

NOTES

The following abbreviations are used:

Kemp, Ian, <i>Tippett: The Composer and His Music</i> (first published 1984), paperback edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)	Kemp
Tippett, Michael, <i>Selected Letters of Michael Tippett</i> , ed. Thomas Schuttenhelm (London: Faber and Faber, 2005)	Sel. Lett.
Tippett, Michael, <i>Those Twentieth Century Blues: An Autobiography</i> (London: Hutchinson, 1991)	Blues
British Library, London	Brit. Lib.
Royal Academy of Music archives, London	Roy. Acad. Mus.
University of California, San Diego, special collections and archives	Univ. Cal. SD

Previously published essays and correspondence are cited to their most recent appearance, and the manuscript source given only for hitherto unpublished material. A full list of manuscript sources may be found in the Bibliography. Quotations from the letters are from manuscript, and discrepancies with previous transcriptions are recorded in the notes. For instance, the note to Tippett's description of *Robin Hood* as an "unfortunately romantic hotch potch operetta" reads:

To Alan Bush, 24 July 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 122, as “comfortably romantic”).

Tippett’s letters are often undated. I have used my own dating throughout, and where I have demurred with the chronology of *Selected Letters* the page reference is marked with an asterisk (*). For example, a letter from Tippett to David Ayerst marked in *Selected Letters* as 29 October 1945, is here dated to 29 October 1940. The note reads:

To David Ayerst, 29 Oct. 1940 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 243*).

Introduction

¹ To Douglas Newton, 16 Aug. 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 175). See also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 177.

² “Isaiah Berlin”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 63.

³ Karen Monson, *Chicago Daily News*, 8 Mar. 1974.

⁴ The seven parts of this book roughly correspond to these two sources as follows. Part One: *Kemp*, pp. 1–13, *Blues*, pp. 1–12; Part Two: *Kemp*, pp. 13–30, *Blues*, pp. 12–44; Part Three: *Kemp*, pp. 31–40; *Blues*, pp. 45–112; Part Four: *Kemp*, pp. 40–48, *Blues*, pp. 113–87; Part Five: *Kemp*, pp. 48–61; *Blues*, pp. 188–229; Part Six: *Blues*, pp. 221–56; Part Seven: *Blues*, pp. 256–78.

⁵ Interview with Sir Michael Tippett, Women’s Library, London School of Economics, 8SUF/B/195, Tape 75; *Remaking the Dream*, Channel 4, 1998.

⁶ I have been unable to discover any

of Tippett’s letters to his parents, to his cousin and close friend Phyllis Kemp, or to his partner and assistant John Minchinton. Nor do letters to his lovers Wilfred Franks and Karl Hawker survive from the time of his affairs with them. Ian Kemp, planning in the late 1970s a letters edition that never appeared, made great efforts to write to Tippett’s friends and collate correspondence. For this I will be for ever grateful.

⁷ *Tippett’s Time*, Channel 4, 1995.

PART ONE: A CHILDHOOD, FAR AWAY AND LONG AGO, 1905–1923

Overture: A Ringing Of Bells

¹ *The Vote*, 28 Feb. 1913, p. 300.

² Footage of the protest is in “Scenes outside the House of Commons”, 1913, British Film Institute 504388. See also “We Defy the Law”, *The Vote*, 31 Jan. 1913, p. 224. Isabel Tippett decided “that we two boys

should address a ‘meeting’ on the subject of votes for women and were given a couple of days to prepare our speeches. [. . .] The meeting was called in Father’s study and the audience was made up of Mother and the maids. Michael’s speech [. . .] was so good and so much to the point that it was printed in *The Vote*.” *Kemp and Tippet, I Remember, I Remember*, 1, p. 24.

1. Henry and Isabel

- ¹ Tracing the family even further back reveals no Cornish connections. George Tippet was the second child of John Tippet (1799–1867), a builder born in Totnes, Devon, who soon settled in London. See Whitmell, *A Brief History*, p. 9.
- ² Called a “second, weekend home” in *Kemp*, p. 3, the house was registered as the family’s primary address.
- ³ Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.
- ⁴ “Queen’s Bench Division”, *The Times*, 11 Feb. 1885, p. 3. See also Sheppard, *Survey of London*, p. 310.
- ⁵ “Henry William Tippet of 2 Old Serjeants Inn in the city of London, solicitor. Lease of mines of copper, etc., on lands being part of a farm called Drws y Coed in the parishes of Beddgelert and Llandwrog, and of a farm called Talmignedd Uchaf in the parish of Llanllyfni, all in County Caernarvon.” 24 Oct. 1894, BRA 1955 Deposit, Parcel 862, National Library of Wales.
- ⁶ See “Passenger Lists leaving the UK, 1895”, findmypast.co.uk.
- ⁷ Tippet believed that his grandfather had died in prison (*Blues*, p. 162). See “Law Report”, *The Times*, 12 Sept. 1898, p. 13; “Central Criminal Court”, *The Times*, 17 Jan. 1899, p. 14; “Reg. v. Tippet”, *Standard*, 10 Feb. 1899.
- ⁸ The date of the acquisition is uncertain, but Henry was a guest at the hotel by 1901: “Se sont installés – a l’hôtel Beau-Site: M Tippet [sic] et famille.” *Littoral*, 3 Dec. 1901, p. 2.
- ⁹ “Calcutta: Insolvent Court”, *Alexander’s East India and Colonial Magazine* 9 (Aug. 1834), p. 185.
- ¹⁰ “Weather”, *The Times*, 3 Jan. 1905, p. 5. The temperature in London that day never rose above 1°C.

2. A Suffolk Childhood

- ¹ Architectural plans for the extension survive, dated September 1906, implying completion of the works in early 1907. Both brothers were sure that the family did not move in until the works were finished. My account of Tippet’s childhood has drawn on two drafts of a short unpublished memoir that Tippet co-wrote with his brother: *Kemp and Tippet, I Remember, I Remember*.
- ² Juliet Nicolson, “Art in 1913: A Vision of the Future”, *Telegraph*, 9 June 2013 (accessed online, Oct 2018).
- ³ Wheen, *Tippet’s Time*, p. 5.
- ⁴ The 1911 census lists the live-in staff as Jessie Brand (governess),

- Kate Sore (cook), and Cassie Sore (parlourmaid). The brothers also remembered a third maid, “Olive?”, from their earliest childhood, in Kemp and Tippett, *I Remember, I Remember*, 1, p. 4. Previous descriptions of the household (eg. Kemp, p. 6) have been somewhat exaggerated.
- ⁵ See Kemp and Tippett, *I Remember, I Remember* 2, p. 9, which persuasively contradicts Blues, p. 5.
- ⁶ Kemp and Tippett, *I Remember, I Remember* 2, p. 18.
- ⁷ Wheen, *Tippett’s Time*, p. 6.
- ⁸ Kemp and Tippett, *I Remember, I Remember*, 1, pp. 22–3.
- ⁹ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 19 May 1911, quoted in Bounds, *A Song of their Own*, p. 253.
- ¹⁰ Mulvihill, *Charlotte Despard*, p. 31.
- ¹¹ *Desert Island Discs*, BBC Radio 4, 1985.
- ¹² Quoted in Tippett (Isabel), *The Waster*, p. 2.
- ¹³ See Bounds, *A Song of their Own*, pp. 113–32, 179.
- ¹⁴ Anna Munro, “Mrs Tippett’s protest at Stowmarket”, *The Vote*, 7 Dec. 1912, p. 100. See also “The Letter-Box Outrages”, *The Times*, 3 Dec. 1912, p. 8; Bounds, *A Song of their Own*, pp. 161, 178–9, 192, 252–3.
- ¹⁵ See “Lowestoft”, *Diss Express*, 13 June 1913, p. 5.
- ¹⁶ Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.
- ¹⁷ See Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippett (Ian Kemp collection). Wood and Moiseiwitsch performed the concerto frequently at the Proms, making it hard precisely to date the concert that Tippett heard.
- ¹⁸ Details are from Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippett (Ian Kemp collection).
- ¹⁹ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991; *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ²⁰ Wheen, *Tippett’s Time*, p. 5. Tippett’s recollection of this story sometimes featured visiting village girls singing, rather than the maids. Hearing the Irving Berlin song would also seem to precede his hearing of soldiers’ songs in the First World War, despite his frequent claim that war songs were his “first musical excitement” (“Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 151).
- ²¹ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991.
- ²² “We Defy the Law”, *The Vote*, 31 Jan. 1913, p. 224. See also “Suffragist Violence”, *The Times*, 29 Jan. 1913, p. 7; and “The Militant Suffragists”, *The Times*, 30 Jan. 1913, p. 12. Isabel may never have given her name, for she is absent from the relevant Holloway Prison Records and Calendars (London Metropolitan Archives), and from the admittedly incomplete lists of “Suffragettes Arrested, 1906–14” (National Archives). Her name is on a Roll of Honour created, in the 1950s, to celebrate imprisoned suffragettes (London School of Economics, Women’s Library, 7LAC/2).
- ²³ *The Vote*, 7 Feb. 1913, p. 242.
- ²⁴ Smyth, *Memoirs*, p. 300.
- ²⁵ *The Vote*, 14 Feb. 1913, p. 266.

²⁶ *The Vote*, 21 Feb. 1913, p. 285.

²⁷ Isabel Tippett, “The Stuff that ‘Eroes Are Made Of’”, 208. Other plays by Isabel were staged at the Hippodrome in Ipswich, and at the Cannes hotel. A local reporter wrote that they were “premieres so far as England is concerned, but they have already been performed on the Riviera, and been favourably commented on by English and Continental critics” (*East Anglian Daily Times*, 30 June 1911, quoted in *Bounds, A Song of their Own*, p. 160). Isabel made over all performance rights and royalties to the WFL.

²⁸ *Desert Island Discs*, BBC Radio 4, 1985.

²⁹ Kemp and Tippett, *I Remember, I Remember*, 1, p. 24.

³⁰ *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985; to Evelyn Maude, 16 Aug. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 309*).

3. The Great War

¹ “Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 151; *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.

² Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.

³ Wheen, *Tippett’s Time*, p. 6.

⁴ *A Full Life*, TV South, 1985.

⁵ I am grateful to Charmian and Derek Whitmell for information about the family’s losses during the war.

⁶ See *Stowmarket Weekly Post*, 13 Dec. 1917, p. 3.

⁷ Mulvihill, *Charlotte Despard*, p. 112, also pp. 110–26. See also Crawford, *The Women’s Suffrage Movement*, p. 723.

⁸ “Master Tippett” and “Master M. Tippett” are listed as the helpers

in “a most successful jumble sale [. . .] held in the gardens of Rosemary Cottage [. . .] to raise funds in aid of the milk depot in the Nine Elms district of London [. . .] in which Mrs. Tippett is an indefatigable voluntary worker, and where her work has done an immense amount of good” (*Stowmarket Weekly Post*, 3 Aug. 1916, p. 5). Henry chaired an evening’s entertainment at the local school “to obtain funds for providing our soldiers with comforts” (*Stowmarket Weekly Post*, 20 Dec. 1917, p. 5), while Isabel’s Wetherden social club, with an extensive programme of dance and fancy-dress evenings, was intended “to bring together the people of the district for social intercourse and healthy amusement” (*Bury Free Press*, 5 Sept. 1919, p. 5).

⁹ Information on the history of Fettes College is from the school’s archives, and from McDowell, *Carrying On*; Philip, *A Keen Wind Blows*; and Pyatt, *Fifty Years of Fettes*.

¹⁰ Pyatt, *Fifty Years of Fettes*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

¹³ *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury*, 2 May 1919.

4. No Longer a Virgin

¹ Thorpe, *Selwyn Lloyd*, p. 17.

² Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”, p. 25. The memory must be treated with care: Franks told this story at the age of ninety-one, getting much wrong in the process (not least the name of the school).

- ³ Tippett sang in a concert in early July 1919 (*Fettesian*, Summer 1919, p. 158) and was taken away by his parents shortly afterwards. Dr Heard's retirement, which the scandal precipitated, came the next month.
- ⁴ *Bury Free Press*, 12 Sept. 1919, p. 5. Henry was "the Magician", Isabel the "Sultan of Bagdad", and Peter the "Grand Vizier".
- ⁵ *Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury*, 6 Oct. 1919, p. 5.
- ⁶ *Blues*, pp. 8–9.
- ⁷ Nicholas Kenyon, "A musical mind ever in vigorous quest", *The Times*, 27 Dec. 1984, p. 11.
- ⁸ See Arthur Trewby, *Healthy Boyhood* (London: George Bell, 1909); this story is related in Ian Kemp's notes from conversations with Tippett (Ian Kemp collection).
- ⁹ Wheen, *Tippett's Time*, p. 5.
- ¹⁰ Kenyon, "A musical mind", p. 11.
- ¹¹ Mentioned in *Kemp*, p. 6, but no copy appears to survive, nor is there a record of publication.
- ¹² Tippett's departure is dated Dec. 1919 in Hay, *The Fettes College Register*, and Mar. 1920 in *Kemp*, p. 10, but his name appears several times in the school magazine right up until mid-Apr. 1920.
- ¹³ *Blues*, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ Thorpe, *Selwyn Lloyd*, p. 18.
- ¹⁵ Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 96.
- ¹⁶ *A Full Life*, TV South, 1985.
- 5. Four Horsemen**
- ¹ Facts and figures are from Deed, *History of Stamford School*.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- ³ Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 30.
- ⁴ See Needle, "Interview with Michael Tippett", p. 37: "I did like my schooldays". Tippett could well have felt he should be encouraging to his interviewer, a Stamford pupil.
- ⁵ *Stamfordian*, Christmas 1920, p. 16. In Dec. 1921 Tippett scored another flamboyant theatrical triumph en travesti in Sheridan's *The Rivals*. "Mrs Malaprop – M.K. Tippett – was a great success and one felt that the funny match-making shrewish old lady, with her gift for saying the wrong thing, was very real." *Stamfordian*, Christmas 1921, p. 9.
- ⁶ Tippett, "Music in England", p. 2.
- ⁷ Hare, "Memory of Michael Tippett".
- ⁸ See Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, pp. 25–6.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 96.
- ¹⁰ Needle, "Interview with Michael Tippett", p. 39.
- ¹¹ Hare, "Memory of Michael Tippett".
- ¹² Needle, "Interview with Michael Tippett", pp. 38–9.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39. Details of the concert are from the *Stamfordian*, Summer 1921.
- ¹⁴ Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 96.
- ¹⁵ "Poets in a Barren Age", in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 151. "They played a Beethoven overture on the piano, it was unforgettable, I can hear it now." *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985.
- ¹⁶ *Blues*, p. 10.
- ¹⁷ Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 96.

- ¹⁸ Joyce Tippett McGroarty to Ian Kemp, 20 July 1984 (Ian Kemp collection).
- ¹⁹ “Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, pp. 151–2.
- ²⁰ For Tippett’s Matriculation Board results see *Lincolnshire Echo*, 28 Feb. 1921, p. 4.
- ²¹ Kemp, p. 12.
- ²² For Tippett’s Higher Certificate results see *Lincolnshire Echo*, 3 Sept. 1921, p. 4; and *Grantham Journal*, 10 Sept. 1921, p. 2.
- ²³ Isabel published *Living Dust* (1922), and then *Honey and Fish* (1923), which was set in Corsica and dedicated to her sons. These were her last novels.
- ²⁴ *Desert Island Discs*, BBC Radio 4, 1985; *Music Now*, BBC Radio 3, 1975.
- ²⁵ Application to Ministry of Labour and National Service, 25 Nov. 1940, in Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 22.
- ²⁶ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ²⁷ Stanford, *Musical Composition*, pp. 2, 22.
- ²⁸ See Holloway, *Norman Douglas*, p. 316; also *Blues*, p. 29.
- ²⁹ *Blues*, p. 2.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- ³¹ “Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 151.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Sel. Lett.*, p. xiv.
- PART TWO: Wanderer, 1923–1934**
- 6. Royal College of Music**
- ¹ See Wearing, *The London Stage*, pp. 225–6; RCM Music Student’s Roll, 1931–40 (RCM Library). The Archbishop of Canterbury himself had to give permission for *South Wind*, with its depiction of a troubled bishop, to be staged: see LCP Corr 1923/4850 (Brit. Lib.).
- ² *Royal College of Music Magazine*, 19 (Summer 1923), pp. 32, 36–7.
- ³ Wheen, *Tippett’s Time*, p. 7.
- ⁴ Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.
- ⁵ Tippett remembered sharing a Kensington flat with Ralph Downes in 1925 or 1926 (*Blues*, p. 19). Downes moved to Oxford in 1925, having lived with Tippett and two others in Chiswick (Kerry Downes, personal communication, July 2016).
- ⁶ These and many other details of Tippett’s tenure at the Royal College of Music come from the RCM’s Archives: Roll of Studies, P–Z, 1931–40; Student’s Roll, R–Z, 1931–40; and the *Royal College of Music Magazine*, 1923–8.
- ⁷ *Blues*, p. 12.
- ⁸ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991.
- ⁹ To A.L. Rowse, 1942 (University of Exeter).
- ¹⁰ “Two Dreams Same Night, Michael Tippett”, notes from an analysis session with John Layard (Wright collection). The notes make clear that Tippett’s description of relations with Sumsion were not part of a dream, but a recounting of what had actually happened between them, in an attempt to establish Tippett’s sexual history for Layard.

- ¹¹ Blues, p. 12.
- ¹² “Holst”, in Tippet, *Tippet on Music*, p. 73.
- ¹³ Eric Walter White, “A Biographical Sketch”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippet: A Symposium*, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Blues, p. 13.
- ¹⁵ Not Oriel College (as in Blues, p. 20).
- ¹⁶ Blues, p. 18.
- ¹⁷ To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 234*).
- ¹⁸ Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippet (Ian Kemp collection). See also Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 87.
- ¹⁹ The meeting is usually dated c.1927, but Tippet remembered travelling in 1924 with a guidebook belonging to Ayerst (Blues, p. 30), and owned a copy of Hölderlin’s *Hyperion* inscribed from Ayerst on 11 Jan. 1925 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ²⁰ Ayerst, *The Road to Now*, p. 186. One mutual enthusiasm was Samuel Butler. Through his Stamford schoolmaster Henry Waldo Acomb, Tippet had got to know Butler’s biographer and intimate companion, Henry Festing Jones.
- ²¹ Ayerst, *The Road to Now*, p. 142. On 13 Jan. 1928 Ayerst wrote to John Layard: “I’m very definitely at a turning point in my life and I have to decide whether or not I continue to drift along the broad and homosexual pelt.” The decision continued to cause him, as he told Layard on 19 November 1928, a “horribly complicated mental crisis” (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ²² Alongside some simple piano pieces and harmony exercises, Tippet wrote three songs, setting Longfellow’s poem “Woods in Winter”; Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “Hymn to Brahma” (set to a simple melody floated over a piano accompaniment of C minor arpeggios); and Tennyson’s “Blow, Bugle, Blow”. Add. MS 72001, Brit. Lib.
- ²³ Reid, *Malcolm Sargent*, p. 97.
- ²⁴ Nicholas Kenyon, “A musical mind ever in vigorous quest”, *The Times*, 27 Dec. 1984, p. 11.
- ²⁵ To Adrian Boult, 8 Apr. 1974 (Sel. Lett., p. 6).
- ²⁶ Kenyon, “Musical mind”, p. 11.
- ²⁷ Author’s interviews with David Matthews and with Sian Edwards.
- ²⁸ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ²⁹ Spender, *The Temple*, p. x. Ian Kemp dates Tippet’s first visit to Germany to 1926, with a trip to Belgrade in 1927, and a second visit to Germany in 1929. Blues depicts a first German visit in 1924, a second in 1925, followed by Belgrade in 1928, and a return to Germany in 1928 and 1930. I have followed Blues, though only the Belgrade trip can be dated with certainty.
- ³⁰ Details from Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippet (Ian Kemp collection).
- ³¹ Shinkman, *The Most Estimable Place and Time*, p. 287. See also *Surrey Mirror*, 5 June 1925, p. 12. The Suite for Strings is mentioned in *Royal College of Music Magazine*, Autumn 1924.
- ³² A date for the name change is

- uncertain and no deeds survive. Henry Tippett bought his son a copy of Livingstone's *The Pageant of Greece*, inscribing it "M.K. Tippett, 2/1/24 from H.W.T." A 1927 edition of Stanley Weyman's *Starvecrow Farm* is signed "H.T. Kemp" (Harry Ransom Center).
- ³³ "Prunella performed", *Surrey Mirror*, 4 June 1926, p. 8. Prunella's co-writer Laurence Housman – brother of A.E. – was a prominent supporter of female suffrage and a friend of Isabel's, helping to organise her boycott of the 1911 census. Later he came to know Tippett personally, through their mutual pacifism.
- ³⁴ *Blues*, p. 16. See also Grogan, Imogen Holst, pp. 163–4; "Holst", in *Tippett on Music*; and *Blues*, p. 15.
- ³⁵ See Anthony Pople, "From pastiche to free composition", in Clarke, *Tippett Studies*, p. 28.
- ³⁶ Add. MS 72066, Brit. Lib.
- ³⁷ "Everyman and Dr. Vaughan Williams's 'Shepherds'", *The Times*, 21 Mar. 1927, p. 12. Roger Savage suggests (personal communication) that Tippett's choice of the work may have been politically pertinent, *Shepherds* being in part a portrayal of Vaughan Williams's experiences as a medical orderly behind the front line in the First World War.
- ³⁸ *When*, *Tippett's Time*, p. 8.
- ³⁹ David Ayerst to John Layard, 22 Mar. 1928 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴⁰ To David Ayerst, c. July 1941 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 236).
- ⁴¹ To Douglas Newton, 29 Oct. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 160, as "loved as well may be").
- ⁴² Tippett conducted the RCM's second orchestra in Holst's *St Paul's Suite*; Brahms's *Tragic Overture*; Beethoven's *Leonore Overture No. 3*; Boëlmann's *Symphonic Variations for Cello and Orchestra*; Schumann's *Piano Concerto*; Handel's *Concerto Grosso in G minor*; and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade suite* (*Royal College of Music Magazine*).
- ⁴³ Tippett to Ian Kemp, c.1976 (Ian Kemp collection): "Somewhere in the vaults should be 'David's mourning over Jonathan'; 'How are the mighty fallen'; 'Songs of Bow'." These pieces, which all refer to the same bible story (the last is more likely "Song of the Bow"), are lost.
- ⁴⁴ Kemp file ff. 296–302, Jan.–Feb. 1928, National Archives. Tippett's account is in *Blues*, pp. 33–7.
- ⁴⁵ "Lieutenant-Commander Peter Kemp", *The Times*, 20 Mar. 1992, p. 19.
- ⁴⁶ "The Village Opera", *The Times*, 23 Apr. 1928, p. 19.
- ⁴⁷ *Blues*, pp. 13–14. London University's 1928 B.Mus. exam papers (which were marked by Charles Kitson) have been lost, but exam regulations for the year show that candidates were asked to submit just one composition, for chorus and orchestra. Otherwise there were written papers in *Harmony and Composition*; *Counterpoint*; *Fugue and Canon*; and the *History of Music*. There was also a *viva voce* analysing two set pieces.

Regulations for External Students, 1928, Senate House Library, University of London, UP/1/6/22. Details and chronology are from RCM Roll of Studies, P–Z, 1931–40, and University of London Graduate Lists until 30 June 1930, p. 895 (Senate House Library).

7. Macaroni-cheese and Stewed Rhubarb

- ¹ Fry, “Tribute to Michael Tippett” (V&A Museum): “I started teaching at a prep school on Limpsfield Common in Surrey at the beginning of the spring term 1928. Later on that year – it could have been in September – another man [Tippett] joined the staff.” Tippett appears in Hazelwood’s 1928 school photograph. See Soden, “The Clarion Airs”, pp. 622–4.
- ² John Strange to Ian Kemp, undated (Ian Kemp collection).
- ³ To Douglas Newton, 29 Oct. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 160).
- ⁴ “David Ayerst”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 64. The chronology is uncertain but Tippett appears also to have lived periodically, perhaps during the holidays, at a local manor house called Uplands (as in a letter to Victor Hely-Hutchinson, Apr. 1930, BBC Written Archives).
- ⁵ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ⁶ See “The Theatres”, *The Times*, 22 Aug. 1929, p. 10.
- ⁷ Tippett’s setting of Fry’s “The Gateway” is described as having originally been “presented last year” in a review of the performance hitherto thought its premiere (*Surrey Mirror*, 11 Apr. 1930, p. 7). Fry’s description is in Fry, “Tribute to Michael Tippett” (V&A Museum), and the poem is printed in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 25. Cyril Smith, Tippett’s contemporary at the RCM, performed the first three movements of the four-movement piano sonata on 15 Dec. 1928 (I’m grateful to Gabriel Anderson for sending me the concert programme).
- ⁸ Frank Howes, “Mr Michael Tippett’s Music”, *The Times*, 7 Apr. 1930, p. 12.
- ⁹ Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 26.
- ¹⁰ Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, pp. 125, 132, 142.
- ¹¹ Britten, *Journeying Boy*, p. 53. Details of Tippett’s further study with Morris are from the RCM Archives.
- ¹² “It is interesting to notice that what [Tippett] taught in the German school was not music, as you might expect, but mathematics. Mathematics and science were his first great interests.” Newton, “Michael Tippett”, p. 6. I’m grateful to Helen Southworth for the identification of the Kinderheim.
- ¹³ McVeagh, *Finzi*, p. 167.
- ¹⁴ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ¹⁵ “Tippett interview No. 4” (Bowen collection).
- ¹⁶ Meirion Bowen’s notes from conversations with Tippett (Bowen collection).
- ¹⁷ Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippett (Ian Kemp collection).

- ¹⁸ John Strange to Ian Kemp, undated (Ian Kemp collection).
- ¹⁹ As related to Ian Kemp, Tippett “contracted double pneumonia – largely the result of the crisis with Christopher Fry, which was brought about by Fry’s monopolizing the two boys on the Cornish holiday and apparently rejecting Tippett” (Ian Kemp collection).
- ²⁰ John Strange to Ian Kemp, undated (Ian Kemp collection).
- ²¹ Blues, p. 22. In his *Who’s Who* entry Fry listed his tenure at Hazelwood as 1928–31; Hazelwood’s 1932 photograph features Tippett but not Fry.
- ²² Tippett wrote to Adrian Boulton from Whitegates on 26 Oct. 1931 (Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 125).
- ²³ Hobbins, *Dear, I’ve Been Thinking*, 1, p. 58.
- ²⁴ Shinkman, *The Most Estimable Place and Time*, pp. 285–6.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286. The soloists were Mrs Ashworth (soprano); Miss M. Ridge (contralto); Mr Sharman (tenor); and Aubrey Russ (bass).
- ²⁶ Fry, “Tribute to Michael Tippett” (V&A Museum), selectively quoting Part Four, Ch. 3 of *Men Like Gods* (collection): “I went straight from the meeting with Auden [. . .] up to Manchester”, a trip that took place between 19 and 23 Apr. 1932. See Ayerst, *The Road to Now*, p. 188, and camp prospectuses in the Teesside Archives.
- ² See Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”; and Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks (Teesside Archives). I am grateful to Danyel Gilgan for further information.
- ³ Ayerst, *The Road to Now*, p. 189.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189; Cathie Brett, “How depression-hit East Cleveland . . .”, *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 22 Jan. 1998, p. 16; Danyel Gilgan, personal communication, 31 Oct. 2016.
- ⁵ Gardiner, “Wilf” (Cambridge University).
- ⁶ Blues, 58.
- ⁷ “Tippett Interview No. 1” (Bowen collection).
- ⁸ David Ayerst, “Mass Trespass on Kinder Scout”, *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Apr. 1932, p. 9. See also Tippett, “An Anchor of Gold”.
- ⁹ To David Ayerst, late 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 226).
- ¹⁰ See RCM Roll of Studies, P–Z, 1931–40.
- ¹¹ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ¹² Blues, pp. 57–8.
- ¹³ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (Sel. Lett., p. 219); Brett, “How depression-hit East Cleveland . . .”, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (Sel. Lett., p. 218).
- ¹⁵ To Douglas Newton, 22 May 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 152).

8. *The Beggar’s Opera*

- ¹ Auden’s biographer Edward Mendelson confirms (personal communication) that Auden stayed with the McElwees from 2 to c. 9 Apr. 1932, and was back teaching in Scotland by 13 Apr. Tippett wrote to Ian Kemp (Ian Kemp

- ¹⁶ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 218).
- ¹⁷ Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippett”, p. 3. In this essay Ayerst regretted having once misremembered Francesca Allinson as “dainty”, a word that thereafter made its way into accounts of Tippett’s life (eg. *Kemp*, p. 25).
- ¹⁸ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 11 Apr. 1992 (Amis collection).
- ¹⁹ *Blues*, p. 17. Tippett remembered this meeting as occurring “just after Francesca’s father had died” but Thomas Allinson died in 1918, when Tippett was just thirteen. His first meeting with Francesca most likely took place in 1923 or 1924, the two years in which he, Phyllis Kemp, and Francesca were all living in London.
- ²⁰ To Evelyn Maude, 18 Aug. 1932 (*Brit. Lib.*).
- ²¹ Author’s interview with Nicholas Kenyon.
- ²² To Douglas Newton, 22 May 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 152).
- ²³ To Douglas Newton, 10 Apr. 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 180, as “severe and passionless”).
- ²⁴ Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.
- ²⁵ The chronology of Tippett’s visits to Boosbeck is wayward in *Kemp* and in *Blues*. Numerous documents in the Teesside Archives categorically date *The Beggar’s Opera* to the second work camp, which took place in September 1932. Tippett signed his name in the Ormesby Hall visitors’ book on 4 September 1932. See also Whyman, *The Last Pennymans of Ormesby*, 1, pp. 109–10.
- ²⁶ Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁷ Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁸ *Blues*, p. 42; Chase, interviews with Wilfred Franks and with David Ayerst.
- ²⁹ Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippett”, p. 3.
- ³⁰ Chase, interview with Marjorie Tansley, née Bradley (Teesside Archives). The interview is halting and my quotation is a composite of several answers, also incorporating Alison Ferst, “Musical memories”, *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 26 Mar. 1992, p. 8.
- ³¹ Chase, interviews with Wilfred Franks and with Tippett (Teesside Archives).
- ³² Rolf Gardiner to Ruth Pennyman, 27 Oct. 1932 (Teesside Archives).
- ³³ Chase, interview with David Ayerst (Teesside Archives).
- ³⁴ Chase, interview with David Ayerst (Teesside Archives).
- ³⁵ *Blues*, p. 58.

9. To Rob the Rich, to Feed the Poor

- ¹ “Herr Hitler”, *The Times*, 31 Jan. 1933, p. 10.
- ² Fred May (leader of the South London Orchestra), quoted in *Kemp*, p. 29.
- ³ I have followed Ian Kemp’s account of Tippett’s RACS employment, which was approved by the composer. However, the Co-operative

- Society's newspaper, *Comradeship and the Wheatshaf*, does not list Tippett as the conductor of any choir until 1935, and then only in New Malden and, eventually, in Wimbledon. He formed the Co-op "Federation Operatic Society" in 1936, which rehearsed at Abbey Wood.
- ⁴ "Tippett Interviews contd.", p. 50 (Bowen collection). See also "Passenger Lists leaving the UK, 1933", findmypast.co.uk
- ⁵ Ayerst, "Young Michael Tippett", p. 3.
- ⁶ *Blues*, p. 56.
- ⁷ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 55.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ Clare, "In the Psychiatrist's Chair".
- ¹⁰ Author's interview with Sally Groves.
- ¹¹ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 17 May 1992 (Amis collection). This carbon-copy typescript of *The Dance of Death*, replete with Newton's note, is now in the Berg collection, New York Public Library. "Sir Michael Tippett says that the suggestion was never discussed with him." Carpenter, *Auden*, p. 167n.
- ¹² Andrew Lambirth, interview with Robert Medley (Oral History, C466/19, Brit. Lib.). Presumably Doone heard a play-through of Tippett's music, perhaps by the composer himself.
- ¹³ Evelyn Maude to Pamela Maude, Mar. 1934 (Maude collection).
- ¹⁴ *Morning Post and Observer*, Mar. 1934, collated in Robinson, *Music and Literature*, photo plate 7; "Mr Tippett's New Symphony", *Sunday Times*, 18 Nov. 1945, p. 2.
- ¹⁵ To Alan Bush, 28 Feb. 1934 (Sel. Lett., p. 120). The Symphony in B flat underwent two series of revisions, in 1934 and in 1938.
- ¹⁶ To Francesca Allinson, c.18 Sept. 1940 (Sel. Lett., p. 71).
- ¹⁷ Tippett remembered Francesca Allinson introducing him to Bush in the "late twenties" (*Blues*, p. 43), but Allinson did not meet Bush until 1930 (see their correspondence in the Bush collection, Brit. Lib.). For Bush's views on the B-flat symphony, see "Alan Bush", in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 39.
- ¹⁸ Tippett, "A Magnetic Friendship", p. 9.
- ¹⁹ To Ruth Pennyman, June 1934 (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁰ To Alan Bush, 23 May 1934 (Sel. Lett., pp. 120–21).
- ²¹ To Ruth Pennyman, June 1934 (Teesside Archives).
- ²² To Ruth Pennyman, July 1934 (Teesside Archives).
- ²³ There are Chinese whispers of musical activity in Cleveland in 1933. Prospectuses for the two 1933 camps, which were held in Apr. and in Aug., list a performance of Alfred Reynolds's light opera *Derby Day*, without naming Tippett (Teesside Archives, U/PEN/11/32). Wilfred Franks thought Tippett had visited that year to stage Herbert Murrill's jazz opera *Man in a Cage* (Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks, Teesside Archives). And

- a friend of the Pennymans had memories of Tippett's putting on Vaughan Williams's *Hugh the Drover* (Frida Knight, *Untitled Memoir*). But Tippett never mentioned these projects in letters or reminiscence.
- ²⁴ To Alan Bush, 26 Feb. 1934 (Brit. Lib.). "The reason for Michael giving up the choir and orchestra is he has got rather tired of them and the numbers have been going down, so I suppose they are getting tired of him." Evelyn Maude to Pamela Maude, 21 Mar. 1934 (Maude collection).
- ²⁵ To Ruth Pennyman, 8 Oct. 1933 (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁶ *Robin Hood* libretto (Kingston History Centre). The first couplet is from the traditional song "Waly, Waly".
- ²⁷ I am grateful to Gabriel Anderson for providing me with this date from the 1934 diary of her mother, Sylvia Spencer, an Oxted friend of Tippett's and oboist for *Robin Hood*. There had been a fifth work camp in Apr. 1934, and the sixth (and last) came in Apr. 1935. *Robin Hood*, contrary to Tippett's hazy memories in *Blues*, was mounted independently to the work camps.
- ²⁸ Wilfred Franks to Alan Bush, 30 July 1934 (Brit. Lib.). The letter was sent by Franks from the Brough family, with whom Tippett has been said also to have lodged (*Blues*, p. 42, as "Bough"), but Marjorie Taylor was persuasively clear that the composer stayed with her family.
- ²⁹ Chase, interview with Marjorie Teasdale, née Taylor (Teesside Archives). My quotation is a composite of several answers.
- ³⁰ Knight, *Untitled Memoir*, Ch. 7, p. 2.
- ³¹ Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks (Teesside Archives).
- ³² To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (Wright collection).
- ³³ "deplorable": to Alan Bush, 29 Oct. 1934 (Brit. Lib.); "unfortunately . . .": to Alan Bush, 24 July 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 122, as "comfortably romantic"); "tricksy . . .", "quite absurd": Chase, interview with Tippett (Teesside Archives).
- ³⁴ To Ruth Pennyman, c. June 1934 (Teesside Archives).
- ³⁵ Chase, interview with Wilfred Franks (Teesside Archives).
- ³⁶ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 218–19).
- ³⁷ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 219, as "facing up to the veritable beast side of it").

PART THREE: Songs of Liberty, 1934–1939

10. Machine Gun

- ¹ To Alan Bush, 23 May 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 121–2).
- ² See Kemp, p. 33.
- ³ Alan Bush to Tippett, 23 Feb. 1934 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴ Tippett, "A Magnetic Friendship", p. 9. See Alan Bush, *A Life*, Channel 4, 1986 (in which footage of a London production of Tippett's *Robin Hood* is misidentified as the *Pageant*). Other details of the *Pageant*

- are from the “Pageant of Labour” file in the Alan Bush collection, MS Mus. 621 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵ Hugh “Dick” Sheppard, “The Will to Peace”, *Manchester Guardian*, 16 Oct. 1934, p. 20. Sheppard’s suggested wording for the postcard was based on a sermon by an American priest called Harry Fosdick.
- ⁶ *War Ramp*, p. 44 (Bowen collection).
- ⁷ Tippett’s correspondence with Alan Bush (Brit. Lib.) mentions a performance in late 1936 and other ramshackle stagings, mostly in London, or on Alan Bush’s home turf of Radlett, Hertfordshire. “Alan mine”, Tippett told Bush in early Dec. 1935, “I find my expenses for Radlett quite horrible [. . .] 2/- for the gun (Wilf is going to make one to save this expense).” (Brit. Lib.)
- ⁸ To Alan Bush, late Oct. 1934 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ Reginald Groves, conversation with Al Richardson, 30 June 1985 (in Bornstein and Richardson, *Against the Stream*, p. 296).
- ¹⁰ Tippett was previously thought to have been a member of the party for a few months in 1935 (see Kemp, p. 32). I have followed the details and chronology of the Kemp file (especially ff. 30, 32, 40, 49, National Archives). Likewise, the letter in which Tippett writes, “I am now a member of the Communist Party” (dated 1935 in *Sel. Lett.*, p. 220) can be firmly redated. The three letters printed as separate documents in *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 220–21 are in fact one individual letter (Wright collection) written just before Christmas 1934 (it contains an early progress report on Tippett’s String Quartet No. 1, which was complete by September 1935).
- ¹¹ To David Ayerst, late Dec. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 222, as “the Wilf burden”).
- ¹² To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 220–21*).
- ¹³ To Alan Bush, 10 July 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹⁴ To David Ayerst, Mar. 1935 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 222).
- ¹⁵ To David Ayerst, Mar. 1935 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 224).
- ¹⁶ To David Ayerst, Mar. 1935 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁷ To David Ayerst, mid-1935 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁸ To David Ayerst, Mar. 1935 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 223–5, as “working class, clean-conscientious”, and “stratification of all the lively hopes”).
- ¹⁹ To Alan Bush, c.1936 (Brit. Lib.).

11. 1935

- ¹ See Eva Hubback, “Concerts for Children”, *The Times*, 1 Apr. 1935, p. 10.
- ² To Alan Bush, c. Dec. 1936 (Brit. Lib.). Oliver was born on 4 Dec. 1928. “Balmy” is perhaps a use of the period’s alternative spelling for “barmy” (OED), as if affectionately indicating Oliver’s state of mind – although Tippett may indeed have found balm from the lessons. I am grateful to Susanna Morley Smithson for sending me copies

- of her brother Oliver's childhood letters, which clear the chronology. On 1 Feb. 1935 Oliver Morley wrote to his grandmother of the first lesson; the scheme continued until mid-1939.
- ³ Oliver Morley to his grandmother, Mar. 1939 (Morley Smithson collection).
- ⁴ "T.S. Eliot and A Child of Our Time", in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 109.
- ⁵ "T.S. Eliot and A Child of Our Time", in *ibid.*, p. 109. Frank Morley describes life with Eliot at Pike's Farm in "A Few Recollections of Eliot", *The Sewanee Review*, 74 (Winter 1966), pp. 110–33.
- ⁶ *Blues*, p. 44
- ⁷ To Alan Bush, c. Mar.–Apr. 1935 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁸ "Appeal for Hanns Eisler", *Manchester Guardian*, 14 Jan. 1948, p. 8.
- ⁹ *Alan Bush: A Life*, Channel 4, 1986.
- ¹⁰ To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1934 (Sel. Lett., p. 220*).
- ¹¹ The school is vividly described in Brasch, *Indirections*, Ch. 14.
- ¹² To David Ayerst, c. late June 1935 (Wright collection). See also Slaughter, "Interview with Wilfred Franks", p. 18.
- ¹³ To David Ayerst, c. Nov. 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 229*, as "must be warned dogma").
- ¹⁴ To David Ayerst, c. Nov. 1935 (Sel. Lett., pp. 229–30*, and Wright collection).
- ¹⁵ To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 232*, as "master of double" and "clique of trim boys").
- ¹⁶ To David Ayerst, c. Nov. 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 229*).
- ¹⁷ To David Ayerst, spring 1936 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁸ To David Ayerst, spring 1936 (Sel. Lett., p. 231*).
- ¹⁹ To John Layard, mid-1936 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ²⁰ *Blues*, p. 61.
- ²¹ "International Workers' Music Olympiad", in Tippett, *Music of the Angels*, p. 34.
- ²² *Alan Bush: A Life*, Channel 4, 1986.
- ²³ "R.C.M. Patron's Fund", *The Times*, 13 July 1935, p. 10.
- ²⁴ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 52.
- ²⁵ *Blundellian*, Autumn 1935, p. 33. This may have been the basis for Tippett's radio talk "A Composer and his Public", in *Moving into Aquarius*, pp. 94–100.
- ²⁶ To David Ayerst, Dec. 1935 (Wright collection). All quotations over the next two paragraphs are taken from a series of undated letters Tippett wrote to David Ayerst between autumn 1935 and autumn 1936, documenting his relationship with the Blundell's pupils (Wright collection).
- ²⁷ To David Ayerst, 13 Dec. 1935 (Wright collection).
- ²⁸ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 54.
- ²⁹ Kemp file f.220, National Archives.
- ³⁰ To David Ayerst, 1934–5 (Sel. Lett., pp. 227, 220*, 221*).
- ³¹ To David Ayerst, mid- to late 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 226).
- ³² To David Ayerst, Dec. 1934 (Sel. Lett., p. 221*).
- ³³ *Blues*, p. 58.

³⁴ To William Busch, 1942 (Busch collection).

³⁵ To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1935 (Wright collection).

³⁶ “Britten: First Encounters”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 66.

³⁷ “Lemare Concert”, *The Times*, 13 Dec. 1935, p. 12.

12. The Grim Nut of Fire

¹ To David Ayerst, spring 1936 (Wright collection). All quotations over the next two paragraphs, unless otherwise marked, are taken from two undated letters Tippett wrote to David Ayerst in spring 1936 (Wright collection).

² To David Ayerst, spring 1936 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 229*).

³ Kemp, p. 33. This statement is not contradicted in Tippett’s autobiography, nor in any of the private interviews made for its preparation. Privately Ian Kemp wrote that Tippett claimed to have “joined the Revolutionary Socialist League, or at any rate thinks that was what he joined” (Ian Kemp to Reginald Groves, 20 July 1976, Warwick University). Whether purposeful red herring or accidental mistake, this is unlikely. In 1938 there would be a split in the Militant Group during which Tippett fiercely opposed those who went on to form the Revolutionary Socialist League. Tippett appears to have kept the history of his political affiliations entirely secret from Kemp, who was working at a time when almost no authoritative

account or archive of early British Trotskyism existed.

⁴ To David Ayerst, Dec. 1934 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 222*).

⁵ Also known as the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Labour Party. After the split in the Communist League, members either followed or rejected Trotsky’s changeable views on whether it was preferable to affiliate with the Labour Party or with the Independent Labour Party. The small number who joined the Independent Labour Party formed the Marxist Group, which soon disintegrated as the ILP went into decline; six members re-entered the (original) Labour Party, forming the Militant Group. Bornstein and Richardson, *Against the Stream*, p. 296: “[Tippett] was part of the Musicians’ Group of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the Labour Party (the Militant Group).” But the papers of the Militant Group make no mention of a “Musicians’ Group” and the existence of one seems unlikely in so small a party. Tippett is mentioned only as a member, and a senior one at that, of the Militant Group proper. See also Grant, *History of British Trotskyism*, p. 44; and Joanna Bullivant, “Tippett and politics: the 1930s and beyond”, in Gloag and Jones, *The Cambridge Companion to Michael Tippett*, pp. 68–85.

⁶ To Alan Bush, late Oct. 1936. A month later Tippett wrote to Bush about “our Youth Militant crowd” (*Brit. Lib.*).

- ⁷ To Ruth Pennyman, July 1936 (Teesside Archives).
- ⁸ “Notes of the month”, *Youth Militant*, June 1936 (Warwick University).
- ⁹ *Youth Militant*, Jan. 1937, p. 7 (Warwick University).
- ¹⁰ To Alan Bush, 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹¹ To Alan Bush, Jan. 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹² “The Youth Militant Group, Minutes of National Conference, 1 and 2 August 1937” (Warwick University).
- ¹³ “Minutes of General Council, 1937” (Warwick University).
- ¹⁴ Harber, “Struggle Against War” (Warwick University).
- ¹⁵ To Alan Bush, July 1936 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 124–5).
- ¹⁶ To Ruth Pennyman, May 1936 (Teesside Archives).
- ¹⁷ To Ruth Pennyman, Aug. 1936 (Teesside Archives). In June or July Tippet had written to Ruth about French Trotskyists who had been arrested: “till I go to Paris I can’t say how they have come out of the ordeal”.
- ¹⁸ *Kemp*, p. 38.
- ¹⁹ To Ruth Pennyman, Aug. 1936 (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁰ To Ruth Pennyman, Aug. 1936 (Teesside Archives).
- ²¹ To Alan Bush, late 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²² To Alan Bush, late 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²³ “The anti-war song has not yet matured because David is busy on his own affairs in London.” Tippet to Alan Bush, 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁴ To David Ayerst, early Dec. 1935 (Wright collection).
- ²⁵ *Miners* (Add. MS 72071, Brit. Lib.) has been previously misdated 1935 and is usually listed as having been written for and performed in *The Pageant of Labour* (e.g. Theil, *Michael Tippet*, p. 39). Tippet asked Alan Bush on 8 June 1936 for performers “who would help Margaret Barr in a ballet”, and then later in the year mentioned the “new ballad I have done for Margaret”, which he hoped to orchestrate for a concert at Morley in 1937 (Brit. Lib.). Only a piano version survives. See also Prickett, *Embodied Politics*, p. 70.
- ²⁶ The fullest biography of Judy Wogan is in Southworth, *Fresca*, Ch. 3.
- ²⁷ Hall, *Modern English Ballet*, pp. 206, 140, 325; also Fernau Hall, “Modern Dancing at King’s Cross: The Dance Drama Group”, *The Dancing Times*, Jan. 1938, pp. 526–8. *Dance of Two with Chorus* was Barr’s reworking of a 1934 dance-drama from Dartington called *Epithalamium*. See also Von Sturmer, *Epic Individual*, which lists Tippet as the composer for Barr’s *Dance of Six* and, incorrectly, *Epithalamium* (which had a score by Edmund Rubbra). I’m indebted to Stacey Prickett, Lorraine Nicholas, and Garry Lester for help on this topic.
- ²⁸ To Alan Bush, 8 June 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁹ Hobbins, *Dear, I’ve Been Thinking*, 2, p. 6.
- ³⁰ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, pp. 53–4.

³¹ To Bryan Fisher, c.1936–7 (Fisher collection).

³² Hobbins, *Dear, I've Been Thinking*, 2, p. 6.

13. They Shall Not Pass

¹ To Alan Bush, 7 Oct. 1936 (Brit. Lib.).

² “Hard labour for kicking a policeman”, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 9 Oct. 1936, p. 12.

³ To Alan Bush, 20 Oct. 1936 (Brit. Lib.).

⁴ *Comradeship and the Wheatsheaf*, Oct. 1936; Tippet to Alan Bush, 20 Oct. 1936 (Brit. Lib.).

⁵ To Alan Bush, Nov. 1936 (Brit. Lib.). Tippet outlined his earnings in a letter to Bush sent later in the year (Brit. Lib.). Neither in interviews nor in his autobiography did he mention Franks's involvement at Cable Street. I'm grateful to Danyel Gilgan for drawing my attention to the newspaper articles quoted above, and for sending me copies of the relevant prison and court records, including a “Memorandum of the Decision of the Court of Appeal”.

⁶ To John Layard, mid-1936 (Univ. Cal. SD).

⁷ Remembered in Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippet”, p. 6.

⁸ “Mr Michael Tippet B.Mus., attracted a good attendance to hear his address on ‘The Four Types and the Two Ways’.” *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Adviser*, 25 Feb. 1938, p. 5.

⁹ Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippet”, p. 6.

¹⁰ The chronology is from Tippet's correspondence with John Layard (Wright collection, and Univ. Cal. SD).

¹¹ To Alan Bush, Jan. 1937 (Brit. Lib.). On 10 Feb. 1937 Bush wrote to Phyllis Kemp, “I am sorry Micky has been abusing me. This is all the more curious because about a month ago he wrote me a long letter of his soul's confessions, in the course of which he said he had come to the conclusion that his Trotskyism was not objective and he only used the groups as a kind of exercising ground for his own psychical re-education.” (Brit. Lib.)

¹² To Frank Morley, c. May 1937 (Morris Library, Southern Illinois University).

¹³ To Frank Morley, June 1937 (Morris Library).

¹⁴ Jung gave the lectures in English at the Tavistock Clinic, to which Wilfred Franks eventually became linked; they were not published until 1968, but transcriptions were circulated, to which John Layard may well have had access, assuming that he or Tippet did not attend in person. Jung discusses the mythological motif of the Hero and the Dragon, and its variation in the “Katabasis, the Descent into the Cave, the Nekyia [. . .] this motif of the Nekyia is found everywhere in antiquity and practically all over the world. It expresses the psychological mechanism of the introversion of the conscious mind into the deeper layers of

the unconscious psyche [. . .] or collective unconscious.” Tippet eventually placed a literal Nekyia, in the form of a “Descent into the Cave”, into *The Midsummer Marriage*. See Jung, *Analytical Psychology*, p. 41.

- ¹⁵ Included in Tippet to Frank Morley, June 1937 (Morris Library). Whitman’s “Ode to Death”, a passage from his *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d*, had already been set as a tribute to war dead by Gustav Holst. Maud Bodkin, in her book *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry* (1934), links Whitman’s poem, an elegy for Abraham Lincoln, to the Nekyia; she connects the lilac placed on Lincoln’s coffin to the Golden Bough that Aeneas took into the underworld. (Tippet’s knowledge of Bodkin’s book: *Sel. Lett.*, p. 244.)
- ¹⁶ “I have seen your letter to Morley about the possibility of a poem for my Nekyia as I call it. Please do let me know what ideas you have on the subject [. . . my tripartite structure] may not seem so realisable if you had already thought in terms of a poem of one authorship.” Tippet to George Barker, c. June 1937 (Morris Library). Bryan Fisher remembered Tippet introducing him to George Barker at Whitegates Cottage and found him “the very presence of a poet, handsome, abstracted, burning internal fires” (Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 71).
- ¹⁷ Statement by the Executive Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninist [Militant] Group: “The fact that the

Marxist Group now have principled differences with the policy of our international organisation was admitted by Cde James in a conversation with Cdes Harber and Tippet”, *revolutionaryhistory.co.uk* (accessed Mar. 2017).

- ¹⁸ To John Amis, 21 Jan. 1969 (Amis collection).
- ¹⁹ To Alan Bush, late 1936–early 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁰ Alan Bush to Phyllis Kemp, 20 Dec. 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²¹ Phyllis Kemp to Alan Bush, 5 Feb. 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²² Alan Bush to Phyllis Kemp, 10 Feb. 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²³ Kemp file, National Archives (in which David Petruska is frequently mentioned). “I had not the strength to be independent of Phyl’s importunities – actually I have not seen anything of her, and her man, David, regards me now I have no doubt with abhorrence [. . .] he is in some ways a curious coward terrified to stand up to ordinary human decencies against his party prejudices. He is afraid of getting into trouble for seeing me [. . .] consequently I have left them to themselves, not wanting to cause any comrade heartburn at my expense. Phyl does not share this morbid view of course being of finer quality – but, in point of fact, I haven’t had time to see her or indulge in more than two all-night sittings to try and reach agreement between us.” Tippet to Alan Bush, 1936–7 (Brit. Lib.).

- ²⁴ Blues, p. 47.
- ²⁵ To Ruth Pennyman, July 1937 (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁶ *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 29 Oct. 1937, p. 3.
- ²⁷ To Ruth Pennyman, July 1937 (Teesside Archives).
- ²⁸ *A Song of Liberty* (Add. MSS 72014–5, Brit. Lib.) was pondered as early as 1934, the text selected and composition begun in December 1935. Tippett was quite pleased with the work and its premiere, and made his usual efforts to organise a broadcast performance at the BBC, to no avail. His claim (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 7) that it lasted fifteen minutes was seemingly a white lie to play down the scale of forces required.
- ²⁹ “As from the central group” (Hull History Centre).
- ³⁰ “Statement to the Militant Group on Provocation and Sectarianism” (Hull History Centre).
- ³¹ Harber, “On the statements of comrades TK and MT” (Hull History Centre).
- ³² “To the militant group, 10 March 1938” (Hull History Centre).
- ³³ Tippett mentions Betty Hamilton in a letter from 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 304). See also Grant, *History of British Trotskyism*, p. 54.
- ³⁴ Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”, p. 27.
- ³⁵ Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 171.
- ³⁶ See Tippett to Trotsky Defense Committee (Hull History Centre).
- ³⁷ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 69 (which mentions the date of receipt). The “GPU” as it was known had, by 1938, morphed into the NKVD (People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs), a law enforcement agency of the whole Soviet Union, known for its repression during the Stalin era.
- ³⁸ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 56.
- ³⁹ Francesca Allinson appears to have been Tippett’s first choice for Robert of Sicily’s librettist, replaced – for reasons unknown – by Christopher Fry. She wrote to a friend around 1937: “I am going to be doing a good deal of libretto writing for Michael.” Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 154.
- ⁴⁰ To Ruth Pennyman, 4 Oct. 1938 (Teesside Archives).
- ⁴¹ “Entertainments”, *Comradeship and the Wheatsheaf*, June 1938, p. 3.
- ⁴² See Bush and Ireland, *Correspondence*, p. 165.
- ⁴³ Blues, p. 62.
- ⁴⁴ See for example *Radio Times*, 7 Apr. 1938, p. 18; or 29 Apr. 1938, p. 15 (with thanks to Danyel Gilgan).
- ⁴⁵ Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”, p. 26.
- ⁴⁶ “I looked at Wilf’s [Christmas card]”. Tippett to Francesca Allinson, Dec. 1940 (Wright collection).
- ⁴⁷ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991.
- ⁴⁸ John Layard, notes from analysis sessions with Tippett (Wright collection).
- ⁴⁹ To John Layard, late summer 1938 (Wright collection).
- ⁵⁰ To John Layard, undated (Wright collection).

- ⁵¹ To John Layard, 24 Jan. 1938 (Wright collection).
- ⁵² Clare, “In the Psychiatrist’s Chair”.
- ⁵³ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 71.
- ⁵⁴ To Douglas Newton, 17 Nov. 1941 (Sel. Lett., p. 143).
- ⁵⁵ To David Ayerst, Sept. 1935 (Wright collection).
- ⁵⁶ To David Ayerst, c. late June 1935 (Wright collection).
- ⁵⁷ To Ruth Pennymann, 4 Oct. 1938 (Teesside Archives).
- ⁵⁸ To John Layard, 6 Oct. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁵⁹ Blues, p. 49.
- ⁶⁰ In July 1938 the various London Co-operative Societies merged to celebrate their seventieth anniversary, with *Towards Tomorrow: A Pageant of Co-operation*. Three thousand performers, and nearly 80,000 audience members, flooded Wembley Stadium to outline the history of the Co-op. Margaret Barr had a starring role. Wilfred Franks had memories of working at “Wembley Stadium for a ‘big do’ organised with the joint co-operative societies, and I went round all the schools in and around London and rehearsed the children, so that they could come together and perform this pageant”. Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”, p. 26.
- ⁶¹ “I well remember how Michael at this time [the late 1930s] put up ideas for a cathartic opera which would express and he hoped penetrate that [political] darkness – The Easter Rising and the German submarine which brought Casement

to it was one of his proposals which we eagerly debated.” Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippett”, p. 7.

14. The World Turns on its Dark Side

- ¹ In 1937 Phyllis Sellick had married Tippett’s college friend Cyril Smith (who had premiered Tippett’s previous, withdrawn, piano sonata) and the premiere of Piano Sonata No. 1 was likely organised in consequence. Tippett’s pieces were still some way from being formal commissions, and he couldn’t expect premieres by such distinguished players as a matter of course, relying instead on favours and initiative.
- ² See London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, p. 12.
- ³ Blues, p. 49.
- ⁴ Quoted in Esther Harwood, “A Child of Our Time – review”, *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 Dec. 1938, p. 813.
- ⁵ To David Ayerst, c. June 1936 (Sel. Lett., p. 228*).
- ⁶ To David Ayerst, mid- to late 1935 (Sel. Lett., p. 226).
- ⁷ To Alan Bush, 20 Sept. 1944 (Sel. Lett., p. 132).
- ⁸ “For Grynspan, Against Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist scoundrels”, in Trotsky, *Writings 1938–39*, pp. 191–3.
- ⁹ See *Radio Times*, 6 Jan. 1939, p. 33. Other possibilities include the same forces and repertoire on the BBC Regional Programme, 26 November 1938. All other broadcasts in the relevant period featured the voice

- of Paul Robeson, but Tippett stipulated that Robeson's was not the voice he heard (as to David Matthews, 22 Nov. 1977, Matthews collection). Tippett's memory that the work had "emerged as an indirect result of his listening to a BBC broadcast of Berlioz's *L'Enfance du Christ* [. . .] on Christmas day" in 1938 (Kemp, p. 150) seemingly refers to an excerpt broadcast on 21 December (*Radio Times*, 16 Dec. 1938, p. 41).
- ¹⁰ "The scene where the uncle advises the boy who won't listen is most carefully matched by an unequivocal affirmatory scene at the end of all when the uncle is become comrade." To Alan Bush, c.1940 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹¹ T.S. Eliot to Tippett, 8 Feb. 1939 (Eliot collection).
- ¹² David Fingleton, "The Ice Break", *Music and Musicians* 25 (July 1977), p. 29. On Eliot singing spirituals see Eric Sigg, "Eliot as a product of America", in Moody, *The Cambridge Companion to T.S. Eliot*, p. 25.
- ¹³ Charles Reid, "Portrait of a twentieth-century composer", *Radio Times*, 13 Feb. 1953, p. 5.
- ¹⁴ See "Sketch for a Modern Oratorio", in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 117–77.
- ¹⁵ "Sketch for a Modern Oratorio", in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 152.
- ¹⁶ To Ruth Pennyman, 16 Nov. 1939 (Teesside Archives).
- ¹⁷ Dream notes, 4 Jan. 1939 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁸ About half of these diaries (held in the Wright collection) were printed in *Blues*, pp. 63–112. From the small number of mistranscriptions it is worth noting that "I couldn't afford immediate payment of women" (p. 91) should read "payment of workmen"; "men and moon" (p. 93) should read "sun and moon", and "comic grain symbols" (p. 95) should read "cosmic grain symbols".
- ¹⁹ To Douglas Newton, 28 Aug. 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁰ Dream diaries, p. 310 (Wright collection).
- ²¹ *Blues*, p. 55.
- ²² "I am preparing work now for a modern oratorio for which I am trying to get the co-operation of T.S. Eliot. I have just sent him a typescript of the idea, at his request." Tippett to Wilhelm Strecker, 9 July 1939 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 25).
- ²³ Fry, *Seven at One Stroke* (V&A Museum).
- ²⁴ Tippett, "Seven at One Stroke", p. 15. "The performance of *Seven at One Stroke* [. . .] evoked great enthusiasm at Peckham. Consideration is also being given to the possibility of staging this spectacular production in the south-western area early in the 1939–40 season." *Comradeship and the Wheatsheaf*, July 1939. It is unknown if this went ahead.
- ²⁵ *Symphony of Youth* official programme (Golding papers, Harry Ransom Center). See also "Brilliant Scenes at Brockwell Park", *Norwood News*, 30 June 1939, p. 9; and Rumble, *A Brockwell Boy*, p. 32.

- ²⁶ *Radio Times*, 10 Feb. 1939, p. 70. This listing also mentions a broadcast in summer 1937 of Tippett's String Quartet No. 1, by the Brosa Quartet, seemingly the first broadcast of Tippett's music. The article on Tippett's music was by Scott Goddard: "The Younger English Composers: IX. Michael Tippett", *Monthly Musical Record*, 69 (Mar.–Apr. 1939), p. 73.
- ²⁷ Charles Reid, "Portrait of a twentieth-century composer", *Radio Times*, 13 Feb. 1953, p. 5.
- ²⁸ To Alan Bush, Jan. 1937 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁹ See *Blues*, pp. 110–11. The holiday is described in Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, pp. 71–4.
- ³⁰ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 73.
- ³¹ *Blues*, p. 111.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- ³³ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991.
- ³⁴ To David Ayerst, 1 Sept. 1939 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 234).
- ³⁵ "Tippett Interviews continued, 54" (Bowen collection).
- ³⁶ Film number 36093, Huntley Film Archives.
- ³⁷ To Alan Bush, July 1936 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 124).
- ³⁸ To Alan Bush, c. Oct. 1936 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁹ To Priaulx Rainier, 26 Dec. 1948 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁴⁰ To Alan Bush, May–June 1934 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴¹ Tom McGrath, "Interview with Michael Tippett", *Peace News*, 15 Jan. 1965.
- ⁴² See *Sel. Lett.*, p. 251; also letters to John Amis (Brit. Lib.), to David Ayerst (Wright collection), to John Layard, c. May 1943 (Univ. Cal. SD). Tippett's mother uses the phrase "well, well!" after a long and passionate argument against expensively produced art books. Isabel Kemp to Eric Walter White, Aug. 1964 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ⁴³ As in *Sel. Lett.*, p. 217, or: "In this respect [Jim Hutt] feels he has been let down, etc, etc. That's that." (Wright collection); "My father died on Thursday. So that is over." "Really that about settles my time best – so that's that." "Wilf is on remand for criminal assault [. . .] So it goes." (Brit. Lib.)
- ⁴⁴ *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985.

PART FOUR: War, 1939–1945

15. Pacifist

- ¹ Evelyn Maude to Pamela Maude, 4 Sept. 1939 (Maude collection).
- ² To David Ayerst, 1 Sept. 1939 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 234).
- ³ The copy came up for sale at Bauman Rare Books, New York, item 104468.
- ⁴ To Alan Bush, 6 Oct. 1939 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 127, as "it seems probably").
- ⁵ To Ruth Pennyman, 16 Nov. 1939 (Teesside Archives).
- ⁶ T.S. Eliot to Eric Walter White, 29 Mar. 1955 (White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 40, dated from manuscript, Harry Ransom Center).
- ⁷ Patrick Carnegy, "The composer as librettist", *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 July 1977, p. 834.

- ⁸ “T.S. Eliot and *A Child of Our Time*”, in Tippet, *Tippet on Music*, p. 110.
- ⁹ To Francesca Allinson, c. Nov. 1939 (Wright collection). The specifics of Allinson’s contribution are lost.
- ¹⁰ For the fullest biography to date of Douglas Newton, who was born on 22 September 1920, see Savage, *The Pre-History of “The Midsummer Marriage”*, a book to which my portrait of Newton and his friendship and collaboration with Tippet is indebted.
- ¹¹ Newton, “Michael Tippet”, p. 6.
- ¹² Of the libretto for *A Child of Our Time*, Tippet wrote to Newton on or around 1 Sept. 1939 enclosing a copy and saying, “Will like to see your ideas” (Brit. Lib.); on 23 November he wrote again to Newton saying, “I’ve thought of the most surrealist plot for a play or an opera” (Sel. Lett., p. 140, as “our opera”). Tippet outlined *The Man with the Seven Daughters* in a letter to Francesca Allinson in December 1940 (Sel. Lett., pp. 82–3), but in January 1942 told her “it does look as if the *Seven Daughters* will be still-born poor dears” (Sel. Lett., p. 97*).
- ¹³ Ronald Mallone, oral history interview, 1980 (Imperial War Museum, cat. number 4581, reel 5).
- ¹⁴ *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 8 Dec. 1939, p. 3.
- ¹⁵ Tippet, untraced interview, included in *Cultural Conchies*, BBC Radio 3, 2013.
- ¹⁶ To John Layard, Feb. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ¹⁷ To John Layard, 6 Oct. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ¹⁸ Grant, *History of British Trotskyism*, p. 54.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ²⁰ Hayes, *Challenge of Conscience*, and Kramer, *Conscientious Objectors of the Second World War* have provided valuable information. I am grateful to Bill Hetherington, archivist of the Peace Pledge Union, for providing further information.
- ²¹ To Douglas Newton, 14 Dec. 1939 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²² To Ruth Pennyman, 16 Nov. 1939 (Teesside Archives).
- ²³ To David Ayerst, 7 Jan. 1940 (Sel. Lett., p. 235).
- ²⁴ Woolf, *Letters*, 6, p. 104. See also Allinson, *A Childhood*; and Southworth, *Fresca*, pp. 134–9, 143–4, 285–8.
- ²⁵ See Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 65.
- ²⁶ To Francesca Allinson, late 1941 (Sel. Lett., p. 78).
- ²⁷ To Francesca Allinson, late 1941 (*Blues*, p. 127); July–Aug. 1942 (Wright collection).
- ²⁸ To Francesca Allinson, c. Feb.–Mar. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 89).
- ²⁹ To Alan Bush, 6 Feb. 1940 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁰ To Douglas Newton, 2 May 1940 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³¹ Francesca Allinson, journal entry, 10 Sept. 1939 (Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 239).
- ³² To Douglas Newton, 2 May 1940 (Brit. Lib.). The land schemes were Piltown Foodgrowers, based on a site called Moses Farm, near Uckfield; and Sackville Foodgrowers, a

- market garden near East Grinstead. They are misremembered as “Doolittle Farm” in Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 28. Do Little Mill was a property owned by a pacifist community in Bedfordshire to which Bryan Fisher had moved with his family. Fisher never joined the COs working on the East Grinstead smallholding (as claimed in *Blues*, p. 121). See Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*; also Southworth, *Fresca*, pp. 169–86.
- ³³ To Douglas Newton, 24 June 1940 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁴ To Douglas Newton, 24 June 1940 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 141).
- ³⁵ *Telegraph*, 22 Apr. 1940, quoted in Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 132.
- ³⁶ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 84.
- ³⁷ Francesca Allinson, journal entry, 23 Mar. 1941 (Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 241).
- ³⁸ To Francesca Allinson, c.18 Sept. 1940 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 70–71). See also “War comes to the skies over Surrey”, *Surrey Mirror*, 27 Aug. 2010 (accessed online, Oct. 2018).
- ³⁹ To Francesca Allinson, c.16 Sept. 1940 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 71–2).
- ⁴⁰ To John Layard, 28 Aug. 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴¹ Tippett documents the composition of Part Two and of “Go Down, Moses” in a series of letters sent to Francesca Allinson (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 70–73), which can be dated not only from his description of the plane fight (17 Sept. 1940) and the recent bombing of Madame Tussaud’s (8–9 Sept.), but his mentioning of “this week’s *Times Literary Supplement*” and its “devastating review of Eliot’s ‘East Coker’”, referring to an article published on 14 Sept. 1940.
- ⁴² The attack is detailed in Richards, *Offspring of the Vic*, pp. 252–4, and Charles Stuart, “Morley College Music”, *Musical Times*, Sept. 1951, pp. 393–8. (Tippett’s account of the blast is in *Sel. Lett.*, p. 243, misdated 1945.)
- ⁴³ On 29 Oct. 1940 Tippett wrote to David Ayerst: “I’ve agreed to do morning teaching temporarily at Hazelwood till term ends December 2.” (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 243*).
- ⁴⁴ Elizabeth Bowen, *Mysterious Kôr* (1944), in *The Collected Stories of Elizabeth Bowen* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980), p. 728. For my account of wartime London I have made much use of Croall, *Don’t you Know There’s a War On?*, and of the BBC’s oral history collection (www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar), which contains an interview with Hazel Stewart, a resident of Hurst Green and Oxted (Article ID A2722268, accessed June 2018). Facts and figures are mainly from Richardson, *The Annals of London*, pp. 347–50.
- ⁴⁵ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, pp. 83–4.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- ⁴⁷ Application to Ministry of Labour and National Service, 25 Nov. 1940 (Bowen collection, and partly quoted in Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 22).

16. Conchie

- ¹ “Walter Bergmann”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, pp. 81–2.
- ² Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 170 (from which many details of the concert series are taken).
- ³ Richards, *Offspring of the Vic*, p. 260.
- ⁴ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ⁵ To Francesca Allinson, c. spring 1943 (Wright collection).
- ⁶ Amis, *Amiscellany*, pp. 172, 176.
- ⁷ Hopkins, *Beating Time*, pp. 111–12.
- ⁸ “Have something very intimate to tell you”, Tippett wrote in private to Douglas Newton, “about an experience with Tony [. . . who] I think was quite unconscious of what went on in me” c. Apr. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ To Benjamin Britten, mid-June 1943 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ¹⁰ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 11 Apr. 1992 (Amis collection).
- ¹¹ To Douglas Newton, July 1941 (Brit. Lib.). Bryan Fisher also saw that Newton was “obviously very dependent” on Francesca (Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 85).
- ¹² Francesca Allinson to Douglas Newton, 21 Apr. 1941 (Douglas Newton Archive). Details and chronology are from this correspondence, and from Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*.
- ¹³ *Blues*, p. 122. See also Mason O’Connor, *Joan Maynard*, pp. 13–18. I am grateful to Alison Hepburn for information about the Maynard family.
- ¹⁴ From letters to John Layard, mid- to late 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD). The chronology of the oratorio’s composition is from this correspondence.
- ¹⁵ Letters from Francesca Allinson to Douglas Newton, May–June 1941 (Douglas Newton Archive).
- ¹⁶ To John Layard, mid-1941. On 23 Feb. 1942 Michael mentioned “Bryan’s one-time boyfriend Karl” (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ¹⁷ To David Ayerst, c. June 1941 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 235). In 1941 Whit Sunday fell on 1 June.
- ¹⁸ To Francesca Allinson, July 1941 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 79–80).
- ¹⁹ To John Layard, 23 Feb. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ²⁰ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 11 Apr. 1992, 30 Nov. 1991 (Amis collection).
- ²¹ To Douglas Newton, 17 Nov. 1941 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 143).
- ²² “I can start work now on a new piano and orchestral piece specially for Phyllis Sellick in the coming season.” Tippett to Ruth Pennyman, 16 Sept. 1941 (Teesside Archives). See also Ian Kemp, liner notes to *Tippett: Piano Concerto et al.* (Hyperion, CDA67461/2, 2007), and Tippett’s remark of Mar. 1942 to Francesca Allinson: “The criticisms of the Fantasia centre round the two first variations (you and Jeff Mark)” (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 91).
- ²³ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 75. “Anthony Sedgwick was drowned on convoy in the Mediterranean. The only slight, or rather unknown circumstance is whether he was

- picked up by the Italians – that is very doubtful.” Tippet to Douglas Newton, 6 Oct. 1941 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁴ To John Layard, 28 Nov. 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ²⁵ To Francesca Allinson, c.26 Nov. 1941 (Sel. Lett., p. 84).
- ²⁶ To John Layard, 28 Nov. 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ²⁷ Blues, p. 158.
- ²⁸ Vaughan Williams to Tippet, 17 Dec. 1941 (Vaughan Williams, Letters, p. 330).
- ²⁹ “Tippet, Michael Kemp, account of tribunal”, 3 Feb. 1942 (Bowen collection).
- ³⁰ “Tippet, Michael Kemp, account of tribunal”, 3 Feb. 1942 (Bowen collection).
- ³¹ To Francesca Allinson, c. Feb. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 84).
- ³² To John Layard, Feb. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ³³ To John Layard, 20 Feb. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ³⁴ To Francesca Allinson, c. Feb.–Mar. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 89).
- ³⁵ To Francesca Allinson, c. mid-Feb. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 96*).
- ³⁶ To Douglas Newton, 6 Feb. 1942 (Brit. Lib.). See also, to John Layard, 23 Feb. 1942: “the day after the Tribunal I ran into Eric Kennington and a reconciliation took place (he is pro war)” (Univ. Cal. SD). Douglas Newton and Eric Kennington were old acquaintances; their correspondence is held at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
- ³⁷ To Francesca Allinson, c. Feb.–Mar. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 89). See also Tippet to John Layard, Feb. 1942, “I shall see Eliot next Thursday [. . .] for my own troubles” and, 28 Nov. 1941, “for some odd reason Eliot values my judgement” (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ³⁸ Eliot, *Christianity and Culture*, p. 57.
- ³⁹ T.S. Eliot to Tippet, 3 Sept. 1942 (Eliot collection).
- ⁴⁰ The chronology is from Sel. Lett., pp. 95–9 (the relevant correspondence, estimated early 1943, is rightly from Jan. and Feb. 1942, predating the premiere of the Handel fantasia, on 7 Mar., and the commencement of the second string quartet, in Apr.).
- ⁴¹ To Douglas Newton, 16 Oct. 1942 (Brit. Lib.). Here Tippet mentions that Wilfred Franks had “got into trouble for ‘non-fulfilment of conditions’ – there was a letter in the *Statesman* on someone who could only be he”. In that week’s *New Statesman* a magistrate wrote of a group of objectors, one of whom was granted military exemption on condition that he teach at “a community school where he was in charge of a class of ‘difficult’ children who needed psychological treatment [. . .] yet because these men refused to submit to medical examination the magistrates were compelled by law to sentence them to terms of imprisonment”. *New Statesman and Nation*, 10 Oct. 1942, p. 240. Franks recounted his time at the Tavistock Clinic in Slaughter, “Interview with Wilfred Franks”,

- 18–20: “I went to prison three times because I refused to join the army.”
- ⁴² To Francesca Allinson, c. Apr.–May 1942 (Blues, 136).
- ⁴³ To John Layard, early May 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD). The appellate tribunal is dated 30 May 1942 in *Kemp*, p. 41; but in a letter clearly dated 24 May 1942 Tippett wrote to John Layard, “The Appellate at last have decided” (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴⁴ To John Layard, 24 May 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴⁵ To Francesca Allinson, c. May–June 1942 (Wright collection).
- ⁴⁶ “Contracting-in to Abundance”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 20.
- ⁴⁷ To John Layard, 25 and 26 Sept. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴⁸ To Douglas Newton, 10 Feb. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 144).
- ⁴⁹ To Francesca Allinson, early Sept. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 86, as “being fake”); to Evelyn Maude, 5 July 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 301).
- ⁵⁰ To Francesca Allinson, c. Feb.–Mar. 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 90).
- ⁵¹ Andro Linklater, “Willing captive of his music”, *Sunday Telegraph*, 21 Feb. 1972, p. 8.
- ⁵² As to Douglas Newton, 21 Oct. 1942 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵³ To Francesca Allinson, 1942 (Sel. Lett., p. 85).
- ⁵⁴ To John Layard, 2 Sept. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁵⁵ To John Layard, 25 and 26 Sept. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁵⁶ To Douglas Newton, c. 10 Aug. 1942 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁷ To Douglas Newton, c. Jan. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁸ This inscribed copy of the Sonnets was included in a partial inventory of Tippett’s library made in 2002 and kindly sent to me by Richard Oram of the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas. The contents of this inventory never made it to the Center and likely contained a listing of the most valuable volumes, in the event privately sold.
- ⁵⁹ To John Layard, 2 Sept. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁶⁰ To John Layard, 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁶¹ To Benjamin Britten, 21 Mar. 1950 (Sel. Lett., p. 200*).
- ⁶² Auden to Benjamin Britten, 2 July 1943 (Britten-Pears Library). I am grateful to Edward Mendelson for alerting me to this letter.
- ⁶³ Britten to Elizabeth Mayer, 22 May 1943 (Britten, *Letters*, 2, p. 1151).
- ⁶⁴ Pears to Elizabeth Mayer, 6 Aug. 1944 (Britten, *Letters*, 2, p. 1216).
- ⁶⁵ Britten to Elizabeth Mayer, 22 May 1943 (Britten, *Letters*, 2, p. 1152).
- ⁶⁶ To Douglas Newton, 29 Apr. 1944 (Sel. Lett., p. 170).
- ⁶⁷ To John Layard, 25 Dec. 1942 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁶⁸ See Sel. Lett., p. 148n.
- ⁶⁹ To Douglas Newton, c. 30 Jan. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷⁰ To Douglas Newton, Feb. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷¹ To Douglas Newton, 21 Mar. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷² “Lieutenant-Commander Peter Kemp”, *The Times*, 20 Mar. 1992,

p. 19. I am grateful to Charmian and Derek Whitmell for sharing their memories of Peter Kemp.

⁷³ See Blues, pp. 161–2. The raid was not, as stated, part of the Baedeker Blitz (the Nazi raids on British cultural monuments, including Exeter Cathedral), which took place the preceding year.

⁷⁴ To Francesca Allinson, 9 Mar. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 100).

⁷⁵ To Douglas Newton, 28 Feb. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).

⁷⁶ To Douglas Newton, 19 Mar. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).

⁷⁷ William Glock, “Music”, *Observer*, 25 Apr. 1943, p. 2; Berkeley: 11 Feb. 1943 (Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 141). In August 1943 Berkeley wrote to Nadia Boulanger: “There is a composer here called Michael Tippett who is doing very fine work – it is very original and you would be most interested.” Dickinson, *Lennox Berkeley*, p. 71.

⁷⁸ To Douglas Newton, 3 Apr. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).

⁷⁹ To Benjamin Britten, 3 Apr. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 194).

⁸⁰ To William Busch, early 1943 (Busch collection).

⁸¹ To William Busch, 18 May 1943 (Busch collection).

⁸² To David Ayerst, 10 May 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 238, as “the British (or Axis) might – bombing”).

⁸³ To William Busch, 18 May 1943 (Busch collection): “June 7th, if you please, is the prosecution here at Oxted.” See also Sel. Lett., p. 239, and Robert Pollard to Tippett, 1943

(MS Mus. 291, ff. 106v, 120v, Brit. Lib.).

⁸⁴ Bax: “It would surely be a regrettable waste of an expert and a great individual gift if Mr Tippett were to be employed in a form of work that could be relegated to any able-bodied man.” Boulton: “I quite agree that your gifts enable you to do good work as a musical composer [. . .], while I cannot see that even if you were willing to work on a farm, your contribution would be in any way of equal value to the war effort.” Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, pp. 138–9.

⁸⁵ To Benjamin Britten, c.16 June 1943 (Britten-Pears Library).

⁸⁶ To Benjamin Britten, June 1943 (Britten-Pears Library).

⁸⁷ To Benjamin Britten, c.6 June 1943 (Britten-Pears Library). Tippett informed Britten of the new trial date on 27 May 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 196). Pears, perhaps in subtle defence of his partner’s frequent recourse to professional poets for his vocal works, came to think *Boyhood’s End* a good proof of just how misguided was Tippett’s sense that musical setting can destroy the written word, believing it a perfect marriage of music and text: see Peter Pears, “Song and Text”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 47.

⁸⁸ See Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 139.

⁸⁹ To John Layard, 19 June 1943 (Univ. Cal. SD).

⁹⁰ See for example and among others

Birmingham Mail, 21 June 1943, p. 4; Dundee Evening Telegraph, 21 June 1943, p. 3; Liverpool Daily Post, 22 June 1943, p. 3.

⁹¹ Pears’s biographer is certain: “he was successful at once in obtaining full exemption from war service” (Headington, *Peter Pears*, p. 118). However, in a letter sent to Britten on 27 May 1943, Tippett writes that the choice of Pears over Britten to appear at his prosecution was owing to the fact that “Peter got the same conditions as I did and has since been deferred”, and that his work “must have constituted in the eyes of the Ministry ‘reasonable excuse’” (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 195).

⁹² Many details of the case are to be found in *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 25 June 1943, p. 1, from which all further quotations in this chapter are taken, unless otherwise marked.

⁹³ Birmingham Mail, 21 June 1943, 4. Later that evening Vaughan Williams’s first wife, Adeline, wrote an account of the day to a friend: “Ralph had rather a tiring day going to Oxted [. . . Tippett] is a thorough going fanatic . . . and made an eloquent harangue.” Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.*, p. 255.

⁹⁴ Author’s interview with Paul Crossley.

⁹⁵ Stella Gibbons, *Westwood* (London: Longmans, 1946), p. 1.

17. Prisoner

¹ Tippett, “COs ran an ‘underground’ paper”. Many details of Tippett’s imprisonment are to be found in

this article. My account of life in the Scrubs is especially indebted to Machin, *Artist of an Icon*; Brockway, *The Flowery*; and Petherbridge, *Slim Chances*.

² Machin, *Artist of an Icon*, p. 78.

³ Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 24.

⁴ Eliot, *Christianity and Culture*, p. 57.

⁵ Machin, *Artist of an Icon*, p. 75.

⁶ Petherbridge, *Slim Chances*, p. 200.

⁷ Brockway, *The Flowery*, p. 34.

⁸ Tippett, “COs ran an ‘underground’ paper”.

⁹ Author’s interview with Alison Watson.

¹⁰ To Evelyn Maude, 21 June 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 299–300). Facsimiles of the original letters (*Brit. Lib.*) are in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, pp. 40–53.

¹¹ Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 174. See *Spectator*, 25 May 1944, p. 4.

¹² Machin, *Artist of an Icon*, p. 78.

¹³ To Evelyn Maude, 5 July 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 300–304).

¹⁴ In *Blues* (145) Tippett states “a concert by Ben and Peter [. . .] had been arranged long before I arrived at the Scrubs”. More believable is his interview with Humphrey Carpenter: “Ben and Peter had already offered their services and once they realised I was in, I gather that they tried to arrange it that they came at the same time.” Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 195.

¹⁵ *Blues*, p. 145.

¹⁶ Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 196.

¹⁷ Amis, *Amiscellany*, pp. 173–4.

The concert’s programme hasn’t survived.

- ¹⁸ To David Ayerst, early 1936 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 233*).
- ¹⁹ To Evelyn Maude, 19 July 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 304–7, as “very thin and long . . . I, actually in prison, sense something so natural . . . have sense of clearing the grossness”).
- ²⁰ *Blues*, p. 145.
- ²¹ Tippet, “COs ran an ‘underground’ paper”.
- ²² Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 174.
- ²³ To Evelyn Maude, 16 Aug. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 310*). I am grateful to Alice Nissen for information about Evelyn Maude.
- ²⁴ *Peace News*, 13 Aug. 1943.
- ²⁵ To Ralph Vaughan Williams, c. late 1943 (*Vaughan Williams, Letters*, pp. 368–9).
- 18. Survivor**
- ¹ CBCO Bulletin, July 1943. Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 179.
- ² *New Statesman and Nation*, 26 June 1943, p. 26.
- ³ *New Statesman and Nation*, 3 July 1943, p. 9.
- ⁴ Foreman, “Michael Tippet and the BBC”, p. 140.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- ⁶ Calculated from £100 retainer from Schott, £125 annual fee from Morley, £60 annual gift from Francesca Allinson, and allowing another £100 from rental income, one-off concerts, and royalties (thus c. £385/£15,890).
- ⁷ See “Sybil Morrison” in Kemp, *Michael Tippet: A Symposium*, p. 71.
- ⁸ John Amis to Douglas Newton, c.25 Aug. 1943 (MS. Mus 291, f. 109, Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ See Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 175, and Hopkins, *Beating Time*, pp. 115–16.
- ¹⁰ To John Layard, c. May–June 1943 (Univ. Cal. SD). All further quotations in this paragraph are taken from a series of undated letters to Layard, the last on 19 June 1943, sent in the weeks leading up to Tippet’s imprisonment.
- ¹¹ To Francesca Allinson, 6 Sept. 1943 (*Blues*, p. 164).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- ¹³ To Douglas Newton, 3 Sept. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 153, as “complete absence”).
- ¹⁴ As transcribed in *Blues* (p. 163) Tippet wrote to Francesca Allinson on 6 September 1943 that “Den’s decided to refuse Civil Defence training and to take the consequences – which unfortunately landed him in Bedford not the Scrubs.” The original reads “which unfortunately lands him in Bedford” (Wright collection, my italics), and the implication that Newton served time in Bedford Prison should be resisted. Tippet appears to be narrating the possible worst-case scenario.
- ¹⁵ To Douglas Newton, 3 Sept. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 153).
- ¹⁶ To Douglas Newton, c.7 Sept. 1943 (Brit. Lib.). The meeting and chronology are from letters to Francesca Allinson in the Wright collection (omitted from *Sel. Lett.*, p. 153).
- ¹⁷ To Douglas Newton, 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 161).

- ¹⁸ To Douglas Newton, 13 Oct. 1943 (Sel. Lett., pp. 157–8).
- ¹⁹ To Douglas Newton, 17 Oct. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁰ To Douglas Newton, 10 Nov. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 162). Matters are confused by the fact that two women named Rose played a part in Tippett's life at this time. Rose Turnbull (b. 1923) was the daughter of Fred Turnbull, the Oxted signalman. Rose Mori (occasionally confused for Rose Turnbull, as at Sel. Lett., p. 306) was Tippett's secretary at Morley College. See MS Mus. 291, f. 82v, Brit. Lib.
- ²¹ To Francesca Allinson, 2 Oct. 1943 (Sel. Lett., p. 111).
- ²² There was talk of a concert to be held in London late in 1943, for which Pears and Britten wanted a new work from Tippett, who in August suggested he might write a pair of songs, the first to be "the only early song I have kept" (setting Charlotte Mew's "Afternoon Tea", 1929), and the second a new work, with "one verse done out of three". The latter set an unidentified poem by Wilfred Owen, and by mid-September Tippett assured Britten that "he was just doing the second song for Peter – will be ready sometime next week". But the concert was delayed, and Tippett gave up on the Owen setting (which does not survive), attracted instead by two Lawrence Durrell poems. He told Douglas Newton in late September: "two of the Durrell poems seem exactly the right thing for the sort of pure lyrical line I want to try for next [. . . and have] properly knocked the Rachmaninoff-[like] Owen dope aside – I just couldn't proceed" (Brit. Lib.). By 29 October, the Durrell poems had been superseded by texts from *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics* by Helen Waddell (1929), which Tippett told Newton were "lovely for songs – better than Durrell I think. Extremely sensual and spring-like. I've got two in mind, but haven't decided whether to be in Latin or English" (Brit. Lib.). When the concert was finally cancelled, the songs stayed at the back of Tippett's mind for a long while, and in June 1944 he told Newton: "I want to get the two Latin songs done for Peter" (Brit. Lib.). The songs never got off the ground. See Sel. Lett., pp. 112, 196–7 (which misidentifies the songs as belonging to *The Heart's Assurance*, not begun until 1950).
- ²³ Tippett's passion for the *I Ching* was begun by the eminent sinologist Arthur Waley, to whom he had been introduced by Phyllis Kemp. Though dismissive of the *I Ching*, Waley loaned Tippett his copy of Richard Wilhelm's translation. Correspondence between Tippett and Waley, sold at Christie's in 2011, has now disappeared into a closed private collection. See *Blues*, pp. 89–90.
- ²⁴ To Francesca Allinson, late 1940 (Sel. Lett., p. 74).
- ²⁵ To David Ayerst, c.1944? (Sel. Lett., p. 241).

- ²⁶ “Met Joan Cross of Sadler’s Wells and put over the first line of the *Masque*, so I’d like to get a scenario out with you as soon as may be. Agreed?” Tippett to Douglas Newton, 22 Sept. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁷ Tippett, “The Birth of an Opera”, in *Tippett on Music*, p. 201.
- ²⁸ See Savage, *The Pre-History of “The Midsummer Marriage”*, *Blues*, pp. 215–16; *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 164–70; and early scenarios for *The Midsummer Marriage* in Tippett’s sketchbooks (Add. MSS 72054-5, Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁹ Tippett to Douglas Newton, 20 June 1944 (Brit. Lib.). “As soon as I can get Ben [Britten] to let me have typed the notes we last made about the masque” (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 254), should read “as I can get Den [Newton]”; Britten’s collaboration is unlikely.
- ³⁰ Add. MS 72054, Brit. Lib.
- ³¹ To David Ayerst, 31 Dec. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 239, as “nature of work. I persist in refusal. [. . .] lot more the second time”).
- ³² The meeting has been thought to have occurred in 1944, and 21 October given as the day on which “the sound of a real countertenor was heard in Purcell’s music for the first time in many generations” (*Kemp*, pp. 44–5). But on 8 October 1943 Tippett wrote to Douglas Newton: “If you do manage to get up for October 16, afternoon at Friends House, the Purcell [. . .] is to contain that superb alto solo to be sung by the male contratenor from Canterbury Cathedral!” (Brit. Lib. These lines are written on the envelope, making the chronology more certain than usual.)
- ³³ To Francesca Allinson, 6 Sept. 1943 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 108).
- ³⁴ To Francesca Allinson, Jan.–Feb. 1943 (Wright collection).
- ³⁵ Beaton, *Photobiography*, p. 127.
- ³⁶ To Peter Pears, early Mar. 1944 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ³⁷ To Douglas Newton, 21 Mar. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁸ See Creaton, *Sources for the History of London*, pp. 122–4, and london-weather.eu/article.85.html
- ³⁹ Newton, “Michael Tippett”, p. 7.
- ⁴⁰ To William Glock, c.20 Mar. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴¹ The breakdown of the concert’s funding is in a letter from Tippett to Peter Pears, late Mar. 1944 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁴² See Kildea, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 535.
- ⁴³ *Blues*, p. 117.
- ⁴⁴ To Douglas Newton, 2 Apr. 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 167–8).
- ⁴⁵ To Anna Kallin, May 1952 (Wright collection).
- ⁴⁶ *The Times*, 20 Mar. 1944, p. 6; Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 61; *Blues*, p. 157.
- ⁴⁷ John Ireland to Alan Bush, 20 Feb. 1945 (Bush and Ireland, *Correspondence*, p. 168). For Lennox Berkeley’s views of the oratorio, see Britten, *Letters*, 2, p. 1153n.
- ⁴⁸ Alan Bush to John Ireland, 12 Feb. 1945 (Bush and Ireland, *Correspondence*, p. 165).
- ⁴⁹ Hopkins, *Beating Time*, p. 116.

- ⁵⁰ “Contracting-in to Abundance”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 24.
- ⁵¹ “The Composer and Pacifism”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 286.
- ⁵² See Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, pp. 143–4.
- ⁵³ To Peter Pears, c. Jan. 1945 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵⁴ Maurice Edelman, “A Composer Listens to his own Oratorio”, *Picture Post*, 3 Mar. 1945, pp. 19–21, quoted in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, pp. 62–4.
- ⁵⁵ To Douglas Newton, 26 June 1944, 21 Mar. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁶ To Douglas Newton, 4 Apr. 1944 (Brit. Lib.). The boy was a treble from Stanley Fisher’s school in Buckinghamshire, making records in London and escaping the raids by staying overnight in Surrey.
- ⁵⁷ To Douglas Newton, 21 June 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁸ To Francesca Allinson, c. June–July 1944 (*Blues*, p. 175).
- ⁵⁹ To Francesca Allinson, c. June–July 1944 (*Blues*, p. 179, as “on a catch”).
- ⁶⁰ To Francesca Allinson, 8 July 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 116*).
- ⁶¹ England and Wales, National Probate Calendar, 1944, Vol. “Kaberry–Mytton”, pp. 32–33.
- ⁶² To Francesca Allinson, 13 July 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 117*).
- ⁶³ To Francesca Allinson, 13 July 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 116–17*).
- ⁶⁴ To William Busch, 25 July 1944 (Busch collection). In this (clearly dated) letter Tippett writes, “I just got back last night from ten days holiday or so.” See also *Blues*, p. 179; *Western Morning News*, 1 Apr. 1944, p. 5; and Cornishman, 20 July 1944, p. 3.
- ⁶⁵ See *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 172–4 (with “5 or 6” for “5 to 6”, i.e. 05.55).
- ⁶⁶ To Francesca Allinson, 10 Aug. 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 117).
- ⁶⁷ Ayerst, “Young Michael Tippett”, p. 9.
- ⁶⁸ Tippett Interviews contd, pp. 47–8 (Bowen collection). Tippett admitted similar sentiments of shame to Ian Kemp (author’s interview with Sian Edwards).
- ⁶⁹ To Douglas Newton, 16 Aug. 1944 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 174–5, as “won’t be lumped . . . so you gave me more . . . much loved then”).
- ⁷⁰ See *Sel. Lett.*, p. 176.
- ⁷¹ To Douglas Newton, 5 Oct. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷² To Francesca Allinson, 2 Jan. 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 117).
- ⁷³ To Francesca Allinson, 9 Jan. 1945 (*Blues*, p. 184).
- ⁷⁴ To Sheila Busch, 4 Mar. 1945 (Busch collection). The “Sheila” at *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 97, 235–6, is misidentified as Sheila Busch, and is rightly Sheila Nicholson, a dancer friend of Evelyn Maude’s. I am grateful to Julia Cornaby Busch for providing me with information about her father.
- ⁷⁵ *Blues*, p. 172.
- ⁷⁶ Francesca Allinson, journal entries, 10 Sept. 1939 and 23 Mar. 1941 (Southworth, *Fresca*, pp. 239, 241–2).
- ⁷⁷ To Francesca Allinson, c.1944? (Wright collection).

- ⁷⁸ Author's interview with Kit Martin, who recollects seeing Francesca's suicide note to her brother Cyril, in which she stated she was travelling to St Osyth to die. Francesca's niece, Sonya Allinson, remembered similarly (see Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 281). Also: "Copy of holograph instructions, unsigned" (Allinson collection).
- ⁷⁹ Author's interview with Kit Martin.
- ⁸⁰ Death Certificate, Francesca Allinson (Allinson collection; Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 282). Francesca Allinson, post-mortem, Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge (Southworth, *Fresca*, pp. 288–91).
- ⁸¹ See *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 254–5.
- ⁸² Ayerst, "Young Michael Tippett", p. 9 (also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 180).
- ⁸³ To Douglas Newton, 25 Apr. 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁸⁴ To David Ayerst, 8 Apr. 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 242–3).
- ⁸⁵ Francesca Allinson to Tippett, c.7 Apr. 1945. Wright collection, part transcribed in *Blues* p. 185, with "and so it could not be" as "and so it could be"; "I am glad to be going" as "I am to be going"; and "Give my love to J[udy]" as "(in my love too)".
- ⁸⁶ To Douglas Newton, 8 Apr. 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 179).
- ⁸⁷ "Copy of holograph instructions, unsigned" (Allinson collection, quoted in Southworth, *Fresca*, p. 291).
- ⁸⁸ Francesca Allinson, Last Will and Testament (Allinson collection, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 172).
- ⁸⁹ To Cyril Allinson, mid-Apr. 1945 (Allinson collection).
- ⁹⁰ England and Wales, National Probate Calendar, 1945, Vol. "Aaron–Byworth", p. 72.
- ⁹¹ To Douglas Newton, c. May 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹² To William Glock, c. summer 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 256–7). For Francesca Allinson's monograph on folk-song, see Southworth, *Fresca*, pp. 261–72. The manuscript is in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library at Cecil Sharp House, London; an early copy – with music examples in Tippett's hand – is currently in the Allinson collection.
- ⁹³ Wheen, *Tippett's Time*, pp. 10–11.

PART FIVE: Peace, 1945–1962

19. The Wonderful Truth of Overness

- ¹ Muriel Spark, *The Girls of Slender Means* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 7.
- ² Tippett, *The Midsummer Marriage*, note to vocal score (London: Schott, 1954).
- ³ Athill, *Alive, Alive Oh!*, p. 30.
- ⁴ Wheen, *Tippett's Time*, p. 12.
- ⁵ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991.
- ⁶ Tippett's "I'm not an optimist" (as transcribed in *Sel. Lett.*, p. 126) should read "I'm not an opportunist" (Wright collection).
- ⁷ Author's interviews with Raimund Herinx and with Alexander Goehr.
- ⁸ To Douglas Newton, 12 June 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ To Douglas Newton, 10 Apr. 1945 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 179–81).

- ¹⁰ To Anna Kallin, 16 Sept. 1958 (Wright collection).
- ¹¹ To William Glock, 8 Apr. 1945 (Sel. Lett., p. 255, as “are often just masters”).
- ¹² To John Amis, spring 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹³ To Douglas Newton, 17 June 1945 (Sel. Lett., p. 184).
- ¹⁴ For discrepancy in accounts of the date of completion see Schuttenhelm, *The Orchestral Music of Michael Tippett*, p. 99.
- ¹⁵ To Edward Sackville-West, 24 Nov. 1947 (Sel. Lett., p. 271).
- ¹⁶ Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 73.
- ¹⁷ To William Glock, late 1945 (Sel. Lett., pp. 258–9).
- ¹⁸ *The Times*, 12 Nov. 1945; “Michael Tippett’s First Symphony”, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 Nov. 1945, p. 2; also (a rave): *Sunday Times*, 18 Nov. 1945, p. 2; and (more qualified) *Manchester Guardian*, 12 Nov. 1945, p. 3.
- ¹⁹ Bacharach, *British Music of Our Time*, pp. 231–3; my attention was drawn to this book by Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 147.
- ²⁰ *New Statesman and Nation*, 24 Nov. 1945, p. 352.
- ²¹ In Tippett’s sketchbooks for the opera (Add. MS 72055, Brit. Lib.) is a list of key signatures added to an outline of Act One, bearing little resemblance to the eventual harmonic scheme of the opera.
- ²² To Douglas Newton, 12 June 1945 (Sel. Lett., p. 184).
- ²³ Of this only fragments survive, as copied out by Tippett in his sketchbooks, as when the chorus greets the “Ancients”: “Welcome ancient, ancient, ancient | honoured guardians of the law | Welcome to the youth also | The disciplined disciples | whose feet tread out the measured path.” Add. MS 72054, Brit. Lib.
- ²⁴ To Douglas Newton, c. Feb. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁵ To Douglas Newton, c. Feb.–Mar. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁶ To Douglas Newton, 13 Mar. 1946 (Sel. Lett., pp. 187–8).
- ²⁷ See Sel. Lett., p. 311.
- ²⁸ See Settle, *Learning to Fly*, Ch. 6.
- ²⁹ To Douglas Newton, 18 Jan. 1946 (Sel. Lett., p. 187).
- ³⁰ Settle, *Learning to Fly*, p. 143.
- ³¹ To Douglas Newton, 31 Nov. 1945 (Brit. Lib.). In *Blues*, p. 226, Tippett remembers first meeting Minchinton “one evening in 1942”, when Minchinton was just fourteen. Happily, the chronology of Tippett’s correspondence seems more trustworthy. A letter mentioning John Minchinton dated 1944 in Sel. Lett., p. 197 is rightly from 1950.
- ³² To Ursula Vaughan Williams, 29 Dec. 1956 (Brit. Lib., MS. Mus 1714/1/22). Details of Minchinton’s arrival in Tippett’s life are from this letter.
- ³³ Tippett Interviews 6, 7 (Bowen collection).
- ³⁴ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ³⁵ Author’s interview with Alison Watson.

- ³⁶ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 31 Dec. 1991 (Amis collection).
- ³⁷ To Mary Lee Settle, c. Sept. 1946? (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁸ To Douglas Newton, 5 Nov. 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁹ To Mary Lee Settle, c. Oct. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴⁰ To Mary Lee Settle, autumn 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴¹ Newton, “Michael Tippett”, p. 13.
- ⁴² Blues, p. 216. See also Kemp, p. 491⁷⁰.
- ⁴³ Duncan, *How To Make Enemies*, pp. 55–6. See also Savage, *The Pre-History of “The Midsummer Marriage”*, pp. 100–105.
- ⁴⁴ See Fraser, *Chameleon Poet*, Chs 22–6.
- ⁴⁵ To John Layard, c. Sept. 1943 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁴⁶ To A.L. Rowse, Aug.–Sept. 1942 (University of Exeter); this letter, if it refers to *Aurora Consurgens*, was evidently written, as if to see about alternatives, while Douglas Newton was still attached to the project.
- ⁴⁷ Britten to Mary Behrend, 18 Sept. 1944 (Britten, *Letters*, 2, p. 1223). On 4 Apr. 1944 Tippett told Douglas Newton: “someone has commissioned a new quartet for £50” (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴⁸ See *Sel. Lett.*, p. 294.
- ⁴⁹ To John Amis, c. Sept.–Oct. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁰ To William Glock, Dec. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ² Settle, *Learning to Fly*, p. 155.
- ³ 6 June 1946 (MS. Mus 292, f. 169v, Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴ See Hayes, *Challenge of Conscience*, pp. 346–7.
- ⁵ To David Ayerst, c. early 1943 (Wright collection).
- ⁶ CBCO Bulletin, Apr. 1944, p. 4.
- ⁷ To Alan Bush, 2 Dec. 1944 and 3 Mar. 1945 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁸ First sketchbook for *The Midsummer Marriage* (Add. MS 72054, Brit. Lib.). The line may have originated in Douglas Newton’s script.
- ⁹ *Freedom Defence Committee Bulletin*, No. 3, Apr.–May 1946; Eliot, *Complete Prose*, 6, pp. 825–6.
- ¹⁰ PPU Journal, 17 Mar. 1947.
- ¹¹ See “Napalm Bombs”, *The Times*, 8 July 1952, p. 7; PPU Archives.
- ¹² Kemp file f.49, 23 May 1952, National Archives (other biographical details are from this file, especially f.180).
- ¹³ PPU Journal, Feb. 1949.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ See T.S. Eliot to Tippett, 17 Feb. 1946 (Eliot collection).
- ¹⁶ To John Amis, c. Apr. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹⁷ Ralph Vaughan Williams to John Lowe, 21 Feb. 1947 (Carpenter, *The Envy of the World*, p. 62); *Musical Times*, 88 (Feb. 1947), 71. See also Suzanne Cole, “Musical trail-blazing and general daring”, in Robinson, *Music and Literature*, pp. 151–73.
- ¹⁸ Martin Raymond, “Music”, *Observer*, 25 Nov. 1945, p. 2.
- ¹⁹ To Edith Sitwell, 21 Jan. 1946 (Harry Ransom Center).

20. Off the Hook, on the Air, in the Air

- ¹ To George Barnes, 29 Sept. 1948 (Cambridge University).

- ²⁰ Edith Sitwell to Douglas Newton, Jan. 1946 (Brit. Lib. [copy, included in MS Mus. 292, ff. 155–8]).
- ²¹ To Mary Lee Settle, c. Oct. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²² Blues, p. 189. This was likely at a dinner in the early 1950s; Eliot went to Sweden in December 1948, six weeks after Edith Sitwell had departed for America. See Greene, *Edith Sitwell*, pp. 247, 345–64; also Natasha Spender, “Lady Natasha Spender remembers Edith Sitwell”, *Telegraph*, 8 June 2008 (accessed online, Oct. 2018).
- ²³ Hans Keller, “The BBC’s Victory over Schoenberg”, *The Music Review* (Feb. 1952), pp. 130–31. See “Schoenberg”, in Tippet, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 25–39. Tippett’s fees for his radio talks are listed in contracts held at the BBC Written Archives.
- ²⁴ See Carpenter, *The Envy of the World*, p. 120.
- ²⁵ See especially *Radio Times*, 16 July 1948, p. 19; 10 Oct. 1952, p. 26; 25 Jan. 1952, p. 19; also Kemp, p. 49; Blues, pp. 190–91.
- ²⁶ To George Barnes, 12 Nov. 1947 (Cambridge University).
- ²⁷ Oskar Kokoschka to Viktor Matejka, 15 Jan. 1948 (Kokoschka, *Letters*, p. 183).
- ²⁸ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 138.
- ²⁹ Dates are slightly awry in Blues, pp. 192–5. Tippett went to Budapest twice in 1948, first in early June, and then from 8 to 22 Oct. See *Sel. Lett.*, p. 296, and Tippett’s letter to George Barnes, 29 Sept. 1948 (Cambridge University): “For my sins I’m on the international jury of the Bartók Competition in Hungary and go for a heavy fortnight on Friday week.”
- ³⁰ Blues, p. 193.
- ³¹ To Ernest Newman, 5 Sept. 1946 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 293). A list of European performances of *A Child of Our Time* is held in the White papers (Harry Ransom Center). See also Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, p. 146. Precise dates are from the Rainier correspondence (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

21. A Continuous High Pressure of Creation

- ¹ *Radio Times*, 7 May 1948, p. 17.
- ² To Michael Tillett, c.1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³ To William Glock, Dec. 1946 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴ The chronology is clearest in White, *Tippett and His Operas*, pp. 44–71, and *Sel. Lett.*, p. 312. Act One’s completion is mentioned in a letter from Tippett to Harman Grisewood, 4 June 1949 (BBC Written Archives).
- ⁵ See Tippett’s first sketchbook towards *The Midsummer Marriage* (Add. MS 72054, Brit. Lib.), in which are copied out portions of Douglas Newton’s script, identifiable as such from their correspondence.
- ⁶ The couple were known as George and Margaret all through the first act’s composition. Tippett finally wrote to A.L. Rowse for naming advice, and received the suggestion that stuck. See correspondence

between Tippett and Rowse, especially 3 May 1950 and 22 Oct. 1991 (University of Exeter). Jenifer is spelled with one n so as to be the Cornish version of Guinevere.

- ⁷ “Contracting-in to Abundance”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 23.
- ⁸ To Barbara Hepworth, early Oct. 1954 (Tate Archives). In the late thirties the Spanish-Catalan composer Roberto Gerhard had planned but never begun a dance-drama called *Les Feux de Saint Jean*, which was to have been based around the ritual festivities that occurred on the summer solstice. The mooted scheme was so similar to the dances around “St John’s Fire” in the third act of *The Midsummer Marriage* as to prompt the suspicion that Gerhard, who in 1939 had moved to a house in Cambridge a mile away from Douglas Newton’s wartime residence, had somehow communicated with Tippett.
- ⁹ To Edward Sackville-West, 2 Sept. 1948 (Sel. Lett., p. 273).
- ¹⁰ To William Glock, Sept. 1947 (ibid., p. 261).
- ¹¹ To Eric Walter White, 28 Aug. 1949 (White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 53).
- ¹² Cairns, *Responses*, p. 38.
- ¹³ To Benjamin Britten, 21 Mar. 1950 (Sel. Lett., p. 200*).
- ¹⁴ Tillett, “Working for Tippett”, pp. 1–2.
- ¹⁵ To William Glock, c. Sept.–Oct. 1948 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹⁶ To Michael Tillett, c.1949? (Brit. Lib.). It is to Tillett that credit must

be given for the architecture of *The Midsummer Marriage*’s ending, for it was he who suggested interrupting the orchestral sunlight with ever more broken snatches of the chorus’s madrigal.

- ¹⁷ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ To Stuart Wilson, 4 Apr. 1950 (Sel. Lett., p. 13); to Benjamin Britten, c.1956 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ²⁰ To Peter Pears, late 1950 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ²¹ To William Glock, late summer 1945 (Sel. Lett., p. 257).
- ²² To Douglas Newton, 8 July 1945 (Brit. Lib.); see also Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 200.
- ²³ To George Barnes, 19 July 1947 (Cambridge University).
- ²⁴ To Benjamin Britten, mid-July 1946 (Sel. Lett., p. 199).
- ²⁵ Britten to Elizabeth Meyer, 28 Oct. 1946 (Britten, *Letters*, 3, p. 253).
- ²⁶ See ibid., pp. 413–14; Schuttenhelm, *The Orchestral Music of Michael Tippett*, pp. 107–14 (with the premiere broadcast as 14 November); Foreman, “Michael Tippett and the BBC”, pp. 146–7. The suite’s working title was *Serenade for Mother and Child* (see memo from Kenneth Wright, 9 Mar. 1953, BBC Written Archives).
- ²⁷ Add. MS 72026, f. 5, Brit. Lib. The change of title is explained in a letter to Peter Pears, c. Oct. 1950 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ²⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, 9 and 16 Apr. 1950 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

- ²⁹ Misdated 1948 in Kemp (p. 47) and Blues (p. 228); see Carpenter, Britten, p. 296; *Sel. Lett.*, p. 272 (assumed 1948); White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 64. “I have been in hospital with a rather severe attack of jaundice” (to A.L. Rowse, 1 July 1950, University of Exeter). See also Forster, *Journals*, 3, p. 83.
- ³⁰ Journal entry, 28 Aug. 1920; quoted in Nicola Beauman, “Edward Morgan Forster”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn 2018), Oxford University Press.
- ³¹ To E.M. Forster, 3 Apr. 1960 (Cambridge University).
- ³² Carpenter, Benjamin Britten, p. 297.
- ³³ Britten to Marion Harewood, 22 Oct. 1950 (Britten, *Letters*, 3, p. 620). See also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 25.
- ³⁴ “Festival Music”, *The Times*, 8 May 1951, p. 6.
- ³⁵ Imogen Holst, diary entry 10 Oct. 1952 (Grogan, *Imogen Holst*, p. 194).
- ³⁶ BBC memo from Leonard Isaacs, 5 Feb. 1952: “For some time Michael Tippett has been looking for a suitable woman singer to sing this cycle [. . .] He now tells me that Elisabeth Schwarzkopf is prepared to sing it.” The memo goes on to list dates for the studio sessions with Schwarzkopf (BBC Written Archives).
- ³⁷ To Edward Sackville-West, 1 Jan. 1954 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 277).
- ³⁸ To John Amis, c. Sept. 1954 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁹ Tippett, liner notes to the recording Argo DA 34, 1965.
- ⁴⁰ To Benjamin Britten, Apr. 1951 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 203, as “the last song . . . what the song expresses”). For date of completion see White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 67; and Tippett’s letters to Priaulx Rainier (Roy. Acad. Mus.). The chronology of the songs’ composition as charted by the estimated dates of *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 160, 197–202 should be resisted.
- ⁴¹ Michael White, “Tippett’s tears from the heart”, *Independent*, 8 Jan. 1995 (accessed online, Oct. 2018). I’m grateful for information from the performers, Martyn Hill and Andrew Ball.

22. *Nel Mezzo del Cammin di Nostra Vita*

- ¹ To David Ayerst, 3 Jan. c.1949 (Wright collection).
- ² “I don’t see how I can move to see the E. Bergholt house till the wind changes” (Tippett to Benjamin Britten, c. Oct. 1950, Britten-Pears Library). Figures are from documents in the Wright collection. Date of move (previously assumed 1951): “I’ve just moved to this derelect abode to share with my mother” (Tippett to Ronald Duncan, 21 Dec. 1950, Harry Ransom Center). See also White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 66.
- ³ Evelyn Maude to Pamela Maude, 2 Feb. 1951 (Maude collection).
- ⁴ To Benjamin Britten, early 1951 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 204, 202).
- ⁵ Blues, p. 229. James Hutt is misremembered as “John” in Blues, p. 229.

- ⁶ To Beate Ruhm von Oppen, 14 Aug. 1951 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, July 1951 (Roy Acad. Mus.).
- ⁸ In a letter to Alan Bush, c.1940, Tippett quotes the line “then courage, brother, dare the grave passage”, adding “the words were Paul’s” (Brit. Lib.). See Kemp, p. 489¹⁹, and Blues, pp. 23–4.
- ⁹ The reading of the line is from Kemp, pp. 273, 492¹⁰⁰ (the text likely predates Dienes’s death but not knowledge of his illness).
- ¹⁰ To David Ayerst, c. mid-1952 (Wright collection).
- ¹¹ To Anna Kallin, 15 Aug. 1953 (Wright collection).
- ¹² To Priaulx Rainier, 28 Apr. 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹³ To David Ayerst, 12 May 1953 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁴ To Anna Kallin, 1 Nov. 1953 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 24 Dec. 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹⁶ To Peter Pears, 22 Oct. 1952 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ¹⁷ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ¹⁸ To Anna Kallin, 12 Oct. 1952 (Wright collection). Tippett recalled his state of health while completing the opera in letters to Priaulx Rainier, early 1958 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹⁹ The ink score is lost, but the figure is mentioned by Tippett in Charles Reid, “Portrait of a twentieth-century composer”, *Radio Times*, 13 Feb. 1953, p. 5.
- ²⁰ To Howard Hartog, 1953 (Sel. Lett., p. 37).
- ²¹ To Priaulx Rainier, 8 May 1952 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ²² See Tippett’s correspondence with Leonard Isaacs, Dec. 1952 (BBC Written Archives); also Sel. Lett., p. 14n (the BBC correspondence makes clear that the cantata was initially Tippett’s suggestion, rather than the BBC’s).
- ²³ See *Radio Times* 17 Apr. 1953, p. 26; Sel. Lett., p. 14.
- ²⁴ To Anna Kallin, 28 Dec. 1953 (Sel. Lett., p. 365).
- ²⁵ The earliest mention of Priaulx Rainier in Tippett’s surviving correspondence is on 15 Feb. 1944 (to Douglas Newton, Brit. Lib.); by 1945 she is mentioned as a visitor to Whitegates Cottage. “I’ll write Priaulx,” he told Newton on 10 Apr. 1945, referring to Francesca Allinson’s death (Brit. Lib.). Rainier’s friendship with Tippett is consigned to two footnotes in Kemp (pp. 487²², 490⁵⁰) and two paragraphs in Blues (pp. 118–19). See also “Priaulx Rainier”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 77.
- ²⁶ “The Music of Priaulx Rainier”, *Listener*, 13 Nov. 1947, p. 872.
- ²⁷ Author’s interview with Sally Groves. See also Rachel Nicholson, interviewed in *Private Passions*, BBC Radio 3, tx. 28 June 2015.
- ²⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, 3 Sept. 1947 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ²⁹ Blues, p. 119.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ alisonhodgepublishers.co.uk/?page_id=2248 (accessed 2 June 2018).

- ³² Author's interview with Alison Watson.
- ³³ To Priaulx Rainier, 5 May 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, 3 Sept. 1947 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 3 Mar. 1950 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, 12 Dec. 1952, 30 Nov. 1956 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 5 May 1953, 28 Apr. 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁸ Blues, p. 119. See also, *St Ives Festival – programme book* (London: Lund Humphries, 1953); and Grogan, Imogen Holst, p. 271.
- ³⁹ White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 36.
- ⁴⁰ Contradicting Ian Kemp's claim, in his note to the published score (Eulenburg No. 6697), that "composition began in early January 1953 and took no more than six weeks", Tippett wrote to Priaulx Rainier on 12 Dec. 1952, "My Edinburgh piece has begun", and on 27 May 1953 told her "Edinburgh is unfinished". The score was completed in c. July 1953, after approximately seven months' work.
- ⁴¹ Andrew Clarke, "Suffolk-born RSC . . .", *East Anglian Daily Times*, 17 Sept. 2017 (accessed online, Oct. 2018). Hall chose the fantasia at the last minute, Benjamin Britten having been too ill to compose the score.
- ⁴² Blues, p. 207.
- ⁴³ "Tippett's Fantasia Concertante", *Manchester Guardian*, 31 Aug. 1953, p. 3; "English Music", *The Times*, 31 Aug. 1953, p. 3; "New Works at the Proms", *Sunday Times*, 6 Sept. 1953, p. 8; "Music à la carte", *Sunday Times*, 6 Sept. 1953, p. 9.
- ⁴⁴ "L.C.C. Concert", *The Times*, 29 Nov. 1951, p. 6.
- ⁴⁵ See *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 33–5, 316, 326.
- ⁴⁶ To Anna Kallin, 12 Nov. 1953 (Wright collection); see also Foreman, "Michael Tippett and the BBC", p. 145.
- ⁴⁷ To Anna Kallin, 10 Dec. 1954 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 367).
- ⁴⁸ To Peter Pears, 25 Oct. 1954 (Britten-Pears Library). For the *Divertimento's* completion see *Sel. Lett.*, p. 135.
- ⁴⁹ To Wilhelm Strecker, 24 June 1953 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 40); "curly cherub" is from a letter to Anna Kallin, May 1952 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 364).
- ⁵⁰ Benjamin Britten to Tippett, 15 Dec. 1954 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵¹ To Anna Kallin, 10 Dec. 1954 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 367).
- ⁵² To Benjamin Britten, c. late Dec. 1954 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵³ To Benjamin Britten, 3 Jan. 1955 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 205).
- ⁵⁴ Benjamin Britten to Tippett, 12 Jan. 1955 (Britten, *Letters*, 4, p. 303).
- ⁵⁵ To Benjamin Britten, late Jan. 1955 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 205, as "And [. . .] for better or worse").

23. Equal to All Reasonable Demands

- ¹ *The Tatler and Bystander*, 9 Feb. 1955, pp. 229–30.
- ² To Michael Tillett, c.1953? (Brit. Lib.). Tillett was Tippett's constant sounding board during preparations

- for the premiere of *The Midsummer Marriage*, and I have taken a number of details from their correspondence, 1952–5. “Sadler’s Wells, if they did any opera at Coronation time, would not do *The Midsummer Marriage!* And I am all in all pleased.” Tippett to Eric Walter White, Sept. 1952 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ³ To Michael Tillett, early 1952 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴ To Anna Kallin, 10 Dec. 1954 (Wright collection).
- ⁵ See Tippett’s correspondence with Carlos Peacock, and Carlos Peacock’s with Duncan Grant (MS Mus. 134, Brit. Lib.).
- ⁶ See correspondence with Anna Kallin, 24 and 29 Sept. 1954 (Wright collection); also *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 278–88.
- ⁷ To Barbara Hepworth, 1 Oct. 1954 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 346). See also *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 351–2, 345–9, and their correspondence in the Tate Archives.
- ⁸ To Michael Tillett, c.1954 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ To Anna Kallin, 23 Sept. 1954; 1 Dec. 1943 (Wright collection); also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 366.
- ¹⁰ To Peter Pears, 25 Oct. 1954 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ¹¹ To Michael Tillett, c.1953 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹² Sutherland, *A Prima Donna’s Progress*, pp. 46–7.
- ¹³ James Thomas, “This opera baffles us too, say singers”, *News Chronicle*, 26 Feb. 1955, quoted in Davis, *A Man of our Time*, p. 71.
- ¹⁴ Scott Goddard, “Can Tippett do it?”, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 70.
- ¹⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 26 Nov. 1954 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). *Panorama*: “Critic on the hearth”, *Listener*, 3 Feb. 1955, p. 212.
- ¹⁶ To Anna Kallin, 1 Dec. 1954 (Wright collection).
- ¹⁷ To Michael Tillett, late Jan. 1955 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹⁸ “The Midsummer Marriage”, *Sunday Times*, 30 Jan. 1955, p. 11. Other review cuttings are collated in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 76.
- ¹⁹ “Profile: Michael Tippett”, *Observer*, 23 Jan. 1955, p. 4.
- ²⁰ Tippett discusses the Surrealism Exhibition in Wheen, *Tippett’s Time*, p. 7; his brief correspondence with Collins is held in the Tate Archives, TGA 923.4.2.1895–99. Priaulx Rainier collaborated with and befriended one of the leading British surrealist poets, David Gascoyne.
- ²¹ “The Birth of an Opera”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 199.
- ²² Peter Heyworth, “The Midsummer Marriage”, *Observer*, 30 Jan. 1955, p. 11; “Salute to a new opera”, *News Chronicle* (Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 77); Desmond Shawe-Taylor, “The Midsummer Marriage”, *New Statesman and Nation*, 5 Feb. 1955, p. 174; Colin Mason, “The Midsummer Marriage”, *Spectator*, 4 Feb. 1955, pp. 128, 130. See also Philip Hope-Wallace, “The Midsummer Marriage”, *Manchester Guardian*, 28 Jan. 1955, p. 7.
- ²³ To Michael Tillett, late Jan. 1955 (Brit. Lib.). Audience figures are

- mentioned in correspondence with Tillet (Brit. Lib.), and with Anna Kallin (Wright collection).
- ²⁴ As described in a letter to Michael Tillet, late 1956 (Brit. Lib.). See also White, *Tippett and His Operas*, pp. 70–71.
- ²⁵ Britten's *Gloriana* took ten years to reach even a concert performance after its initial run. Neither Arthur Bliss's *The Olympians* nor Lennox Berkeley's *Nelson* was ever revived, and it would take over twenty years for Walton's *Troilus and Cressida* to be given a second outing.
- ²⁶ Author's interview with Andrew Davis. See also John McCabe's sense of its "magnificent text" in Lewis, *Michael Tippett O.M.*, p. 172; Peter Hall's admiration in William Braun, "Midsummer in Autumn", *Opera News*, Nov. 2005, Vol. 70, No. 5; Savage, *The Pre-History of "The Midsummer Marriage"*; and John Lloyd Davies, "A Visionary Night", in Tippett, *The Operas of Michael Tippett*, pp. 53–64.
- ²⁷ Lebrecht, *Covent Garden*, p. 169. Sandals were a mainstay of Tippett's public footwear only later in his life, and never during a notoriously freezing winter.
- ²⁸ See Braddon, *Joan Sutherland*, pp. 68–9. The confusion is potentially with "What is the matter now?" during a comic exchange between the She-Ancient and Bella, which rightly raised a chuckle from the first-night audience.
- ²⁹ To Edward Sackville-West, 7 Aug. 1953 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 275).
- ³⁰ To David Webster, 14 May 1958 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 327).
- ³¹ To Anna Kallin, 6 July 1955 (Wright collection). "I have a change of household the weekend after Easter. A new young couple from Switzerland." To Eric Walter White, 30 Mar. 1955 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ³² To Priaulx Rainier, 18 Dec. 1953 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ³³ To Priaulx Rainier, 26 Dec. 1955 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*). See letter to Rainier, 20 Aug. 1955 and *Sel. Lett.*, p. 42 for dates of completion.
- ³⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, 2 Jan. 1956 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ³⁵ To Anna Kallin, 20 Feb. 1956 (Wright collection).
- ³⁶ For example, "Tippett's New Concerto", *The Times*, 31 Oct. 1956, p. 3; "Tippett's Concerto", *The Times*, 5 Nov. 1956, p. 3. See also *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 42, 52–5.
- ³⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, late Oct. 1956 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ³⁸ Piano Concerto, Eulenburg Study Score No. 8069, 2007. See *Blues*, p. 208.
- ³⁹ Author's interview with Paul Crossley.
- ⁴⁰ *Pacifist*, Sept.–Oct. 1976.
- ⁴¹ To Priaulx Rainier, 12 Jan. 1956 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁴² The symphony's composition has hitherto been dated from 1956. But see Tippett to Rainier, 26 Dec. 1955: "I've already begun the new symphony" (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*); and to Anna Kallin, 28 Dec. 1955: "I have got started on the new

- symphony (for BBC) with a truly wonderful trouvaille. And with a tremendous elan” (Wright collection). See also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 49.
- ⁴³ The recording of the premiere has been released by Pristine Audio, PASC460. Adrian Boult was the fourth choice of conductor, after Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Paul Sacher, and Rudolf Kempe. See Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, pp. 245–6.
- ⁴⁴ Tippett to Michael Tillett, c. Jan. 1958 (Brit. Lib.); Michael Tillett to Jonathan Del Mar, 24 Mar. 2008 (Del Mar collection).
- ⁴⁵ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ⁴⁶ Del Mar, “Tippett: Symphony No. 2”, p. 2 (with my thanks to the author).
- ⁴⁷ *Blues*, p. 209.
- ⁴⁸ To Michael Tillett, c.1963? (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁴⁹ Ralph Vaughan Williams to Adrian Boult, 9 Feb. 1958 (Add. MS 60499, Brit. Lib.). Vaughan Williams told Michael Kennedy that he “admired Tippett’s symphony very much” (26 Feb. 1958, MS Mus. 159, Brit. Lib.).
- ⁵⁰ “Tippett’s New Symphony”, *The Times*, 6 Feb. 1958, p. 12.
- ⁵¹ “Tippett and the Orchestra”, *Spectator*, 24 Feb. 1958, p. 16.
- ⁵² To Eric Walter White, 13 Feb. 1958 (Harry Ransom Center). “During the repeat studio performance on Saturday night there was another false string entry on the very first page”: *New Statesman*, 15 Feb. 1958, p. 197.
- ⁵³ “BBC Symphony Orchestra”, *The Times*, 21 Feb. 1958, p. 9.
- ⁵⁴ Michael Tillett to Jonathan Del Mar, 24 Mar. 2008 (Del Mar collection).
- ⁵⁵ *Blues*, p. 209. See also *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 6, 18, 207, and Kennedy, *Adrian Boult*, pp. 245–6.
- ⁵⁶ “Music of arresting distinction”, *The Times*, 16 Aug. 1958, p. 8.
- ⁵⁷ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ⁵⁸ Amis, *Amiscellany*, p. 75.
- ⁵⁹ William Walton to Alan Frank, 24 July 1968; and to Walter Legge, 15 Sept. 1973 (Walton, *Letters*, pp. 383, 423). See also Kennedy, *Portrait of Walton*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁰ Lloyd, *Constant Lambert*, p. 343; Walton, *Letters*, p. 152.
- ⁶¹ *Blues*, pp. 214–15.
- ⁶² *The People*, 24 July 1955, p. 7.
- ⁶³ See especially Morley, *John Gielgud*, pp. 238–63; Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 335; Kildea, *Benjamin Britten*, pp. 375–80; Lebrecht, *Covent Garden*, pp. 173–7; Higgins, *Heterosexual Dictatorship*.
- ⁶⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, 17 Apr. 1950, summer 1954 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See Schuttenhelm, *Orchestral Music*, p. 186²⁶.
- ⁶⁵ Reed, *Hilda Tablet and Others*, pp. 50–51. The play was first broadcast in September 1953.

24. Unexpected Flowering

- ¹ “This opera baffles us too, say singers”, *News Chronicle*, 26 Feb. 1955, quoted in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 71; “Profile: Michael Tippett”, 23 Jan. 1955, *Observer*, p. 4.

- ² Michael Tippett to Michael Tippett, 2 Sept. 1964 (White papers, Harry Ransom Center).
- ³ See Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, p. 143.
- ⁴ The *Windrose* would doubtless have owed a great deal to Douglas Newton, Tippett's erstwhile collaborator, whose poem "Rose and Compass" concludes: "The wind-rose is the only flower | Borne of the salt champagnes of sea." (Douglas Newton Archive.) A scenario titled "The Windrose" is included in Tippett's second sketchbook for *The Midsummer Marriage*, Add. MS 72055, Brit. Lib. In 1950 Tippett was asked to write a work for the BBC Midland Chorus, and told their director, John Lowe, that he had a choral work in mind, with the music in his head but no words (BBC Written Archives, M25/1034).
- ⁵ To Eric Walter White, 18 Mar. 1950 (White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 63).
- ⁶ From letters to David Ayerst (Wright collection): "I've come off Caedmon at present" (Apr. 1950). "I'm inclined to think [the Old Testament books of] Zachariah and Haggai can be well used [. . .] using three quotations for a male solo voice [. . .]. I can imagine these small solo texts preceded and divided and closed by four short choruses that are not cursory but static, maybe hortatory. Thus: weep for exile; repeat; hope and rejoice. And I can conceive them as one word like Alleluia, to end" (c.1952). Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* appears to have stood behind this work; such ideas resurface in Tippett's *The Vision of Saint Augustine* (1965).
- ⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 5 May 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ⁸ To Anna Kallin, Jan. 1954 (Wright collection).
- ⁹ *Ibid.* This may have been a return to the eight-pointed *Windrose*, or to the planned piece *Octett* that had stood behind *The Midsummer Marriage*. In Feb. 1954 Tippett told Anna Kallin that the I-Ching-inspired piece had "gone into cold storage I'm glad to say" (Wright collection), but over the following years he evidently worked on it a good deal.
- ¹⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, 3 Jan. 1956 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). On 21 July 1954 Tippett wrote to Christopher Fry for help on a piece "so far in the future it has no shape and one may never see its tail" (V&A Museum).
- ¹¹ To Anna Kallin, 10 and 25 Mar. 1957 (Wright collection).
- ¹² "Festival in the Humane City: City of Festival as Mirror of the Humanities", Add. MS 72058, ff. 5–18, undated, Brit. Lib. "I'm potentially doing a big choral work for Edinburgh 1955", Tippett told Edward Sackville-West, describing it as "the Festival in the City, as the possible mirror of the humane virtues, so singularly latterly neglected" (c. Sept.–Oct. 1953, *Sel. Lett.*, p. 277). See also Kemp, p. 494²⁸. Around

the same time Tippett told Michael Tillett: “there’s an extraordinary and largescale choral work now boiling within” (Brit. Lib.).

- ¹³ To William Glock, June 1955 (Sel. Lett., p. 262).
- ¹⁴ See “Christophe Colomb”, *The Times*, 20 Nov. 1956, p. 5. The play was based on Claudel’s libretto to an opera by Darius Milhaud, who wrote new incidental music for the production.
- ¹⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 30 Sept. 1957 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See also Sel. Lett., p. 370. To my request for an interview Peter Brook kindly replied that “Tippett was a composer of real quality and very fine. However, all detailed memory, either of him or what he did, is so vague that it would not be of any value.” Personal communication, 11 Oct. 2016.
- ¹⁶ “I like the idea of the Giraudoux very much. And so much that can you at all get someone to let me see a copy of the play [. . .] the plan to do it would suit me fine.” Tippett to Christopher Fry, 21 July 1954 (V&A Museum). In the event the music was written by Lennox Berkeley.
- ¹⁷ To Imogen Holst, 22 Nov. 1957 (Britten-Pears Library). See also Sel. Lett., p. 49.
- ¹⁸ T.S. Eliot to Tippett, 26 Nov. 1947 (Eliot collection).
- ¹⁹ See Sel. Lett., p. 61, and Carpenter, *The Envy of the World*, pp. 174–5.
- ²⁰ T.S. Eliot to Eric Walter White, 29 Mar. 1955 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ²¹ *Blues*, p. 272; “T.S. Eliot and *A Child of Our Time*”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 110; Soden, “Tippett and Eliot”, pp. 36–7.
- ²² *Crown of the Year*, which was premiered at Badminton School on 25 July 1958, had a complex genesis. It was commissioned by Tippett’s friend Eric Walter White, whose daughter was a Badminton pupil. About five topics were mooted, and almost as many librettists, including Louis MacNeice and Eric Crozier. Tippett first turned to the abandoned choral work focusing on the poet Caedmon that he had planned with David Ayerst earlier in the decade. The manuscript for Tippett’s detailed sketch of a nine-movement chorale on the life of Caedmon is in the Brit. Lib. (Add. MS 72026, f. 38 et seq.). Soon, however, Christopher Fry had agreed to contribute words for the cantata, unearthing a two-verse poem, on the Queens Elizabeth I and Anne, that he had written in 1953 for the coronation cantata suggested to the BBC. To this Fry then added new verses, on Victoria and on Elizabeth II, to make a text long enough for *Crown of the Year*. Tippett’s incomplete orchestral work, *Masque of the Queens* (Add. MS 72027, Brit. Lib.), was likely an early incarnation. See also correspondence in the Harry Ransom Center, BBC Written Archives, and Wright collection; Eric Walter White, “*Crown of the Year*”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*;

and Soden, “The Clarion Airs”, pp. 637–43.

²³ Add. MS 72039, Brit. Lib.: *Troy Falling – House of Troy – The Father-King – Choice of Death – Death for Death – Father and Sons – Priam Agonistes*. While most of these titles were no more than ideas, an early printed libretto was given the title *Troy Falling* (MS Mus. 1765/2/3, Brit. Lib.).

²⁴ “Brook discards the intellectualised apparatus of any Producer-Poet-Composer group commenting. I think rightly.” To Priaulx Rainier, 4 Oct. 1957 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

²⁵ To John Layard, 2 Sept. 1942; 20 Feb. 1952; 28 Nov. 1941 (Univ. Cal. SD); to Alan Bush, 3 Mar. 1945 (Brit. Lib.).

²⁶ To Eric Walter White, 22 Dec. 1958 (Harry Ransom Center).

²⁷ Eric Walter White to Tippett, 14 Dec. 1948: “I would like you now to consider the possibility of a revised layout in three acts”; 1 Mar. 1959: “thrilled that you’ve agreed to restore the scene in Achilles’s tent”. A number of suggested lines that made the final libretto are in a letter from White to Tippett, 17 Dec. 1958 (Harry Ransom Center). Tippett to Colin Franklin, c.1958: “Fry is not for the death and corpse of Patroclus on the stage.” (Tippett collection, 64922 B, Vol. 1B, Brit. Lib.)

²⁸ To Eric Walter White, Aug. 1957 (Harry Ransom Center).

²⁹ Add. MS. 72036, Brit. Lib.

³⁰ *Blues*, p. 22 (although it was Karl Hawker, rather than, as stated,

Tippett, who had “just finished some teaching in the Mary Ward Settlement in Holborn”; Karl cannot have visited “Oxted” but Tidebrook). See also *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 208–9, 372; the details are clarified by the author’s interviews with Susan Barlow and Sarah Phillips.

³¹ The *Four Songs*, commissioned by a German radio station in Bremen, were beset by difficulties: not only were they deemed too hard for the amateur choir intended, but one arrangement (of “The Skye Boat Song”) was found to be held in strict copyright, and had to be replaced. The discarded song was rediscovered in 2002 and premiered in Dublin the following year.

³² The marriage was announced in *The Times*, 21 Dec. 1974, p. 20. Jessica Jenkins, who declined to be interviewed for this book, wrote to Tippett to inform him of John’s death (Bowen collection).

³³ To Benjamin Britten, c. Sept. 1958 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 208*).

³⁴ Author’s interviews with Caroline Ayerst and with Alexander Goehr; Ayerst (John), *Let Me Speak*, p. 12.

³⁵ To Benjamin Britten, c. Sept. 1958 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 208*, with “I’d quite decided was due to me”).

³⁶ To Anna Kallin, 16 Sept. 1958 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 372).

³⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, summer 1954 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

³⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, summer 1954, 8 May 1952, 8 July 1966 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

- ³⁹ Omnibus: Ralph Vaughan Williams, BBC1, 1970.
- ⁴⁰ See Ponsonby, *Musical Heroes*, p. 56.
- ⁴¹ See “Arnold Schoenberg, 1894–1951”, *Music and Letters*, 32 (Oct. 1951), pp. 305–23.
- ⁴² “Profile: Michael Tippett”, *Observer*, 23 Jan. 1955, p. 4. The critic was Eric Blom.
- ⁴³ To Benjamin Britten, 1955 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 204*).
- ⁴⁴ To Francesca Allinson, Jan.–Feb. 1942 (Wright collection). See also Banfield, *Finzi*, pp. 101–2.
- ⁴⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, early Sept. 1953; 24 Dec. 1953; 17 Apr. 1950 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁴⁶ To Imogen Holst, Feb. 1951 (Grogan, *Imogen Holst*, pp. 163–4).
- ⁴⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 18 Dec. 1956 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*). See Opie, *Priaulx Rainier*, p. 39; Glock, *Notes in Advance*, p. 73; and Craft, *Chronicle of a Friendship*, p. 161. I am grateful to Stephen Walsh for clarifying details about the meeting.
- ⁴⁸ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ⁴⁹ “The music (of the opera) has already begun!” Tippett to Michael Tillett, 9 Oct. 1958 (*Brit. Lib.*).
- ⁵⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, 17 May 1959 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁵¹ *Alan Bush: A Life*, Channel 4, 1986.
- ⁵² Kemp file ff. 6–7 (document dated 19 June 1952, information extracted on 2 Dec. 1955), National Archives.
- ⁵³ Letters to Priaulx Rainier, 1959 and 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁵⁴ Chronology is from a letter to Anna Kallin, 3 Mar. 1960 (Wright collection).
- ⁵⁵ To Eric Walter White, 28 Dec. 1962 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ⁵⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, 13 Jan. 1960, and undated (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁵⁷ To David Ayerst, c. May 1960 (Wright collection).
- ⁵⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, 19 May 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁵⁹ To David Ayerst, c. May 1960 (*Sel. Lett.*, pp. 245–6*).
- ⁶⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, 19 May, 27 June 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶¹ To Priaulx Rainier, 27 Sept., 22 Oct. 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶² To Priaulx Rainier, 4 Sept. 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶³ To Benjamin Britten, c. Nov. 1960 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 212). See also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 374.
- ⁶⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, late 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶⁵ Karl Hawker to Tippett, quoted in Tippett’s letter to Priaulx Rainier, 22 Oct. 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶⁶ *Daily Mirror*, 10 May 1961, p. 9.
- ⁶⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, June 1961 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ⁶⁸ Details of the move are from Tippett’s correspondence with Priaulx Rainier (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*); details of Parkside’s history are from Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*. I am grateful for the kind hospitality of the house’s current owners.
- ⁶⁹ To Benjamin Britten, Feb. 1960 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁷⁰ “A classical composition”, *Guardian*, 1 Mar. 1985, p. 18.

**PART SIX: The Curtain Rises,
1962–1977**

**25. A Timeless Music Played in
Time**

- ¹ “Tippett Oratorio Given in Israel”, *The Times*, 4 May 1962, p. 20. See also *Blues*, p. 261.
- ² From a letter to David Ayerst, c.1958 (Wright collection). Ayerst, when teaching at Blundell’s School, had introduced Tippett to a housemaster called Neville Gorton, eventually Bishop of Coventry, who saw the cathedral through its reconstruction. “I knew Bishop Gorton and all his first plans and hopes.” Tippett to Eric Walter White, 20 Aug. 1959 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ³ See David Cairns, “Shape of Things to Come”, *Spectator*, 15 June 1962, p. 18.
- ⁴ Author’s interview with John Constable.
- ⁵ List of amendments to *King Priam*, first performance (White papers, Harry Ransom Center). Andromache’s sombre viola motif was heavily edited and reduced to a solo instrument; the timpani player insisted his part was “impossible to execute as written” and changed it; a wood block was replaced by side drum, a piccolo removed from the orchestra, and ten minutes of music cut from the third act. Revivals slowly reinstated the original score, although, when a studio recording was made of *King Priam*, the London Sinfonietta reduced many of the full-string passages to solo players.
- Performances by Kent Opera and by the Britten Sinfonia, using the string sections entire, have since demonstrated not only that the original score, while fiendish, is playable, but that the sheer effort required for its execution is part of the dramatic, as well as the musical, effect. See also Tippett’s correspondence with Peter Pears (1961, Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁶ 29 May 1962, Third Programme (Brit. Lib. Sound Archive, C1398/0126). The Lord Chamberlain’s Office passed the opera without a hitch, although the libretto was submitted late (on purpose?) and the licence granted in a rush on the day of the first performance (LCP CORR 1962/2671, Brit. Lib.).
- ⁷ Author’s interview with John Constable.
- ⁸ *Desert Island Discs*, BBC Radio 4, 1985.
- ⁹ Priaulx Rainier to Eric Walter White, c. May 1962 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ¹⁰ David Cairns, “The New Tippett”, *Spectator*, 1 June 1962, p. 16.
- ¹¹ David Cairns, “Shape of Things to Come”, *Spectator*, 15 June 1962, p. 16; David Drew, “Mysterious Natures”, *New Statesman*, 15 June 1962, p. 874. *The Times* thought it Covent Garden’s best new production in years.
- ¹² Reviews are collated in Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, pp. 82–8; see also Cairns, “The New Tippett”, p. 16. *The Times* eventually ran a piece describing “the apparent clumsiness and banality of some of the music”,

- under the headline “Tippett Opera Splits Opinion”, 6 June 1962, p. 5. Peter Heyworth, initially praiseful, voiced increasing doubt in “Second thoughts on King Priam”, *Observer*, 10 June 1962, p. 22.
- ¹³ Cairns, “The New Tippett”, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ “Operatic second thoughts”, *The Times*, 14 Jan. 1963, p. 12.
- ¹⁵ To Ken Bartlett, 5 Feb. 1962 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 64); to Alan Bush, 9 Sept. 1962 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 138).
- ¹⁶ *Pacifist*, May 1963.
- ¹⁷ “Tippett’s King Priam on a German stage”, *The Times*, 30 Jan. 1963, p. 13.
- ¹⁸ Davis, *A Man of Our Time*, p. 86.
- ¹⁹ Richard Boston, “A Conversation with Michael Tippett”, *Peace News*, 12 Apr. 1963.
- ²⁰ To Alan Bush, c.1963? (*Brit. Lib.*); see also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 137.
- ²¹ “Some aspects of pacifism”, *Peace News*, 8 May 1963.
- ²² “It was wonderful to be sitting near you this evening and altogether a wonderful evening. I shall be seeing the opera again and also reading the libretto.” E.M. Forster to Tippett, May 1962 (Bowen collection). “It is a very original and personal work. The libretto is prosey, awkward and frequently absurd.” Spender, *Journals*, p. 236.
- ²³ To Michael Tillett, June 1960 (*Brit. Lib.*). The counter-tenor Alfred Deller, singing Oberon, was dismissed from the production before it moved to London, and rang Tippett in despair, feeling sure (wrongly) that Britten had done little to stand up for him. “I told him that I didn’t think this was so.” Hardwick, *Alfred Deller*, pp. 143–4.
- ²⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, 27 June 1960 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ²⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, Mar. 1961 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ²⁶ To Benjamin Britten, 2 Jan. 1957 (*Britten-Pears Library*).
- ²⁷ To Peter Pears, 27 Jan. 1961 (*Britten-Pears Library*).
- ²⁸ To Peter Pears, c.1961 (*Britten-Pears Library*).
- ²⁹ To Michael Tillett, c.1966 (*Brit. Lib.*).
- ³⁰ To Benjamin Britten, May–June 1962 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 213). See Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 535.
- ³¹ To Priaulx Rainier, 5 Apr. 1963 (*Roy. Acad. Mus.*).
- ³² See “Britten at Fifty”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 67–9; and “Benjamin Britten”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 30. Donald Mitchell thought “an implied and significant criticism” was intended by the postscript (Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 535), but a tacit apology may have been intended for Britten’s handing over accompanying duties to Noel Mewton-Wood when the recording was made.
- ³³ *Four Quartets* was to be performed by Alec Guinness, who was also said to be thrilled with the idea of Tippett’s composing interludes. See Hallam Tennyson to Tippett, 13 Mar. 1972 (*BBC Written Archives*). Offers included invitations to write incidental music for a number

of radio plays (including George Barker's *The Seraphina*; Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*; H.A.L. Craig's *The Peasant's Revolt*; and Eric Rhode's *The Pagoda Fugue*). Tippett had also turned down a cantata for the short-lived School Broadcasting Department of the BBC, setting Alan Crang's *The Mark of the Goat* and to include the "Negro Freedom Song" (BBC Written Archives). The commission eventually went to Harrison Birtwistle.

³⁴ As described in Conrad Wilson, "This composer's concerto should be ready for Festival", *Scotsman*, June 1963.

³⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 20 Mar. 1962 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See Add. MSS 61784-5, Brit. Lib.

³⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, 17 May 1962 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

³⁷ Eileen Atkins, personal communication, Feb. 2018.

³⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, 4 Aug. 1962 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See Kemp, p. 375.

³⁹ Tippett told Priaulx Rainier on 24 Apr. 1950: "The next purely orchestral work I do will be a Concerto for Wind and Strings which will break away from the usual orchestration too." (Roy. Acad. Mus.) Dates of composition are from the Rainier correspondence, and Sel. Lett., p. 400.

⁴⁰ Soon afterwards Britten returned the compliment, dedicating to Tippett his church parable *Curlew River*. The parable, based on a Japanese *noh* play with *Pears en travesti*

as a madwoman, marked a shift in Britten's style to a fragmented and mosaic-like quality, incorporating aleatoric elements. *Noh* plays had been one of Tippett's early enthusiasms (see correspondence with Douglas Newton about Paul Goodman's 1941 sequence of the American *noh* plays *Stop Light*, Brit. Lib.). *Curlew River* was more likely to appeal to Tippett than many of Britten's pieces, and the dedication, by accident or design, was apt.

⁴¹ Colin Davis to Tippett, 18 Feb. c.1971 (Bowen collection).

⁴² To William Glock, c.1968 (Brit. Lib.). The emphasis on "minute minute" is my own, for clarity. See also *Music Now*, BBC2, 1970.

⁴³ "Tippett's new manner", *Observer*, 8 Sept. 1963, p. 27; "Tippett's new concerto", *Sunday Times*, 1 Sept. 1963, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Nissen, *Gran*; author's interview with Stella Maude; Alice Nissen, personal communication, Oct. 2016. On 31 Jan. 1967 Tippett told Priaulx Rainier: "[Evelyn] comes for three days tomorrow on an annual visitation. Getting elderly now, but very nice and good." (Roy. Acad. Mus.)

26. O My America!

¹ Fisher, *An Adventure in Living*, pp. 163, 168.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³ Oliver Neighbour, "Ralph, Adeline, and Ursula Vaughan Williams", *Music and Letters*, 89 (2008), p. 343.

- ⁴ To John Layard, c.1964 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁵ To John Layard, 31 Aug. 1964 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, Sept. 1963 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 27 Sept. 1963 (Roy. Acad. Mus.), in which letter Tippett writes: “begin music itself on Monday”. Working titles for the piece included *Fenestram* and *O Felix Alleluja: The Vision of Augustine and Monica*. (See correspondence with Michael Tillett, Brit. Lib.)
- ⁸ To Colin Davis, 27 Oct. 1982 (Sel. Lett., p. 425).
- ⁹ To Priaulx Rainier, 17 Mar. 1962; Apr. 1965 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹⁰ Whitton, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, p. 92.
- ¹¹ Eric Walter White to William Mann, 23 Jan. 1966 (Harry Ransom Center). Premiere broadcast: 19 Jan. 1966, BBC Third Programme (Brit. Lib. Sound Archive, C1398/0139 C1).
- ¹² To E.M. Forster, c. Feb. 1964 (Cambridge University).
- ¹³ The BBC broadcast a concert devoted to his music, with Janet Baker singing from *King Priam* (see *Radio Times*, 31 Dec. 1964, p. 36). Ian Kemp edited *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, the first book devoted to the appreciation and study of Tippett’s music, and containing analysis and tributes (from among others Isaiah Berlin).
- ¹⁴ “Norman Del Mar greets the composer on his sixtieth birthday”, *Radio Times*, 31 Dec. 1964, p. 36. Tippett spent the day at Morley College for a concert given by, among others, Britten, Pears, and the horn player Barry Tuckwell.
- ¹⁵ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr; *BBC Music Magazine*, Feb. 2005 (accessed online, Oct. 2018).
- ¹⁶ Tippett entered talks to conduct the premiere of Maxwell Davies’s *St Thomas Wake* (see Rainier correspondence, Roy. Acad. Mus.) and in August 1969 interviewed Maxwell Davies, Birtwistle, John Tavener, and Roger Smalley for BBC2. “It says much for the affection in which Tippett was held that they had all accepted,” remembered the producer, John Drummond. “He was quite tough on them, particularly on Maxwell Davies” (Drummond, *Tainted by Experience*, p. 175). In November 1968 Tippett told Meirion Bowen: “Heard Max’s [chamber piece] *Antechrist* last night and thought it very good. Didn’t get anything from [PMD’s clarinet piece] *Hymnos* and less from Birtwistle in the same programme” (Bowen collection). Meirion Bowen remembers (author’s interview) that decades later Tippett was so “knocked out” by Birtwistle’s 1986 opera, *The Mask of Orpheus*, that he had to stop composing for three days. For Tippett’s sharper views on his younger colleagues, see Amis, *My Music in London*, p. 163. See also Sel. Lett., p. 215.
- ¹⁷ Much privately filmed footage of Tippett’s tenure with the LSSO has been made available on YouTube (accessed June 2018).

- ¹⁸ Pollack, *Aaron Copland*, p. 75; “Aaron Copland”, in Kemp, *Michael Tippett: A Symposium*, p. 53.
- ¹⁹ To Meirion Bowen, July 1965 (Bowen collection).
- ²⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, late 1965 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See also *Blues*, pp. 250–52. Tippett listed his detailed itinerary in a letter to Michael Tillett, early summer 1965 (Brit. Lib.), and a card to Anna Kallin, 19 July 1965 (Wright collection).
- ²¹ To Alan Bush, 14 June 1980 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²² Eric Walter White, “King Priam, Some Questions and Answers” (Harry Ransom Center).
- ²³ To Priaulx Rainier, 20 June 1969 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ²⁴ To Meirion Bowen, 30 Dec. 1963 (Wright collection).
- ²⁵ To Meirion Bowen, June 1963 (Sel. Lett., p. 401).
- ²⁶ To Meirion Bowen, 11 May 1963 (Wright collection).
- ²⁷ Author’s interview with Meirion Bowen.
- ²⁸ To Meirion Bowen, Jan. 1967 (Sel. Lett., p. 405*), plus undated letters from the Wright collection. Correspondence detailing the affair, hitherto dated 1964–5 (Sel. Lett., pp. 401–4), is rightly from 1966–7.
- ²⁹ Schuttenthelm, *The Orchestral Music of Michael Tippett*, p. 217.
- ³⁰ To Meirion Bowen, c. Oct.–Nov. 1966 (Sel. Lett., p. 402*).
- ³¹ To Meirion Bowen, c.1966 (Wright collection).
- ³² Author’s interview with Meirion Bowen.

27. Seven Characters in Search of an Opera

- ¹ Mentioned in a letter to Priaulx Rainier (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ² To Priaulx Rainier, Aug.–Sept. 1962 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³ From Virginia Woolf, *Between the Acts* (1941); quoted in *A Touch of Caliban*, early draft for *The Knot Garden* (White papers, Harry Ransom Center). See also White, *Tippett and His Operas*, pp. 94–111; Kemp, pp. 402–31. Woolf’s *The Waves*, a novel Tippett had passionately explored with Francesca Allinson, may also have been an inspiration, with its seven characters “drawn into this communion by some deep, some common emotion. Shall we call it, conveniently, ‘love’?”
- ⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, 20 June 1969 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ⁵ Tippett explicitly referenced *A Sleep of Prisoners* as inspiring in his operas a “whole new movement”, admiring the play’s “complicated design where each of the four men” (soldiers imprisoned in a church during wartime) “is seen through the sleeping thoughts of the others”. Tippett, “An Englishman Looks at Opera”, p. 9; also “The Birth of an Opera”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 200–201.
- ⁶ *The Knot Garden*’s striking parallels with the American playwright’s *A Delicate Balance* seem to have been coincidence: the play was published and premiered in 1966, by which time Tippett’s libretto was complete.

- ⁷ “I agree with you about the kiss from George [eventually Mark] to Strepthon.” Tippett to Douglas Newton, 21 Mar. 1944 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁸ To Michael Tillett, 1 Oct. 1965 (Brit. Lib.).
- ⁹ See Burton, Menuhin, p. 386. The trio was initially planned in 1962; by August Tippett decided to “throw the pf trio overboard and begin the opera”. The Vision of Saint Augustine delayed his plans, and by late 1965 he was once again “about to re-wrestle with the problems of instrumental form in a Trio as a starting-off point for the new opera. Everything nicely again in turmoil.” (To Priaulx Rainier, Roy. Acad. Mus.)
- ¹⁰ To John Layard, 18 Sept. 1965 (Univ. Cal. SD).
- ¹¹ To Michael Tillett, mid-1965 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹² To Meirion Bowen, mid-1965 (Wright collection).
- ¹³ *Desert Island Discs*, BBC Radio 4, 1985; “Dreams of Power, Dreams of Love”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 223.
- ¹⁴ See Clarke, *The Music and Thought of Michael Tippett*, pp. 154–9.
- ¹⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 30 Nov. 1965 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). In interview Tippett claimed to have composed “the second, labyrinth act first”, but none of his correspondence bears this out. See William Mann, “The Knot Garden”, *The Times*, 28 Nov. 1970, p. 17.
- ¹⁶ Author’s interview with Raimund Herincx.
- ¹⁷ Speech to Annual General Meeting, 30 Apr. 1966 (Peace Pledge Union Archives).
- ¹⁸ To Meirion Bowen, 23 May 1966 (Sel. Lett., p. 408).
- ¹⁹ To Anna Kallin, 31 Dec. 1966 (Sel. Lett., p. 377).
- ²⁰ To Meirion Bowen, c. Apr. 1967 (Sel. Lett., pp. 408–9*).
- ²¹ To Meirion Bowen, c. Apr.–May 1967 (Sel. Lett., p. 410*).
- ²² *The Times*, 22 July 1967, p. 6.
- ²³ Author’s interview with Meirion Bowen.
- ²⁴ Author’s interview with Josephine Barstow; Alan Bush to Tippett, 11 May 1968 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁵ To Michael Vyner, 14 May 1968 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²⁶ *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985.
- ²⁷ See Carpenter, *Auden*, p. 428.
- ²⁸ “Shostakovich”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 82. See also “Russian music as a weapon”, *The Times*, 17 Dec. 1968, p. 4; “Soviet musicians strike right party chord”, *The Times*, 19 Dec. 1968, p. 7.
- ²⁹ To Priaulx Rainier, 19 June 1972 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁰ To Meirion Bowen, 21 Feb. 1969 (Sel. Lett., p. 422).
- ³¹ See Add. MSS 72041–2, Brit. Lib.; also White, *Tippett and His Operas*, p. 97.
- ³² Author’s interview with Charmian and Derek Whitmell. See also *National Probate Calendar 1970*, p. 306.
- ³³ To Michael Vyner, 18 June 1974 (Brit. Lib.).
- ³⁴ The chronology of Sel. Lett., p. 420, implying a later date of completion,

should be resisted (more convincing is *Sel. Lett.*, p. 392). Much of the chronology of these pages is from the Rainier correspondence (Roy. Acad. Mus.).

- ³⁵ Tippett may have been alluding to, or good-humouredly sending up, the use of crockery in works such as *Apparitions* by György Ligeti.
- ³⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, 20 June 1969 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). See also William Mann, “The Knot Garden”, *The Times*, 28 Nov. 1970, p. 17.
- ³⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 4 May 1970 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ³⁸ Colin Davis to Tippett, 14 Nov. c.1969 (Bowen collection).
- 28. Freeze and Thaw**
- ¹ Colin Davis to Tippett, 24 Feb. c.1969 (Bowen collection).
- ² Peter Hall to Tippett, 10 Jan. 1986 (Bowen collection). See also BBC *Music Magazine*, Feb. 2005 (accessed online, Oct. 2018), and Hall, *Making an Exhibition of Myself*, p. 60.
- ³ Lebrecht, *Covent Garden*, p. 289.
- ⁴ “I do hope the proposal anent *The Knot Garden* won’t be totally unrewarding to you. [. . .] incidentally, I would be undisturbed by changes of badly lying notes for the voice, i.e. would make them immediately.” To Peter Pears, c.1969 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵ To Peter Pears, c.1969–70 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁶ Author’s interview with Josephine Barstow.
- ⁷ Author’s interview with Raimund Herincx.
- ⁸ Frederick Bentham, “Super Projection in the Garden at the Garden”, *Tab*, 29 (1971), p. 18. Technical details are given in this article. I am grateful to Timothy O’Brien, who replaced the artist Ceri Richards at the last minute, for filling in a number of details (personal communication, 2017).
- ⁹ Author’s interview with Jill Gomez.
- ¹⁰ Tim Ashley, “The Knot Garden”, *Guardian*, 3 May 2005 (accessed online, Oct. 2018).
- ¹¹ Author’s interview with Josephine Barstow.
- ¹² William Mann, “Tippett’s subliminal sex drama”, *The Times*, 4 Dec. 1970, p. 10.
- ¹³ Peter Heyworth “Deep in a human labyrinth”, *Observer*, 6 Dec. 1970, p. 24.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Andrew Porter, “Songs for Dov”, *Financial Times*, 14 Oct. 1970, p. 3.
- ¹⁵ Collated in Davis, *Man of Our Time*, pp. 94–6. *The Evening Standard* thought the whole thing too obviously calculated to be modern at all costs, but found the music “always intriguing and stimulating”, with “quite superb” orchestration, and the production “the most stunning to be seen in London”.
- ¹⁶ *Sunday Times*, 13 Dec. 1970, p. 7.
- ¹⁷ Dickinson, *Lennox Berkeley*, p. 190. By contrast (p. 193), Berkeley had tentatively admired *The Vision of Saint Augustine*, finding the “texture thick and the sound confused”, but sure that Tippett “has a great power of big-scale construction which I envy,

and there are moments of real spiritual insight”.

- ¹⁸ To Priaulx Rainier, 29 Nov. 1970 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹⁹ To Eric Walter White, 23 Dec. 1970 (Harry Ransom Center).
- ²⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, 2 Oct. 1971 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ²¹ To Meirion Bowen, 11 Oct. 1971 (Sel. Lett., p. 423).
- ²² See “Dreaming on things to come”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 208. David Matthews recorded in his diary Tippett’s saying that Boulez “didn’t have the real creative drive. Now much more conductor than composer.” (21 Sept. 1974, Matthews collection.)
- ²³ Stephen Walsh, “My kind of music”, *Observer*, 7 Oct. 1973, p. 28. Of Karlheinz Stockhausen Tippett claimed he found “the sounds of his music boring” and was “unmoved by his ideas” (David Matthews, diary entry, 22 Sept. 1974, Matthews collection).
- ²⁴ To Priaulx Rainier, late summer 1965 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ²⁵ “Archetypes of Concert Music”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 95–6. Reports of the concert and piece have differed (e.g. Kemp, p. 439).
- ²⁶ “Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 151.
- ²⁷ Colin Davis to Tippett, 25 Mar. 1971 (Bowen collection). In early drafts for the symphony’s text, Tippett evidently toyed with a more overtly “bluesy” diction, as if recalling Gershwin’s *Porgy and Bess*: “As I drew nurture from my mammy’s breast”; “As I stood upright on my pappy’s knee”. He eventually settled for “mother” and “father”. Add MS 72061, Brit. Lib.
- ²⁸ “Poets in a Barren Age”, in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 155.
- ²⁹ Colin Davis to Tippett, 17 June 1972 (Bowen collection).
- ³⁰ Author’s interviews with Sally Groves and with Alexander Goehr. Tippett’s correspondence with Colin Davis (Bowen collection) makes clear that their first choice was Jessye Norman.
- ³¹ Author’s interview with Paul Crossley.
- ³² Author’s interview with John Tooley.
- ³³ *The Times*, 1 Dec. 1970, p. 10.
- ³⁴ To Ian Kemp, 9 Sept. 1972 (Sel. Lett., p. 295). See also Sel. Lett., p. 379.
- ³⁵ Karen Monson, *Chicago Daily News*, 24 Feb. 1974; *New York Times*, 17 Feb. 1974. (A Schott booklet released at the time and held at the Harry Ransom Center collates a number of unanimously praiseful reviews of the tour.)
- ³⁶ The British Army had to rescue a large convoy of British tourists from Nicosia as the Turkish tanks rolled through it, but it was a touch-and-go operation. “I don’t mind admitting”, Hawker told a journalist, “that I wept when I got on the deck of the aircraft carrier *Hermes*.” “Only the British could do it”, *Daily Mail*, 27 July 1974.
- ³⁷ Author’s interview with Susan Barlow.

- ³⁸ To Anna Kallin, Sept. 1974 (Sel. Lett., p. 380).
- ³⁹ To Meirion Bowen, c. autumn 1974 (Sel. Lett., p. 423*).
- ⁴⁰ Karl Hawker to Tippett, 7 Sept. 1974 (Hawker collection).
- ⁴¹ All quotations from Tippett's letters to Karl Hawker are taken, unless otherwise indicated, from a series of letters, all undated, sent in the late 1970s (Hawker collection).
- ⁴² Karl Hawker to Tippett, 17 July 1977 (Wright collection).
- ⁴³ To Meirion Bowen, undated (Bowen collection).
- ⁴⁴ Walton to Alan Frank, 6 Feb. 1975 (Walton, *Letters*, p. 418).
- ⁴⁵ Ayerst, "Young Michael Tippett", p. 9. Chronology of *The Ice Break*'s composition is from Eric Walter White's notes from phone calls with Tippett (White papers 25.5, Harry Ransom Center).
- ⁴⁶ To Priaulx Rainier, c. May 1975 (Roy. Acad. Mus.). To Anna Kallin Tippett wrote, on 24 May 1975: "Yes, it was tragic. Poor Barbara" (Wright collection).
- ⁴⁷ Author's interview with Josephine Barstow.
- ⁴⁸ *Blues*, p. 252.
- ⁴⁹ "Last of the great Mahlerians has died", *Slipped Disc*, 10 Oct. 2017 (accessed online, Feb. 2018). Author's interview with Sally Groves.
- ⁵⁰ Imogen Holst, diary entry, 19 Dec. 1952; 10 Oct. 1952 (Grogan, *Imogen Holst*, pp. 227, 194). Britten wrote that *The Midsummer Marriage* needed staging with "a firm hand" (Britten, *Letters*, 4, p. 56).
- ⁵¹ Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 535.
- ⁵² Author's interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ⁵³ Duncan, *How to Make Enemies*, p. 56.
- ⁵⁴ To Benjamin Britten, c. May 1973 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵⁵ To Benjamin Britten, 23 Dec. 1973, 24 Dec. 1974 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁵⁶ Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 571. The 1975 Aldeburgh Festival held a celebratory concert for Tippett's seventieth birthday.
- ⁵⁷ Benjamin Britten to Tippett, 10 Jan. 1975 (Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 571).
- ⁵⁸ Benjamin Britten to Tippett, 24 Sept. 1975 (Britten, *Letters*, 4, p. 690).
- ⁵⁹ To Peter Pears, 8 Dec. 1976 (Britten-Pears Library).
- ⁶⁰ Johnson, Britten, *Voice and Piano*, p. 38.
- ⁶¹ "Britten: Obituary" in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 71.
- ⁶² David Cairns, "A vision of youth, love, life and joy", *Sunday Times*, 26 Sept. 1976, p. 37.
- ⁶³ Papers detailing the planning and funding of the exhibition are preserved in the White Papers, 25.9 (Harry Ransom Center). When funding looked dicey, Colin Davis offered to stump up the necessary £3,000 from his own pocket.
- ⁶⁴ "I found the final scene in the new opera in the story of Michael X [. . .], about the English girl who believed Michael X was God." "Ice-breaker", *Evening Standard*, 12 May 1972. See also Kemp, p. 497⁹¹.

- ⁶⁵ Geraint Lewis, “Spring come to you . . .”, in Lewis, *Michael Tippett O.M.*, p. 199.
- ⁶⁶ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ⁶⁷ Tippett had singled out a promising black tenor, but Colin Davis had to tell him there was no such in the cast. “As the girls are all dressed as men and the men as women, has there been some confusion of the sexes?” Davis to Tippett, 30 June 1973 (Bowen collection). See also *Sel. Lett.*, p. 395.
- ⁶⁸ Author’s interview with John Tooley.
- ⁶⁹ Sam Wanamaker, “Preparing for *The Ice Break*”, *Opera*, 28 (1977), p. 632.
- ⁷⁰ Author’s interview with Josephine Barstow and with Beverly Vaughn.
- ⁷¹ Andrew Porter, “A Composer for our time”, *New Yorker*, 19 Sept. 1977, p. 124; premiere broadcast: 20 July 1977, BBC Radio 3 (Brit. Lib. Sound Archive, T1635). Rodney Milnes’s view is indicative: “time and again the rumble of trucks and the clatter of moving panels destroyed the beginnings and ends of the interior scenes and the frantic shouting of the stage management did little to enhance Tippett’s visionary action”. *Spectator*, 15 July 1977, p. 25.
- ⁷² William Mann, “*The Ice Break*”, *The Times*, 7 July 1977, p. 7; Rodney Milnes, “Tippett at the top”, *Spectator*, 15 July 1977, p. 25; Desmond Shawe-Taylor, “A composer for our time”, *Sunday Times*, 10 July 1977, p. 35; Edward Greenfield, “Tippett premiere”, *Guardian*, 8 July 1977, p. 10. See (for dissent) Bayan Northcott, “Bleak Thaw”, *Sunday Telegraph*, 10 July 1977.
- ⁷³ Fingleton, “*The Ice Break*”, *Music and Musicians*, 25 (1975), p. 29.
- ⁷⁴ Milnes, “Tippett at the top”, p. 25; “*The Stage*”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 272–3; author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ⁷⁵ Add. MSS 71061–3, Brit. Lib.
- ⁷⁶ James Bowman, singing the counter-tenor half of *Astron* with mezzo Anne Wilkens remembers: “We stood in the wings with a microphone, and as soon as I said, ‘You must be joking’ (in a Yorkshire accent), we went home! The chorus merely looked across to a bright light. There was no other indication of our presence. It was all slightly chaotic. The Yorkshire accent (I’m from Tyneside) was a last-minute idea of Sam Wanamaker. He thought it would heighten the absurdity of the moment.” Personal communication, June 2015.

PART SEVEN: New Years, Last Songs, 1977–1998

29. *Breath*

- ¹ The most likely candidate is *Development of the Rabbit Ovum* (1930), an American film produced by W.H. Lewis and now held in the Wellcome Library. See “Archetypes of Concert Music”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, pp. 100–101.
- ² Author’s interview with Sally Groves.

- ³ To Priaulx Rainier, 21 July 1977 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ⁴ See *Sel. Lett.*, pp. 268–9, 338–9, 397, and Schuttenhelm, *The Orchestral Music of Michael Tippett*, pp. 264, 267.
- ⁵ See Meirion Bowen, “Travels with my art”, *Guardian*, 2 Jan. 1985, p. 7.
- ⁶ Georg Solti, “Tribute”, in Lewis, *Michael Tippett O.M.*, p. 193.
- ⁷ *Chicago Daily News*, 7 Oct. 1977.
- ⁸ To William Glock, 1977 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 269).
- ⁹ Tippett, “The Composer’s World”, p. 347.
- ¹⁰ To Priaulx Rainier, 17 Jan. 1980 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹¹ Chronology is from correspondence in the Bowen collection.
- ¹² See correspondence in the BBC Written Archives. I’m grateful to Sally Groves for further information.
- ¹³ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1991 (often mistranscribed as “hard-headed”).
- ¹⁴ Harries, *A Pilgrim Soul*, pp. 251, 231.
- ¹⁵ To William Walton, 11 July 1977 (Walton collection).
- ¹⁶ Author’s interviews with David Matthews and with Alexander Goehr.
- ¹⁷ To Priaulx Rainier, 11 Sept. 1980 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ¹⁸ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1985.
- ¹⁹ Michael Tippett, medical notes (Bowen collection).
- ²⁰ Tillett, “Working for Tippett”, pp. 6–7.
- ²¹ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1985; *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ²² To Douglas Newton, c. Sept. 1943 (Brit. Lib.).
- ²³ Author’s interview with Susan Barlow.
- ²⁴ See Nicholas Wright, “Sir Michael Tippett OM – composer and friend of laughing frogs”, *The Westminster Abbey Chorister*, Summer 1998, p. 12.
- ²⁵ Alan Hollinghurst, personal communication, Dec. 2017.
- ²⁶ Author’s interview with David Haines.
- ²⁷ Holloway, *On Music*, p. 239.
- ²⁸ See for example Puffett, *Puffett on Music*, p. 154.
- ²⁹ Author’s interview with Jill Gomez.
- ³⁰ *Singing the uncertainties*, Channel 4, 1989. Channel 4 also broadcast a production of *The Knot Garden*, uncut, in 1985.
- ³¹ *Remaking the Dream*, Channel 4, 1988.
- ³² See Robin Walker, “An Afternoon with Michael Tippett”, *Manchester Sounds*, 9 (2009/10), pp. 157–61.
- ³³ *Tippett at Malvern*, BBC2, 1985; *Remaking the Dream*, Channel 4, 1988.
- ³⁴ Nicholas Kenyon, “Tippett’s act of creation”, *Sunday Times*, 1 Apr. 1984, p. 37.
- ³⁵ Andrew Green, “Tribute to Tippett”, *Independent*, 12 Jan. 1998 (accessed online, Oct. 2018). Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr; Martyn Hill, personal communication, Jan. 2018.
- ³⁶ Author’s interview with Sally Groves; Amis, *My Music in London*, p. 164.
- ³⁷ Author’s interview with Alexander Goehr.

- ³⁸ See Holloway, *On Music*, pp. 237–43; Puffett, *Puffett on Music*, pp. 138–58.
- ³⁹ *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985.
- ⁴⁰ Author's interview with Josey Sims and Heather Sweet.
- ⁴¹ Ayerst, "Young Michael Tippett", p. 9.
- ⁴² To Wilfred Franks, 16 May 1988 (Wright collection).
- 30. Sound**
- ¹ To Colin Davis, 28 Oct. 1982 (Sel. Lett., p. 426).
- ² Author's interview with Sally Groves.
- ³ *A Plus 4*, Channel 4, 1985.
- ⁴ "Tippett attack on support of neutron bomb", *The Times*, 9 Aug. 1977, p. 2.
- ⁵ To Colin Davis, 28 Oct. 1982 (Sel. Lett., p. 426).
- ⁶ See Bowen, "Travels with my art", *Guardian*, 2 Jan. 1985, p. 7. Also *Blues*, pp. 256–8, and "The Mask of Time", in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 251.
- ⁷ To Meirion Bowen, c. late 1979 (Bowen collection).
- ⁸ To Priaux Rainier, 17 Jan. 1980 (Roy. Acad. Mus.); to Colin Davis, 23 Mar. 1982 (Brit. Lib.); to Stephen Aechternacht, 13 Mar. 1980 (Aechternacht collection).
- ⁹ Tillett, "Working for Tippett", pp. 6–7. The first four numbers of *The Mask of Time* exist in pencil and in ink scores; from Part Five onward Tippett made pencil scores only (Add. MSS 63826-63837, Brit. Lib.).
- ¹⁰ Michael Tillett to Tippett, 8 Sept. 1985 (Wright collection).
- ¹¹ Author's interview with Meirion Bowen.
- ¹² The chronology is from correspondence with Colin Davis, especially 18 May 1982 (Brit. Lib.).
- ¹³ William Walton to Michael Tippett, 8 Nov. 1980 (Bowen collection).
- ¹⁴ Meirion Bowen, "Travels with my art", *Guardian*, 2 Jan. 1985, p. 7.
- ¹⁵ Bernard Holland, "Music: Tippett Premiere", *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1984, p. 14; "Man behind the mask", *The Times*, 7 Apr. 1984, p. 7; Peter Heyworth, "A masque for our times", *Observer*, 8 Apr. 1984, p. 19.
- ¹⁶ To Colin Davis, 7 May 1984 (Sel. Lett., p. 428).
- ¹⁷ Tom Sutcliffe, "The Mask of Time", *Guardian*, 24 July 1984, p. 9; Stephen Walsh, "Behind Tippett's Mask", *Observer*, 29 July 1984, p. 17; Nicholas Kenyon, "Historic vision", *The Times*, 24 July 1984, p. 7; David Cairns, "The music of life", *Sunday Times*, 29 July 1984, p. 39; Max Loppert, "The Mask of Time", *Financial Times*, 24 July 1984.
- ¹⁸ Author's interview with Andrew Davis.
- ¹⁹ *Newsnight*, BBC2, 25 July 1984. McCartney's letter is in the Wright collection.
- ²⁰ Paul Crossley, "The Fourth Piano Sonata", in Lewis, *Michael Tippett O.M.*, p. 232; author's interview with Paul Crossley.
- ²¹ To Anna Kallin, 4 Jan. 1955 (Wright collection).
- ²² Author's interview with Susan

- Barlow and Sarah Phillips (quoted, unless marked, until the end of the section).
- ²³ See Oliver Neighbour, “Ralph, Adeline, and Ursula Vaughan Williams”, *Music and Letters*, 89 (2008), p. 343.
- ²⁴ Max Loppert, “People: 174 Nicholas Hytner”, *Opera* (July 1991), p. 757. See also Tooley, *In House*, pp. 76–7. Hytner’s production of *The Knot Garden*, at the Royal Opera House in 1988, was a less happy experience.
- ²⁵ Author’s interview with John Tooley. See also Tooley, *In House*, pp. 75–6.
- ²⁶ Yehudi Menuhin to Michael Tippett, 21 Sept. 1986 (Bowen collection, which also documents the Previn commission).
- ²⁷ “Sketch for a draft scenario” (Bowen collection).
- ²⁸ *Songs of Experience*, BBC2, 1985.
- ²⁹ Author’s interview with Caroline Ayerst.
- ³⁰ See notes to Meirion Bowen (Wright collection).
- ³¹ “Steve Martland sent book of standard patterns of reggae”, Ian Kemp’s notes from conversations with Tippett (Ian Kemp collection).
- ³² Richard Coles, personal communication, Feb. 2018. Tippett’s praise of *Top of the Pops* is in *Sir Michael Tippett*, BBC1, 1969. The Open University combined Tippett and Sondheim in a programme for their arts foundation course (tx. BBC2, 11 Apr. 1989).
- ³³ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ³⁴ Author’s interview with Josey Sims.
- ³⁵ Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 9.
- ³⁶ Lee, *Music at the Edge*, p. 26.
- ³⁷ Author’s interview with Paul Crossley. “Short stay for Bron’s funeral” (*Blues*, p. 180) should read, “shan’t stay for Bron’s funeral” (Wright collection).
- ³⁸ Krister St Hill, personal communication, June 2018.
- ³⁹ Author’s interviews with Andrew Davis (and I’m grateful for Sally Groves’s account of the production).
- ⁴⁰ Hall, *Making an Exhibition of Myself*, p. 254; to Peter Hall, 31 Oct. 1989 (Wright collection). Details of the production are from footage cut from the documentary *Songs of Experience* (1985, BBC2), kindly provided by Mischa Scorer. See also Paul Driver, “How America is helping Tippett relive his youth”, *Sunday Times*, 22 Oct. 1989, p. 3.
- ⁴¹ Donal Henahan, “Time traveling and agoraphobia in Tippett opera”, *New York Times*, 30 Oct. 1989, p. 14; see also, for example, William Albright, “Tippett’s sci-fi fairy tale”, *Los Angeles Times*, 30 Oct. 1989.
- ⁴² Figures are from Houston Grand Opera archives.
- ⁴³ Peter Heyworth: “Terror town on the downs”, *Observer*, 9 July 1990, p. 53; Tom Sutcliffe, “Tippett’s Houston lift-off”, *Guardian*, 30 Oct. 1989, p. 35; Edward Greenfield, “Tippett’s triumph”, *Guardian*, 3 July 1990, p. 38; Richard Morrison, “A New Year out of this world”, *The Times*, 3 July 1990, p. 20; Paul

Driver, “Madcap knight unmask a midsummer mix”, *Sunday Times*, 8 July 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Bayan Northcott, “Ring in the old”, *Independent*, 3 July 1990.

⁴⁵ To Christopher Fry, 25 July 1981 (Wright collection).

31. The Lake

¹ “I saw a ballet on television which used – I found out later – a beautiful piece from Purcell’s *Fairy Queen*, ‘When night the sacred veil’. And it was strange because although I’d never heard it, I was strangely familiar with it; it was used as an example in [Cecil] Forsyth’s *Orchestration* [1922], which was a Bible of sorts to me. And then there was this lovely song by Charles Ives, a setting of Robert Underwood Johnson’s poem ‘[To] The Housatonic at Stockbridge’. Out of this came a feeling that I could set those words, spin them out to suit my own purposes. So a sort of triptych began to appear.” Tippett appears to have confused Purcell’s secular cantata “When night her purple veil” with the aria from the *Fairy Queen* mentioned by Forsyth: “See, even night herself is here.” See Stephen Pettitt, “Great but not grand old man”, *The Times*, 6 Sept. 1991, p. 15.

² John Rockwell “Tippett’s Byzantium”, *New York Times*, 17 Apr. 1991, p. 11; Puffett, *Puffett on Music*, p. 153.

³ To Nicholas Wright, 28 Jan. 1990 (Wright collection). The

letter mentions that there would be “no composition” proper until Tippett’s return to the UK (in April). The chronology of Byzantium’s completion and the quartet’s commencement as charted in Schuttenhelm, *Michael Tippett’s Fifth String Quartet*, pp. 31–4, should be resisted.

⁴ “A Composer’s Point of View”, in Tippett, *Tippett on Music*, p. 3.

⁵ Andrew Green, “Tribute to Tippett”, *Independent*, 12 Jan. 1998. For revised ending, see Schuttenhelm, *Tippett’s Fifth String Quartet*, p. 65.

⁶ To Colin Davis, 1 Nov. 1987 (Brit. Lib.).

⁷ Douglas Newton to John Amis, 30 Nov. 1991, 11 Apr. 1992 (Amis collection). I am indebted to Virginia-Lee Webb for information about Newton’s later life. For the publishing history of *Blues* see Patrick O’Connor, “Twentieth-century boy”, *Independent on Sunday*, 15 Sept. 1991, p. 18.

⁸ Figures are from statements and accounts in the Bowen collection. Commission fees are from the Schott Music archives, and from the Wright collection.

⁹ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.

¹⁰ Author’s interview with Meirion Bowen.

¹¹ Author’s interview with Graham Modlen.

¹² See Add. MS 72033, Brit. Lib.; Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, pp. 54–5; *Sel. Lett.*, p. 432; Schuttenhelm, *The Orchestral Music of Michael Tippett*, pp. 310–11, and 309¹⁹.

- ¹³ Tippett, “An Anchor of Gold”.
- ¹⁴ Author’s interview with Paul Crossley.
- ¹⁵ Author’s interview with Nick Whyatt; Michael Tippett, medical notes (Bowen collection).
- ¹⁶ See Andrew Porter, “Our greatest living composer?”, *Guardian*, 12 Feb. 1995, p. 9.
- ¹⁷ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ¹⁸ Indicative of the general reaction is Andrew Porter, “Magical metamorphoses”, *Guardian*, 26 Feb. 1995, p. 80.
- ¹⁹ The manuscripts of *Caliban’s Song* (held in the Tillett collection, Brit. Lib.) are entirely in Meirion Bowen’s hand. In the most recent “Chronological List of Works” the piece is erroneously stated as having been “written to replace the original ‘Caliban’s Song’ from the 1962 incidental music to *The Tempest*”. Gloag and Jones, *The Cambridge Companion to Michael Tippett*, p. 289.
- ²⁰ Author’s interview with Josey Sims. Dates and figures are in a letter from Meirion Bowen to John Amis, 2 Apr. 1996 (Amis collection), and the Land Registry.
- ²¹ Author’s interview with Caroline Ayerst.
- ²² To Wilfred and Daphne Franks, 1 Oct. 1996/7 (Franks collection).
- ²³ Author’s interview with Andrew Coster.
- ²⁴ Bowen, *Michael Tippett*, p. 57.
- ²⁵ Author’s interview with Andrew Coster.
- ²⁶ Amis, *My Music in London*, pp. 162–3.
- The chronology is from Andrew Coster’s diary for 1997.
- ²⁷ Author’s interview with Andrew Davis.
- ²⁸ Author’s interview with Sally Groves.
- ²⁹ See “Obituary survivors”, *The Times*, 3 Feb. 1998, p. 19.
- ³⁰ Author’s interview with Andrew Coster. Further details of Tippett’s death are from bulletins sent by Meirion Bowen over the composer’s final days (Ayerst collection); author’s interviews with Sian Edwards and with Charmian Whitemell; and Andrew Coster’s diary for Jan. 1998, generously shared.

Epilogue

- ¹ Amis, *My Music in London*, p. 163; Andrew Green, “Tribute to Tippett”, *Independent*, 12 Jan. 1998.
- ² Author’s interview with Meirion Bowen.
- ³ Author’s interviews with Josey Sims and with Heather Sweet.
- ⁴ Cathie Brett, “How depression-hit East Cleveland . . .”, *Middlesbrough Evening Gazette*, 22 Jan. 1998, p. 16.
- ⁵ To Priaulx Rainier, 7 Nov. 1953 (Roy. Acad. Mus.).
- ⁶ BBC website, 9 Jan. 1998 (accessed June 2018); *Independent*, 10 Jan. 1998; *Telegraph*, 10 Jan. 1998; *Guardian*, 10 Jan. 1998, p. 20; 11 Jan. 1998, p. 8. The obituary in the *Guardian*, published anonymously, was written by Meirion Bowen.
- ⁷ *The Times*, 13 Jan. 1998, p. 19.
- ⁸ Lebrecht, *Covent Garden*, p. 171;

- Schafer, *British Composers in Interview*, p. 98; Kemp, p. 482.
- ⁹ Figures and details are from Schott's Tippett archive; also author's interview with Sally Groves.
- ¹⁰ Geraint Lewis, "Michael Kemp Tippett", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn 2018), Oxford University Press.
- ¹¹ Hugh Canning, "Britten by Tippett", *Guardian*, 6 Oct. 1986, p. 11.
- ¹² *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ¹³ *Telegraph*, 7 Mar. 2011.
- ¹⁴ Malcolm Hayes, "The Ice Break, review", *Tempo*, 181 (June 1992), p. 32.
- ¹⁵ Author's interview with Alexander Goehr.
- ¹⁶ Brett, *Music and Sexuality in Britten*, p. 185.
- ¹⁷ Kemp, p. 87.
- ¹⁸ "I've been roused out of my a-political slumber to write two one-line postcards of thanks: to Tony Benn for writing and the *Guardian* for printing today's article" (Tippett to David Ayerst, 24 Mar. 1981, Wright collection). The article, titled "A vision of Europe united", begins: "My theme is Europe but representing the Labour Party whose conference has voted for British withdrawal from the European Economic Community." *Guardian*, 23 Mar. 1981, p. 9.
- ¹⁹ Author's interview with Meirion Bowen.
- ²⁰ Alun Hoddinott, interviewed in "Composer in residence", *Guardian*, 2 May 1972, p. 10; Dickinson, *Lennox Berkeley*, p. 193.
- ²¹ Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten*, p. 196.
- ²² *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ²³ Author's interview with Andrew Davis.
- ²⁴ Johnson, *Britten, Voice and Piano*, p. 125. See also Whittall, *The Music of Britten and Tippett*, pp. 1–11.
- ²⁵ George Benjamin, personal communication, August 2018. Also conversations with Julian Anderson, Michael Berkeley, and David Matthews; Palmer, *Encounters with British Composers*, pp. 117, 176, 261, 288, 361.
- ²⁶ *South Bank Show*, ITV, 1979.
- ²⁷ To David Ayerst, 7 Jan. 1940 (*Sel. Lett.*, p. 235, as "the man who buffers").
- ²⁸ Eliot, *Complete Prose*, 2, pp. 108–9; 4, p. 482. The final quotation ("Whether society has . . .") is from "Poets in a Barren age", in Tippett, *Moving into Aquarius*, p. 156.