spanning 1959-1964. Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁷⁴ See note 155. Maud Russell made sure that Russell's original conditions would be met by Edinburgh. Condition No. 2, Smiles & co. to Sir E. Appleton, conditions of Mrs Gilbert Russell's donation, August 18, 1964, 4358R045, Box L40, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁷⁵ Maud Russell, October 23, 1951, Diary, Book X, 96.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own*, xiv.

¹⁷⁸ Waitzman, *The Improbable Collector*.

period environment ‘appropriate’ for the instruments in his collection. Ideally, to him, the music and the instrument would be best understood in as close a context to their original conception as possible. An historical home, of an appropriate architectural period, where the instruments could be played in a domestic or small concert type setting, surrounded by similar period furniture and décor, was his goal. The endowment of Benton Fletcher’s instruments and property to the National Trust, in 1937, came with the understanding that his activities as an advocate for these instruments, the promotion of them to music students, amateurs, and professionals as a resource for an enhanced understanding and appreciation of early music, was continued.¹⁷⁹ This necessitated a great deal of commitment and resources from the National Trust, in order to continue to fulfil such a bequest.

For Russell, the modernist, the sound and practicality of the instrument itself was key to a ‘better’ understanding and interpretation of the music. The period appropriateness of the physical context of the collection mattered less, except in terms of a suitable environment for maintaining, working and performing on the instruments; the correct atmospheric environment and a suitable light and spacious room for work and display, with an appropriate performance space was paramount. But first, the ‘right’ institution needed to be found.

Russell was determined to offer his instruments to an educational institution rather than the set up arranged by Benton Fletcher. He hoped that within an educational environment not only would student access be made easier, but also expert teaching alongside the instruments could be offered. While Benton Fletcher, whose collection-based advocacy was aimed at involving a broad spectrum of the British public, Russell was keen that his collection fostered a level of expertise amongst specialists. After offering his collection to Trinity College, London and the University of Cambridge, Russell settled on the University of Edinburgh, whose response to his early suggestions were more forthcoming than those of other institutions.¹⁸⁰ Once Russell had settled on the Faculty of Music at the University of Edinburgh as the most suitable place to deposit his instruments, with much credit going to Professor Sidney Newman for his tireless efforts in working with Russell and the University’s management, Russell was at pains to help acquire and renovate the most appropriate venue.¹⁸¹ A similar pattern of donation can also be seen within his other collecting areas: in donating some surgical instruments to the Royal College

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ See notes 155 and 159.

¹⁸¹ There is a great deal of information and a lengthy history of the negotiations surrounding the acquisition and rebuilding of St Cecilia’s Hall, which Russell partially funded. Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh. For letters specifically relating to funds Russell donated see: “Secretary to the University” to Russell, January 14, and February 1, 1960, 4355R058, Box L26, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

of Surgeons and the Operating Theatre Museum, although they would never be used in their original context again, they were offered for the learning opportunities that they could provide.¹⁸² The Russell Collection not only ‘needed’ to be housed in the appropriate building and space, with the ‘right’ facilities, but it was vital to Russell that the instructive environment propagated his ideologies of playing technique and instrument making.

Through his publications and the donation of his collection Russell aimed to monumentalise his work and that of certain instruments and makers over others. Indeed, many responses to his book attested to the greatness of Russell’s achievement. Posthumously, his collection, the book and catalogues, were held in high regard, and still are among other connoisseurs. Although his name now tends only to be associated with the collection in Edinburgh, recognition of his wider work was evident amongst his friends and colleagues.¹⁸³ That others recognised the significance of Russell’s multiple achievements is captured in this closing quote written posthumously: “yet another impressive monument to him as a scholar.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² After his death, Maud Russell continued Russell’s legacy by donating the rest of his surgical instruments collection, medical books, sheet music and recording collections to academic institutions as well. Correspondence with the Wellcome Collection, Royal College of Surgeons, and the Pendlebury Library, Russell family papers. Maud also set up the intercollegiate Raymond Russell Prize for Harpsichord. Selection of correspondence, 4358R005, Archival Box D, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

¹⁸³ Sir Solly Zuckerman, “Mr. Raymond Russell”, Obituaries, *The Times* (London, England), May 05, 1964, 15; Sir Russell Brock, “Mr. Raymond Russell”, Obituaries, *The Times* (London, England), April 24, 1964, 18.

¹⁸⁴ Written in relation to Russell’s work on the catalogue for the V&A. Peter Thornton (V&A) to Maud Russell, Letter, August 7, 1968, 4358R062, the heritage collections of the University of Edinburgh.

Chapter 6 What did Russell do for the Harpsichord?

6.1 An alternative position

We owe a debt of gratitude to these collectors without whose help many good instruments would probably have been lost.

Raymond Russell, "The Harpsichord since 1800," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1955-1956).

As a collector and historian of the harpsichord Russell attributed the foundations of the revival to a wider range of actors – including collectors, restorers and expositions – than more recent studies mentioned in Chapter 1. His activities, beyond performing and academia, enabled that broader viewpoint of the movement. Edmond Johnson explained that, "[i]n many ways the real story of the harpsichord in the nineteenth-century is one not of dormancy, death, or even abandonment but of a transformation from musical tool into visual and historical artefact."¹ My analysis of Russell's work demonstrates how integral the role of collectors and advocates such as him were to the next stage of the story: the transformation of the historical artefact into an effective, 'living,' twentieth-century musical tool.

Through the different mediums of his advocacy and the donation of his collection, Russell succeeded in helping to transform the harpsichord revival from an esoteric movement to an increasingly present feature of mainstream musical culture. Turning to Johnson again, he observed that "the harpsichord had emerged from the nineteenth-century with a heavy freight of ghostly associations."² Through my examination of the influences on Russell's work I have demonstrated how the acts of collectors who appeared after the 1890s led to the development of a more scientific interest in the organology and historicization of the instrument, as a reaction to this perception. The series of musical instrument exhibitions that followed the South Kensington Museum Exhibition of 1872, highlighted the instruments as objects of beauty, history and interest, but they rarely sounded.³ Arnold Dolmetsch, Wanda Landowska and Violet Gordon Woodhouse formed part of the vanguard who brought the sound of these instruments and the

¹ Johnson, "The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord," 198.

² Ibid, 187.

³ Ibid, 190-191.

music written for them to life. Influenced by them, Russell was heavily involved in the next phase of this movement, one that sought to establish the instrument as a serious vehicle for musical interpretation based on historical knowledge.

It is worth viewing the key distinction between the period examined here and today's historical performance movement from the perspective of the professional/amateur musician dichotomy. Russell's work was situated in a time when professional instruction in early music performance was not an established norm. Studying early music and historical instruments was only achievable via a combination of academic and individualised instrumental training. Only those who were well educated, who could afford to travel and engage with different instruments, teachers and places of research across the globe could participate. Some sectors of society benefitted from this set-up. For example, it allowed female keyboard pioneers such as Landowska, Woodhouse, Rosamond Harding and Dorothy Swainson to pursue careers within the field. The Swiss based Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, founded in 1933, was the first (and for some time only) institution to offer such a training within one setting.⁴ Chapter 5 demonstrates how, in Britain, Major George Benton Fletcher executed well made plans to institute a setting from which musicians could become better informed about historical keyboard instruments; Russell took that idea a step further by aiming to situate his collection within an educational institution that contained a department for the study of organology and keyboard performance. This vision resulted in a didactic collection museum, run by experts, where historical keyboard instruments could be studied in detail by specialist students. Although Russell might himself be viewed as an amateur, his desire to foster a rigorous professional training through his collection is distinct. Today's HIP movement relies on musicians having had institutionalised professional coaching, but this is still not necessarily the case for instrument builders.

Russell's work with keyboard instruments, carried out from a position of financial and social privilege, has never previously been examined in its entirety. As Wilson remarks, "having money could prove distinctly helpful. Some 'men of means' like Tom Goff [...] were freer than most to pursue their love of instruments and music."⁵ Perhaps it is the perception of this class divide that has previously distracted scholars from examining the work of collectors such as Russell, and even Goff, more closely. The notion that these individuals did not need to earn a living, that their work was done outside institutional settings and, therefore, that its validity has not been backed up by academic rigour, has meant that they have not necessarily earned the respect they may be due. Their work has often been understood as cultivating the position of true "gentleman amateurs" –

⁴ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 20.

⁵ *Ibid*, 103.

in the late-Victorian or Edwardian sense of the term – but Russell’s actions and agendas do not map easily onto such categorisation; his collecting was more than a pastime and the financial implications of his investments were an important factor for him.⁶ There are many strands to Russell’s identity construction and, as such, he defies easy labelling. It is, accordingly, all the more important to interrogate the position and viewpoint he developed.

Wilson reminds us that “Early Music’s story [...] begins at a time of societal change and upheaval” and that Early Music can be seen “as symptomatic of a wider seismic shift in the social landscape of late modernity, with the musical establishment being an obvious target of revolutionary zeal.”⁷ This chimes well with Russell’s agenda, and I have demonstrated how zealously he took part in efforts to change the harpsichord scene within his lifetime. However, this “revolutionary zeal” did not extend into his personal and private life where he felt unable to risk the public eye.⁸ The societal change with the greatest potential to affect his private life – homosexual law reform – did not happen within his lifetime, and he was unable to envisage a future society that might liberate homosexuality from heteronormative restrictions. He had been able to use his harpsichord network in a way that gave his sexuality a safe and private outlet of expression, but on his decision to immerse himself in Malta in a new area of research, he moved away from that protective sphere.⁹ It could be that the publicity surrounding the Wolfenden report and the Homosexual Law Reform Society actually precipitated Russell’s desire to leave the country. He may have felt that his version of a private life was at risk. Similarly to the shorter periods described in earlier chapters, when Russell became detached from his music-making and succumbed to drug abuse, in his final years in Malta (between 1960 and 1964) he increasingly turned to alcohol and drugs, and found himself getting into trouble with the British authorities there.¹⁰ Wilson draws links between Early Music and alternative lifestyles led by “highly educated middle-class individuals”; Haskell too points to an “Early Music Subculture” or counter-culture.¹¹ While Russell could not properly be identified with the later 1960s and ‘70s “knitted yoghurt and

⁶ See Chapters 3 and 4. Stone, “Deconstructing the Gentleman Amateur (Article Version)”.

⁷ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 60.

⁸ In Russell’s private papers is a list of members of the Homosexual Law Reform Society Executive and Honorary Committee from October 1958. Although he kept track of the Society, he did not actively participate in their campaign; it was perhaps too great a risk for him. His name is not on that list and as far as I have been able to ascertain, he never became a committee member. Homosexual Law Reform Society Committee List, 1st October 1958, Russell family papers.

⁹ See 2.2.7 and 3.5 for discussions of Russell’s queer networks.

¹⁰ See Appendix G. Russell wrote to “My dear Governor” to explain an incident which saw him detained and questioned by the Assistant Adjutant and Provost Sergeant of the Royal Fusiliers. He seems to have picked up two soldiers in his car whilst looking for a safe place to swim. Russell to Admiral Guy Grantham (Governor of Malta 1959-1962), August 9, 1960, Russell family papers.

¹¹ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 60; Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 2nd edition (Ontario: Dover Publications, 1996), 11, 161.

wholefood pullovers” Early Musician depicted by Robert Hollingworth, he did spend his life looking for a socially acceptable alternative to heteronormativity.¹² For a time his queer harpsichord network satisfied part of that need.

Two concurrent narratives become legible when examining Russell’s work: the first is the emergence of a queer cultural network within the harpsichord scene of the first half of the twentieth-century. The second offers further evidence suggesting that the roots of the early music revival are firmly planted in an elitist bedrock as posited by the likes of Taruskin and others. Russell’s queer network embraced female keyboard pioneers such as Landowska, Woodhouse and Dorothy Swainson as safe non-masculine role models for queer musicians. Through building on an established scene in Cambridge via Edward Dent, Russell developed his own network that – via the interconnected scenes of performing and collecting – brought him into contact with the key international actors of the early music movement of the period, such as Ralph Kirkpatrick and Thurston Dart. This was achieved by Russell taking full advantage of his social and financial status, though his network was not exclusive to those of a high social class. Russell’s example demonstrates how those individuals who were financially secure enough were able to engage in collecting expensive and sometimes large historical instruments, which often required considerable space and funds to house and maintain them. In addition, historically, it is those wealthy and well-connected individuals who have been able to draw the strands of wealth, influence and their acquired expertise together in order to successfully institutionalise their collections in a way that has made them useful and accessible for others.¹³ Ultimately it was Maud Russell who posthumously constructed an institutionalised identity for Russell’s work. She gentrified her son’s legacy by finalising the donation of his collection, selectively curating his papers to down-play his argumentative nature.¹⁴ These might have painted a broader picture of his connections to other primary actors in the revival of the harpsichord. However, the concept, creation and fine details of the donation were all generated by Russell.

Russell’s example demonstrates how the early music revival in the first half of the twentieth-century can be viewed as a period of music-making and research that presented opportunities for a much broader spectrum of societal involvement; a movement that celebrated female pioneers and provided a safe, intellectual environment – both within and beyond academia – that spanned class and sexuality. Russell’s research and collecting was a tool for him to construct an acceptable

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Higonnet, *A Museum of One’s Own*.

¹⁴ Maud decided which of her son’s papers went to which institution, and curated all the personal correspondence. Some, such as those between Russell and Tom Goff, she chose to burn. Maud Russell, October 5, 1970, Diary, Book XX, 148.

heteronormative identity, establishing a high intellectual status separate from his social class, whilst surrounding himself with individuals who were sensitive to his sexuality.

6.2 The Making of the Modern Harpsichord

The process of reinventing what was thought a lost art – that of the historical harpsichord workshops – would, and will, never stop developing.¹⁵ Even now instrument builders are continually adapting and experimenting with materials and techniques, on the back of immense work, practice and research done by Russell, Boalch, Dolmetsch, Hubbard, and many others to ‘perfect’ both their making process and the sound and durability of their instruments, often using twenty-first century tools and methods. There are two importance differences, though, from Russell’s life-time, namely the strong shift towards historically informed making and performing, and the sheer quantity of information now available.¹⁶ Aside from disregarding an early nineteenth-century pause, the art of making harpsichords has in fact been in continual development, and building standards and performing ideologies have changed around it.

There has been much criticism levelled at Revival and other early Modern Harpsichords and their makers, both contemporaneous and present, but it is important to remember their value to the subsequent development of making.¹⁷ There are a number of ways these criticisms can be understood; the knowledge and experience of the critic should be taken into account. Again, Russell pointed this out almost seventy years ago: “Lack of experience in dealing with what was then an entirely new problem led the maker to compare the tone of the old harpsichord with that of the modern piano, and it was found weak and lacking body in its carrying power.”¹⁸

Fundamentally, the sound of an instrument is key to a listener and performer’s enjoyment of the

¹⁵ In the twenty-first century, a close look at the many threads of discussions on the Facebook page, “Harpsichord-Cembalo[...],” shows that today’s harpsichord builders are not engaged in the act of constantly or consistently recreating ancient techniques. There are always adaptations being made. See the discussion here, begun by Michael Peter Johnson, about the preparation of plastic plectra using methods also needed when utilising bird quills. ‘(4) HARPSICHORD - CEMBALO - CLAVECIN - KLAVECYMBEL | Facebook’, accessed 3 September 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/2386034163/permalink/10157779268794164>.

¹⁶ Ibid and See the discussion and excitement surrounding Owen Daly’s 16th-century-Venetian-style iron-scaled single-strung Italian harpsichord, for which he imported Italian cypress wood and strung it using Dr. Birkett’s p-iron “historically-informed” strings and “historical procedures”. ‘(4) HARPSICHORD - CEMBALO - CLAVECIN - KLAVECYMBEL | Facebook’, accessed 3 September 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/2386034163/permalink/10157641987529164>.

¹⁷ A classic criticism often quoted is that of Charles Bordes (Schola Cantorum, Paris) in a letter to Landowska in 1903, where observed “That cage for flies” reduces “superb and often large-scale works to the size of its tiny, spindly legs.” Johnson, 201. Russell also critiqued makers contemporary to him, those of the early Modern Harpsichords in his paper. Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 67, 69. For a definition of the Modern Harpsichord and Revival Harpsichord see Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner’s Guide*, 51-52.

¹⁸ Russell, “The Harpsichord since 1800,” 66.

music being played.¹⁹ There are at least two important factors affecting a person's ability to judge that sound: (1) their previous exposure to it, and (2) the ability of the performer to use the instrument properly. The sound-world surrounding listeners and performers contemporary to the revival was different from that of preceding decades and from that of the present; nineteenth-century musical ideologies were different and varied and one could argue that they are far more varied now. The sound of the new harpsichords challenged those attached to their current musical ideologies, while some embraced and extended this challenge, others rejected it. That this concurred with an upsurge of interest in earlier repertoires was no coincidence. Both the development of the instrument itself, and that of the interest in and study of the music that was written for it, could only happen on the fundamentals set down by preceding generations. This thesis reveals how Russell learnt from revival instruments, through working with them, and how he built on his practical experience with them in comparison to historical instruments, thus expanding his knowledge-base and using that to attempt to educate others. While breaking new ground, he was, necessarily, also a product of his time, and subject to its cultural, intellectual and aesthetic limitations. His work and collection are a significant, and integral, part of the picture of the development in making. This study of Russell alone demonstrates how much the role of the collector and instrument connoisseur contributes to that picture; the story of other collectors would undoubtedly inform us further.

Kottick, in his definition of "The Modern Harpsichord" credits the realization of "the inherent superiority of the historical models over the revival instruments" to "people like Frank Hubbard, William Dowd, and Hugh Gough".²⁰ Russell and his network of advocates, which included Hubbard, were well aware of this "superiority" and worked hard to advocate for closer adherence to those instrument's characteristics. A more accurate definition would accordingly recognise *instrument makers* such as Frank Hubbard, William Dowd and Hugh Gough, *and collectors* such as George Benton Fletcher and Raymond Russell. Ideally a comprehensive study of the influence of other collections, like those of "Belle" Skinner's (1866-1928) and Morris Steinert (donated in 1900), both at the Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments, would expand the definition further. In fact, having explored the subjective flaws in Russell's thinking, in Chapter 5, the subjectivity of Kottick's phrase ought also to be addressed. By using the term "superiority" Kottick too dismisses revival instruments as inferior to historical models, falling into the trap of the same "belief in progress" he ascribed to revivalists.²¹ This is easily done. What is important here (and what Kottick seems to side-line), is that it was Russell who laid down the intellectual

¹⁹ Of course, the standard of the player will impact that enjoyment too.

²⁰ Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide*. 51

²¹ Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide*, 50.

infrastructure that enabled Kottick to make his aesthetic value judgements. This thesis demonstrates how essential it is to contextualise the decisions of earlier generations in order to engage with, and properly historicise, their and our own work.

Russell's view that historical models should be copied more accurately both in terms of materials and making techniques, and his provision of such fine examples of these models in a way that could be accessed easily, have had far reaching consequences for the development of harpsichord making. The influence and availability of his instruments and publications have had a direct impact on the course of harpsichord making globally. Prime examples are Frank Hubbard in the USA and Michael Johnson in the UK who credit Russell's work, directly and indirectly, with having a significant impact on their way of thinking about and making instruments and to whom I return below. Hubbard was in no doubt of the debt he owed Russell and his work, and gave him due credit in the preface to his own book, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Russell's close contemporaries felt that his work had made a significant impact on the scene as borne out by evidence put forward in this thesis.²²

Russell's views were based on detailed research into historical making techniques and experimentation with materials, both old and new. His knowledge of the history of making and performing was extensive, and his experience as a performer and in-depth knowledge of historical performance treatises further informed his opinions. He worked hard for this knowledge and worked hard to reach a position of influence in order to disseminate his research and ideas, but could be uncompromising and difficult to work with. Based on this research, Russell developed and propagated firmly held views about what constituted a fine example of an historical harpsichord, views that reflected a wider societal belief in the linear development of technology and the arts. A broader look at the final Russell Collection and his publications show how Russell favoured instruments built towards the end of the eighteenth-century, instruments that he felt were built at the pinnacle of making history, and which he regarded as suitable for the performance of a broad historical spectrum of music. He historicised harpsichord development by tracing a line of influence and improvement to this point. He suggested a need for uniformity in approach, based on a sound knowledge of and close adherence to historical techniques and training; and a move away from small scale, amateur workshops to larger scale manufacturing, incorporating a full training of technicians based on historical methods. These opinions are based chiefly on practicalities and his experience, but also aimed to make the "modern harpsichord" a more attractive prospect for contemporary performers and composers.

²² Ralph Kirkpatrick, Foreword, in Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, vii.

With hindsight, Russell's suggestions may seem surprising, and would certainly be contentious today. Indeed, a study of the instruments in his collection quickly highlights the lack of uniformity in building techniques historically. Furthermore, the idea that one model of an instrument is suitable for a broad spectrum of music is strongly linked to a teleological view of musical instrument development, and the "nineteenth-century concept of perfectibility" from which the classical music world has not yet entirely disengaged.²³ Russell's collection and ideas were formed at a pivotal time within the history of the early music movement, and so cannot be dismissed off-hand. His Taskin 1769 harpsichord and the Goermans-Taskin instrument, for example, are two of the most widely copied instruments in the world. The addition of these two instruments to The Russell Collection alone could be seen as a highly significant moment: many instrument builders, students and performers will have since had contact with them, in Edinburgh.²⁴ As Chapter 5 demonstrates, credit must be given to Maud Russell for following through with the donation that Russell had cancelled a few days before his untimely death, otherwise this story might have been very different. However, some of the most influential harpsichord builders first visited those very instruments prior to their arrival in Edinburgh, prior even to their coming into Russell's hands. Hubbard visited the Goermans-Taskin instrument with Russell and Kirkpatrick when it still belonged to Mrs Crawley, taking measurements of it then.²⁵ Michael Johnson visited the same instrument at Mottisfont Abbey in 1972 when it belonged to Maud, using the measurements he took as the basis for his subsequent models.²⁶ These instruments were already influential before they were institutionalised. Russell and his network's focus on these late eighteenth-century examples for their perceived perfection, has amplified their interest and notability and, in consequence, the kudos of the collection as a whole.

Hubbard, and the publication of his book, are often identified as the instigators of a "watershed moment" in harpsichord making.²⁷ Hubbard's stated intention was "to give enough information to make it possible for builders of harpsichords to base their work on certain knowledge of the

²³ John Paul, *Modern Harpsichord Makers* (Gollancz, 1981), 140.

²⁴ The Taskin 1769 was part of Maud Russell's original 1964 donation to Edinburgh, but the Goermans-Taskin was purchased from her at auction in 1972. For the University of Edinburgh details about the acquisition history of the Tasking 1769 see 'Double-Manual Harpsichord', accessed 15 September 2020, https://collections.ed.ac.uk/mimed/record/16710?highlight=*. For the history of the Goermans-Taskin see 'Double-Manual Harpsichord'.

²⁵ The date of this visit is not made clear by Hubbard in his letter to Maud Russell after Russell's death. Frank Hubbard to Maud Russell, letter, November 6th 1965, Sidney Newman Scrapbook, CRCUnivE.

²⁶ John Barnes mentions Michael Johnson as someone who "came to Mottisfont to measure your red harpsichord shortly before I collected it". John Barnes to Maud Russell, Letter, July 12th 1972, Sidney Newman Scrapbook, CRCUnivE. Johnson's own reference to the visit is here 'Michael Johnson - Harpsichords', 24 January 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190124003337/http://michaeljohnsonharpsichords.com/>.

²⁷ Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 104.

designs and methods of earlier makers.”²⁸ This is exactly what Russell had been aiming at too, but he died shortly before the publication of Hubbard’s book. Wilson and others have made much of the impact of Hubbard’s “Do It Yourself” harpsichord building kit modelled on “a Pascal Taskin instrument of 1769”, Russell’s Taskin, on the “fashion for copies” that took off in the 1970s.²⁹ As I have shown, Russell did not reach the same conclusion from his work; although he advocated for builders to base their models and building techniques on historical examples, he proposed a single general-purpose model, as opposed to copies of specific historical instruments. Issues of authenticity surround both ideas.³⁰

Attitudes towards the idea of authenticity have changed throughout the history of the revival and they fluctuate still. A proliferation of both professional and amateur keyboard making workshops has emerged throughout Britain and the rest of the world. Amongst many historically informed performers, academics and within institutions specialising in historical performance practice, different attitudes towards choice of instruments pervades. Many instrument builders do go back to consult historical treatises directly, rather than relying on secondary literature to interpret them, in combination with working alongside performers in order to produce instruments they want to work with. Working with the performer is something Russell would have championed, but he had not foreseen the desire for a continuation of the individualised approach. This individual, historically informed approach to instrument building does not, however, translate into a “more authentic” product.

Russell’s suggestion of the “general purpose harpsichord” had the practicalities of mid-century performing life at heart yet, when considering the question of authenticity, it seems to contradict his work with historical instruments. This, however, was not an academic failing. As one of his explicit goals was to change the harpsichord scene, the consideration of practicalities is entirely appropriate. His position was simply evangelical rather than academic. To this day, lack of funds, sometimes even lack of knowledge or time to engage with the complexities of appropriate instrumentation, and personal preference still normally dictate instrument choice for practice, teaching and performances. Having one “tonally unostentatious” instrument able to accommodate a broad performing repertoire remains a common outlook, even for specialised HIP practitioners. On a more general level, Johnson’s argument that “the first generation [...]”

²⁸ Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, xi.

²⁹ Russell purchased this instrument in 1952 and it is unclear whether Hubbard got to know it before or after that date. ‘Double-Manual Harpsichord’. Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 105. Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner’s Guide*, 52.

³⁰ Wilson approaches these problems in “Holding History in their Hands” Wilson, *The Art of Re-Enchantment*, 105.

revivalists [...] had to carefully balance the appeal of the harpsichord's evocative history with the practical requirements of modern concert halls and the aural expectations of audiences weaned on a musical diet rich in Wagner and Brahms," still holds today.³¹ Contemporary harpsichord players and builders still have to battle "practical requirements" and the even more diverse "aural expectations" of current audiences. The success of this parameter of Russell's work, evidenced by the acceptance of harpsichords as standard features of performance outside the specialist HIP realm and within popular imagination, contrasts with his failure to predict how it was to be achieved. This dichotomy positions him simultaneously as an important influence on the contemporary music-making scene and as a lense through which we can observe historical misconceptions, as well as our own. It also calls upon us to reconsider how we interpret his collection, and how dependant this interpretation is on the collection's presentation and wider setting.

6.3 Closing the harpsichord's lid

Anne Higonnet declares that, "[c]ollection museums challenge us – I would say allow us – to see the values of the past. And by comparing the artistic values of the present with those of the past, we gain a better understanding of both." In this investigation of Russell's life and work I have uncovered far more than the story of a collection. Instead, the narrative of a complex and influential individual emerges; his circumstances need to be better understood if we are to fully appreciate and engage with his resulting collection and contribution to the early music world. This examination highlights more broadly the complexities of collections in both their creation and their bequest stages, as well as the different attitudes to collection 'integrity', and the necessity to view collecting as part of and generator of social interaction and the personal creation of networks.

Russell's presentation of his collection emphasises "objectivity": he downplayed his authorial role and presented information about the different schools of instrument making instead. It is easy to accept the collection as such, and present it as an objective repository of knowledge. This thesis, however, exposed the illusionary character of this view: Russell was a man of his time, and the collection was shaped not only by the accidents of biography, but by underlying tastes and agendas. In order to understand its logic, you need to understand the subjective collector. In considering the details presented in this thesis, questions arise around whether the collector's biography should be more strongly emphasised in a collection's presentation, and what can be

³¹ Johnson, 199.

learnt from doing so. The treatment of and adherence to bequests are challenging for all institutions, and doubly so when musical instruments are required to be kept in a playable condition. For example, in looking after keyboard instruments in any setting it is advisable to keep the instrument's lid closed for conservation purposes, unless it is to be played. This is in order to keep the dust out, minimise the effects of sunlight on paint work, and helps to maintain the instrument's tuning.³² However, if an instrument is on display and visitors are encouraged to view its beautiful interior, an open lid is both more inviting and informative. In 2016, as part of the AHRC funded Making of the Modern Harpsichord project, a small harpsichord was installed at Mottisfont Abbey to represent Russell's interest in the instrument.³³ This was a precursor to a larger visitor experience interpretation layer, focusing on Russell's life, that I was invited to design with a National Trust team. It was hoped that having an instrument at the property would both encourage visitors to engage with the activities of a past inhabitant, and harpsichords themselves. For this, the instrument had to be playable and inviting. However, balancing the requirements of National Trust volunteers, conservation staff and our expectations for the display was complicated. Keeping the lid of the instrument open certainly attracted visitors to engage more closely with it, but required additional training of staff and volunteers and went against the normal conservation protocol of the property. One could posit this as an analogy for using the biography of collectors to interpret their collections. Should the lid remain closed or open? In Russell's case, integrating his biography and personality into the collection's presentation would help define what we can and cannot learn from it, and create wider intersections with the study of social, economic and aesthetic history and, in particular, the history of the early music revival and gender studies. Doing so, however, would contradict his collecting philosophy and intellectual agenda.

Russell did not live to see his legacy confirmed by the material preservation of his collection, nor the extension of literature that built on his book and catalogues. While he may have disagreed with how the harpsichord figures in early music today, his work was instrumental to its continued development in the twentieth and twenty-first century musical culture. My study of Russell exemplifies how collectors have contributed to the narrative of the early music movement and why examining their work closely is vital to interpreting its social context. I close this thesis with a touching tribute from Russell's friend, Ralph Kirkpatrick, found in the foreword to Hubbard's book:

³² Kottick, *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide*, 164-165.

³³ 'Music at Mottisfont - Raymond Russell and the Harpsichord', National Trust, accessed 7 December 2020, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/mottisfont/features/the-harpsichord-at-mottisfont>.

Chapter 6

It is a matter of lasting regret that my friend Raymond Russell, whose *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* preceded this book, and who so generously shared his material with Frank Hubbard, should not have lived to see its influence and that of the instruments of his collection brought to such a flowering, one that by no means has ceased to unfold.³⁴

³⁴ Ralph Kirkpatrick, Foreword, vii in Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*.

Appendix A Personalia

A list of the principal characters who appear throughout the thesis and are integral to Russell's story either as friends, family, influencers or more than one of those things. Further details about these individuals can be found in a number of sources, including Emily Russell's edition of Maud Russell's war diaries, *A Constant Heart*; *The Dictionary of National Biography*; Jessica Douglas-Home's, *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse*; and Mabel Dolmetsch's *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*.

- Benton Fletcher, Major George Henry (1866-1944)** Collector of historical keyboard instruments who preceded Raymond. His collection is now housed at the National Trust property of Fenton House. Raymond, Goff, and Pilkington were all on the committee who oversaw the care of Benton Fletcher's instruments.
- Dart, Thurston (1921-1971)** English musicologist, conductor and keyboard player. Dart, whose harpsichord career trajectory swiftly outshone Raymond's, was at least a correspondent of Raymond's if not a friend.
- Dent, Edward J. (1876-1957)** Professor of Music at the University of Cambridge. Esteemed musicologist. Close friend and correspondent of Raymond's.
- Dolmetsch, Arnold (1858-1940)** French born musician and instrument maker. A pioneer in the revival of early music and the use and reproduction of old instruments. Founder of the Dolmetsch firm from whom Raymond purchased a number of instruments.

Goff, Tom (1898-1975)

Goff was a well-respected advocate for early keyboard instruments and friend of the Russell family. He ran a clavichord and harpsichord making business from his home in Pont Street, London. He was a generation older than Raymond and they had regular fall-outs, both personal and professional.

Gough, Hugh (1916-1997)

Inspired by Dolmetsch's playing and teaching, Gough set up his own London based keyboard making and restoring workshop after the war.

Jones, Geraint (1917-1998)

Welsh organist, harpsichordist and conductor. He and his violinist wife Winnie were friends of Raymond, Pilkington and Kirkpatrick. Raymond gave Jones's harpsichord career a financial boost.

Kirkpatrick, Ralph (1911-1984)

American harpsichordist and musicologist. Well-known for his chronological catalogue of Domenico Scarlatti's keyboard sonatas, and his many performances and recordings. He studied with Nadia Boulanger, Landowska and Dolmetsch, among others, and was a close friend and mentor of Raymond's.

Landowska, Wanda (1879-1959)

Highly influential Polish/French harpsichord performer and teacher with a considerable early recording output. She also composed and had a number of important works written for her.

Nelke, Maria (Granny) (1869-1971)

Maud Russell's German mother, grandmother of Raymond's. She spent a great deal of time at Mottisfont and purchased a Ruckers harpsichord for Raymond.

Pilkington, Charles Vere (1905-1983)	Keen harpsichordist, muse and friend of the composer Lennox Berkeley. Director, then Chairman of Sotheby's. He was a close friend of Raymond's.
Prior, Camille (Pop) (1883-1970)	Actor, singer, producer in Cambridge. Friend of Raymond and Martin Russell's.
Russell, Emily (b.1962)	Daughter of Martin Russell and Ann Swinton-Lee. Maud Russell's granddaughter and Raymond's niece. Journalist. Editor of <i>A Constant Heart: The War Diariew of Maud Russell 1938-1945</i> .
Russell, Gilbert (1875-1942)	Raymond's father. Served with the grenadier Guards and as an intelligence officer in the First World War. Merchant banker – established investment bank Cull & Co.
Russell, Martin (1918-2003)	Raymond's elder brother. Studied at Eton and King's College Cambridge. Private Secretary to Duff Cooper during the Second World War, and later stationed in Singapore as sergeant in the Army. Collector of Sri Lankan art and biographer of George Keyt. He later became a banker.
Russell, Maud (1891-1982)	Raymond's mother. From 1937-1977 she kept a detailed diary in which she eloquently documented family and worldwide events, from which much of this thesis draws information. Worked in the propaganda division of the Admiralty during the Second World War. Important patron of contemporary artists and musicians, and art collector – particularly of modern French art. Last owner of Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, before handing it to the National Trust.

- Russell, Raymond Anthony (1922-1964)** Creator of the Raymond Russell Collection, now in the care of the University of Edinburgh. Harpischordist. Collector of historical items, including: keyboard instruments, surgical instruments, art and coins. Historian of harpsichords, surgical instruments and architecture.
- Sackville West, Edward (1901-1965)** British music critic, novelist and peer. Friend of Maud Russell's who lived in a "male-salon" with Raymond Mortimer, Shawe-Taylor and Eardly Knollys. Maud turned to Sackville West for advice about Raymond's harpsichord playing.
- Swainson, Dorothy (1882-1959)** Respected clavichordist and teacher. She studied and toured with Dolmetsch. Friend and sounding-board of Raymond's.
- Whalley-Tooker, Hyde Charnock (c.1901-1992)** Legal historian, Senior Tutor at Downing College Cambridge. Offered Raymond immense support during his studies at Cambridge.
- Whistler, Rex (1905-1944)** Painter, theatrical designer, illustrator. Designed and painted what is now known as The Whistler Room at Mottisfont Abbey between 1938-39.
- Woodhouse, Violet Gordon (1872-1948)** British pioneer of the harpsichord and clavichord. First to record on the harpsichord. Shared her household with four men, and was close to Ethel Smyth and Osbert Sitwell, among many others.

Appendix B “Silly Young Fool”

Mottisfont, Sunday, October 13, 1940

Raymond came into my room early on Monday, having discovered only late the night before that he was due at Cambridge on Monday instead of Tuesday. Feverish packing at night. Off in high spirits. A few days before he had written an idiotic, foolish, sententious, pompous letter to Richmond, the master. As part of the air-force is billeted at the college, passes are needed to control the movement of people in and out of it. Raymond must have wanted to register his protest against this war-time agreement and give his reasons why, lack of sympathy and so on with the Forces – whatever that may mean. To Richmond it probably looked like pro-Naziism. Richmond wrote indignantly back to Gilbert, called Raymond a “silly young fool,” and said he could go elsewhere if he didn’t want to conform to the rules. He advised him to write to the tutor at once withdrawing his letter. This I am glad to say he did. Two years ago he wouldn’t have. But he was mortally offended at Richmond’s designation of him. His pride was wounded as it has been in the past and will be again in the future till he gets a slightly clearer view of himself. I didn’t say anything to him till after this letter had been sent off. Then I told him that he mustn’t ask for privilege and that I think struck him. I told him too how deeply most people feel about this war and that they are ready to make almost any sacrifice and to suffer every loss and misery. I don’t think this had ever struck him either. He had only thought of them as blood-thirsty, selfish, imperialistic and jingoish. Then I told him that he was a person of passion and impulse not a person of logic and reasoning and that he mustn’t allow himself to be carried away, bolstering up his impulses with reasoning. I saw his astonishment. But I think here too he saw there was something in what I said. Poor Raymond, how he is going to bump about. Anyhow he went off to Cambridge in high spirits.¹

¹ Maud Russell, October 13, 1940, Diary, Book III, 78 -79.

Appendix C Russell's Recitals

Programmes found in Maud Russell's Scrapbook, National Trust, Mottisfont, Hampshire. The reviews are taken from multiple sources, stated within the table.

C.1 December 4, 1940.

Raymond Russell: Virginal, Ena Mitchell: Soprano, A Recital of Sixteenth Century Music at Houghton Hall, Cambridge

Programme	Reviews
The Lord of Salisbury his Pavin - Gibbons Muscadin - Anon Fain would I change that note - Hume Flow not so fast - Dowland On a time - Atley When Laura smiles - Rosseter The King's hunt - Bull O bellissimi capelli - Falconieri In un fiorito prato - Monteverde Tu ch'ai le penne, Amore - Caccini	<p>[Information from a newspaper clipping in scrapbook, date unspecified]</p> <p>The production was preceded by a recital of 16th century music arranged by the college Musical Society. A delightful description of the virginal was given by Raymond Russell. Who played three solos and accompanied Ena Mitchell (soprano) who sang four English and three Italian songs.</p>

C.2 December 16, 1947.

Raymond Russell: Clavecin Pleyel, *Premier Récital à Paris du Claveciniste Anglais* at *Salle de l'Ecole Normale de Musique, Paris*

Programme	Reviews
<p>[Programme sourced from a Russell scrapbook in a private collection]</p> <p>Suite No. 14 en sol – HAENDEL</p> <p>Allemande-Allegro-Courante-Air-Menuet-Gavotte-Gigue</p> <p>Les Fastes de la Grande et Ancienne Ménestrandise - François COUPERIN-LE-GRAND</p> <p>Premier acte: Les Notables et Jurés – Ménestrandeurs</p> <p>Second acte: Les Viéleux et les Guex</p> <p>Troisième acte: Les Jongleurs, Sauteurs et Saltimbanques, avec les Ours et les Singes.</p> <p>Quatrième acte: Les Invalides, ou gens estropiés au service de la grande Ménestrandise,</p> <p>Cinquième acte: Désordre et dérouté de toute la troupe causés par les Ivrognes, les Singes et les Ours.</p> <p>Concerto Italien – J.S. BACH</p> <p>Allegro – Andante – Presto</p> <p>Trois Sonates – D. SCARLATTI</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">No. 415, en ré</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">No. 434, en si bemol</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">No. 232, en sol</p>	<p>Maud Russell, January 11, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 109.</p> <p>Ray gave a successful concert in Paris on December 17 at the Ecole Normale. Martin was there, said he did very well and that it was well received. He took his time in settling himself on his stool and getting himself ready, wore a dark suit and had no smile on his face. I am immensely pleased at his success.</p>

C.3 February 13, 1948.

Raymond Russell: Clavecin, Concert de Clavecin, *Institut Français du Royaume-Uni*, London

Programme	Reviews
<p>François COUPERIN-LE-GRAND (1668-1733)</p> <p>-Les Fastes de la Grande et Ancienne Ménestrandise</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1er Acte - Les Notables et Jurée ménestrandeurs. • 2ème - Les Viéleux et les Gueux. • 3ème - Les Jongleurs, Sauters et Saltimbanques avec les ours et les singes. • 4ème - Les Invalides ou gens estropiés au service de la Grande Ménestrandise. • 5ème - Désordre et Déroute de toute la troupe, causés par les ivrognes, les singes et les ours. <p>G.Fr. HAENDEL (1685-1759)</p> <p>- Suite No. 14 en sol -</p> <p>Allemande - Allegro - Courante - Air - Menuet - Gavotte - Gigue.</p> <p>Domenico SCARLATTI - (1685-1757)</p> <p>- Trois Sonates -</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No. 143 en mi bémol • No. 434 en si bémol • No. 129 en sol 	<p>Maud Russell, February 13, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 125.</p> <p>Rushed out to try on South African hats & then again at 6 to the Institut Francais where Ray. had been invited to play - a quartet from Paris having failed - & which he had to do with very little notice. He was very pale & uncompromising looking but deliberate & composed. He played Couperin "Les Fastes" etc, a sonata of Handel's & 3 little one of Scarlatti's. The first I thought least well played but he may have been nervous. One movement of the Handel was excellent & some of the Scarlatti. I was very pleased on the whole because he seems capable of very great improvement indeed. His time is pretty good, his turns excellent, his trills good, his runs not quite perfect enough also his "attaque" – which seemed to me (who knows nothing about the harpsichord) to be his weak point. And there is a total absence of fire which I imagine is wanted in harpsichord playing which Mrs Woodhouse excelled in & by which she held one's interest. For the harpsichord, by reason of its lack of modulation become monotonous to listen to. In his least good moments there was a student-like flatness about the playing. But on the whole I was very well pleased & very proud & think he has enough talent & application to become in the first rank. I felt very glad for him after his stormy and almost disastrous youth & recompensed myself. Showed Ray. my very pleased face afterwards.</p>

C.4 May 4, 1948.

Raymond Russell: Clavecin Pleyel, Deuxième Récital du Claveciniste Anglais, Salle de l'École Normale de Musique, Paris.

Programme	Reviews
<p>Partita en si mineur - J.S. Bach</p> <p>Ouverture - Courante - Gavotte I et II - Passepied I-II</p> <p>Sarabande -Bourrées I et II - Gigue - Echo</p> <p>Suite Français No. 5 en sol - J.S. Bach</p> <p>Allemande - Courante - Sarabande - Gavotte - Bourrées I et II - Gigue</p> <p>Les Folies Françaises, ou les Dominos - François Couperin</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. La Virginité, sous le Domino couleur d'invisible. 2. La Pudeur, sous le Domino couleur le rose. 3. L'Ardeur, sous le Domino incarnat. 4. L'Esperance, sous le Domino vert. 5. La Fidélité, sous le Domino bleu. 6. La Persévérance, sous le Domino gris de lin. 7. La Langueur, sous le Domino violet. 8. La Coquéterie, sous diférens Dominos. 9. Les Vieux Galans et les trésorieres suranées, sous des Dominos pourpres et feuilles mortes. 10. Les Coucous bénévoles, sous des Dominos jaunes. 11. La Jalousie taciturne, sous le Domino gris de maure. 12. La Frénésie, ou le Désespoir, sous le Domino noir. <p>5 Sonates - Domenico Scarlatti</p> <p>Longo No 107 en ré</p> <p>433 en fa</p> <p>407 en do mineur</p> <p>142 en mi bémol</p> <p>129 en sol</p>	<p>Maud Russell, May 4, 1948, Diary, Book VIII, 146-147.</p> <p>Hurried off to see Ray's concert at the [Ecole Normale]. The hall gradually filled till indeed it was almost full, the audience consisting of young intelligent-looking people. Ray. wore tails & looked white & uncompromising but at the end a slight smile appeared & very nearly turned into a grin. He played 1) Partita in Si Mineúr by Bach, 2) Suite Francaise no 5 en sol also Bach, 3) Les Folies Francaises by Couperin & 5 Sonatas by Scarlatti 107 in ré, 433 in fa, 407 in do mineur, 142 in mi bémol, 129 in sol. He seemed to me to be very efficient technically & to have improved a lot musically. He played with greater "decision" & made concessions to rubato. So his playing was more interesting this time than last. I was very pleased with him, very. I thought of Gilbert & how astonished he would have been. The audience appeared interested & encored Ray. The Bach was least good – like last time. The Couperin & Scarlatti excellent.</p>

C.5 October 6, 1948.

Raymond Russell: Pleyel Harpsichord, Wigmore Hall, London

Programme	Reviews
<p>Ouverture in the French style - J.S. Bach</p> <p>Concerto in the Italian Manner - J.S. Bach</p> <p>Allegro-Andante-Presto</p> <p>Interval</p> <p>Les Fastes de la Grande et Ancienne Ménestrandise - François Couperin-le-Grand</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1er Acte - Les Notables et Jurée ménestrandeurs. • 2ème - Les Viéleux et les Gueux. • 3ème - Les Jongleurs, Sauters et Saltimbanques avec les ours et les singes. • 4ème - Les Invalides ou gens estropiés au service de la Grande Ménestrandise. • 5ème - Désordre et Déroute de toute la troupe, causés par les ivrognes, les singes et les ours. <p>Five Sonatas - D. Scarlatti</p> <p>Longo No. 127 in G</p> <p>Longo No. 434 in B flat</p> <p>Longo No. 407 in C minor</p> <p>Longo No. 142 in E flat</p> <p>Longo No. 232 in G</p>	<p>“Recitals of The Week,” <i>The Times</i> (London), Monday, Oct 11, 1948, 7, Issue 51199.</p> <p>Mr Raymond Russell chose a delightful programme for his harpsichord recital at Wigmore Hall on Wednesday, but might have done it more justice had he played the piano. He was not too happy with the mechanics of his instrument, and never made the most of its admittedly limited range of colour.</p> <p>Maud Russell, Sunday, October 10, 1948, Book IX, Mottisfont, 15.</p> <p>I was nervous all day because of Ray's recital that night at the Wigmore hall. I went alone and sat in the middle of the hall. He had again improved technically, but there was still a complete absence of soul. His rests were a little rough I thought and his time not as faultless as in Paris. There was a tendency to hurry. He was very good and there was nothing to be ashamed of. But there was no soul or to put it in a less exulted way, no understanding of what I conceive are the special requirements of the harpsichord. He is quite good enough for all this to be attainable one day. But he must study the music from a different angle and explore his own temperament and how best he can draw on it, develop and expand it. He needs criticism and advice. And a lot will depend on whether he will accept it and profit by it. His breeding is so mixed – and with such musical – breeding strains – he should have a lot to draw on and great depths to plumb. But before he can do so he will have to study, listen to and ask for criticism, explore his temperament potentially and learn to loosen up his controls. On the whole I was pleased and of course Proud. The hall was about half full.</p>

C.6 January 4, 1949.**Raymond Russell: Pleyel Harpsichord, Harpsichord Recital, Wigmore Hall, London.**

Programme	Reviews
<p>Les Folies Françaises, ou les Dominos - François Couperin</p> <p>[Full programme not visible]</p>	<p>“Recitals of The Week,” <i>The Times</i> (London), Monday, Jan 10, 1949, 7, Issue 51275. Title: Poulenc and Couperin.</p> <p>Mr. Terence Beckles gave the first of the New Year’s piano recitals at Wigmore Hall on Wednesday, two days before Poulenc’s fiftieth birthday, which he celebrated by including that composer’s “Les Soirées de Nazelles” in his programme. It is a suite of miniatures, thoroughly inconsistent in style but nevertheless as charming and fanciful as the titles which adorn each movement.</p> <p>In many ways it would be considered a modern counterpart of Couperin’s suite “Les Folies Francoises, Ou les Dominos,” which Mr. Raymond Russell included in his harpsichord recital the evening before, though Couperin’s idiom is rather more his own. Both Mr. Beckles and Mr. Russell gave much pleasure in their playing by reason of their musical insight. In both cases it outreaches their technical equipment, but Mr. Russell has come to far better terms with his harpsichord since his previous recital, and showed a new awareness of possibilities of registration.</p> <p>Maud Russell, January 4, 1949, “Raymond’s concert,” <i>Diary</i>, Book IX, 38.</p> <p>Ray gave his concert that evening. I was nervous. He rang up to say he was spending the day at the Wigmore Hall: could he lunch. He did and seemed quite composed. He was using another Pleyel this time. I went and sat alone. Eddie [Sackville-West] who had suggested coming with me sat with the Anthony Chaplins whom I had asked too. The hall was much fuller than last time and a more representative crowd was there – Cyril & Lys, Natasha [Spender] all the Blakiston family, Prof Dent, some other eminent professor, Moira Lyttleton and her children, that amicable freak Lady Bonham Carter and a number of the family and other friends. Ray’s playing was smoother, the pass[ages] more even and the wrong notes very few. Temperament was still lacking. There was a little progress since the last performance but not quite enough. I wish he would stop concert giving for a couple of years work very hard and have lessons. Eddie, who had said he wouldn’t praise him if he didn’t think him worthy of praise said he was pleasantly surprised and that there had been no more than four or five wrong notes. I must ask him his criticism sometime and advice.</p>

C.7 January 31, 1950.

Raymond Russell: Harpsichord, Boyd Neel Orchestra, Boyd Neel: conductor, Harpsichord and Orchestra, Chelsea Town Hall, King's Road, London.

Programme	Reviews
<p>The only programme details available come from Maud Russell's diary entry: see next column.</p>	<p>"Recitals of The Week," <i>The Times</i> (London), Monday, February 6, 1950, 4 Issue 51608. IMPROVED PROGRAMMES: There was much last week to suggest that programme building has taken a turn for the better. On Thursday an old friend from South Africa, Mr. Adolph Hallis, gave the first of four "historical" recitals designed to survey keyboard music from the sixteenth-century to the present day. The success of such an excellent idea depends, needless to say, on a sense of style in interpretation, but in his delightfully chosen programme of early music Mr. Hallis made no attempt to suggest that Lully, Couperin, Rameau, both Scarlattis, and even Bach and Handel were strangers to the modern grand pianoforte; he rarely failed to bring the music to life, but such ardent and liberally pedalled playing will be much more in place in a fortnight's time when he comes to the romantic school. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French keyboard music was also heard at Chelsea Town Hall on Tuesday, this time played on a harpsichord by Mr. Raymond Russell, whose registration is now a good deal more imaginative and his approach more commanding than when he first venture into public. In concertos by Bach and Haydn he had the cooperation of the Boyd Neel Orchestra.</p> <p>Maud Russell, Tuesday 31, 1950, Diary, Book IX, 138. [W]ent alone to Ray's concert at the Chelsea Town Hall. Row R. Hall fairly full. He played with the Boyd Neel Orchestra. 1st Concerto in D minor by Bach then some harpsichord pieces: Chaconne in F minor by Chambonnières, La Favourite in C minor by Couperin also Les Vergers Fleurs in A & 1st and 2nd and double or 3rd Rigaudon in E by Rameau. The orchestra followed with Overture No. 1 in C for 2 oboes, bassoon and strings by Bach. And Ray finished with Concerto in D for harpsichord strings et cetera et cetera by Haydn. I had the impression Ray wasn't playing as well as he can there was almost total lifelessness. But technical proficiency I think. In two pieces only he seemed to be on the way to breaking down the barriers that prevent him from playing the harpsichord as a harpsichord. He has a long way to go – not in mechanical proficiency but in musical understanding. I told No one but I was disappointed. I had hoped for a more musical performance. The Boyd Neel Orchestra played too loud and very little of the harpsichord could be heard in the Bach concerto. The Haydn was more successful from that point of view. But I prefer the harpsichord alone when all its charm and strangeness can be felt.</p>

C.8 November 27, 1950.

**Raymond Russell: 17th century Virginals, Kirkman Harpsichord, Dolmetsch Harpsichord,
Wigmore Hall, London.**

Programme	Reviews
<p>Suite No. 14 in G - Handel (1685-1759) Allemande - Allegro - Courante - Air - Menuet - Gavotte - Gigue English Suite No. 2 in A minor - J.S. Bach (1685-1750) Prelude - Allemande - Courante - Sarabande - Bourrées I and II - Gigue Pièces de Clavecin - Couperin-le-Grand (1668-1733) Sixième Ordre in B flat Les Moissonneurs Les Langueurs-Tendres Les Gazouillement La Bersan Les Baricades Misterieuses Les Bergeries La Commère Le Moucheron INTERVAL Ground in C minor - Henry Purcell (c.1659-1695) Suite No. 2 in G minor Prelude - Almand - Corant - Saraband. Five Sonatas - Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) Vivo in G Longo No. 129 Allegro in D 310 Allegro in A minor 429 Allegro in B flat 434 Presto in A 391 [The rest is not visible]</p>	<p>[See Appendix D for a full transcription of Dent's Congratulations] "Recitals of The Week," <i>The Times</i> (London), Monday, Dec 04, 1950, 2, Issue 51865. On the same evening Mr. Raymond Russell assembled three instruments at Wigmore Hall – seventeenth-century virginals of magically plangent quality, a glorious Kirkman harpsichord of the eighteenth-century, and a modern one by Dolmetsch; Mr. Russell's unfussy performances showed Purcell's C minor Ground at its best on the virginals, and allowed the lovely clarity of Kirkman's instrument to overshadow Dolmetsch's more resonant and variable but fat-toned product - though that affords some delightful tone colours.</p> <p>Maud Russell, November 27, 1950 "Ray's concert," <i>Diary</i>, Book X Monday, 1. I collected myself and went to Ray's concert at the Wigmore Hall. The program: Suite number 14 in G Händel.. English Suite No. 2 in A minor Bach Pieces de Clavecin Sixième Ordre in B flat: Couperin Then Ground in C minor and Suite No. 2 in G minor: Purcell Five Sonatas no. 129,310,429,434 & 391 by Scarlatti & Air and Variations in E (from the 5th Suite) by Händel. He played the whole program without music. I thought he had made great strides since last year and felt on the whole very satisfied. He is beginning to play with more feeling. He had the Dolmetsch harpsichord and the Kirkman on the platform and a virginal and played on all three. The older harpsichord sounded more virile than the Dolmetsch and hasn't got the jangling sound in the base of the 1. The program was too long. I should say by as much as 20 minutes. The applause less than last year and the demand for an encore, after such a long program, not very pressing: the important point is that he has made real progress this year and if he can go on he will be very good. I went round to see him, and found dear Bongie [Sir Maurice Bonham Carter] hovering near him, Elsa Richmond just leaving, 2 Indian ladies chattering and really looking pleased.</p>

Appendix D Russell on Touch

Raymond Russell, "Harpsichord," in *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), 79-80

It is sometimes thought that the harpsichord is not amenable to touch, and that the player has no more to do than to play the notes of this piece. This is quite untrue. If the keys are first struck violently, and then in contrast are gently pressed down, it will be found that the tones produced are, dynamically, very little different. But the sensitive player feels very acutely his contact with the string through key, jack, and plectrum, and much of the fine art of harpsichord-playing lies in detailed technique in this direction. A resolute and smooth pressure on the key, designed to make the plectrum sweep against the string and displace it to the maximum, rather than a violent attack calculated to force the plectrum past the string as roughly as possible, is the basic touch likely to produce good tone and *cantabile* playing, the latter so fundamental a quality of the harpsichord. In the same way, detailed attention must be paid to the release of each note, to careful articulation, to the layout of a work between the two keyboards with strict attention to its musical structure, to the careful shaping of phrases, and to the inclusion of adequate breathing spaces into the performance. Undue preoccupation with such things as registration – a matter which fades from the mind when the instrument is tonally satisfactory – and details of elaborate ornamentation is a pitfall for the newcomer which tends to obscure the fundamental musical requirements of the instrument. Modern concert players, whether solo or continuo, by no means always respect the careful instructions of the old masters in these matters, and their performances are often far from authentic in letter and spirit.

Appendix E Dent's Congratulations

Copy of Sidney Newman's transcription of Dent's letter. Source: E2001.37 Tovey letters, Box CLX-A-397, Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh University Library.

Copy of Letter no. 21. Envelope addressed to:-

Raymond Russell, Esq., 7 D[ilke] the[sic] Street, Chelsea, S.W.3

17 Cromwell Place,

London, S.W.7.

28th November, 1950

Dear Raymond,

I was able to get back from the Goldsmith's College in time to hear all your recital (though I did not stop for the encores and missed hearing La Campanella etc) and I enjoyed it all very much. It was an admirably planned programme, and Handel's H.B. sent us all away happy. And it was a most instructive evening too. The Kirkman sounded so incomparably better than all the other instruments that I was tempted to go to the back in the interval and beg you to play all the rest of the programme on it, but I thought perhaps this would upset you as you had already made up your mind what to do.

The Purcell Ground also sounded much better on the virginals. This was very noticeable where the R[ight] H[and] goes into the higher regions [musical example written out] (I think I have quoted it in the wrong key – as I heard it!) – The old virginal had much more carrying power and cantabile than the Dolmetsch: but the Scarlatti sounded well on the Dolmetsch, especially the Sonata with repeated notes.

Various people in the audience agreed with me in praise of the Kirkman and wished you had played the whole programme on it. To me the *Baricades* was almost inaudible and quite ineffective on the Dolmetsch but came out beautifully on the Kirkman.

The Handel was nothing very great, but always effective in a modest way and always pleasing and happy – Bach dull and awkward; he never understood the harpsichord as an instrument, except perhaps in the Goldberg Var. and perhaps the Chr. Fant. Couperin and Scarlatti both masterly in their separate styles and with so much more personality and character – but of course one has to remember that the harpsichord was their main instrument, whereas for Handel and Bach it was

Appendix E

merely an occasional[sic] diversion, or a utility instrument on which to practise counterpoint privately. I think the 48 and Art of Fugue ought to be studied but never played at public concerts!

I was glad to see such an enthusiastic audience, and to note so many distinguished people! You are evidently becoming the heir to Mrs Gordon Woodhouse.

Yours, Edward Dent.

Patrick Savill was there and enjoyed it all very much. Also Eddie Marsh (!!!) with Christopher Hassall

Appendix F Extracts from Dorothy Swainson's memoirs

Dorothy Swainson, transcribed by Katharine Cobbett, unpublished memoirs, private collection of the Cobbett Family, Bishopsbourne, Canterbury.

It is difficult to accurately date sections of Swainson's diaries as she tends to jump between time periods and frequently omits dates.

1907-1914

Before starting for England for our 'second tour,' I had the brilliant idea of asking Dolmetsch for a lesson, as I was not at all sure about the ornaments in the old French music. Dolmetsch was then making harpsichords and clavichords at Gaveau's piano factory at Fontenay-sous-Bois, not far from Vincennes. This was our first meeting, which was to develop into a lifelong friendship. He duly gave me a lesson on the pieces in our programme and gave me some idea of how to tackle them, but after we had finished, he said 'You can't go without hearing my clavichord.' In my innocence I asked him what it was, and for answer, he crossed the room, opened a lid and played to me. I can remember this incident as though it were yesterday, the revelation it was to me. I could not sleep that night; that music haunted me and I resolved then and there that, by hook or by crook, I must have a clavichord. It meant £60 to be earned, which I did by going to teach at Miss Ironside's school for the autumn term two years later. Page 17.

1923

Also in March I had an engagement to play clavy at (Sir?) William Bartlett's lovely house in the Rue du Cherche Midi. This was rather a fateful occasion as our hostess, quite an old lady, so fell in love with clavy that she persuaded me to sell it her, together with Anna Magdalena's little green book. It was my big five octave clavichord which had gone to Russia with me. It was getting cumbersome and costly to take about; all right on the roof of a four-wheeler, but impossible in a taxi. I thought my small clavy 'just as good' and at the time I was glad of the money. Dolmetsch had made it at Gaveau's in 1912 or 1913 and signed it for me. Postscript 1954: Raymond Russell found and bought it in Paris in some piano shop. I saw it again and I loved it. He offered it to me for £175 which I thought too much. He then took to playing it himself. I realised that it would need new strings, brushing of keys etc. I have now secured a 5 octave Chickering made

Appendix F

c.1904 which has wiped out any lingering regrets about the Gaveau. Yet sold "Chick" in 1956. Page 48.

Early 1930

Margot then gave a clavy party at Church Street and Vere Pilkington annoyed me by playing my clavy extremely badly. However, there was a champagne supper and Betty was there in sparkling form; a highly successful party. Page 54.

1945

One day in June, Professor Dent came to dine and afterwards I played clavy to him. Being very deaf, I doubted if he would be able to hear. He leant forward in his chair with a hand behind his ear then his hand dropped and he leant back. He liked it, but asked if I played Bach like that on the piano and of course I said no, much less freely. Page 79.

1946

March: Music Club near Holland Park. People gathered, Pilkington appeared with a small clavichord and an enormous pile of large volumes. The clavichord was all but inaudible and a big volume of music would be lifted from the floor on his left-hand side, a piece played from it, and then dumped on the floor on his right. As the evening went on, the pile on the left decreased and that on the right piled up. I was indeed thankful when the left hand pile was exhausted and the evening came to an end. Page 80.

1949

In 1949 the clavy was very much to the fore. On the 21st January I had the big clavy for the Cowdray Hall Dolmetsch Concert, then it was moved to Hyde Park Gardens where we gave a big party in the library where it sounded lovely. I played Bach Prelude and Fugue in C, Andantino attributed to J.C. Bach (I think it is really by Beck, as Stanford Terry could not identify it). Musette en Rondeau and Rappel des Oiseaux by Rameau, Scarlatti Pastorale and A major Sonata, Haydn Largo and Rondo in D, Lyre d'Orphée of Dandrieu, Carillon de Cythère by Couperin and the E major Haydn Minuet and Rondo. It is rather amusing to remember who was there: Mary Shield, Kitty Maxwell, Charlotte Bonham Carter, Mademoiselle Zwingli, Margot and Felix, Griselda, Michael Warre and Ursula, Hylida and Gertrude Sharpin, Mary Phipps, Michael Carey, Rex Leeper, Primrose and Ann, Ian, Constance and Mary Hamilton, Prue Mackower, Christopher and Mrs Holme, Raymond Russell, Robin Mackworth-Young, Richard Blackham, Peter Ward Jackson, Ewald Junge, John Simons, Artemy Raevesky, Joseph Saxby, Cecil Gould and

Janet and Katharine Leeper. Invited but couldn't come; Gerald Hayes, Tom Goff, Teddy Craig, Richard Buckle, John Godley, Laurence Whistler, John Raynor, Leslie Hurrey and Seymour Whingates. Page 89.

January: I went with Raymond Russell to the Belgian Institute to hear a clavy (Tom Goff's) played by John Lade. He had enormous volumes like Pilkington had had, was fairly inaudible, but played some interesting pieces by Seixas, the Portugese pupil of Scarlatti's. Page 89.

On July 1st I returned by Calais-Dover but only had a week at Bramham before going to Haslemere. During this week I was frantically writing my clavy lecture that I was to give during the Festival. I did however take Raymond Russell to Adelina de Lara's recital, which was splendid and even Raymond found her playing 'most exciting.' Page 90.

In October 1949 I began teaching Michael Thomas, and the following February he brought the first clavichord he had made to show me. Also in October I went to hear Valda Aveling's clavichord recital in the Wigmore Hall. She was almost inaudible. Page 91.

In November I had to miss the Dolmetsch Foundation Annual because I was in bed with a bad cold. They had an evening party at which Leslie's (maker in Dolmetsch workshop) new harpsichord, made for Raymond Russell was presented. However, I went to see (and admire) it at Russell's house about two weeks later, and on that occasion he played me a remarkable record of Landowska's of the Chromatic Fantasia. Page 91.

November: There was a Dolmetsch clavichord for sale which I was lent to compare with mine. We had rather an amusing party with Joseph Saxby, Raymond Russell, Mrs Jeal and K.'s friend Isobel. One game was to listen outside and guess which clavy was being played. We often guessed wrong. I think Janet rather regretted I did not buy the lent one, but I stuck to my own with its painted flowers on the soundboard. Page 91.

1950

Raymond Russell gave a party this January, playing his new harpsichord, Bach D minor concerto with the Martin string quartet. There were about thirty people present, many of them distinguished musicians and critics, but there was no food or drink! At the end of the month he gave a recital with the Boyd Neal Orchestra in Chelsea Town hall, not an unmitigated success. Page 92.

Appendix F

Also in March, Susi Jeans came to lunch; she came at noon to hear the clavichord and she was very friendly and interested. Two months later she invited us to Dorking, where she played the organ, harpsichord with pedals, and clavichord (T. Goff's). William de Blaise played a flute sonata with her. Cecil Clutton was there (evidently an intimate habitu ), and also Raymond Russell, who was very bored and hated the organ. A delicious supper was provided and we returned by the 10-20pm train to Waterloo. Lady Jeans gave me a volume of Sweelinck. Page 92.

April: I went to a concert at the Central Music Library with Raymond Russell, at which Sir Stuart Wilson talked a lot of nonsense about viols, Harry Dank's consort played, and Valda Aveling on clavy was quite inaudible with the traffic outside. However, I had a good dinner with Raymond afterwards at a restaurant near South Kensington Station, at which I discovered that he had been involved in an explosion during the war, leaving him partially deaf. Page 93.

October: Raymond Russell took me in his car to Haslemere to see his second harpsichord. I stayed a night or two at Jesses, gave a clavy lesson to Layton Ring. Page 94.

1951

I did not go out until February 26th when I managed to go to the Cowdray Dolmetsch Concert with Raymond Russell. Page 94.

In April Raymond Russell took me for a spin in his car to Ham House – not many fine things there and an ancient harpsichord in the long gallery. Page 95.

1952

Mrs Dolmetsch invited me for Easter, but I felt too tired and only went a week or so later. I went to tea with the de Blaises and there met Raymond Russell who had found in Paris at the back of a piano shop the big five octave clavichord that had once been mine. It went to Russia with me in 1913, and later I sold it in favour of a small, more portable one. Some time later I went to see the big clavy at Russell's house and was slightly tempted to buy it, but he wanted rather a lot for it and I realised that a lot of work would have to be done on it, restringing probably, and the rattling of the keys cured. Russell got rather attached to it and one day played me a lot of Handel on it. I felt that the clavichord was improving his playing. However, it later drifted back to the Dolmetsch workshops. Page 97.

October: A few days later I had tea with Raymond Russell, saw 'my' former big clavy, his Haas clavy and Harpsichords by Taskin and Blanchet. Page 99.

Appendix G Russell and the Ruckers Ruckus

G.1 Letter from R. Russell regarding a Hans Ruckers Harpsichord.

4357R051, Archival Box D, in the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh.

14 January 1958

Dear Carew,

Thank you for sending a draft of the proposed letter to Sir Arthur Penn. I hope you won't think me difficult when I say that I don't like it.

It contains several statements which are not true, and others which are doubtful, and it leaves a wish in the reader's mind to look into the matter more fully.

Obviously the contents of the letter must be absolutely true, and I believe this can be managed without creating as alarming an effect as is produced by the draft you sent.

I enclose an alternative for you and for the committee to look at, and I don't think it raises so many suspicions as the other. I think it also says the minimum we can say in the circumstances which brought about the decision to report to the Queen Mother's Secretary. Obviously we have no right to hide anything, and Her Majesty may or may not ask to know details. But I feel that a clear and short statement of fact is the least likely to make her pursue a matter of which I personally am heartily sick.

Yours Raymond.

G.1.1 Russell's suggested letter to Arthur Penn

I have pleasure in enclosing a copy of the new Printed Catalogue of the Early Keyboard Instruments at Fenton House.

In 1950 Her Majesty the Queen Mother most kindly agreed that the Hans Ruckers harpsichord should be lent to the Trust; and shown to the public with the Benton Fletcher Collection of instruments.

Certain repairs to the mechanism and case of the harpsichord were found necessary before it was placed on exhibition and this work was carried out by two separate firms under the general supervision of a member of our expert committee who wished to undertake this responsibility.

Appendix G

There was, most regrettably, a lack of adequate control in this supervision, and in consequence the restoration of the casework of the harpsichord was carried much further than our expert Committee would have allowed. This work is mentioned in the catalogue on page 13.

May I say that the Trust accepts unreservedly any blame that might attach to this action. Instructions are now in operation to regulate most carefully any repairs which may be necessary to instruments in the care of the Collection, and I feel confident that an adequate degree of protection is now afforded in such cases.

G.2 Letter regarding Handel's Harpsichord.

Box L40, 4357R079, in the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh.

28th November, 1957,

Dear Raymond,

Fenton House

You will have received a copy of a letter which I wrote yesterday to Tom Goff. On behalf of the Trust I would like to assure you formally that I accept without question the accuracy of the statement about Handel's harpsichord [the Queen's Ruckers instrument] on page 13 of the Fenton House musical instrument catalogue, which means what it says.

I only hope that this tiresome dispute can now be regarded as ended. I see little point in crying unduly about milk spilt seven years ago and now in danger of going sour on us.

Yours ever,

Jack [J. F. W. Rathbone]

Secretary [of The National Trust]

G.3 Russell's notes from BFAC Meeting.

42 Queen Anne's Gate, November 20, 1957 4357R050, Box L28, in the heritage collections at the University of Edinburgh.

6. e) Geraint Jones said the trouble was part of a much larger campaign of Tom's directed at me, largely resulting from a RMA lecture and 2 3rd programme broadcasts. Tom had expressed himself thus to him and to many others. He thought it essential to protect the Trust from being used for unscrupulous personal advantages in this way, and strongly suggested my motion. The Chairman was terribly upset during this, and tried to stop the remarks, saying Yes, he knew it was true.....but faltering and giving way. The effect was most strange and was remarked on. G J said that whether Tom was asked to produce an explanation or not, his resignation was quite essential. The meeting expressed itself in agreement, rather gradually.

Appendix H Russell's Final Years

A timeline of events based on Maud Russell's diary entries about her son's deteriorating health.

"Ray appears to be ill on and off all the time but doesn't come home to have the best treatment. One doesn't know what to think. No, that is not true. I think he is unable to take himself away from somebody or something – say drugs."

Maud Russell, May 18, 1963, Diary, Book XVI, 117.

Russell was flown back to the UK and had a series of fits, which hospitalised him for a period until he was stabilised. It was never clear what caused these, but drug and alcohol abuse were suspected, and even a "neglected" case of syphilis was put forward by one doctor.

Maud Russell, May 28-31, 1963, Diary, Book XVI, 122-126.

Russell had a series of stays in hospital after having "violent nosebleeds" and falls.

Maud Russell, July 24 – August 1, 1963, Diary, Book XVI, 140-144.

Russell continued having short trips back to Malta, where his mother and family worried incessantly about him, and short spates in hospital in the UK from August 1963 until his last flight out to Malta in February, 1964.

Maud Russell, August 1963 – February 1964, Diary, Book XVI, 144-196.

The most likely cause of his deterioration was the combination of excessive alcohol and drugs. He admitted to taking 60 to 70 "benzidine tablets" after he'd been drinking, to his mother in October 1963.

Maud Russell, October 2, 1963, Book XVI, 161.

Russell choked on his own vomit and died of suffocation on March 17, 1964.

Copy of an Act of Death registered in the Public Registry Office of Valletta, Malta ,
April 14, 1964, Msida, Issued on April 19, 2014 by the Public Registry Office, Malta.

He is buried in Malta.

Maud Russell, May 1, 1966, Book XVIII, 12-13.

Appendix I Transcription of Instrument List

Lists found in the Russell Family Papers regarding Raymond Russell's estate. Lists authored by Maud Russell from her research into her son's estate. Additional information added from other sources in red text. Grey text indicates notes added in pen/pencil by Maud Russell. All spellings/inconsistencies copied from the original.

Pantechnicon Instruments

1.	Harpsichord	J. & A. Kirkman	1772	P. 71	Mahogany
(given on "life loan" to Geraint Jones. G. Jones to Smiles & Co., letter, November 2 nd , 1964, Russell Family Papers)					
2.	Harpsichord	Hass	1764	Bo. P.17&18	Mahogany
3.	Harpsichord	Johannes Ruckers	1638?	P.33	Case only Black Lacquer
4.	Harpsichord	Thomas Hancock	1720		Mahogany
5.	Harpsichord	Johannes Ruckers	1637		Red Lacquer
6.	Harpsichord	JAN Couchet	1645		Green Lacquer
7.	Harpsichord	Bolcionius. Triple manual			Gilt
8.	Harpsichord	Andreas Ruckers	1608		Green Lacquer
9.	Harpsichord	J Broadwood	1793		Mahogany
10.	Harpsichord	Pascal Taskin	1769	P.47	Green & Gilt
Restored by Louis Tommasini 1882					
11.	Harpsichord	maker not marked? (Spanish?) intern apollo			Green & Gilt Lacq?
12.	Spinnet	Bertolotti	1586	P.9	Green & Gilt Lacquer
13.	Virginal	Stephen Keene	1668	P.57	Oak lac[?]
14.	Spinnet	John Harrison	1757	P.69	Mahogany
15.	Spinnet	maker not marked?		P. 59	Mahogany
Floral Decoration 4 ½ octaves					
16.	Spinnet	Neil Stewart	1784		Mahogany
17.	Spinnet	Thomas Hitchcock	no. 1241	P.65	Mahogany& Rosewood
18.	Clavichord	Hass	1764		Red Lacquer

Italian Ottavina = Italian Spinnet of c. 1700 on 3-legged stand	Kirkman ??
Italian Clavichord of c. 1700 with stand of 4 turned legs	Organ??

Sold or Given Away

J. Kirckman 1764. Raymond bought at Tunbridge Wells for £120 & gave to Humphry Evans as a wedding present.

J. A. Kirckman 1775 Raymond bought from Morley for £350. Sold (1957) to Gustav Leonhardt Amsterdam for £750. Previously Hon. Wayland Young. Sotheby's after. 1956 £390

Orlandus (Petrus Michael) about 1710. B writes an ottavina by him somewhere [?] etc etc.

Dolmetsch restores it. Raymond bought 1956 for £70 from Morley

John Player Virginal 1664. Raymond Bought Sotheby's (from Captain Lane), 1955 for £250. Sold in 1957 to Gemeentemuseum for £450.

? Rinardo Beretoni. Fn. Offered a spinet dated 1738 ?

Jan RUCKERS (the younger) 1628 H. Raymond bought from Christies 1953 from an anonymous vendor for £90. Sold to Vere Pilkington for £140.

Andreas RUCKERS the Elder 1628 H. Raymond bought if for £220 from Hugh Gough?? Sold by Raymond at Sotheby's to D. Converted into a gpf by Zeilter. Now converted back again by Gough for Raymond Russell. (this note is crossed out and written beside it is "In possession")

Hermann Tabel. Dates ascertained 1716-1738. Raymond Bought for £450. Raymond sold it Sotheby's for £450. Belonged to Helen, Countess of Radnor, and Mr Pleydell-Bouverie

Blanchet. 1. 1730 bought Paris by Raymond 1952 £750. Sold 1957 for £750 to Charles Fisher, Boston, USA.

2. no date. Bought Paris by Raymond 1952. Sold Sotheby (£400?) in 1958. Now in S. A (?).

?4. GG – e³, entered in B but no mark of buying. **black naturals. On front of wrestplank is written "Misa register de quir par Blanchet a Paris 1700" [added from Raymond Russell's copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*, in possession of the author.]**

Appendix J Heritage Sector Work

Katharine has shared her research on Raymond Russell well beyond the realms of academia through her work with the National Trust and her subject's links to further heritage institutions. She has presented her work at the Cheltenham Music Festival (<https://www.southampton.ac.uk/music/news/2015/07/08-southampton-researchers-at-cheltenham-festival.page>), the Old Operating Theatre Museum & Herb Garret, and via events at Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire, and the National Trust Knowledge Exchange Programme (<http://blog.soton.ac.uk/music/2016/04/29/exchanging-knowledge-national-trust/>) for their staff and volunteers. Raymond's own interests extended well beyond harpsichords, into the history of medicine, surgery and architecture. These combined interests led to his discovery of the site of the oldest surviving operating theatre in Europe, since restored and turned into the Old Operating Theatre Museum (<https://oldoperatingtheatre.com/resources/history-of-the-museum/>); a further heritage institution, alongside St Cecilia's Hall (<https://www.stcecilias.ed.ac.uk/>) and Mottisfont Abbey, that would benefit from acquiring details and materials related to Raymond's work.

In 2017 Katharine was given the chance to work with National Trust staff at Mottisfont to develop interpretive material that could represent the life and work of Raymond Russell within the property. This work was featured on the first floor of the house for a year from March 2018. A National Trust property provided a fantastic environment to design and implement ways to present musicological and collections related research to the public, and engaged a new audience not only in Raymond's story, but also that of the harpsichord in the twentieth-century.

Interpretation Layer for Mottisfont Abbey¹

On entering the property visitors were taken on a journey through Raymond's life, with each room reflecting a different stage.

Boy's Room



In the Boy's Room visitors were introduced to the young Raymond, his family, and some of his youthful pursuits. Laid out for visitors to handle were copies of his letters from Eton, mock ups of family photo albums, piles of records and music and even his shooting & fishing diary (blank apart from documenting that he'd shot nothing and found his one attempt a "dull day"). The most significant object introduced to the room was a revival harpsichord (<https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/news/harpsichords-return-mottisfont-abbey>), loaned by the University of Southampton. In 2016 the instrument was placed here to represent the connection between Raymond and harpsichords, and has been available for visitors to play ever since. Katharine's research has since revealed that it is in the exact spot where Maud Russell kept one of Raymond's favourite instruments, the Goermans/Taskin harpsichord, after his death.

¹ <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/mottisfont/features/reviving-baroque-at-mottisfont>



Figure 20 EMI Record with the Goermans/Taskin at Mottisfont. Front cover of a record made by Russell's friend, Geraint Jones, at Mottisfont Abbey in 1967, by kind permission of Maud Russell. The Goermans/Taskin instrument (then known as a Couchet/Taskin) is pictured here in the Boys Room at Mottisfont Abbey, Hampshire.

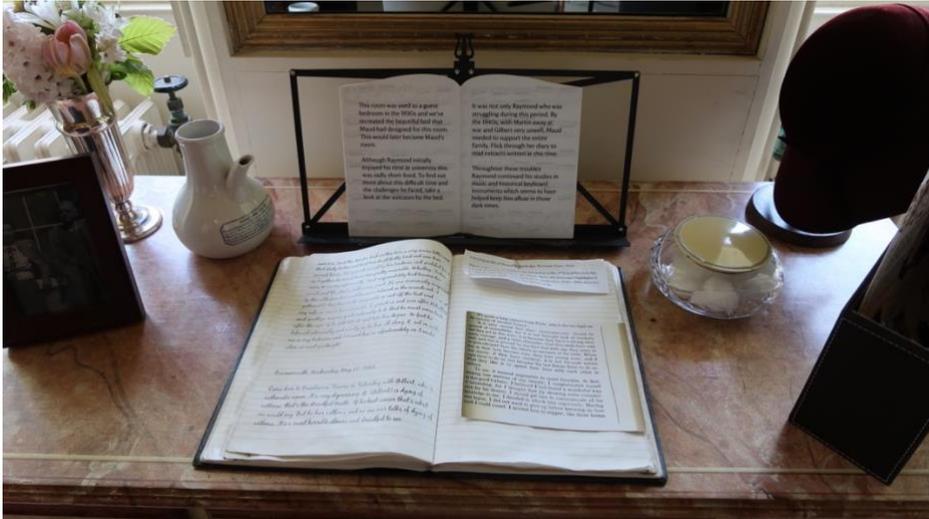
The interpretation layer placed more importance on the instrument. A quote from Maud's diary was used to highlight the Russell boys' early introduction to harpsichords, indicating that they attended a concert given by Violet Gordon Woodhouse in 1934. The sound of the instrument was introduced to the room via a hidden speaker that emitted a recording of someone tuning the strings, something that Raymond did regularly when home.

The Study



The next room, Gilbert Russell's study, focussed on Raymond's experiences at Eton and Cambridge. A caricature of him taken from a Downing College publication, *The Gryphon*, and personal letters and family diary entries were displayed on Gilbert Russell's desk. In this room too, visitors were alerted to difficulties the Russell's encountered negotiating Raymond's troubled life. His attempts to run away from Eton were mentioned and a family reference book, left open on the chapter "The love that dare not speak its name", was displayed.

The White Room



It was in the White Room (Maud's bedroom) where visitors could engage further with the troubles that confronted the family in the early 1940s, from Maud's perspective. These could be explored by taking in the objects on display and through reading Maud's diary entries. The subjects covered were the death of Maud's husband; Raymond's status as a Conscientious Objector; his drug overdoses and eventual conscription to the army.



The Red Room

Katharine's research pinpointed The Red Room as the site for two more of Raymond's harpsichords, after his death. It was in this room, therefore, that the harpsichord became the chief focal point with the addition of a beautiful instrument by the renowned harpsichord builder Michael Johnson.



Figure 21 Single manual harpsichord by Michael Johnson in the Red Room, Mottisfont Abbey.

Here Raymond's career as a harpsichordist could be exhibited. Chairs were set out as if an audience might be about to appear, each with copies of original concert programmes from Raymond's recitals. Music stands presented large publicity photos of Raymond sat at different instruments.

Multiple layers of interest were brought in with Johnson's instrument. Johnson visited Mottisfont to see Raymond's harpsichords in the early 1970's; a visit which had a significant impact on his own influential instrument building business. Because of this connection, and his relative proximity, Johnson was happy to lend one of his instruments and make regular visits to tune and maintain it. This allowed National Trust visitors to hear live harpsichord sounds, take a closer look at the inner workings of a harpsichord and provided opportunities to ask an expert about the instruments.



Figure 22 Jane Chapman coaching a University of Southampton student in a live musical event in the Red Room.

Importantly, the availability of a high quality, well-maintained harpsichord enabled **live musical events** (<https://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities/news/events/2018/05/06-southampton-university-baroque-ensemble.page>). These attracted further attention to Raymond and harpsichords, and returned the sounds of the instrument and live music to Mottisfont.



The Ante Room

On leaving the Red Room, visitors would pass through a small Ante Room which was turned into a Cabinet of Curiosities representing Raymond's collecting career. Bell jars were filled with examples of items that Raymond had collected in his lifetime including Maltese coins, surgical instruments and, of course, pictures of his harpsichords. A copy of his book *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study* was also displayed.



The Dining Room

The final room dedicated to Raymond's narrative was the Dining Room. This was presented as an homage to Raymond life and his mother's efforts to ensure his work was remembered. A radio and headset, placed on a sideboard, gave visitors the opportunity to listen to Raymond's opinions on twentieth-century harpsichord building, through a reproduction of a BBC Third Programme broadcast he gave



The table was set for dinner with each place setting representing a different friend or relative of Raymond's. In the centre of the table, propped up against a jar of lilies, were two Times obituaries written after Raymond's untimely death in 1964.



Snippets of conversations about completing the posthumous donation of Raymond's keyboard collection to the University of Edinburgh were printed on napkins, placed in their relevant person's plate.



Feedback from National Trust staff and visitors was very positive. Many had expected an exhibition based on a harpsichord collector to be dry and uninteresting, but found themselves drawn in by the details of Raymond's colourful, short life. The multiple musical events attracted visitors of all ages to new sounds, instruments, and the possibility of a musical heritage associated with an historic property.

Bibliography

Archival and Manuscript Sources

CENTRE FOR RESEARCH COLLECTIONS, MAIN LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, EDINBURGH

Newman Scrapbook EUA Acc7000/036 Da 46

The Tovey Collection: CLX-A-397 Letters E J Dent to R Russell

DOWNING COLLEGE ARCHIVE, THE MAITLAND ROBINSON LIBRARY, DOWNING COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Raymond Russell's File, DCAT/1/2/1720 Russell R.A. Oct 1940

The Griffin, 1910-1948.

ETON COLLEGE ARCHIVE, ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY, ETON COLLEGE, WINDSOR.

Archive Box: ED 272/29 – ED 273/3 (Hugh Babington-Smith's Versions in English of the Texts of Church Cantatas by J.S. Bach)

Eton Calendar 1936 and 1938

Eton College Chronicle 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938

Eton College (music programme) MARCH 28, 1938

Eton College (music programme) JULY 23, 1938

Eton School Records Current Sheets

Rev. J.C. Chute's House Book 1930-1936

THE HERITAGE COLLECTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, EDINBURGH

(This archive has since been relocated from St Cecilia's Hall since I visited it)

Archive Boxes (relating to Raymond Russell, his keyboard collection and the donation of the collection to the University of Edinburgh): Box L26, Box L28, Archival Box D, Box L40, Box L41, Box M80, Box M81, Box M92, Box M93, Box S27, Box S28, Box S30, Box S31.

MOTTISFONT ABBEY, HAMPSHIRE

Study: Library of Russell family books

Bibliography

Maid's Room 3: Various uncatalogued boxes of Russell family books, photograph albums and scrapbooks, belonging to Maud Russell's estate.

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Dorothy Swainson's unpublished memoirs. Transcribed by Katharine Cobbett. Private collection of the Cobbett Family, Bishopsbourne, Canterbury.

Maud Russell's diaries. Book II to Book XXI (October 1938-November 24, 1972). Private collection of the Russell family.

Russell family papers 1936-1972. Private collection of the Russell family.

Raymond Russell's copy of Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*. On loan to the author from David Owen Norris.

Primary and Secondary Literature

Ackerman, Michael. "Alec Hodsdon 1900-1986." *Sounding Board*, no. 1 (January 2010): 3-4.

<http://www.harpsichord.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/BHSmagJAN2010a.pdf>

Adorno, Theodor W. "Bach Defended Against his Devotee". In *Prisms*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983.

Aldrich, Robert, and Garry Wotherspoon. *Who's Who in Gay and Lesbian History Vol.1: From Antiquity to the Mid-Twentieth Century*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2005.

Andrews, Robert. *The New Penguin Dictionary of Modern Quotations*. London: Penguin UK, 2003.

Ansell, E. *Admissions to Peterhouse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Applegate, Celia. *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the 'St. Matthew Passion.'* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014.

Arnold, Lorna. *My Short Century*. Palo Alto, CA: Cumnor Hill Books, 2012.

Arrandale, Karen. "Artists' Rifles and Artistic Licence: Edward Dent's War." *First World War Studies* 2, no. 1 (1 March 2011): 7-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2011.555468>.

Ashton, Kim. "'And Why?' Confrontations between Old and New." *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 150-52. <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cau012>.

Bainbridge, Timothy. "Wanda Landowska and Her Repertoire." *Early Music* 3, no. 1 (1975): 39-41. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3125306>.

- Barberis, Peter, John McHugh, and Mike Tyldesley. *Encyclopedia of British and Irish Political Organizations: Parties, Groups and Movements of the 20th Century*. London: A&C Black, 2000.
- Barclay, Robert L., ed. *The Care of Historic Musical Instruments*. Canadian Conservation Institute and the Museums & Galleries Commission, 1997.
- Baudrillard, Jean. "The System of Collecting." In *Cultures of Collecting*, edited by Roger Cardinal. London: Reaktion Books, 2004.
- Becker, Howard Saul. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982.
- Bedford, Frances. *Harpichord and Clavichord Music of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1993.
- Belk, Russell W. "Possessions and the Extended Self." *Journal of Consumer Research* 15, no. 2 (1 September 1988): 139–68. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209154>.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2013.
- Berkeley, Lennox. *Lennox Berkeley and Friends: Writings, Letters and Interviews*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012.
- Bicknell, Stephen. *The History of the English Organ*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Bloch, Michael. *James Lees-Milne: The Life*. London: John Murray, 2009.
- Boalch, Donald Howard, Charles Mould, and Andreas H. Roth. *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*. London: George Ronald, 1956.
- . *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Boden, Anthony, and Paul Hedley. *The Three Choirs Festival: A History*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2017.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2013.
- Brett, Philip, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas. *Queering the Pitch*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2013.
- . *Queering the Pitch*. Routledge, 2013.

Bibliography

———. “Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent.” In *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, edited by Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitesell, 177-188. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

———. “Musicology and Sexuality: The Example of Edward J. Dent.” In *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future : Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*, ed. David Greer, 418-427. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Brooks, Jeanice. *The Musical Work of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Brown, Howard Mayer. *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

———. “Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement.” In *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, edited by Nicholas Kenyon, 27-56. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Butt, John. *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Campbell, Margaret. *Dolmetsch: The Man and His Work*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975.

Card, Tim. *Eton Renewed: A History of Eton College From 1860 to the Present Day*. London: John Murray, 1994.

Carey, Hugh. *Duet for Two Voices: An Informal Biography of Edward Dent Compiled from His Letters to Clive Carey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Carey, John. *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939*. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 2002.

Carter, Tim. *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2002.

Cattani, Gino, Roger L. M. Dunbar, and Zur Shapira. “Value Creation and Knowledge Loss: The Case of Cremonese Stringed Instruments.” *Organization Science* 24, no. 3 (2013): 813–830.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42002879>.

Cayzer, Elizabeth. *Changing Perceptions: Milestones in Twentieth-Century British Portraiture*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 1999.

- Cecil, Hugh P., and Mirabel Cecil. *In Search of Rex Whistler: His Life and His Work*. London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2012.
- Clark, Timothy. *The Theory of Inspiration: Composition as a Crisis of Subjectivity in Romantic and Post-Romantic Writing*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Gétreau, Florence, ed. *Musique-Image-Instruments: Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale*, nos. 8-9 (themed volumes *Les collections d'instruments de musique* parts 1, 2007 and 2, 2009).
- Cobbe, Hugh. *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams, 1895-1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Cole, Michael. "Rosamond Harding: Author and Musicologist." *The Galpin Society Journal* 60 (2007): 71–84. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163894>.
- Cole, Suzanne. "A Great National Heritage." Chapter 5 in *The Early Twentieth-Century Tudor Church Music Revival*. Oxford: British Academy, 2011.
- . "The Early Twentieth-Century Revival of Tudor Church Music." *Context: Journal of Music Research*, no. 37 (2012): 130–34. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/196165267>.
- Cook, Andrew. *Ian Fleming Miscellany*. Stroud: The History Press, 2015.
- Cook, M. *Queer Domesticities: Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.
- Cowgill, Rachel, and Peter Holman. *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007.
- Dale, William. *Tschudi, the Harpsichord Maker*. London: Constable and Company Limited, 1913.
- Day, Timothy. *I Saw Eternity the Other Night: King's College, Cambridge, and an English Singing Style*. London: Penguin UK, 2018.
- Dean, Winton. "Edward J. Dent: A Centenary Tribute." *Music & Letters* 57, no. 4 (1976): 353–61. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/734276>.
- Dent, Edward Joseph and Hugh Taylor. *Selected Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- . *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1913.

Bibliography

- Dickinson, Peter. *The Music of Lennox Berkeley*. Woodbridge, Suffolk.: Boydell Press, 2003.
- Dolmetsch, Mabel. *Personal Recollections of Arnold Dolmetsch*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957.
- Donington, Robert. *The Interpretation of Early Music*. Manhattan, NYC: St Martins, 1963.
- . *The Interpretation of Early Music*. London: W W Norton & Company Incorporated, 1992.
- Dorian, Frederick. *The History of Music in Performance: The Art of Musical Interpretation from the Renaissance to Our Day*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1942.
- Douglas-Home, Jessica. *Violet: The Life and Loves of Violet Gordon Woodhouse*. London: Harvill Press, 1996.
- Dreyfus, Laurence. "Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century." *The Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (1 July 1983): 297–322. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/742175>.
- Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Piano: A History*. London: Dent, 1976.
- Ellenberger, Nancy W. "The Souls and London 'Society' at the End of the Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 2 (1982): 133–60. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3827108>.
- Elliot, Clinton. *Hidden: The Intimate Lives of Gay Men Past and Present*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2014.
- Ellis, Katharine. *Interpreting the Musical Past : Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Ellsworth, Therese, and Susan Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2017.
- Elste, Martin. "From Landowska to Leonhardt, from Pleyel to Skowronek: Historicizing the Harpsichord, from Stringed Organ to Mechanical Lute." *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2014): 13–22. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26546377>.
- . *Modern Harpsichord Music: A Discography*. Vol. 58. Discographies Series. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Fausser, Annegret. "The Scholar behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876-1957) and the Politics of Music History." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139, no. 2 (2014): 235–60. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43303374>.

- Fausser, Annegret. *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2005.
- Ferguson, Howard. *Keyboard Interpretation from the 14th to the 19th Century: An Introduction*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Fraser, David. *Wars and Shadows: Memoirs of General Sir David Fraser*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011.
- Fuller, Sophie, and Lloyd Whitesell. *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Garfield, Brian. *The Meinertzhagen Mystery: The Life and Legend of a Colossal Fraud*. Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books, Inc., 2007.
- Germann, Sheridan. "Mrs Crawley's Couchet" Reconsidered'. *Early Music* 7, no. 4 (1979): 473–81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3126483>.
- Greene, Richard. *Edith Sitwell: Avant Garde Poet, English Genius*. London: Hachette UK, 2011.
- Greeves, Lydia. *Houses of the National Trust*. London: Anova Books, 2008.
- Haines, John. *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Harding, Rosamond E. M. *Anatomy of Inspiration*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012.
- . *The Piano-Forte*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archive, 1933.
- . *The Piano-Forte*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hargrove, Nancy D. "The Remarkable Relationship of T. S. Eliot and Mary Hutchinson." *Yeats Eliot Review* 28, no. 3–4 (22 September 2011): 3. <https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-316939158/the-remarkable-relationship-of-t-s-eliot-and-mary>.
- Harris, Alexandra. *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination from Virginia Woolf to John Piper*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2010.
- Harris, Ellen T. *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Haskell, Harry. *The Early Music Revival: A History*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1988.
- . *The Early Music Revival: A History*. New edition. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 1996.

Bibliography

- Haynes, Bruce. *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of 'A'*. Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002.
- . *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Henkel, Hubert. *Lexikon deutscher Klavierbauer*. Birgkichen, DE: Bochinsky, 2000.
- Hewison, Robert. *Culture and Consensus (Routledge Revivals): England, Art and Politics since 1940*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2015.
- Higonnet, Anne. *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift*. London: Periscope Publishing, 2009.
- Hipkins, Alfred James. *A Description and History of the Pianoforte and of the Older Keyboard Stringed Instruments*. London: Novello, 1896.
- Houlbrook, Matt. *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957*. New edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Howarth, Thomas Edward Brodie. *Cambridge between Two Wars*. London: Collins, 1978.
- Hubbard, Frank. *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Hughes, Meirion, and Robert Stradling. *English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940*. 2nd edition. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Huhn, Tom. *The Cambridge Companion to Adorno*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Irish, T. *The University at War, 1914-25: Britain, France, and the United States*. New York: Springer, 2015.
- James, Philip. *Early Keyboard Instruments*. London: Peter Davies Ltd, 1930.
- Jeans, Susi. "Robert Thurston Dart, 1921-1971: An Appreciation by a Friend." *The Galpin Society Journal* 24 (1 July 1971): 2–4. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/842002>.
- Jeppesen, Knud. *Counterpoint: The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century*. North Chelmsford, MA: Courier Corporation, 2013.
- Jeppesen, Knud, and Glen Haydon. "On Counterpoint." *The Musical Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1935): 401–7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/738659>.

- Johnson, Edmond. "Arnold Dolmetsch's 'Green Harpsichord' and the Musical Arts and Crafts." *Keyboard Perspectives* 10 (2017): 145–67. https://works.bepress.com/edmond_johnson/14/.
- . "The Death and Second Life of the Harpsichord." *The Journal of Musicology* 30, no. 2 (April 2013): 180–214. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2013.30.2.180>.
- Kenyon, Nicholas, ed. *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Kildea, Paul. *Benjamin Britten: A Life in the Twentieth Century*. London: Penguin UK, 2013.
- King, A. Hyatt. *Some British Collectors of Music C.1600-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Kipnis, Igor. *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Kirkpatrick, Ralph. *Ralph Kirkpatrick: Letters of the American Harpsichordist and Scholar*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2014.
- Kirkpatrick, Meredith, ed. *Ralph Kirkpatrick: Letters of the American Harpsichordist and Scholar*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014.
- Kivy, Peter. *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Kjar, David. "The Plague, a Metal Monster, and the Wonder of Wanda: In Pursuit of the Performance Style." *Per Musi*, no. 24 (December 2011): 79–100. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-75992011000200010>.
- Knight, Frida. *Cambridge Music: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times*. Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1980.
- Kopp, James B. "William Waterhouse (1931-2007)." *The Galpin Society Journal* 61 (2008) : 363–256. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25163957>.
- Koster, John. *The Historical Harpsichord: A Monograph Series in Honour of Frank Hubbard*. Edited by Howard Schott. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 1984.
- Kottick, Edward L. *A History of the Harpsichord*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- . *The Harpsichord Owner's Guide: A Manual for Buyers and Owners*. Reprint. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2013.

Bibliography

- Kramer, Ann. *Conscientious Objectors of the Second World War: Refusing to Fight*. Barnsley, Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 2013.
- Kynaston, David. *The City of London Volume 3: Illusions of Gold 1914 - 1945*. London: Random House, 2015.
- Landowska, Wanda. *Landowska on Music*. Edited by Denise Restout and assisted by Robert Hawkins. London: Secker & Warburg, 1965.
- Langfield, Valerie. *Roger Quilter: His Life and Music*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2002.
- Larson, Frances. *An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Latcham, Michael. "Don Quixote and Wanda Landowska: Bells and Pleyels." *Early Music* 34, no. 1 (1 February 2006): 95–109. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3519484>.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/soton-ebooks/detail.action?docID=422646>.
- Lawson, Colin, and Robin Stowell. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Historical Performance in Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- . *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Lee, Celia, and John Lee. *The Churchills: A Family Portrait*. London: Macmillan, 2010.
- Lees-Milne, James, and Michael Bloch. *Diaries, 1942-1954*. London: Hachette UK, 2011.
- Leppard, Raymond. *Raymond Leppard on Music: An Anthology of Critical and Personal Writings*. Edited by Thomas P. Lewis. White Plains, NY: Pro/Am Music Resources, 1993.
- Little, Alice. "Percy Manning, Henry Balfour, Thomas Carter, and the Collecting of Traditional English Musical Instruments." *Folk Music Journal* 11, no. 1, (2016): 25-41. <https://www.efdss.org/about-us/publications/folk-music-journal/2-general/7620-folk-music-journal-volume-11-number-1>
- Locke, Ralph P. "Music Lovers, Patrons, and the 'Sacralization' of Culture in America." *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (1993): 149–73. <https://doi.org/10.2307/746331>.

- . “Paradoxes of the Woman Music Patron in America.” *The Musical Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (1994): 798–825. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/742510>.
- Lycett, Andrew. *Ian Fleming*. London: Hachette UK, 2012.
- Mactaggart, Peter & Ann. *Musical Instruments in the 1851 Exhibition*. Welwyn: Mac & Me, 1986.
- Marshall, Melanie L. “Voce Bianca: Purity and Whiteness in British Early Music Vocality.” *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 19, no. 1 (10 September 2015): 36–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wam.2015.0001>.
- Martin, Darryl, Jenny Nex, Lance Whitehead and Grant O’Brien, *Aspects of Harpsichord Making in the British Isles*. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009.
- Marvin, Clara. *Giovanni Pierluigi Da Palestrina: A Guide to Research*. Milton Park, Ox: Taylor & Francis, 2002.
- Meinertzhagen, Richard. *The Life of a Boy: Daniel Meinertzhagen, 1925-1944*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1947.
- Mountford, Marilyn. *Behind Closed Doors*. S.I.: Gloucester: The Cloister House Press, 2017.
- National Trust (Great Britain). *Fenton House, Hampstead: A Property of the National Trust*. London: *Country Life* for the National Trust, 1953.
- Naulleau, Gaetan. “Gustav Leonhardt’s Bach Cantata Recordings: Project, Reception and Style.” *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cau010>.
- Nevill, Ralph. *Floreat Etona: Anecdotes and Memories of Eton College*. London: Macmillan, 1911.
- Newman, Sidney, and Peter F. Williams. *The Russell Collection and Other Early Keyboard Instruments in Saint Cecilia’s Hall, Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968.
- Nex, Jenny. “Edinburgh’s last International Exhibition and its Music.” In *Music and the Second Industrial Revolution: 2 (Music, Science and Technology)*. Edited by Massimiliano Sala. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2019.
- Nex, Jenny and Lance Whitehead. “The Six Early Clavichords of Arnold Dolmetsch: Their Construction and Inspiration.” *The Galpin Society Journal* 53 (2000): 274–300. <https://doi.org/10.2307/842328>.
- Norton, Mary. *The Borrowers*. London: Hachette UK, 2011.

Bibliography

- Nurmi, Ruth. *A Plain & Easy Introduction to the Harpsichord*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974.
- Palmer, Larry. *Harpsichord in America: A Twentieth-Century Revival*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Palmieri, Robert. *The Piano: An Encyclopedia*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2004.
- Parsons, Anna Francesca. 'The Use of Guisborough : The Liturgy and Chant of the Augustinian Canons of the York Province in the Later Middle Ages'. Ph.D., University of Exeter, 2004.
<http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.414046>.
- Pauer, Ernst Ed. *Old English Composers for the Virginals & Harpsichord: A Collection of Preludes, Gaillards, Pavanés, Etc. Selected from the Works of William Byrde, Dr. John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Dr. John Blow, Henry Purcell, Dr. Thomas Augustine Arne*. Augener Limited, 1890.
- Paul, John. *Modern Harpsichord Makers*. London: Gollancz, 1981.
- Pearce, Susan. *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2013.
- Persak, Kenneth J., and Richard A. Fleming. "The History of Acetal Homopolymer." In *High Performance Polymers: Their Origin and Development*, edited by Raymond B. Seymour and Gerald S. Kirshenbaum, 105–14. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1986. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-7073-4_10.
- Philip, Robert. *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Pile, Jonathan. *Churchill's Secret Enemy*. London: Jonathan Pile, 2012.
- Pilkington, C. Vere. "The Harpsichord: Its Present and Its Future." *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 62 (1 January 1935): 21–38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765549>.
- Plath, Sylvia. *Letters of Sylvia Plath Volume I: 1940–1956*. London: Faber & Faber, 2017.
- Quinn, Iain. *Studies in English Organ Music*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2018.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315163857>.
- Rainbow, Bernarr. *Music in Independent Schools*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2014.

- . *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2001.
- Rankin, Susan, and David Hiley. *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy : Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*. Oxford : Clarendon, 1993.
- Rayborn, Tim. *A New English Music: Composers and Folk Traditions in England's Musical Renaissance from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016.
- Rieger, Bernhard. *The People's Car: A Global History of the Volkswagen Beetle*. United States: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Renton, Alex. *Stiff Upper Lip: Secrets, Crimes and the Schooling of a Ruling Class*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2017.
- Richard, J.A. "The Pleyel Harpsichord." *The English Harpsichord Magazine* 2, no. 5 (1979).
- Ricketts, Harry. *Strange Meetings: The Poets of the Great War*. London: Random House, 2015.
- Ripin, Edwin M. *Early Keyboard Instruments*. London: MacMillan, 1989.
- , ed. *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1971.
- Roberts, John Stuart. *Siegfried Sassoon - The First Complete Biography of One of Our Greatest War Poets*. London: John Blake Publishing, 2005.
- Roche, Elizabeth. "Early Music and the BBC. 1: World War II to 1957." *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1640 (1979): 821–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/962263>.
- Rogers, Nicholas. *Catholics in Cambridge*. Leominster, Heref: Gracewing Publishing, 2003.
- Rubinoff, Kailan R. "'The Grand Guru of Baroque Music': Leonhardt's Antiquarianism in the Progressivist 1960s." *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 23–35. <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cau026>.
- Rubinstein, W., and Michael A. Jolles. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*. New York: Springer, 2011.
- Russell, Emily. *A Constant Heart: The War Diaries of Maud Russell 1938-1945*. Stanbridge, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 2017.

Bibliography

Russell, Raymond. *Early Keyboard Instruments*. Victoria and Albert Museum: H.M. Stationery Off., 1959.

———. “The Harpsichord, Spinet, and Virginal”. In *Musical Instruments Through the Ages*. Edited by Anthony Baines. Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin, 1961.

———. *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study*. London: Faber & Faber, 1959.

———. *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Introductory Study*. Second Edition, Revised by Howard Schott. London: Faber & Faber, 1973.

———. “The Harpsichord since 1800.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 82 (1 January 1955): 61–74. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/765868>.

———. *Catalogue of the Benton Fletcher Collection of Early Keyboard Instruments at Fenton House, Hampstead*. Country Life for The National Trust, 1969.

Ryan, Derek, and Stephen Ross. *The Handbook to the Bloomsbury Group*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020.

Saler, Michael T. *Avant-Garde in Interwar England : Medieval Modernism and the London Underground*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Samson, Jim. *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Schott, Howard. *Playing the Harpsichord*. Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publications, 2002.

———. “The Clavichord Revival, 1800-1960.” *Early Music* 32, no. 4 (1 November 2004): 595–603. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3519398>.

———. “The Harpsichord Revival.” *Early Music* 2, no. 2 (4 January 1974): 85–96. <https://doi.org/10.1093/earlyj/2.2.85>.

———. *The Historical Harpsichord: A Monograph Series in Honour of Frank Hubbard*. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1984.

Scotland, Tony. *Lennox & Freda*. Wilby, Norfolk: Michael Russell, 2010.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.

- Sherman, Bernard D. *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Stent, Ronald. *A Bespattered Page?: The Internment of His Majesty's 'Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'*. New York: Harper & Collins, 1980.
- Stirling-Whyte, Anne, ed. *Sidney Newman Remembered 1906-1971: A Centenary Collection of Personal Reminiscences by Edinburgh Colleagues*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, 2006.
- Stone, Duncan. "Deconstructing the Gentleman Amateur (Article Version)". *Cultural and Social History*." Accessed 9 September 2020.
https://www.academia.edu/34556804/Deconstructing_the_Gentleman_Amateur_article_version
 —
- Strachey, Nino. *Rooms of Their Own*. London: Pavilion Books, 2018.
- Strohm, Reinhard, and Bonnie J. Blackburn. *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Stuart, Charles. "'Dolmetscherie' Today." *The Musical Times* 92, no. 1301 (1951): 297–303.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/935387>.
- Summers, Claude. *The Queer Encyclopedia of Music, Dance, and Musical Theatre*. Minneapolis, MN: Cleis Press, 2012.
- Swartz, David. *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Tamagne, Florence. *A History of Homosexuality in Europe, Vol. I & II: Berlin, London, Paris; 1919-1939*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2006.
- Taruskin, Richard. *Text and Act : Essays on Music and Performance: Essays on Music and Performance*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Temperley, Nicholas. "The Anglican Choral Revival." *The Musical Times* 112, no. 1535 (1971): 73–75. <https://doi.org/10.2307/955741>.
- Thomas, A. F. Leighton. "Tomkins Tercentenary." *The Musical Times* 97, no. 1364 (1 October 1956): 541. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/937563>.

Bibliography

- Thomasson, Anna. *A Curious Friendship: The Story of a Bluestocking and a Bright Young Thing*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2015.
- Thomson, Katharine. *The Masonic Thread in Mozart*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1977.
- Tinniswood, Adrian. *The Long Weekend: Life in the English Country House Between the Wars*. London: Random House, 2016.
- Tullberg, Rita McWilliams. *Women at Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Venn, John. *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Waitzman, Mimi S. "Ancient Musicland' to Authenticity, a study of the Benton Fletcher Collection Archive." *Music and Musicians*, Vol. 37 No.3, (November 1988).
- . *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*. National Trust, 2003.
- . "George Henry Benton Fletcher: The Improbable Collector." In *Through the Eyes and Ears of Musical Instrument Collectors c.1860-1940*. Edited by Christina Linsenmeyer. Forthcoming.
- Wentz, Jed. "Gustav Leonhardt, the Naarden Circle and Early Music's Reformation." *Early Music* 42, no. 1 (2 January 2014): 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.1093/em/cau011>.
- Whistler, James McNeill. *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*. Paris: Delabrosse & Cie., 1890.
- Whistler, Laurence. *The Laughter and the Urn: The Life of Rex Whistler*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.
- Willsdon, Clare A. P. *Mural Painting in Britain 1840-1940: Image and Meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Willson, Flora. "Hearing Things: Musical Objects at the 1851 Great Exhibition." In *Sound Knowledge: Music and Science in London, 1789-1851*, edited by James Q. Davies, and Ellen Lockhart. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. University Press Scholarship Online, 2017. doi: 10.7208/chicago/9780226402109.003.0010.
- Wilson, Nick. *The Art of Re-Enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- Wright, David. "Going for Green." Edited by Merion Hughes and Robert Stradling. *The Musical Times* 143, no. 1879 (2002): 47–50. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1004601>.
- . "The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130, no. 2 (2005): 236–82. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3557473>.
- Wright, David C. H. *The Royal College of Music and Its Contexts: An Artistic and Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Zankel Lindorff, Joyce. "Contemporary Harpsichord Music: Issues for Composers and Performers." MA diss., The Juilliard School, 1982. <https://pgdtopen.proquest.com/doc/748197086.html?FMT=ABS>
- Zimring, Rishona. *Social Dance and the Modernist Imagination in Interwar Britain*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsmzh&AN=2014581117&site=eds-live>.
- Zon, Bennett. *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*. Abingdon, Ox: Routledge, 2016.
- Zuckermann, Wolfgang. *The Modern Harpsichord: Twentieth Century Instruments and Their Makers*. London: Peter Owen, 1970.

Discography

- Kitchen, John. *Instruments from the Russell Collection*. CD. Edinburgh: Delphian Records Ltd, 2001.
- . *Instruments from the Raymond Russell Collection*. CD. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Delphian Records Ltd, 2005.
- . *Instruments from the Rodger Mirrey Collection*. CD. Edinburgh: Delphian Records Ltd, 2010.