Women's Contributions to Viola Repertoire and Pedagogy in the Twentieth Century: Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde

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WOMEN’S CONTRIBUTIONS TO VIOLA REPERTOIRE AND PEDAGOGY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: REBECCA CLARKE, LILLIAN FUCHS, AND ROSEMARY GLYDE

by

EVA GERARD

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts, The City University of New York

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Eva Gerard

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Women’s Contributions to Viola Repertoire and Pedagogy in the Twentieth Century: Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde

by

Eva Gerard

Advisor: Anne Stone

This dissertation discusses the life and work of Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979), Lillian Fuchs (1901–1995), and Rosemary Glyde (1949–1994), whose concept of the viola’s sound was fundamentally different from their male counterparts Lionel Tertis (1875–1975) and William Primrose (1904–1982). These women’s work has mostly been ignored, due to their gender and use of small forms in their compositions. This dissertation will explore the journeys of these three women through a discussion of their performances, pedagogy, and compositions; simultaneously it will chart the viola’s journey from obscurity to recognition as well as its evolution from lowly harmonic filler to expressive, melodic voice.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The twentieth century was a period of powerful transformation for the viola. Emerging from its reputation as second-class citizen to the violin, the viola began to gain a following as composers embraced its dark, soulful sound. Thus, there were a far greater number of works written for the instrument in the twentieth century compared to the nineteenth. This is mostly due to violists themselves, who championed the instrument and commissioned works from every composer they could. Scholars mostly associate this effort with two violists, Lionel Tertis (1876–1975) and William Primrose (1904–1982), both British violists. These men were virtuosi in every sense of the word, and they created the idea of the viola soloist, a notion which did not even exist in the nineteenth century. Maurice Riley’s book, *The History of the Viola*, devotes an entire chapter to each of these violists, citing Primrose as “The greatest single influence that brought about the present high standard of viola performance in America,”¹ and Tertis as having “…freed the viola of its unfortunate reputation of having unequal strings, and exploited all of the tone colors of the instrument in ways that had not been previously thought possible.”²

Indeed, these men changed the way the public and musicians themselves thought about the viola. Tertis commissioned the Walton Concerto, today a staple of the viola repertoire, as well as works that feature the viola prominently by Frank Bridge, Gustav Holst, Arnold Bax, and many more. He also composed several of his own works and arranged an extensive number of pieces for the viola. Like Tertis, Primrose highlighted the viola as a solo instrument. He

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² Ibid., 252.
commissioned the Bartók Concerto and made many transcriptions of violin works for the viola. However, Primrose was not a composer himself: “I have never had an original thought in my head in the matter of musical composition, while I have flattered myself that I am a likely lad when it comes to picking other men’s brains,” he explained in an interview with his student David Dalton.³

As stated earlier, the idea of the viola as a solo instrument did not exist before the twentieth century, for a number of reasons. Firstly, prior to this there were no violists of such a caliber as Tertis and Primrose. They were distinct among violists of their time because of their technical prowess and solo careers. Additionally, the position of viola professor did not exist until the twentieth century. Schools saw no need for them, as viola was always taught as a relative of the violin, rather than its own instrument. Secondly, there was hardly any solo repertoire before Tertis and Primrose commissioned it. To this day, the main concerti violists study and perform are the Walton, Bárók, and Hindemith concerti, two of which were commissioned by Tertis and Primrose, and the third written by a twentieth-century violist himself, Paul Hindemith.

If we attribute the evolution of the viola only to Tertis and Primrose, however, we are merely telling the story of the viola as a concert soloist. However, the growth of the viola’s popularity in the twentieth century had just as much to do with smaller-scale works as it did with concerti and there were a number of violists who dedicated their lives to composing and commissioning these works. The goal of this endeavor was to highlight the viola’s expressive voice and portray it as its own instrument separate from the violin. Chief among this group of

viola pioneers were women violists and their importance has been overshadowed by Tertis and Primrose, thus ignoring their contributions to the viola’s success in the twentieth century. This dissertation seeks to correct that neglect by examining the work of three such women violists: Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979), Lillian Fuchs (1901–1995), and Rosemary Glyde (1948–1994). I have chosen these women because they sought to elevate the status of the viola in all areas of their musical lives: each of them was a composer, teacher, and performer in her own right. Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde had a different perspective on viola playing: unlike Tertis and Primrose, they sought to bring out the viola’s deeper voice, to present it as its own unique instrument and highlight its chamber music roots. Rather than playing solo violin repertoire on the viola, as Tertis did with the Chaconne and Primrose did with the Paganini Caprices, Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde avoided borrowing from the violin repertoire, wrote their own compositions, and redefined the viola’s voice as distinct from its relatives in the string family. Additionally, their stories reflect the story of the viola: a journey from obscurity to prominence. All of these women struggled to have their voices heard, to be appreciated in a music world dominated by men; and yet all reached some kind of fame and were recognized for their achievement, much the same way that the viola rose to prominence and gained acceptance among composers, performers, and audiences. Thus if we understand more about these women’s contributions to viola playing and composition, we can gain insight into how the viola found its own voice.
Part I: The History of the Viola: A Summary

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the viola’s history was deeply entwined with the violin’s. The violin, cello, and viola emerged towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. At this time, there were a variety of different bowed string instruments, including two sizes of viola: tenors (large) and altos (small). The music of this period necessitated such a difference: works were written for five parts, with the altos playing a higher part than the tenors. In seventeenth century France, a third viola size was sometimes added; an ensemble could include a quinte or quintiesme (small viola), a haute-contre (large viola), and a taille (tenor). With several players on each instrument, this meant the viola family comprised a large portion of an orchestra; indeed in les 24 Violons du Roy (the King’s ensemble), half of the instruments were violas! Thus the viola’s reputation as a poor cousin to the violin did not emerge until later in its history.

According to Maurice Riley, scholar and author of The History of the Viola, two factors contributed to this decline in status: the widespread popularity of the trio sonata, whose instrumentation did not include the viola, and the change from five-part to four-part writing, which occurred in the seventeenth century. This change had lasting consequences. Firstly, it resulted in luthiers making fewer violas. Secondly, it altered the way violas were made. Prior to this change, violas were constructed in either large patterns or small patterns, depending on the role the instrument was meant to play in the orchestra. However, once composers moved to four-part writing, players preferred the small pattern, as it was probably easier to play and alternate

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4 Riley, 78–79.

5 Ibid., 51.
between violin and viola. Unfortunately, this compromised the instrument’s sound, making it less resonant at a time when players were performing in bigger concert halls. This compromised the instrument’s sound, making it less resonant at a time when players were performing in bigger concert halls. Thus the sound of the viola often seemed small compared to the violin and composers began writing very few solo works for the instrument. However, starting in the eighteenth century, a predilection for the viola began to emerge in several German and Austrian cities, specifically Hamburg, Mannheim, and Vienna.

In Hamburg, composers highlighted the unique tone color of the viola in operatic writing. Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739) especially emphasized the instrument in his works, often writing viola solos as accompaniment to arias. He showcased the upper range of the viola and sometimes wrote small chamber works for several violas that were placed within an opera. This led other Hamburg composers to utilize the instrument, including Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), who played in the Hamburg Opera with Keiser as conductor. Händel himself wrote significant viola solos as accompaniment in three arias of his opera *Almira* (1705).

In Mannheim, the Stamitz family showcased the viola as a solo instrument equal in importance to the violin. Johann Stamitz (1717–1757) was the conductor of the Mannheim orchestra and father to Karl (1745–1801) and Anton (1750–1809?). All three played both violin and viola, but Karl gained the most fame. He traveled around Europe, performing as a soloist on the violin, viola, and viola d’amore and receiving great praise for his performances. He wrote at least three concerti for the viola, of which No. 1 in D Major remains a significant part of the

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7 Riley, 109–110.
viola repertoire. He also wrote a number of other works that highlight the viola, including duets for two violas and a sonata for viola and piano. Karl’s brother, Anton, also composed a great deal for the viola, including four viola concerti. Indeed, the Stamitz family made an enormous contribution to the history of the viola with both their compositions and performances; Karl was arguably one of the first viola soloists and certainly the most famous performing violist of the eighteenth century.8

There was also great appreciation for the viola in Vienna during this same period. Mozart chose the instrument as his preference in chamber music and wrote a number of string quintets, which included two violas. He also composed the *Sinfonia Concertante*, a double concerto for violin and viola. Additionally, he wrote a number of duos for violin and viola along with the “Kegelstatt” Trio, written for clarinet, viola, and piano. Throughout all of his chamber music, Mozart demanded a higher level of viola-playing than many of his contemporaries. As Rebecca Clarke explained in her work, “The History of the Viola in Quartet Writing,”

One can imagine Mozart, indulgently fond of his own instrument, thinking: We really must give a nice part to the poor old viola now and then, and straight-way proceeding to write in his quartets—and still more so in his string quintets—passages such as it had never before been confronted with. Whereupon the poor old viola player of the day, startled, had to emerge from his comfortable obscurity, and begin to practice, thus helping to lay the foundation on which the viola has risen to its present position.9

Despite Mozart’s predilection for the viola, there were very few Classical-era works for the instrument, thus decreasing the audience’s appreciation for the instrument even further.

8 Gee, 3.

This decline in the viola’s status is reflected in the lack of pedagogical materials specifically written for the instrument. Method books for the viola were scarce until the end of the eighteenth century. The few that did exist were quite brief and mostly commented on the viola’s similarities to the violin, or even degraded the instrument as well-suited for incompetent violinists. For instance, Johann Joachim Quantz, one of the most prolific composers of eighteenth-century flute music, wrote an entire section entitled “Of the Violist in Particular” as part of his treatise *On Playing the Flute*. Within these instructions, Quantz notes that,

> The viola is commonly regarded as of little importance in the musical establishment. The reason may well be that it is often played by persons who are either still beginners in the ensemble or have no particular gifts with which to distinguish themselves on the violin, or that the instrument yields all too few advantages to its players, so that able people are not easily persuaded to take it up.\(^\text{10}\)

It is almost baffling to think that merely a century before this, violists made up a majority of *Les 24 Violons du Roy* and luthiers were busy crafting a number of different viola models. In the span of a single century, the viola went from being a prized member of the orchestra to an instrument handed to inadequate violin players.

However, as viola historian Maurice Riley suggests, appreciation for the viola did begin to change toward the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, mostly because of violists such as Karl and Anton Stamitz, who toured as viola soloists throughout Europe.\(^\text{11}\) As the viola’s popularity increased, new method books were published with instructions for playing the instrument. While there were several works written for this purpose,

\(^{10}\) Riley, 123.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 167.
the most important ones were written by Bartolomeo Bruni (*Méthode d’Alto*) and Barolomeo Campagnoli (*41 Capricen*), both written in 1805. Bruni discusses the particular challenges of viola sound and includes 25 etudes while Campgnoli’s etudes explore different right and left-hand challenges and are technically and musically challenging enough to be used as recital works.

Despite the availability of these resources, violists mostly studied violin method books, such as those by Jacques Féréol Mazas and Rodolphe Kreutzer. As Riley explains, “Most of the viola teaching was done by violinists…. First, most violinists were unfamiliar with the collections that had been written specifically for the viola; and second, there was a widely-believed, mistaken idea which held that the viola was played exactly like the violin….”

Indeed, it seems that the success of the viola was dependent on its acceptance in conservatories as a separate instrument from the violin. It was not until the viola was accepted as its own entity that the level of viola-playing began to rise, thus leading to an increase in works for the instrument and audience appreciation.

However, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the position of “professor of viola” came into existence, even though there were several viola soloists who performed throughout the earlier part of the century. Alessandro Rolla was one such violist, who wrote at least ten viola concertos, though hardly any of them are heard today. Antonio Rostagno notes in his article on Rolla for Oxford Music Online that the viola concerti are “inexplicably neglected

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12 Ibid., 183.
13 Ibid., 201.
by 20th-century performers.” Rostagno also expounds on the great number of musicians who studied and played with Rolla, including Paganini, who played for Rolla and also collaborated with Rolla on several concerts.

Paganini himself was quite enamored of the viola. From 1832–1834 Paganini focused his energies on the viola as a solo instrument. He purchased a Stradivarius viola and asked Berlioz to compose a concerto for him, which later became Berlioz’s work *Harold in Italy*. When Paganini saw the completed work, however, he was offended by the long rests in the solo viola part and he refused to perform it, judging it an insult to his abilities. Nevertheless, when Paganini heard a performance of the work in 1838, he altered his stance, recognizing the work’s musical power, and ventured backstage to kiss Berlioz’s hand and subsequently sent him a gift of 20,000 francs. Paganini’s career as a violist was short but influential. He debuted as a violist in London on April 28th, 1834 to unfavorable reviews. Neither of his two subsequent performances on the instrument was well-received and it seems the critics preferred Paganini as a violinist. Without Paganini, however, *Harold in Italy* would never have been written, a highly influential work that is still performed today.

Without Paganini on the stage to perform *Harold in Italy*, the role of viola soloist was given to Chrétien Urhan (1790–1845), one of the only prominent violists of the nineteenth century. Urhan’s abilities were not restricted to the viola. He was a wonderful violinist, acting as concertmaster of the Paris Opera Orchestra in 1825. He also played the viola d’amore, in

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15 Ibid.
16 Riley, 192–193.
addition to playing the organ and the cembalo, as well as being a composer. Many of his contemporaries wrote sections of their operas specifically to highlight Urhan’s talents. For instance, Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots* (1836) features several solos written for Urhan to perform on the viola d’amore.\(^{17}\) Urhan was also a mentor to Franz Liszt and the two often played together, with Urhan playing the viola d’amore, his preferred instrument.\(^{18}\) Indeed, Urhan had an enormous influence on Liszt, both with his religious mysticism and his predilection for Schubert’s music, which had a profound effect on Liszt’s compositions.\(^{19}\) Urhan was one of the greatest violists of his time and in a review of his performance of *Harold in Italy*, the press referred to him as the “Paganini of the Viola.”\(^{20}\)

Despite his success on the instrument, however, Urhan did not have a great impact on nineteenth-century composers’ opinions of the viola. Indeed, composers’ ill regards for the viola are well-documented: Wagner wrote in 1869 that,

> The viola is commonly (with rare exceptions indeed) played by infirm violinists, or by decrepit players of wind instruments who happen to have been acquainted with a stringed instrument once upon a time….It was pointed out to me that in a large orchestra which contained eight violas, there was only one player who could deal with the rather difficult passages in one of my later scores!\(^ {21}\)

The violist Hermann Ritter (1849–1926) attempted to correct the inherent problems with the viola’s sound, as well as expand its repertoire. He felt that the size of the viola was too small and

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 204.


\(^{19}\) Ibid., 152.

\(^{20}\) Riley, 205.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 211.
he created an instrument he called the “Viola alta,” on which he performed for Wagner, in order to convince the composer of its virtues. Wagner was greatly impressed and hired Ritter to be principal viola in Bayreuth in 1876, playing his new instrument. Liszt was also enamored of the instrument and subsequently composed his work *Romance Oubliée* for viola and piano (1881), which he dedicated to Ritter. Shortly after this, Ritter dedicated his life to teaching, becoming a professor of viola and music history at the University of Würzburg. He was inspired to expand the viola repertoire: he wrote, edited, and arranged a large number of works for the instrument, though most remain unknown today. Throughout his life, he firmly believed in violists playing larger instruments and continued to advocate for his “viola alta.” Nevertheless, the size of these instruments was not comfortable for a number of players and thus his instrument has mostly been forgotten.

Ritter was part of a growing trend in late nineteenth-century Europe to change the sound of the viola and the level of viola-playing in general. This ultimately led to the birth of the viola virtuoso in the twentieth century. Despite the prevalence of performers like Urhan and Ritter, the violist was still perceived as unable to reach the level of virtuosity demonstrated by violinists. Part of the problem lay in the instruments themselves. Ritter was certainly correct in pointing out the deficiencies of nineteenth-century violas. Most violists were still playing on small instruments, left over from the small pattern instruments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These violas were simply not able to produce the sound necessary for a solo instrument. Indeed, Berlioz remarked that, “[N]either in size nor in tonal volume are they real

\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}}\text{Ibid.}\]
The size and sonority of the viola gradually began to change toward the end of the nineteenth century. Peter Neubert argues in his dissertation that “Only after a body of literature appeared which featured a viola timbre that Romantic composers were envisioning did makers begin to construct the larger instruments that were physically capable of realizing this new sound.” Thus it was composers, not violists, who were the driving force behind the evolution of the instrument’s sound; their conception of the viola’s sonic capabilities led to the creation of instruments that could actually produce the deep, ringing sound their works demanded.

Violists were hindered by an even more complex problem, however. No matter how many chamber music and solo pieces composers wrote for them, they lacked the educational resources and training that violinists regularly received, which would enable them to perform those pieces at a high level. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the position of viola professor came into existence, thus preventing students from placing their primary focus on the viola. Previous to this, the instrument was taught by violinists using violin pedagogy; it was viewed in relation to the violin rather than as its own unique instrument.

The first viola professorship was instituted at the Paris Conservatoire in 1894. Chamber musicians were largely responsible for this change. The genre of chamber music had increased in popularity throughout the nineteenth century and led to the founding of several chamber music

23 Peter Neubert, “The Development of Viola Instruction at the Paris Conservatoire During the Nineteenth Century and the Evolution of an Idiomatic Style of Writing for the Viola as Seen Through the Music of the Viola Concours, 1896–1918” (DMA diss., College of Fine Arts School of Music at the University of Kentucky, 2004), 12.

24 Ibid., 13.
societies, which often included recent Paris Conservatoire graduates or their professors. 25 The Conservatoire began offering chamber music classes in the late 1840s. Because of the technical demands placed upon the viola in chamber music, it became more and more important for violists to attain a certain level of mastery in order to perform these works. Indeed, Neubert argues that,

One can consider these chamber music classes to herald the first step toward a viola curriculum since the unique technical and musical demands placed on the viola that were inherent in this new compositional style were likely to be addressed in such a forum. With the appearance of several violists celebrated for their artistry as chamber musicians, these concerts also provided the first measure of a standard of viola performance that was not directly indebted to violin performance.26

While music historians tend to focus on the emergence of the viola as a solo instrument, its role in chamber music was a driving force in establishing the instrument as unique from the violin and creating a curriculum specifically for the viola.

The first person hired for the post of viola professor was Théophile Laforge (1863–1918). Though he was trained as a violinist, he performed extensively on the viola as a chamber musician and was educated in the Paris Conservatoire’s chamber music classes, mentioned above. Although the idea of establishing a viola studio was raised as early as 1870, it was not accepted by the administration until 1894 when Laforge was hired. Perhaps this was due to comments like this one from a French critic who heard of the proposed viola studio: “What would be the point of a viola class? Because, for the information of any of the members of the commission who may not be aware of the fact, it must be said that the technique of the viola is in

25 Ibid., 4.

26 Ibid., 5.
no way different from that of the violin….”  

Nevertheless, by the early 1890s attitudes had changed and the administration of the Paris Conservatoire noted that composers were now treating the viola as distinct from the violin, with its own particular timbre and technical demands.  

Laforge, who was principal violist of the Société des Concerts, was asked to fill the position and a class of viola majors was born.

The idea of hiring dedicated viola teachers eventually began to gain favor outside of Europe. The first viola studio in the United States was founded at the Eastman School of Music in 1922, with Samuel Belov as its professor. Next came the viola studio at The Curtis Institute of Music in 1925, headed by one of Laforge’s most successful students, Louis Bailly (1882–1974). Bailly graduated from the Paris Conservatoire in 1900 and played in the Paris Opéra Orchestra, the Lucien Capet Quartet, and the Geloso Quartet before moving to the United States in 1917 in order to play in the Flonzaley Quartet.

Despite these advances in viola instruction, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century solo repertoire for the instrument was still limited and viola professors scarce. All this changed with the emergence of Lionel Tertis (1876–1975). Indeed, Tertis was so influential that one could categorize the history of the viola as “before Tertis” and “after Tertis.” Originally a pianist, Tertis supported himself with his music-making since the age of 13, playing piano as a freelancer all throughout Britain. Despite his success as a pianist, Tertis was determined to learn the violin. His family lacked the means to send him to school, so he used the funds he earned as freelancer to pay for his education at Trinity College of Music. By this point he had taken some violin lessons,

27 Ibid., 63–64.
28 Ibid.
and he enrolled at Trinity with a major in piano and a minor in violin. Eventually, Tertis decided to make his primary focus the violin, leaving to study for six months in Leipzig before returning to England and enrolling at the Royal Academy of Music. While at the Royal Academy, Tertis was asked to play the viola in a string quartet. As Tertis notes in his autobiography, *My Viola and I*, there were no viola students in the entire school! After the quartet’s first concert, Tertis became a dedicated violist, yet he was frustrated with the educational opportunities presented to him. As he explains it, “I worked hard and, being dissatisfied with my teacher — who was a violinist and knew little of the idiosyncrasies of the viola, nor indeed was there any pedagogue worthy of the name to go to for guidance — I resolved to continue my study by myself.” One of Tertis’ goals was to expand the range of the viola and explore its upper register. Unfortunately even his professors looked down upon these efforts. After a performance of the Mendelssohn concerto and Wieniawski D minor concerto played a fifth down on the viola, a professor of the Royal Academy, who was a previous violist of the Joachim Quartet proclaimed to Tertis, “I suppose the next thing is, you will be playing behind the bridge! The viola is not meant to be played high up — that is the pig department!” However, the Royal Academy did notice Tertis’ talents and efforts and appointed him professor of viola in 1901.

Part of the problem Tertis encountered in bringing attention to the viola was the lack of awareness of works for solo viola that were already in existence. For instance, Mozart’s *Sinfonia Concertante* was virtually unknown and Tertis claims to have given its first London performance

30 Ibid., 16.
31 Ibid., 18.
with violinist Hans Wessely, Tertis’ teacher from 1895–1897. In referencing the performance, Tertis notes that, “Very little notice was taken of it.”

Nevertheless, he persisted in unearthing viola repertoire as well as playing violin repertoire on the viola. In 1916, he performed Bach’s *Chaconne*, probably its first performance on the viola, yet he received almost no reviews nor recognition for his achievement, besides a complementary review in a magazine called *The Outlook*. This dismissal of the viola only served to ignite Tertis’ passion for the cause. In a letter to the reviewer from *The Outlook*, Tertis asserted that, “I am seriously thinking of devoting my efforts for the propagation of the viola as a solo instrument henceforth by giving recitals on the continent and in the USA, whenever I can get the cash together.”

Tertis was devoted to the *Chaconne* and continued to perform it throughout his career. Though he often met with objections to these and other transcriptions for the viola, Tertis persisted in arranging works for his instrument, even creating a version of the Elgar Cello Concerto, with the support of the composer. In 1930, Elgar conducted a performance of the work at The Queen’s Hall in London with Tertis playing the solo part. Elgar promised Tertis a work specifically for the viola but sadly the composer passed away in 1934 before it was written.

In addition to his arrangements, Tertis commissioned an enormous number of new works for his instrument. Many of these have become staples of the viola repertoire; indeed, without Tertis, a violist’s choice of works would be far smaller. A majority of these pieces were by British composers and include pieces by Gustav Holst, Ralph Vaughn Williams, Arnold Bax, York Bowen, and William Walton. Tertis asserted that, “Once you become a viola-player one of

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32 Ibid., 19.
33 Ibid., 44.
your most important duties is to strive to enlarge the library of solo viola music, by fair means or foul.” Tertis played an active role in disseminating these works. Once he commissioned and performed them, he gave the works to his students, thus handing them down to the next generation of violists and ensuring their survival. Tertis premiered all the works he commissioned, with one interesting exception: the Walton Concerto. He later regretted this decision, explaining that,

I had not learnt to appreciate Walton’s style. The innovations in his musical language, which now seems so logical and so truly in the main-stream of music, then struck me as far-fetched. It took me some time to realize what a tower of strength in the literature of the viola is this concerto…. 

Nevertheless, Tertis did perform this work a number of times and edited the solo part and Walton appreciated and valued Tertis’ work. In fact, in a letter written to Tertis in 1932, Walton wrote, “I hope sometime (not too distant) to write another Concerto for you as a present, for I’m really grateful to you of all you have done for this one.”

Tertis was indeed a transformative figure in the history of the viola, especially for his active role in expanding viola repertoire. He had strong views on sound production and the quality of sound the viola should have. He asserted that a large part of the problem lay in the size of the instrument. Tertis felt that violas were either sized too small, limiting their ability to project, or too large, making it impossible to play difficult repertoire. This hearkens back to the

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34 Ibid., 161.
35 Ibid., 36.
The tradition of creating violas in either large or small patterns persisted into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Tertis sought to standardize viola sizes. He introduced the “Tertis Model” in 1950, describing it:

> It is 16 3/4 inches long, and this I consider to be the maximum length for playing under the chin, and, at the same time, the minimum from which to hope for a really satisfactory C string sonority….The fact that since 1938 approximately a hundred and thirty of these violas have been made [as at 1950], mostly by eminent craftsmen, here and in other countries, and that the vast majority of these instruments are in the hands of professional viola players, speaks for itself.\(^{37}\)

Although these violas were popular in the mid-twentieth century, the idea of standardizing viola sizes has not endured in the way that Tertis intended. Currently, there is less variation in viola sizes; fewer people tend to play very small or very large instruments. The majority of instruments are somewhere between 16 and 17 inches long.

In addition to performing, Tertis was also a dedicated teacher; he educated a whole generation of British violists, including Rebecca Clarke, for a short time. Previous to this, Clarke’s violin teacher at the Royal Academy of Music was Hans Wessely, who had also been Tertis’ teacher.

Tertis had strong views about tone production and musicality and wrote a treatise entitled *Beauty of Tone in String Playing*, with a forward by Fritz Kreisler. Throughout this work, Tertis describes the necessities for creating a beautiful, ringing sound. First and foremost on his list is intonation: “Perfect intonation is the rock-foundation of the string player’s equipment. Without

\(^{37}\) Tertis, 164–165.
this absolute essential of essentials no one should be allowed to perform in public.” He also makes a point of emphasizing continuous vibrato and demands the violist to “keep your fingers alive!” Yet his treatise goes beyond technical details. In fact, there is an entire section entitled “Yourself: the way to attain intensity of expression.” Tertis was passionate about expressivity in music and he felt music was not worth listening to unless it was sincere and expressive. Even beyond these basic tenets, Tertis felt that “The interpreter of music in its highest form must rise in his music-making above the levels of the everyday world, its commonness and its vanity, and hold himself apart, in an atmosphere of idealism.” In reviewing Tertis’ life, it is evident how immensely influential he was on every aspect of the viola: its construction, its repertoire, its pedagogy, and, most of all its reputation.

He had some powerful contemporaries, however, most notably Paul Hindemith (1895–1963) and William Primrose (1904–1982). While Tertis held Primrose in great esteem, he did not have the same respect for Hindemith, although Tertis actually recommended him to premiere the Walton Viola Concerto when Tertis turned down the opportunity. Nevertheless, Tertis, who attended the premiere, notes in his autobiography that he “felt great disappointment with his [Hindemith’s] playing. The notes, certainly, were all there, but the tone was cold and unpleasing and the instrument he played did not deserve to be called a viola, it was far too small.” Despite Tertis’ opinions, Hindemith was quite a successful solo violist. Like Tertis, his experience as a

38 Tertis, 146.
39 Ibid., 147.
40 Ibid., 154.
41 Ibid., 155.
42 Ibid., 36–37.
violist in a string quartet, the Amar Quartet, led him to switch from the violin to the viola. In addition to premiering the Walton Concerto, Hindemith also gave the premiere of Darius Mihaud’s Viola Concerto and was known world-wide as a viola virtuoso. Nevertheless, Hindemith’s legacy lies in his compositions rather than in his playing, although he also conducted and taught. He wrote an enormous amount of viola repertoire, including three sonatas for viola and piano as well as four sonatas for solo viola. He wrote several pieces for viola and orchestra, though the most well-known is Der Schwanendreher (“The Swan-turner”). The work is based on different medieval German folk songs and the title comes from the song used in the final movement, “Seid ihr nicht der Schwanendreher?” (“Aren’t you the swan-turner?”). The term “swan-turner” refers to a person in charge of rotating the swan while roasting it on a spit. Hindemith’s dedication to the viola is evident in the sheer number of compositions he wrote for his instrument, most of which he premiered.

However, in terms of promoting the viola and changing the public’s view of the instrument, Primrose was far more influential than Hindemith. Primrose’s father played violin in the Scottish Orchestra of Glasgow, in addition to playing viola in the Ritter Quartet. Primrose was a child prodigy violinist and gave public performances from a young age, mostly performing around Glasgow. He continued his studies at the Guildhall School of Music, but subsequently decided to seek private lessons violin virtuoso Eugène Ysaÿe (1858–1931), who encouraged him to switch to the viola after observing Primrose play the instrument at chamber music soirées. Primrose took Ysaÿe’s advice and joined the London String Quartet, performing with them from 1930–1935. Afterwards, he was chosen to play principal viola in the NBC Symphony, conducted by Arturo Toscanini, from 1938–1941. At this time, Primrose resigned from the symphony in
order to further his career as a viola soloist. A chance encounter furthered this goal. Walking
down 57th street in New York City, Primrose happened to meet tenor Richard Crooks, who
offered to include Primrose on his recitals, allowing him equal time on the concert stage. Crooks
and Primrose continued this partnership for several years and Primrose had ample opportunity to
showcase his talents. By 1945, he was a well-known viola virtuoso and performed throughout the
world as both a soloist and chamber musician, playing with such great artists as Pablo Casals,
Jascha Heifetz, and Gregor Piatigorsky.

Primrose arranged and transcribed a number of works for his instrument as well as
commissioning works, the most famous being the Concerto for Viola by Béla Bartók. Bartók was
hesitant to accept the project, so Primrose suggested Bartók listen to his performance of Walton’s
viola concerto. Bartók was greatly impressed with the work and quality of the performance and
he began work on his concerto. Unfortunately, he died before it was finished and it was left to
Tibor Serly (1901–1978), for whom Bartók was a kind of mentor, to finish. Thus, the piece was
shrouded in controversy from its very beginning. Because Primrose had worked closely with
Bartók, however, he was the foremost expert on interpreting the work and his association with it
and reordering of the work helped promote its immediate popularity among violists.

Primrose was especially well-known for his performances of virtuosic repertoire, much of
which he transcribed from violin works. He performed the 24 Caprices of Niccolò Paganini with
so much technical ease that violinists were shocked. Indeed Primrose recalled how Mischa
Elman exclaimed, upon hearing Primrose’s Caprice No. 5, “It must be much easier on the
viola!”

Nevertheless, Primrose felt that critics misunderstood his reasons for performing

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virtuoso violin transcriptions. In actuality, his reasons were quite simple: “If you have the technique to play them, go to it. They are loads of fun, and make you feel superior!” Thus Primrose chose these pieces because of his passion for them and his ability to play them, rather than out of a need for more repertoire, as many critics asserted.

In 1963, Primrose suffered a heart attack and began to devote more of his time to teaching rather than performing. He taught at Indiana University from 1965–1972 then at the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music in 1972. He also was a professor at Brigham Young University from 1979 until he died in 1982. He had strong opinions about viola technique and its differences from the violin; he felt the main differences lay in the use of fingering and bowing. He was particularly irked by violinists performing on the viola, and marveled at the number of violinists today who appear to believe that all they have to do is to possess themselves of a viola, and play away on it to their heart’s content,… not realizing for a moment that all that is happening is that they are performing on what I am prompted to call the “big-fiddle,” denying it (the viola, that is) its uniqueness, its quiddity….To finger the viola as if it were the analogue of the violin is to do the very thing that brought the former into such ill repute. Its tonal recalcitrance is abetted, and its peculiar sonority is muted. Thus, no doubt, did it come to be regarded as the dull dog of the string family.

Thus Primrose had very particular ideas about viola technique and its pedagogy. Like Tertis, his influence is boundless and affected the way the viola was taught, played, and appreciated. He also changed the way violists thought about themselves; in proving that violists could play pieces as virtuosic as Paganini Caprices, he raised the standard of viola technique and changed the

46 Ibid., 174–175.
attitude that violists were “poor violinists.” Nevertheless, he never failed to acknowledge what Tertis had done for the evolution of the instrument, noting that Tertis “was the first, to my knowledge, who insisted on the uniqueness of the viola…. Tertis defined the distinct personality of the instrument, and to suggest that performance on it was no more than playing the violin a fifth down in pitch was to commit the sin of sins…. “47

This recounting of the viola’s history is limited. There were a number of people who brought about the viola’s change in status, especially in the twentieth century. Tertis and Primrose were so supremely influential that they helped to foster a number of other viola virtuosos, along with many new works added to the repertoire. Although today violin soloists far outnumber viola soloists, it is not uncommon to see violists stand in front of an orchestra, nor to hear that a composer has written a new concerto for the instrument. Maurice Riley, viola historian, wrote in his 1980 book, *The History of the Viola*: “The future of the viola depends upon the violists themselves!”48 Thirty eight years later, this is still certainly the case. The upward mobility of the viola has (and perhaps always will be) dependent on its performers to commission and write music for the instrument; to convince others of the instrument’s virtue; and to ensure that its pedagogy remains separate from the violin.

Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979), Lillian Fuchs (1901–1995), and Rosemary Glyde (1948–1994) were a vital part of this evolution and yet their contributions have consistently been undervalued. In charting the lives of these women, we can see how the role of women in the music business changed in the twentieth century. For instance, Glyde, 62 years younger than

47 Ibid., 174.

48 Riley, 311.
Clarke, experienced little of the controversy that Clarke did in choosing to become a musician. By the time Glyde made her New York Debut in the early 1970s, a woman soloist was not an unusual sight. Similarly, the notion of writing works specifically for the viola rather than the violin, a rather unpopular idea in Clarke’s time, was more and more common by the end of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the fact that these women are still left out of the instrument’s history, especially Lillian Fuchs, who so often appeared as soloist with preeminent orchestras such as The New York Philharmonic, illustrates the need to change the way in which we discuss the history of the viola in the twentieth century.

**Part 2: State of Research**

Whereas there has been a sizable amount of research done on the history of the viola in the twentieth century, only a small portion of this focuses on women violists. Among the three violists I have chosen to study, Rebecca Clarke has received the most attention. Scholars have mostly focused on Clarke’s compositional career, especially her larger works like the Viola Sonata and Piano Trio. After Clarke stopped composing in the 1940s, her works were largely forgotten until an interview with Robert Sherman from radio station WQXR in 1976. This interview was supposed to be about Myra Hess, the famous British pianist with whom Clarke was friends as a young girl. Clarke happened to mention a 1918 concert featuring her own works and Sherman was intrigued. She showed him the program, as well as several others featuring her music, and he was shocked he had not heard her music performed. He decided to organize a
celebration and revival of Clarke’s music. This story is fascinating to read; without this interview, Rebecca Clarke’s music might have been completely lost. Liane Curtis, the eminent Clarke scholar, provides a transcript of this interview in her work *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*. The book is an invaluable resource, divided into three sections: the first includes essays about Clarke, the second features articles by Clarke, and the third includes interviews of Clarke. This book is the definitive resource on Clarke but it brings up further questions that have yet to be explored: how did Clarke’s experiences as a violist influence her compositions? How did the rediscovery of her works affect the public’s perception of women composers, especially women violists?49

There have been several scholarly works that discuss how Clarke’s identity as a woman is reflected in her compositions, including one article by Curtis entitled “Rebecca Clarke and Sonata Form: Questions of Gender and Genre,” which examines how gender roles have influenced sonata form analysis and how this applies to the analysis of Clarke’s viola sonata.50 Although many nineteenth-century scholars defined the first theme of sonata form as energetic and “masculine,” and the second theme as lyrical and “feminine,” Curtis argues that this theory can be so dominating that it prevents us from seeing the composer’s true vision of the work. In addition, she explains that there is no evidence that Clarke’s teachers, especially her composition teacher Charles Villiers Stanford, saw sonata form as a way of illustrating conflict or struggle between two gendered ideas; rather, he felt that the second theme should contain elements of the first, thus creating a unified work. This article is important because Curtis uses all this information to draw conclusions on the culture and treatment of women in Victorian society. It


gives us a greater understanding of the world Clarke lived in and how this influenced her work. But, like much of the research on Clarke, it focuses on an individual piece and does not comment on Clarke’s overall influence on the history of the viola.

Another excellent example of writing that analyzes Clarke’s works from a feminist perspective is Marianne Kielian-Gilbert’s article entitled “On Rebecca Clarke’s Sonata for Viola and Piano: Feminine Spaces and Metaphors of Reading.” Kielian-Gilbert argues that Clarke’s sonata is really about freedom from constraints, particularly in relation to gender. She takes a metaphorical approach to analysis, claiming that the piece represents “a ‘conversation’ of voices,” a negotiation of female identity that Clarke is exploring throughout the sonata. Kielian-Gilbert’s goal is to shed light on the female experience and to give a more personal view of Clarke, by interspersing the article with quotes from Clarke and her contemporaries. She makes some excellent points about the challenges that women faced in the early twentieth century and still encounter today and her analysis, though unconventional, enriches our understanding of the work. However, once again, this article does not examine how Clarke’s experience as a violist influenced her composing or how her works contributed to the evolution of the viola. The same could be said about Carlynn Heather Savot’s DMA dissertation, “Rebecca Clarke’s Sonata for Viola and Piano: Analytical Perspectives from Feminist Theory.” This work explores some of the challenges Clarke faced as a woman musician and her perspective on being a woman musician in early twentieth century society (“I don't think I thought about it very much,


52 Ibid., 71–114.
one way or another. I just wanted to do it,” Clarke recounted in 1976). As its title implies, the dissertation includes an in-depth analysis of Clarke’s viola sonata. Most scholarly research on Clarke focuses on either this sonata or her piano trio and, unfortunately, her shorter works have largely been ignored. In addition, as stated earlier, Clarke’s legacy as a violist has been superseded by her role as a composer. There has not yet been a study that examines her overall impact on the world of viola-playing in terms of repertoire and performance.

There is much less research on Lillian Fuchs than one might expect, given her importance in the world of viola performance and pedagogy. She has mostly been ignored by scholars, except for a couple of dissertations discussing her viola études. The most informative source on her life as a whole is a book written by Amédée Daryl Williams, one of Ms. Fuchs’ former students, entitled *Lillian Fuchs: First Lady of the Viola*. In ten chapters, Williams explores the different periods of Fuchs’ life, inserting a variety of quotations and reviews from her long life of performing. He gathered this information from interviews with Fuchs, her family, her students, and her colleagues. The book is important because it includes so many valuable quotations from Fuchs and other famous musicians, and it is a testament to Fuchs’ enormous success. However, the book mainly consists of lists of Fuchs’ many performances and quotes of her rave reviews, largely failing to delve into deeper issues, such as her legacy and struggles as a woman violist. This is a great resource that gives a broad overview of Fuchs’ life; however it is really only a starting point. More scholarly research needs to be done to demonstrate how Fuchs really influenced the history of the viola.

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Both of the dissertations on Lillian Fuchs focus on analyses of her études. Michael Arnold Palumbo’s thesis, “The Viola: its Foundation, Role, and Literature, Including an Analysis of the Twelve Caprices of Lillian Fuchs,” gives a detailed analysis of each of Fuchs’ Twelve Caprices and discusses the technical difficulty each étude addresses.\textsuperscript{55} Teodora Peeva’s dissertation, “Lillian Fuchs: Violist, Teacher, and Composer; Musical and Pedagogical Aspects of the 16 Fantasy Études for Viola,” takes a similar approach: indeed, Peeva states early on in her work that she will use Palumbo’s thesis as her model.\textsuperscript{56} Interestingly, there are no scholarly analyses of any of Fuchs’ compositions, and these dissertations only give a small glimpse into her compositional style, as they only explore her études. My dissertation will examine Fuchs’ life in detail, including analyses of her \textit{Sonata Pastorale}, and her influence on the history of the viola.

There is almost no scholarly research on Rosemary Glyde. Though she is briefly mentioned in Maurice Riley’s \textit{A History of the Viola}, and though there are several short biographical paragraphs about her on the internet, scholars have not done much research into her life and legacy as a violist and composer. Composer Judith Shatin, a long-time friend of Glyde’s, wrote an article shortly after Glyde’s death that memorializes Glyde’s life and gives us a brief glimpse into her musical views and ambitions. This article, entitled “Rosemary Glyde (1948–1994): A Remembrance,” gives some background about Glyde’s early life and reveals Glyde’s attitudes toward music. According to Shatin, Glyde was determined to bring more appreciation to


the viola, and thus she transcribed a number of works for the instrument, in addition to her own compositions for the viola. This article gives us wonderful insight into Glyde’s musical beliefs and importance to the history of the viola, but it is only a brief article, and it reveals how much more research there is to be done on Rosemary Glyde.

This dissertation fills the gaps that this research has revealed. The chapters that follow examine the legacy of these women as violists, composers, and pedagogues as I analyze their work and uncover details in their lives as performers and teachers. Understanding these women’s approaches to playing the viola and composing works for the instrument will reveal an alternate history of the viola in the twentieth century, one that highlights its role in chamber music and reflects the struggles of women musicians. These women were different from their male counterparts in their efforts to present the viola as its own entity, separate from the violin; that is, rather than borrowing violin music or trying to transform the viola into a different kind of violin, they sought to highlight the viola’s unique voice through chamber music and individual compositions.

In the first chapter, I will examine the life and work of Rebecca Clarke. I will discuss several archival documents, including Clarke’s memoir about her childhood and young adult life as well as letters between Clarke and patron Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, who remained friends until Coolidge’s death in 1953. The chapter will also feature an analysis of Clarke’s early work for viola and piano, Morpheus. In Chapter Two, I will explore Lillian Fuchs’ life and analyze her work for solo viola, Sonata Pastorale. I will also provide new details on her approach to teaching and playing through and interview I conducted with Junah Chung, Fuchs’ former student. The

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final chapter will feature Rosemary Glyde, the least known of these three violists. I will analyze her work *Whydah* and will also discuss her devotion to education and composition, as evidenced by my interview with Glyde’s daughter.
Chapter 2: Rebecca Clarke (1886–1979)

Introduction

It is evident how deeply Rebecca Clarke loved the sound of the viola and how committed she was to showing its potential. Many of her works feature the instrument and explore the different timbres the instrument can create. Clarke had some early successes as a composer and violist and yet her life illustrates how difficult it was for women to thrive as professional musicians in the early twentieth century. This chapter will explore how Clarke changed the viola’s role as a solo instrument, in her performing, writing, and especially her composition. I will be quoting some archival documents that have hitherto not received much attention. They shed light on Clarke’s relationship with patron of the arts, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (1864–1953), as well as Clarke’s turbulent relationship with her father. I will conclude the chapter with an analysis of Clarke’s work, Morpheus, a character piece that displays her use of viola timbre to display the instrument’s expressive potential.

Biography

Clarke was born on August 27, 1886 to an American father and German mother in Harrow, England. Recognized at an early age for her musical ability, she entered the Royal Academy of Music in 1903 at age 16. However, her time there was cut short when, in 1905, her composition teacher, Percy Miles, proposed to her, leading her father to immediately remove her from the
Royal Academy. Soon after, she was accepted at the Royal College of Music by composition teacher Charles Villiers Stanford, who proved to be a great mentor to her and encouraged her to switch from violin to viola because, as he said, “Then you are right in the middle of the sound, and can tell how it’s all done.” Stanford did not discriminate against the viola, nor did he discriminate against Clarke because of her gender. In fact, he even encouraged her to write instrumental music, at a time when the majority of works by female composers existed in the sphere of vocal music. Clarke scholar Liane Curtis explains the role of women in song composition:

   Men were expected to have facility at what might be seen as a feminine sphere but to then go beyond it, to the “more difficult” and thus more exalted genres of “absolute music.” Surprise was expressed at a woman exceeding that sphere; the genre of “occasional amusement” was her appropriate place.

This may explain why so many of Clarke’s early works were songs and why her best-known instrumental works were written either anonymously or under a pseudonym. Nevertheless, Stanford did indeed encourage Clarke to explore larger instrumentations and she finally felt that her music was taken seriously; thus she was much happier than she had ever been at the Academy. She described these feelings: “I loved the Royal College, and made many more friends there than I had at the Royal Academy….That I was the only woman he had accepted was a

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source of great pride to me, though I knew full well that I never really deserved it.”60 This quote reveals so much about Clarke’s personality and the place of women in early twentieth-century society. It was uncommon for women to be accepted at the Royal College, especially as composition students, and yet Clarke was unable to accept that she really belonged there or perceive her obvious talent. One can sense her feeling of accomplishment at being a member of such a small group, and yet her reluctance to believe in her abilities illustrates her feelings of self-doubt, which remained throughout her life.

Despite these feelings, Clarke had several successes as a young composer, though she struggled throughout her career to receive the recognition she deserved. She eventually stopped composing completely in the late 1940s, when she was only in her fifties. In interviews conducted later in her life, Clarke seemed to think very little of her career as a composer. Indeed, in her interview with musicologist Ellen D. Lerner, Clarke suggests that her musical output consisted mainly of three pieces. “The only things of any length that I did were the Viola Sonata, the Trio, and the Suite for Clarinet and Viola.”61 However, Liane Curtis attests that “Now that we know that her repertoire approaches one hundred works, with many pieces of some length...her statement can only be understood as an acceptance of her erasure from music history.”62

Clarke continually devalued herself as a composer, but she did seem to embrace her talent as a chamber musician, a fact left out of many articles written about her. She played with such


celebrated musicians as Pablo Casals, Arthur Rubinstein, and Jacques Thibaud in addition to organizing, managing and performing with the English Ensemble, a quartet made up of four women. She also wrote several articles and gave lectures about various chamber music works, including an article about the Beethoven string quartets and a piece for *Music and Letters* entitled “The History of the Viola in Quartet Writing,” which examines how the viola is treated in chamber music by Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, Debussy and others. This gives us particular insight into how Clarke saw the role of her instrument: “Although it has always appeared in democratic numbers in the orchestra, its chief scope of utterance as a personal entity has been, and still is, in chamber music, and the quartet in particular.” Clarke saw the viola as its own unique voice, that was only able to reach its full expressive capability in chamber music.

She explored this expressive potential throughout her sonata for viola and piano. This is the work that has posthumously gained her the most fame and, at the time of composition, caused quite a scandal. In 1919, Clarke submitted the sonata to the Berkshire Chamber Music Festival Competition, which was sponsored by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. All submissions were entered anonymously and the competition was tied between Clarke’s sonata and Ernest Bloch’s Suite for Viola and Orchestra. Coolidge cast the deciding vote in favor of Bloch’s work and Clarke was given second place, but with a surprising twist. As Coolidge put it, “You *should* have seen their faces when they saw it was by a woman.” This caused quite a scandal in the music world and there were even rumors claiming that Clarke had not really composed the work, since

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such an achievement seemed impossible for a woman composer. One press release even claimed that there was no such person as Rebecca Clarke.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1921, she once again won second prize in the Berkshire Festival competition, this time with her Piano Trio. Yet shortly after this, around 1925, her compositional output declined. In a 1976 interview with Robert Sherman, Clarke seems unable to explain why she stopped composing, except to say “I just dried up….I can’t do it unless it’s the first thing I think of every morning when I wake….And if one allows too many other things to take over, one is liable not to be able to do it.”\textsuperscript{66} She spent much of this period of her life playing chamber music, often with her all-women chamber group, The English Ensemble. Her next compositional accomplishment was not until 1942, when her \textit{Prelude, Allegro and Pastorale} for viola and clarinet was chosen to be performed at the International Society for Contemporary Music in Berkeley, California. Hers was the only work by a woman that was chosen. Ironically, this is the same year that Clarke became a governess in New Hampshire, proof that no amount of success could earn her a stable career as a woman in the music world.

Perhaps this is why she always diminished her value as a composer. Indeed, if it were not for a chance interview in 1976, Clarke’s works might not be a staple of the viola repertoire. She was asked by WQXR, New York City’s classical music station, to participate as an interviewee as part of a broadcast honoring Dame Myra Hess, pianist and lifelong friend of Clarke. The interviewer was Robert Sherman. Midway through Clarke’s meeting with Sherman, she referenced a concert in which Hess had performed, which was comprised entirely of Clarke’s

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 171.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 176–177.
music. She even showed Sherman the program for the concert; he was intrigued and realized he had discovered an unknown talent. He subsequently created a concert in her honor, enlisting several highly-regarded musicians to perform her works.

Despite this recognition, Clarke looked back on her previous accomplishments with incredulity, even doubting whether her Viola Sonata truly deserved to win the Berkshire Chamber Music Competition. In a 1977 program note she is quoted, saying,

> Nowadays there are so many fine composers who are women that it is hard to realize that in those far-off times women composers were very few. For that reason my sonata, played at the 1919 Festival by Louis Bailly and Harold Bauer, received a good deal of publicity; it was far more of an honor for me to have tied with Bloch than if I had won the prize. Indeed, my admiration for Bloch’s work was such that I would have been really upset if the prize had gone to me.\(^67\)

Although this competition placed her in the same echelon as composers such as Bloch, she still felt that her works were not of his caliber. She certainly could not imagine how her career as a violist, composer, and lecturer would help shape the history of the viola in the twentieth century.

By the time she met Sherman, she had not composed for at least 25 years. For Clarke, composing was an all-consuming affair. She had to be thinking about a piece constantly in order to complete it and after a certain age she was not interested in committing so much time to the task: “When I didn’t have my mind full any more of wanting to write music in that way, where the music was the chief thing in my life, then I wrote less and less.”\(^68\) Her motivation also seemed to decrease after she met and married her husband, James Friskin (1886–1967). Friskin

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\(^{67}\) Rebecca Clarke, “Rebecca Clarke’s 1977 Program Note on the Viola Sonata,” in *A Rebecca Clarke Reader*, 226.

\(^{68}\) Ibid., 212.
was a former classmate from the Royal College of Music who, like Clarke, was living in the United States during World War II. He was a composer and pianist and taught at the Institute of Musical Art, later known as The Juilliard School. Clarke and Friskin married in 1944 and remained in the United States. Though Friskin encouraged Clarke to continue composing, she completed only a few works after their marriage. The few people who interviewed Clarke at the end of her life questioned her decision to stop. Her answers display her ambivalence about the matter. On the one hand she says, “I’m awfully sorry now I didn’t [write anything more], because I’ve always felt that I had it in me to write something really good, perhaps, if I’d only gone on with it.” Yet earlier in that same interview Clarke tells the interviewer that, “When you marry, I think you will find—I did—I became more interested in what my husband was doing…. He was a wonderful musician—and I really didn’t do any composing at all after I got married.” She felt that marrying Friskin was the best decision she ever made and she was perfectly happy to be known as Mrs. James Friskin, doing various lectures on chamber music at the Chautauqua Festival where he taught, and supporting him in his various musical endeavors. Nevertheless, it is a sad fact that she spent so much time promoting her husband that her own musical achievements were forgotten. Even after the rediscovery of her music, it seems the music world took very little notice of her: the year after her death, in 1980, her only entry in the New Grove Dictionary of Music consisted of “Clarke, Rebecca, see James Friskin,” placing her importance solely in her relation to her husband.

69 Lerner, 212–213.
70 Ibid., 211.
71 Nancy B. Reich, “Rebecca Clarke: An Uncommon Woman,” in A Rebecca Clarke Reader, 11.
Memoir

Many of Clarke’s writings have also received little attention, especially because some of them remain unpublished. From 1969–1973, Clarke wrote a memoir entitled *I Had a Father Too (Or the Mustard Spoon)*, which mostly details her childhood and adolescence, ending in the period after she started at the Royal College of Music. The memoir is unpublished and is now in the hands of her great-nephew, Christopher Johnson. The work is comprised of 182 typewritten pages, edited by hand. Because parts of the document are handwritten and difficult to decipher, brackets and question marks are used to indicate such words. Oddly enough, every other page of the file is a copy of a letter or sheet of paper Clarke must have had in her house, for instance a letter from her building’s management company or an appeal for donations to certain charities she had supported. In addition to these papers, there are several handwritten pages at the end of the work, which are copies of certain typed sections of the final version. There is also a handwritten dedication at the beginning of the work, which begins as follows:

Dedication to my nephews, nieces, great-nephews, great-nieces, great-great-nephews, nieces, and all who come after and would care to read this: In writing these memoirs my intention was that my [rather?] remarkable, troublesome, fascinating, and unhappy father should be the central figure; but that my wholly remarkable mother, gentle, loving and courageous, would emerge — unobtrusively, as she would have wished as [the?] greatest influence. I hope I have managed to convey some part of this.

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72 *I Had a Father Too (Or the Mustard Spoon)*, 1969–1973, Clarke Estate, managed by Christopher Johnson. My sincere thanks to Mr. Johnson for his generosity in allowing me to view this document. Without him, my knowledge of Rebecca Clarke would be very limited!

73 Ibid., no page number indicated.
The work sheds light on the peculiar family she grew up in and particularly explores her fraught relationship with her father, Joseph Clarke. He was born in Boston in 1856, but moved to Germany with his mother when he was twelve years old, shortly after his father lost all his money and passed away, leaving his family with very few options. This is where Joseph Clarke met Rebecca’s mother, Agnes Helferich. However, Joseph did not remain in Germany long. He was rather restless: as young man, he bicycled throughout wide stretches of Europe, ended up returning to Boston for a time, sailed a boat across the English Channel, and joined an archeological dig at Assos, close to ancient Troy, all before marrying Clarke’s mother. Clarke’s parents settled in Harrow-on-the-Hill, a small town about ten miles northwest of London. Her father made money as what she refers to as a “patent expert,” traveling around to view the latest inventions in professional photography. As Clarke notes from the beginning, her parents were quite different: her father was mercurial, her mother steady; her father was a firm atheist, her mother from a religious, German family; her father was extremely temperamental, her mother sweet and mild-mannered.

The title of the memoir references her father’s trading in of his wedding ring for a mustard spoon at a pawn shop. Clarke reports that Agnes Clarke was halfheartedly amused at this decision of her husband’s and she tolerated it silently, much the same way she accepted his long-standing affairs with other women. Indeed, Rebecca Clarke portrays her mother as consistently good, almost too good, throughout the memoir: “Never in her life was she heard to say one word that might sound disloyal.”

Then, later on, Clarke expounds on this: “She was born to devote herself to someone. And she asked nothing better than to be allowed to devote herself to papa for

74 Ibid., 1.
the rest of her life.” Clarke praises her mother continually throughout the memoir, noting how she did everything for the family and was the source of all happiness in the family. However, her mother suffered for this happiness, taking everything upon herself, including her husband’s destructive behavior. Clarke’s mother became taken over by her husband’s big personality:

“Before long Mama found her defenses crumbling under Papa’s powerful personality and she again felt herself becoming unsettled and unhappy. It never seems to have occurred to her to tell him that she had just as much right to her opinion as he had to his. The truth is that she wanted to agree with him.”

One can only speculate how much her parents’ relationship affected Clarke’s opinion of herself as a woman. Spending her entire childhood watching her mother be overtaken by a domineering husband must have had quite a detrimental effect on her own self-esteem. Clarke’s father had very little respect for her mother or women in general. He made these feelings quite clear to Clarke, especially once she was a young woman herself. Clarke explains her father’s opinions on the subject:

Women, he said, always favoured war, because they were dazzled by uniforms; of course they should not be given the vote: their brains in any case, were smaller than those of men, that had been proved. Woman’s place was in the home. They had one function only. Look at the way they tight-laced to attract the male by making their bust and hips look larger, he said smugly. Personally, proclaimed Papa at lunch one day, he made a practice of mentally undressing every attractive woman he met, so that he could get right down to fundamentals.

76 Ibid., 2.

75 Ibid., 15–16.

77 Ibid., 135–136.
Clarke’s objections to her father’s relations with women ultimately led to the dissolution of her relationship with him, and yet the conflicts went much deeper than this. Clarke describes herself as a rather temperamental child and she always had a much more complicated relationship with her father than any of her three siblings did. His approach to discipline was especially troublesome and her accounts of his punishments are harrowing to read:

>Bathed in tears, my drawers let down, I had to lean across the hated red Paisley quilt on Papa’s bed while he applied the “steel slapper” — an architect’s two foot rule. He had a terrifying way of giving it a few preliminary whizzes through the air, to get his hand in, and each time I cringed with fear.\(^78\)

Clarke was raised with regular bouts of this corporal punishment, and friends of the family were shocked to notice welts on her brothers’ bodies. Even while explaining the monstrous treatment she received as a child, one can easily see the effects it had on her sense of self: she exaggerates her own shortcomings and mistakes, even claiming that “As a rule I well deserved any punishment that I got.”\(^79\) At the same time, she reveals that she was beaten for such wrongdoings as biting her nails, a habit she struggled to break throughout her childhood, probably because she lived in such an anxiety-provoking environment.

Despite his destructive influence on her life, Clarke’s father made two important contributions to Clarke’s development: he instilled in her a love of chamber music and he brought a viola home that she ended up playing for the entirety of her career. The former had a lasting effect on Clarke’s composing and playing: she always had a predisposition toward

\(^{78}\) Ibid., 26.

\(^{79}\) Ibid., 23.
chamber music and most of her works fit into this genre. Clarke discusses one of her most meaningful moments as a young musician:

My first real musical thrill came one day when playing with Papa and Mama in a trio by a composer called Swan Hennessy — a name I have never come across since then. A movement entitled “Night” stirred me so much that I burst into tears and got a rather half-hearted scolding from Papa for not being able to play to the end. And now Papa began to feel he was within reach of his goal: string quartets in the family; and we were confronted with some of the so-called “easy” Haydns (what is less easy, actually, than to play a simple Haydn quartet [well?]) It must have sounded awful.  

Clarke’s father’s desire for his family to play chamber music meant that Clarke was exposed to a large amount of music from a young age, which contributed to her ensemble skills and trained ear. As she and her brother Hans improved, her father became more driven, eventually building an entire room dedicated to music-making and amassing a large chamber music library. Additionally, he began to purchase string instruments whenever he traveled abroad, which was quite often. Clarke describes the viola he brought home years before she had switched from the violin: “From Italy he himself carried home a beautiful Grancino viola on which I later played for the whole of my professional life. He really was going in for chamber music in a big way….”

Clarke also notes, however, that musical instrument lessons were not originally intended for her, but for her brother Hans. Indeed, she notes that she was “allowed to go with him and pick up anything I could.” This was not only typical for the time she grew up in, but also

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80 Ibid., 68.
81 Ibid., 70.
82 Ibid., 39.
reflective of her father’s views of women and their role in society. For instance, though he did encourage her in her music-making throughout her childhood, he did so for self-serving reasons, creating a family chamber group. Once Clarke claimed music as her own interest and career aspiration, he was quick to note that he “frowned on the idea of a musical career. What he wanted, he said, turning conventional, was for me to ‘make some good man happy’…. Why should I earn money when I didn’t have to?” Of course, these views were not out of the ordinary for the beginning of the twentieth century, but they did add to Clarke’s difficult relationship with her father.

Music became almost an addiction for Clarke and she notes that she went to a myriad of concerts as a young woman. She was inspired to both compose and play, although composing “became for me a refuge, an outlet, and finally a passion.” Once again, Clarke’s father ended up having a big impact on her career: despite discouraging her professional goals, he decided to send some of her songs to Sir Charles Stanford, who became Clarke’s teacher and a hugely influential person in her life. “Sir Charles replied — and I still have his letter — that ‘there seem to be a few traces of talent in your daughter.’” Soon after this letter was written in 1907, Clarke began attending the Royal College of Music, where her musical talents were taken seriously for the first time in her life. This was an inspiring atmosphere for Clarke; she truly flourished and enjoyed being a composer and a violist. The way she discusses composing at this time of her life

83 Ibid., 144.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid., 152.
is different from almost anything else she wrote on the subject of composition; one can sense elation at the very idea of creating a new work:

My work was improving, slowly, but improving. Getting ideas down on paper was not always easy, and often I had no ideas at all; but every now and then, in the middle of struggling with some problem, everything would fall into place with a suddenness almost like switching on an electric light. It may sound pretentious…but at those moments, though I had no illusions whatever about the value of my work — I was flooded with a wonderful feeling of potential power — a mirage that made anything seem possible. Every composer, or writer, or painter too for that matter, however obscure, is surely familiar with this sensation. I know of almost nothing equal to it.86

As stated earlier, it is hard to find a quote from Clarke that illustrates the joy she felt as a composer. Most of the interviews conducted a few years after this memoir was written focus on the loss of interest she experienced later in her career. With this quote, we can see the devotion and passion she felt for her work, although there is an obvious clash between her excitement about her work and her lack of confidence in her own abilities.

In reading the memoir, we can see how her childhood would have created such contradictions in her sense of self. She had a father who at times was a great source of encouragement and provided her with a plethora of musical experiences. However, that same father destroyed any shred of self-confidence she may have had by punishing her harshly and telling her that she was a terrible person. Added to these problems at home were her experiences growing up in a society dominated and controlled by men, in which women were expected to act in a certain way and fulfill particular roles at home and at school. Clarke clashed with these ideals from a young age; indeed, her parents received a letter from her schoolteacher advising

86 Ibid., 159.
that, “‘Rebecca would do well to cultivate a quieter and more ladylike manner.’” It seems she had a lot of trouble fitting into the expectations of those around her.

She also elucidates throughout the memoir the peculiarity of the house in which she grew up. Her father was avidly anti-religious in a conventionally religious society, and thus Clarke and her siblings were forbidden by some of the townspeople to spend time with their children. This, along with some mildly rebellious behavior, also led to her expulsion from several schools. However, the most shocking part of her upbringing was her father’s frequent relationships with other women. Apparently, Clarke did not at first notice the nature of these relationships, even when some of these women lived with her own family. Her father had a long-standing relationship with a woman named Tina, who was known to Clarke and her siblings as their governess and who had her own room in their house. Clarke describes her father disappearing into a small extra bedroom he had partitioned off — a pretty little room: Tina’s room. It gave me a strange feeling if I saw the door was closed when I passed it on my way up or downstairs from my room. It was impossible not to wonder if they were in there together. For Tina was still often with us, supposedly as a governess, though I do not remember her ever giving us any lessons. And the problem was growing more acute for me now that I was older and more experienced. What Mama felt I can only guess: she never spoke about it.

Clarke’s feelings about this and other relationships eventually resulted in the dissolution of her relationship with her father and her expulsion from home. This occurred sometime around 1911–1913, though she does not specify the exact year. Her father was frequently away during this time and, while he was absent on one such trip, she created a tower with ashtrays and paper

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87 Ibid., 47.
88 Ibid., 145.
weights on top of which she placed a large pile of letters from his mistress. Upon his return, he promptly confronted her about this and, when she admitted guilt, he proclaimed, “You can go away. Leave this house and don’t let me ever see you again.”

This end to their relationship is shocking, even just to read about. It clearly was one of the most important occurrences of her entire life, and perhaps she never recovered from it. It had the odd result of igniting her career; with no money, she moved to London at the age of 24 and was forced to make a living as a musician.

One can only speculate how her relationship with her father affected other relationships in her life and, even more importantly, her sense of herself as a woman and a person. This memoir reveals so much about Clarke’s personality and why she struggled to take herself seriously as a composer and violist. It also explains her love of music: her experiences playing and composing music were refuges from a turbulent household. She clearly recognized how influential her relationship with her father was, otherwise she would not have chosen this as the focus of a memoir she began when she was already 83 years old. She was still trying to understand the difficulties of her early life and how they affected the person she became.

89 Ibid., 179.
Other archival material that has received little attention are Clarke’s letters to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (1864–1953) was one of the most important American patrons of music in the early twentieth century and she was an especially avid lover of chamber music. She founded the Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music in 1918 in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, which attracted such eminent musicians as violinists Fritz Kreisler and Joseph Fuchs. The festivals became connected with the Library of Congress in 1925, when Coolidge put a large sum of money in trust for the library; the money was meant for the library to sponsor concerts, festivals, and up-and-coming composers. Coolidge also provided the library with an auditorium and an organ. While her life as a patron is well-documented, her work as a composer and pianist is rarely talked about. According to scholars Gustave Reese and Cyrilla Barr, Coolidge became more and more interested in composing as she got older, especially as her hearing deteriorated, which began as early as her thirties.90

Because of Coolidge’s close associations with the Library of Congress, the establishment holds a large collection of her correspondence. These include a box of letters between her and Rebecca Clarke.91 They were friends for over 30 years, starting around 1917 until Coolidge’s death in 1953. Most of the letters are from the early years of their friendship, including letters Clarke sent from her world tours with May Mukle. The majority of these letters are handwritten,

91 Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
though there are a few typed pieces of correspondence and several telegrams. Evident in these letters is Clarke’s enormous respect for Coolidge. Not only was Coolidge a renowned figure in the classical music world, she also sponsored the competition in which Clarke’s Viola Sonata won second place, bringing Clarke a level of attention she never expected, and leading to a performance of her piece by the world-renowned violist Louis Bailly. All of this occurred at Coolidge’s festival in the Berkshires, one year after Coolidge founded it. As discussed earlier, the results of the viola sonata competition were dramatic, as the votes were tied between Clarke’s work and Bloch’s Suite for Viola. Coolidge ultimately cast the deciding vote in favor of the Bloch and yet Clarke was not angry with the result. Rather, she was overjoyed to receive the honor of second place and having her work placed on par with the Suite by Bloch, a composer she much admired. In a letter to Coolidge from September 29, 1919, Clarke describes her delight in having her work performed:

I would like to tell you that last Thursday was the most wonderful day I have ever had. I never can tell you what I felt, and through your competition this year you have given me the greatest impetus to further work that anything possibly could.92

A few months later, Clarke invited Coolidge to hear the Sonata played by Clarke herself: “It will mean so particularly much to me if you come and hear me play my Sonata, as I always feel that it is through you that it was written.”93 Thus Clarke felt a deep connection to Coolidge and credited her with much of her success.

92 Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, September 29, 1919, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

93 Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, January 13, 1920, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
Clarke also wrote her Piano Trio for a competition at the Berkshire Music Festival, for which she received the second prize. The Sonata and the Piano Trio are Clarke’s longest and most acclaimed works and neither would have been written without Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and her music festival. In addition, the publisher of Clarke’s music, Winthrop Rogers, was married to a friend of Coolidge, Mary Rogers.\(^{94}\) Clarke never forgot the help Coolidge gave her in creating performance opportunities for Clarke’s works. Evidently, Coolidge was instrumental in getting Clarke’s trio performed. The Elschuco Trio performed the work on February 12, 1922 and Clarke wrote to Coolidge on February 13:

> The Elschucos played my work quite superlatively and there was so much enthusiasm that they played the slow movement again…. And now I want to thank you a thousand times for giving me this wonderful opportunity, and the one in Boston, of having my Trio performed. It has meant so much to me, as you can imagine, and I felt very proud and happy last night…. I always realize that it is through you that both my Trio and my Sonata were written…and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.\(^{95}\)

Clarke felt quite indebted to Coolidge and wanted to show her appreciation for Coolidge. Thus, in 1923, Clarke dedicated her *Rhapsody* for cello and piano to Coolidge, who had commissioned the work for the Berkshire Festival that year. By this time, Clarke and Coolidge had become closer friends and had a certain comfort level working together. This is evident from the informal tone their letters display. For instance, earlier on, Clarke addresses her letters quite formally


\(^{95}\) Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, February 13, 1922, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
(“Dear Mrs. Coolidge). However, by 1923, when Clarke requests Coolidge’s permission in dedicating her *Rhapsody*, Clarke’s letter begins, “Dearest ‘Penny.’” Clarke then goes on to ask,

May I dedicate my Rhapsody to you? If you will allow me to I will be so happy, as of course I feel that it belongs to you not only because you honored me by the commission, but on account of my own feelings and affection for you. You have given me so much, and this is only a small tribute, but some day I hope I can give you a greater one, as I feel I owe you so much more than I can repay you at present! But I think and hope that you will be pleased with the *Rhapsody.*”

Coolidge was honored to have the *Rhapsody* dedicated to her, but in her return letter to Clarke she emphasizes her belief in Clarke’s talents and abilities as a composer. Coolidge explains: “Our friendship, of course, underlies it, but the foundation of it all is my sincere admiration for your talent, and in availing myself of that, I owe you a debt of gratitude.” This sentence reveals so much about Clarke and Coolidge’s friendship, as well as Coolidge’s deep respect for Clarke’s work. Clarke needed this encouragement as she downplayed her talents and continually failed to see her own worth as a composer. Coolidge was a pivotal figure in her life, motivating her to compose and have her music performed. Coolidge also deeply respected Clarke’s viola playing. In fact, in the collection of letters at the Library of Congress, there is a telegram, also from 1923, from Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to Rebecca Clarke, requesting Clarke to perform in a sextet of violas by British composer Benjamin Dale along with none other than Lionel Tertis.

Coolidge was an extremely influential figure in her time, creating performing opportunities for many gifted players, while emphasizing the importance of chamber music, a cause about which

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96 Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, September 13, 1923, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

97 Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to Rebecca Clarke, August 24, 1923, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
Clarke also felt quite strongly. Thus, just as Coolidge was a proponent of Clarke’s music, Clarke was a great advocate for Coolidge’s festival. On October 7, 1923, Clarke wrote, “Each time I come to your Festival I realize more fully what a splendid and lasting thing you are doing for music, and what a big influence it is having or going to have, all over the world.”\footnote{Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, October 7, 1923, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.} Over time, however, Clarke and Coolidge had different personal and professional goals and thus the nature of their relationship changed. Indeed, the tone and nature of their letters illustrates the transformation that took place in Clarke after she met her husband, James Friskin. She became much more invested in his career than she had ever been in her own and many of her letters to Coolidge involve arrangements for Friskin’s performance at Coolidge’s festival. Indeed, Clarke stopped composing after she met Friskin and she dedicated herself completely to Friskin’s career as pianist and pedagogue. One month after her marriage, in 1944, Clarke writes to Coolidge, “I shall be thinking of you at the Festival over the week-end, and wishing I were there. I have been to so many, and enjoyed them so much, that I hate to miss this one. But it so happens that James is very much tied [with?] work over the next few days, and I do not like to leave him.”\footnote{Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, October 24, 1944, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.} Clarke’s subsequent letters address Friskin’s upcoming performance at Coolidge’s festival. In the following letter, Clarke did not indicate the exact year, but she probably wrote it sometime between 1948 and 1950, since this is the period of time in which Clarke discussed her husband’s upcoming Bach performance with Coolidge:
I thought you might like to see this program of a concert James gave last year. As you may perhaps know, he has for a long time made a special study of Bach, and features all-Bach programs…. It just occurred to me that possibly a reminder of James’s special interest in Bach might happen to fit with your plans.¹⁰⁰

There is little evidence that Clarke ever promoted her playing or her composition in such a manner, although she does occasionally ask Coolidge if she could use any extra violists for various performances. However, it is clear that Clarke’s focus shifted after her marriage and she became completely involved in Friskin’s career and everyday needs. A letter from April 7, 1950, illustrates this point:

One or two questions: Do you need any publicity stuff for James? If so I will send you one of his folders. Also, as I have to be sure and pack the clothes he will need before we leave for England on May 18th, I would like to know what artists usually wear at Tanglewood. Should he bring tails and a white tie?¹⁰¹

Thus Clarke was not in the mindset to promote her own playing or her compositions, which seem diminished completely by the 1950s. However, even at the end of Coolidge’s life, she still provided a certain level of motivation for Clarke. Apparently Coolidge also composed and, after looking at Coolidge’s String Quartet¹⁰² and Oboe Sonata¹⁰³, Clarke wrote to Coolidge, “I feel greatly encouraged as it still gives me a few years to plan turning out a major work!”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, January 5, c. 1948–50, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

¹⁰¹ Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, April 7, 1950, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

¹⁰² Unpublished, held at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.


¹⁰⁴ Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, December 29, c. 1950–53, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
letter dates from the early 1950s, although the exact year is not included. Sadly, Clarke never completed the work she discussed with Coolidge. Oddly enough the end of Clarke’s compositional career coincided with Coolidge’s death: Clarke never composed again after the 1950s (despite living until 1979) and Coolidge passed away in 1953.

Coolidge was indeed a monumental figure in Clarke’s life: she was source of motivation and encouragement and shared Clarke’s passion for chamber music. Additionally, her commissions pushed Clarke to compose in longer musical forms, a practice that was not common among women composers in the early twentieth century. Clarke was continually grateful for Coolidge’s help and guidance and felt quite close to her as a friend and a colleague. She recognized Coolidge’s importance in the musical landscape of the time and, along with a deep respect for Coolidge’s work, Clarke valued their friendship. Clarke summed this up in a 1925 letter to Coolidge: “I forget that you are the great Mrs. Coolidge and I am just one of the hundreds of musicians that surround you, but I feel as though you are so much more than that to me. I hope you don’t think it silly of me to say this!”¹⁰⁵ Clarke obviously had a deep sense of respect for all Coolidge had contributed to the world of chamber music, and yet she also felt quite connected to Coolidge on a personal level.

Clarke’s Performing and Writing Career

In the last thirty years, there has been a great effort to resurrect Clarke’s works and have them performed. However, most scholars have completely ignored her performing career and her

¹⁰⁵ Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, 1925, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
writings. From an interview with violist Nancy Uscher, we do know that she was quite an established performer. In this interview, Clarke relays stories of concerts with musicians such as Pablo Casals and Arthur Rubinstein: “I was quite a decent viola player—I was quite a good chamber music player. And I was awfully lucky, I always played with very, very tip-top people. I never wanted to say anything. I just learned from them…. I learned from them because they were all much better than I was.”

Figure 1: Telegram from Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to Rebecca Clarke, 1923

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Additionally, there is a telegram from patron of the arts Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, in which Coolidge requests that Clarke play in a viola sextet with Lionel Tertis, whom Clarke studied with briefly (see Figure 1). 107

Most of the research on Clarke’s career as a violist focuses on her position in the Queen’s Hall Orchestra, which she held from 1912–1914. This orchestra was conducted by Henry Wood and he elected to have six women join the orchestra. Clarke recalled, “Every string player, I think, in London went off and auditioned for those and I was one of the two violas chosen—there were four violins and two violas…. I remember the men in the orchestra were disgusted, but then they were friendly after we got in, you know [and they got used to us].” 108 Clarke’s use of the word “disgusted” further illustrates the charged atmosphere in which she was attempting to build a career. She played in this orchestra until 1914, when World War I began. She spent both World Wars in the United States, since her father was American and both her brothers lived here.

Clarke had a remarkable career as a violist, not only performing with eminent musicians in London, but also touring the world with her friend, cellist May Mukle. Clarke often programmed her own music on these performances, including Morpheus, for which she controversially used a pseudonym. She also founded the English Ensemble, an all-female piano quartet with which she regularly performed. Thus, her playing was defined by her experiences as a chamber musician. She saw chamber music as the greatest form of music-making. In a letter to

107 Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge to Rebecca Clarke, August 24, 1923, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, written from Hawaii where Clarke and Mukle were performing, Clarke praises Coolidge’s Berkshires Festival and her dedication to chamber music: “I think it is only those who have loved Chamber Music all their lives who can fully realize what a wonderful thing you are doing by this innovation of yours. It is going to make people in this country realize, as I don’t think they have ever been given the chance to before, that Chamber Music is really the highest form of all.” Clarke’s dedication to the viola was paralleled by her dedication to chamber music and collaborative music-making. This stands in stark contrast to the work Primrose and Tertis were doing, in which they sought to present the viola as a solo instrument. Clarke saw the viola as a star in the chamber music realm, a world in which the viola could be both soloist and collaborator.

She carried this love of chamber music into her lectures, which she gave at places like the American Women’s Club in London and music festivals at both Chautauqua and Yale. These lectures give us a sense of how Clarke approached both performing and composing. She was very excited about the attention twentieth-century composers were giving the viola, especially in chamber music. Her article, “The History of the Viola in Quartet Writing” (1923) examines quartet writing all the way from Mozart to Schoenberg, displaying her intimate knowledge of string quartets of all eras. This hearkens back to the earlier discussion of Clarke as performer; it is clear from her writings that she understood the chamber music repertoire from a performer’s point of view in addition to a composer’s. Indeed, one can read her “History of the Viola in Quartet Writing” as a study of how composers’ opinions of the instrument were reflected in their works. She acknowledges that this evolution is still in progress and that, even as viola parts grow

more complex, there is still room for change and improvement. She says of her instrument,

“Though to the present generation it must seem as though its technique can scarcely go further, it may be that future years will show such an advance that its position of today will be regarded as but a period in its evolution.”

She expresses similar sentiments in her article “Viola,” which she wrote for Cobbett’s Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music (1929), in which she discusses how the viola’s status has changed throughout its history. She attributes its current elevation in status to “a growing preoccupation with musical color,” noting that the viola’s “dark and often somewhat nasal timbre…can be made to contrast most tellingly with the more open tone of the other stringed instruments thus making a virtue of its very defects….” This is such a fascinating approach to the viola sound, which gives the reader a deep understanding of both its limitations and strengths. Her acknowledgement of the viola’s “nasal timbre” demonstrates her own connection to the instrument—both its idiosyncrasies and its assets.

This familiarity with the viola’s range of sound is what makes her compositions so extraordinary. She seizes every possibility for expression, utilizing the viola’s contrasting ranges and unusual tone quality. Clarke wrote almost one hundred works, but is most known for her larger-scale chamber music pieces, the Viola Sonata (1919) the Piano Trio (1921), and Prelude, Allegro and Pastorale (1941), a suite for viola and clarinet.

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110 Ibid., 119.

111 Ibid., 135–136.
Analysis of Morpheus

Clarke wrote a number of smaller character pieces for viola, including her work *Morpheus* for viola and piano, written in 1917–18 for a joint recital with cellist May Mukle. Clarke never gave any explanation for the title, though it may refer to some kind of dreamlike state, since in Greek and Roman mythology Morpheus was the god of dreams and the son of Somnus, god of sleep. Eventually Morpheus began to represent both of these entities, sleep and dreams. The first literary reference to the word comes from the eleventh book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in which Morpheus is sent by his father Somnus to appear at Alcyone’s bed, in the form of her husband, Ceyx, in order to inform her of his death on the Aegean Sea. In English literature, the word has a lengthy history all the way back to one of Chaucer’s earliest poems, *The Book of the Duchess* (ca. 1369). The poem describes a poet unable to sleep, reading a book of old stories that includes the myth of Alcyone and Ceyx. The poet wishes for a god like Morpheus to help him sleep and the rest of the poem details the poet’s dream.

Of course, it is a mystery how much of this history Rebecca Clarke was aware of, especially since she left no explanation of the work’s title. However, the piece certainly has a dreamy quality, especially the opening section, in which the viola is marked *con sordino* and the piano is marked *pianissimo sempre*. The history of the piece reveals Clarke’s insecurity about her role as a composer and the ways in which early twentieth century society minimized women’s

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115 Clarke, 2.
achievements. Clarke performed the work on her recital with May Mukle and although the recital included another of Clarke's works, she used a pseudonym for *Morpheus*. This was before the attention and fame she gained from winning the second prize in the Berkshire Chamber Music Festival with the Viola Sonata, which she nonchalanceingly referred to as the “viola sonata affair.”

She explains the origins of the pseudonym in her 1976 interview with Robert Sherman:

> I wanted rather to play another piece I had written, and I thought this is too silly to put my name down—this is before the viola sonata affair—it seemed too silly to put my name down still once more. So I thought I’ll invent a name. So I went through the rivers of England until I came across what I thought seemed like a handy surname and I took the name Trent, the river Trent…. And I took the name Anthony because I liked that name.\(^\text{116}\)

The work actually ended up receiving a lot more attention than Clarke’s other works, even resulting in a mention of Trent in the magazine *Vogue*.\(^\text{117}\) In contrast, Clarke’s other works of the time received almost no notice. This quote illustrates two levels of sexism: on the one hand, Clarke’s works were ignored because of her gender; on a deeper level, the fact that she deemed a presentation of more than one of her works as “silly” points to the ways in which early twentieth century society often made women feel embarrassed about their successes. As Clarke scholar Liane Curtis explains it, “The force of her Victorian upbringing and its attendant ideologies was such that Clarke often felt hesitant, embarrassed, or self-conscious about taking advantage of...opportunities.”\(^\text{118}\)


In addition to being uncomfortable with her own achievements as a composer, Clarke was hesitant to write instrumental works, especially longer forms like the Sonata. As Liane Curtis explains,

The multi movement sonata form was perceived as a masculine domain. Clarke temporarily stepped out of the confines of the expectations of her sex and appropriated the male sphere. Her action in this foreign domain was a success—the Viola Sonata and the Piano Trio are completely convincing, truly great works in the realm of absolute music—but one she found personally uncomfortable.¹¹⁹

Thus, the majority of Clarke’s compositional output is made up of smaller works, especially at the beginning of her career, when she mostly wrote songs, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Morpheus was written one year before the sonata and is a link between the songs and the larger instrumental works, where she explored writing in a genre usually reserved for male composers.¹²⁰ The piece gave her a chance to try out new ideas in on a smaller scale, and it uses motives that Clarke would go on to use in her sonata. It also gives us a beginning look at Clarke’s approach to the viola as an expressive voice, experimenting with different modes of expression unique to the viola: its dark, mournful sound and its singing upper register. This is a pivotal work that shows how Clarke was redefining the role of the viola as a solo instrument, just as she was finding her own voice as a composer. The structure of the piece reflects this journey.

The work contains three main sections, the third an altered reprise of the first. The first section opens with a simple melodic line in the viola, accompanied by clusters of perfect fourths and fifths built on E-flat in the piano part. Like many of her British contemporaries, Clarke

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 419.

¹²⁰ Julia Katharine Bullard, “The Viola and Piano Music of Rebecca Clarke” (DMA diss., University of Georgia, 2000), 34.
experimented with diatonic modes to create a folk music quality. Indeed, the first section is
written in E-flat Dorian and the viola melody outlines a Dorian tetrachord on B-flat (Bb-C-Db-
Eb) (See example 1):

Example 1: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 1–3

The simplicity of the opening melody is evocative of English folk song and the kind of lyricism
found in Frank Bridge’s viola music, written a decade earlier. Bridge was an important
influence of Clarke’s and was also a student of Charles Villiers Stanford, Clarke’s teacher at the
Royal College of Music. Stanford taught composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams, Gustav
Holst, and Arthur Bliss and was a vital part of the so-called “English Musical Renaissance,”
which emphasized the importance of English folk song.

This folk-like simplicity is evident in Clarke’s phrasing, with neatly divided four measure
phrases that persist all the way to measure 16, when she finally extends the phrase to eight bars.
Clarke emphasizes the E-flat minor triad throughout this first section: not only does the peak of

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the phrase occur on G-flat in measure 5, but the contour of the melody from measures 1–2, as well as the first eight measures, outline E-flat to B-flat (See example 2):

**Example 2: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, Viola part, mm. 1–8**

Additionally, while the viola’s first phrase (measures 1–4) is made up entirely of the B-flat tetrachord, the second phrase (measures 5–8) emphasizes the E-flat Dorian scale, though it lands firmly on a B-flat major chord in measure 8, surprising the listener with the use of D-natural (See example 3).

**Example 3: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 7–8**
This B-flat is only a hint at Clarke’s compositional surprises. Overall, the first sixteen measures are somewhat conventional: symmetrical phrasing, melodies that do not go beyond a perfect fourth in their respective phrases, and simple textures of chord clusters in the piano. The harmonies make frequent use of major and minor seventh chords, to which she often adds non-harmonic tones, such as in measure 5, where a second scale degree is added to a C-flat minor seventh chord. Her main emphasis throughout this piano part, however, is on parallel fourths and fifths, especially in relation to the falling melodic figure in the upper voice of the piano’s right hand.

Nevertheless, she manages to break out of these constraints shortly before the middle section ends. In measure 13, Clarke finally abandons the piano’s left hand chord clusters, instead writing a singing left hand melody that is more rhythmically complex than any melody thus far. Just as this phrase is about to end in measure 16, Clarke extends it, finally breaking out of the confines of four-bar phrases. This leads to the highlight of the first section, measure 18, when the viola, instead of moving to B-flat as expected, reaches down to an A on the last note of the phrase, while the piano plays its lowest note yet, an E an octave and a half below middle C (See example 4).
This is a surprise to the listener, as Clarke has spent so much of this first section setting up B-flat as the central note. Even in the cadence from measures 7–8 (example 3), when she uses the progression from a C-half-diminished in measure 7 to the B-flat major chord in measure 8, she still smooths the way by using the B-flat as a common tone.

Clarke sets up this surprise in measure 18 in a number of ways. First of all, as mentioned earlier, the texture opens up in measure 13 and is more rhythmically intricate, thus hinting at the coming drama. Additionally, the move in measure 15 from a B-flat in the viola part to an A major arpeggio in the piano part foreshadows the big moment in measure 18. Clarke repeats this move in measure 16, again moving from a B-flat in viola and piano to an A major chord in the lower part of the piano (See example 5).

Example 4: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 17–18
By the end of the first section of the work, Clarke has already broken with some of the conventions she began with, harmonically and structurally. However, her use of the viola remains fairly tame. It is not until the middle section, measures 21–46, that she begins to write more virtuosically for the instrument, testing its limits.

Our first indication that this section will be freer than the previous one is Clarke’s use of texture: both the piano and viola have more complex rhythms and span a wider range. Additionally, the piano now contributes melodic elements to the texture, rather than acting as pure accompaniment. The timbre has changed as well: the piano is finally released from its *sempre pianissimo* marking and the viola now plays without a mute, a metaphor for the viola’s journey from quiet observer to full expressive voice.

The harmony also gets more complex. Measure 21 begins with an E half-diminished chord, a harmony she employs frequently throughout this section, especially at the beginning of phrases. At the same time, the competition between B-flat and A that we felt at the end of the first section continues into the middle section: the lowest notes in the piano part oscillate
between B-flat and A in measures 21–24. B-flat still feels like the central note, though it keeps being interrupted by A, another indication that Clarke is trying to break out of the constraints of the first section, which was so focused on B-flat centricity (See example 6). However, by measure 25, she has completely abandoned the B-flat and does not return to this centricity until the return of the first section in measure 56.

Example 6: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 19–24

And just as she leaves this B-flat and any reminders of the beginning of the piece, she truly lets the viola shine, as it climbs into the upper register in measure 27 for the first time in the piece. This is accompanied by a *glissando* in the piano part, the first time such an improvisatory gesture
appears, one that will gain importance toward the end of the work (See example 7). The viola echoes this improvisatory figure with its sextuplets in measure 31, creating a kind of whirlwind of sound in the upper register, which she repeats in measure 32 (See example 8).

Example 7: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 25–27

![Example 7: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 25–27](image)

Example 8: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 30-31

![Example 8: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 30-31](image)

The viola and piano are engaged in an ongoing conversation, in which the piano plays the motive from measure 21 while also imitating the viola’s sextuplets. Harmonically, this phrase is
dominated by half-diminished chords, which heighten the tension. The drama builds until the viola climbs by half-steps all the way up to a high D, two octaves above the instrument’s open D string, with both a crescendo and a ritardando. At the height of this climax, however, Clarke surprises the listener with a caesura and a sudden drop to pianissimo in both the viola and the piano, which immediately crescendos in both parts, all the way back to forte (See example 9).

**Example 9: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 34–35**

She has defied the listener’s expectations of phrasing, timing, and dynamics. Harmonically, the downbeat of measure 35 evokes the first measure of the piece, with its emphasis on E-flat, A-flat, B-flat, and C. We as listeners, however, can barely pick up on this, as our sense of the viola and piano’s roles have been so altered: unlike the beginning, the viola soars on a high E-flat, while the piano, rather than playing chord clusters, plays meandering 32nd notes that rise into the upper register.
Clarke’s delaying of the downbeat becomes its own motive throughout the end of this middle section, promoting a feeling of instability. Every time we feel the music is about to resolve, Clarke delays the resolution by placing a comma before the downbeat, in addition to writing a crescendo before the comma, followed by a subito piano downbeat. This technique is evident in measures 38–39 and measures 42–43. Yet even as this instability persists, there is still the sense that the tumult of the middle section is winding down. Starting in measure 35, there are regular four-bar phrases and, by the time we reach measure 39, the half-diminished chords that were so prevalent earlier have dissolved into expansive major seventh chords. By measure 43, the viola has dropped out altogether and the piano’s rhythmic complexities transform into oscillating eighth-note figures in measure 45.

Measure 47 marks the retransition into the reprise of the opening section. The beginning melody returns in the viola, this time on an F in the lower register. Rather than beginning and ending the phrase on the same note, however, Clarke shocks the listener with her use of an F-sharp. The piano part echoes this semitone movement with its move from B-flat to B in the bass of the piano part. Clarke continues these upward semitones as way of leading us to the work’s final section: the viola climbs up from the F in measure 47 to F-sharp in measure 50, G in measure 51, G-sharp in measure 54, to A in measure 55, and finally, after a fermata, B-flat in measure 56 (See example 10). This concentration on semitones evokes previous dramatic moments in the piece: namely, measure 34 and measures 17–18. Throughout this retransition, Clarke also shortens the length of the main motive. The first time it is presented in measures 47–50, it is four measures, just like the beginning. Its next presentation, measures 51–54, is also four measures. By the time we get to measures 54 and 55, however, Clarke has abbreviated the
phrase, only including the sixteenth note motive and the long note that follows, which has been shortened to two beats rather than 3 (See example 10). All of this abbreviation creates a written-out *accelerando*, a kind of running back to the opening motive in its original key: B-flat.

**Example 10: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 45–58, ascension from F to B-flat**
This time the melody feels different, though, because it is accompanied by *glissandi* in the piano part, which Clarke indicates should be played on the black keys only, thus utilizing the pentatonic collection. The dynamics also differ from the beginning: the piano is marked *pianississimo* while the viola now plays without a mute and has no written dynamic. With these changes in texture and dynamics, Clarke gives the viola a more assertive voice while creating a dreamlike quality in the piano part. Clarke explores this sense of mystery in the last section in a number of ways, through her intimate knowledge of viola techniques and timbres.

This dream-like character is especially evident in the cadenza she writes for the viola in measures 72–73, a meandering line of 16th notes from the whole tone collection that work themselves up to a high A in measure 73, building to an even higher A harmonic in measure 75. A is a particularly resonant note on the viola, because it matches the pitch of the highest string of the instrument, and Clarke makes the most of this, repeating the note in measure 72, with piano imitating in measure 75 and then moving up to a B-flat, just as it did at the start of the middle section (See example 11).

This clash between A and B-flat occurs a number of times in the piece, especially in dramatic moments such as the climax of the beginning section in measure 18 (See example 4), as well as the beginning of the middle section in measures 21–24 (See example 6). Thus A has special significance, and it is no surprise that this is the note Clarke uses as a vehicle for the viola’s virtuosic outburst in measures 72–75. It is remarkable how her use of the instrument in the cadenza compares to the beginning of the piece, almost as if the viola was just waiting until the end of the piece to come out of the shadows.
Example 11: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 72–77

After the viola’s expressive statements, the coda sets in (measures 76–87), in which Clarke explores different evocations of dreaminess. She makes use of natural harmonics in the viola part in measures 77–80, creating an other-worldly sound. Additionally, she marks measure
82 senza mesura ma in tempo (“without meter but in tempo”) as well as pianississimo. This measure uses the melody from the beginning of the middle section (measure 21) as well as the dotted rhythm pattern from the cadenza (measure 73). Both the viola and right hand of the piano play this melody in parallel perfect fourths, with the piano playing an eleventh above the viola part (See example 12).

**Example 12: Rebecca Clarke, *Morpheus*, mm. 81–82**

This creates a particularly mystical sound, especially given that the viola is muted. From here the piece quietly winds down, with a continued emphasis on perfect intervals. These intervals were an important element of the piano’s accompaniment at the very beginning of the piece, and now we find that they are the very last intervals we hear, in measures 86–87, as the viola fades away on an ethereal harmonic D.

As we have seen in this analysis, *Morpheus* is a musical representation of Clarke’s evolution as a composer, as well as her use of the viola as an expressive voice. Though she
begins the work with predictable four-bar phrases and a limited range in both the piano and viola, she uses the middle section to explore the viola’s expressive potential as well as her own compositional prowess. With her use of register changes, harmonics, and extended techniques, Clarke is able to showcase the viola as a virtuosic instrument with its own unique sound world, vastly different from its relatives in the string family. When the opening melody returns at the end of the work, the listener sees it in a new light: suddenly there are dynamic changes, glissandi, as well as a dramatic cadenza. This change mirrors the evolution of the viola, from an instrument confined by its accompaniment role to a living, breathing, solo voice.

Sadly, this work is rarely played, and has mostly garnered attention because of the scandal surrounding Clarke’s use of a pseudonym. Perhaps the attention that Anthony Trent received soured Clarke’s view of the piece. As she explained in an interview with Ellen D. Lerner,

> The papers all paid much more attention to Anthony Trent than they did to me…. In this article in *Vogue* they said that among English composers, there was one who should be better known called Anthony Trent. I felt like the most frightful fraud to have got a critic like that in an article on English music to put down someone with a false name. Well, I think it was a little over a year after that that I wrote the Viola Sonata. After that, I just killed Anthony Trent in a painless way because he was of no further use to me, as I got better known.122

Clarke’s use of a pseudonym created a certain degree of embarrassment that she probably wished to avoid, thus causing her to minimize the work’s worth. She is still known mostly for these

122 Ibid., 204.
larger works and she herself diminished the size and importance of her overall compositional output.\textsuperscript{123} Her smaller works have not yet received the attention they deserve.

However, in ignoring smaller-scale works, we are ignoring the impact women had on the history of music, especially in the early twentieth century, when their output was so often confined to such works. In examining \textit{Morpheus}, we can see Clarke emerge as a fully-formed composer, a force of change for viola playing, rather than a composer who only managed to write a few successful works. Sadly, she rarely saw herself as the influential composer she truly was. She was trapped emotionally and professionally by her gender; on the one hand, she was a huge proponent for women musicians and yet, at the same time, her low opinion of herself, shaped by a society that belittled women, prevented her from seeing herself as a true equal to her contemporaries.

In interviews at the end of her life, Clarke even dismissed the success she had with the Viola Sonata, one of the few pieces that has earned her fame. When asked if her works were ignored, Clarke replied, “No, not after the Viola Sonata affair. Of course that got a certain amount of notice because of my being a woman, there were few of them then, and because of my tie-in with Bloch…. I think people were so anxious to be fair to women, that they gave me very many chances for performance I mightn’t had if my things had been written by a man.”\textsuperscript{124} Such quotes are hard to decipher, especially since these interviews were conducted at least fifty years after these works were written and perhaps Clarke’s life experiences altered the way in which she saw herself. Nevertheless, the fact that she refers to her success with the Viola Sonata as an

\textsuperscript{123} Liane Curtis, ed. \textit{A Rebecca Clarke Reader} (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 160.

\textsuperscript{124} “Musicologist Ellen D. Lerner Interviews Rebecca Clarke, 1978 and 1979,” in \textit{A Rebecca Clarke Reader}, ed. Liane Curtis (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 207.
“affair,” indicates that she felt the work did not deserve the acclaim it received. She certainly could not have guessed what a staple of the viola repertoire her piece would become, or the vast number of recitals it would be performed on.

Yet despite the fact that Rebecca Clarke did not see herself as a great fighter for women’s rights or women musicians, her career represents just that. Clarke fought for the underdog for her whole career, brief as it was. She performed her own music all over the world, she thrived in competitions in which she was the only female participant, and she was one of the first women to play in an orchestra. Although she may not have remembered it this way, she was a huge proponent for women musicians, even going so far as to write Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, the head of the Berkshires Music Festival, to ask that May Mukle be included as one of the performers. Clarke wrote, “I can’t help feeling, and I believe you do too, that a great cause is served in putting the work of woman executants on an equal footing with that of men, that is, only when it really is equal, I mean, of course…”

What Clarke really feared was that her music would only receive notice because of her gender. As the previous quote shows, Clarke was deeply dedicated to increasing the number of women musicians, but she did not wish to do so at the expense of musical quality. It was hard for her to believe that her works were of such a quality, thus she became convinced that she was given some kind of advantage because of her gender. History has proved these fears unnecessary. 39 years after her death, Rebecca Clarke is still one of the most well-known composers for the viola. Her sonata is a staple of every violist’s repertoire, and she is known for being the first female orchestral musician. Yet she has meant so much more to the viola than just these feats:

125 Rebecca Clarke to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, September 28, n.d., c. 1923, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
she dedicated her professional life to garnering respect for the viola as a separate voice from the violin. She changed composers’ and performers’ conceptions of the viola through her works, performances and lectures. For instance, it was quite rare in her time to write an article specifically discussing the viola, yet Clarke completed a work that details the history of the viola’s role in the string quartet, highlighting the many ways the viola has contributed to chamber music in Western classical music. Similarly, compositions for the viola were much less common than for the violin; Clarke wrote a majority of her works for the instrument. In her playing, she shattered cultural norms by performing all over the world, presenting these works and others for her instrument, though being a woman performer and a violist were unusual sights on a solo stage. Thus, Rebecca Clarke changed the way the world perceived the viola and altered the course of its history.
Chapter 3: Lillian Fuchs (1901–1995)

Biography

Lillian Fuchs’s life represents the changing status of women and the viola in the twentieth century. Her career was marked by outstanding achievements and “firsts”: her long-running position as the only woman in the successful Perolé Quartet, her acclaimed performances with her brother Joseph, her compositions that shaped viola pedagogy, and her recordings of the Bach Cello Suites. As her student Eric Shumsky wrote in his tribute to Lillian and Joseph Fuchs, “I never met anyone who truly loved music more than she did. And the love was contagious.”126

Fuchs was extremely ambitious from a young age, and she was inspired by the musical atmosphere in which she grew up. Her older brother, Joseph Fuchs (1899–1997), became concertmaster of the Cleveland Orchestra in 1926 but left the orchestra in 1940 to be a soloist and chamber musician. He also taught at The Juilliard School and was a devoted pedagogue. Fuchs’s younger brother, Harry (1908–1986), was a cellist and member of the Cleveland Orchestra from 1937–1977, in addition to teaching at the Cleveland Institute of Music.

Lillian and Harry’s talents were often overlooked in the face of their brother’s career as a violin prodigy. Lillian was not deterred by her brother’s early success, however. Rather, the attention Joseph received afforded her the space to develop at her own pace, in her own way. She was determined to improve and spent long hours practicing. She described her experience as a young adult: “I didn’t have Joseph’s talent. I was pretty good and took all the prizes on

graduating. Joseph had too, but—as I told him—easily while I got them through hard work.

When he would listen to me practice at home he would say, ‘I don’t understand why it’s so
difficult for you. You’ve been playing that note for hours.’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘and I haven’t found it
yet. I shall continue to search for it.’”

This kind of focus and determination was a hallmark of Fuchs’s playing and teaching. She spent her life searching, not just for the most beautiful sound she could create, but for a new approach to viola-playing and teaching. Like Rebecca Clarke, Fuchs wanted to create an entirely new repertoire and method of teaching the viola, with the idea of the viola as its own instrument, separate from the violin and its origins.

These goals did not become Fuchs’s focus until mid-way into her career. In fact, when her teacher, Franz Kneisel, suggested she switch to the viola in order to join his daughter Marianne’s quartet, Fuchs “thought it was the catastrophe of my life—play viola!—but it turned out to be a blessing.” Indeed it was, even if Fuchs herself continued to try to escape her role as a violist; when she resigned from the Marianne Kneisel Quartet in 1927, she once again set off to be a professional violinist. Yet when she auditioned for a violin position in the newly formed Perolé Quartet, the judges unexpectedly chose her to be the quartet’s violist, since no violists had auditioned. This reveals a great deal about the world of music in 1927: even at the highest level, in a competition judged by such eminent violinists as Jascha Heifetz and Mischa Elman, there were no candidates for the viola position. Even the panel judging the auditions did not include a violist! No one saw this dearth of violists as problematic or unusual, as it was typical of the musical environment of the early twentieth century. Elman and Heifetz knew Fuchs was a violist,

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128 Ibid.
as she had occasionally read quartets with Heifetz, on the request of her teacher, Franz Kneisel. Heifetz was clearly impressed with her sound on the viola, and decided she would be the best fit as the Perolé’s new violist.

Even then, the viola was an unusual instrument choice for professional musicians, as it was commonly looked upon as a “lesser” instrument, especially by violinists. Fuchs’s student, Amédée Daryl Williams, recounts a story in which Fuchs experienced such prejudice from Mischa Elman, one of the most famous violin soloists of the twentieth century. Fuchs was invited to Elman’s house to play through Brahms’s String Quartet in B-flat, op. 67 and,

Lillian stopped and asked Elman why he was not observing the “con sordino” marking in his part. At this point in the score, the melody is carried by the viola and needs to be heard above the other parts, something it cannot do unless the violins are muted. Elman was noticeably offended by the question…. Instead of discussing the situation or excusing his failure to play “con sordino,” Elman simply gathered up the parts, put them away, and chose another score for the four of them to read.\(^\text{129}\)

This disregard for the viola’s sound must have been greatly disconcerting to Fuchs. After all, she was spending many hours perfecting her technique and musicality, only to have it ignored and belittled by violinists. Thus she spent much of her life trying to change these attitudes about the viola and to distinguish it from the violin, both in its repertoire and in the way the instrument was taught.

Much of her effort was applied to the realm of chamber music. After her 15-year tenure with the Perolé Quartet, which officially ended in 1942 when the quartet disbanded, she joined eight other musicians, including her brother Joseph, in forming the Musicians’ Guild. The Guild

was a group of like-minded musicians who felt that there were not enough chamber music performances for New York audiences and that the sense of importance that musicians such as Franz Kneisel had given to this genre had somehow been lost. Thus, in 1947, they formed the Guild, as Joseph Fuchs described, “Just for the love of music.”

The Guild played a large part in Lillian Fuchs’s exploration of the viola repertoire. It not only enabled her to play a range of different chamber music works, it also resulted in the premiere of several new works featuring the viola, including Martinů’s Madrigals for Violin and Viola. In a review of one of the performances of the work, the reviewer commented that, “The combination of ensemble and individuality was notable again in…Bohuslav Martinů’s Three Madrigals…. This is a work that in its first and third movements exploits the color differences between the two string instruments.” This review gets right to the heart of what Lillian Fuchs was trying to achieve: a presentation of the viola as a chamber music instrument with its own unique voice and timbre.

Lillian and Joseph Fuchs continued to perform a number of violin/viola duos on the Guild concerts, including duos by Mozart, Heitor Villa-Lobos, and Quincy Porter. And reviewers began to take notice of Lillian Fuchs’s ability to bring out the different timbres of the viola: “Without down-grading the violin-playing of Fuchs, it may be noted as a special credit for his sister that she provides bass as well as tenor voice with a wholesome sense of the right emphasis which adds materially to the listener’s pleasure.” It seems odd that this reviewer would consider it an

130 Ibid., 65.
insult to give Lillian Fuchs special attention apart from her brother. It was indeed commonplace for critics to comment more on Joseph’s playing rather than Lillian. In many cases, they also emphasized the duo’s ability to play together, and the seamlessness of their collaboration. Despite the attention on Joseph, the Guild concerts afforded Fuchs many opportunities to perform works specially showcasing her own playing. These include Jacques de Menasce’s Sonata for Viola and Piano and Martinů’s Sonata for Viola and Piano, a work written specially for her, which she premiered on March 12, 1956, with Martinů in the audience.

It is shocking how few recordings of these performances exist. In examining the catalogue of recordings completed by her student, Amédée Daryl Williams, it is immediately obvious how many of these recordings include Joseph. Indeed, the recordings that feature the viola are as follows: the Bach Cello Suites, Brahms’s F Minor Viola Sonata (op. 120, no. 1), the Sonata for Viola and Piano by Jacques de Menasce, and Darius Milhaud’s Sonata for Viola and Piano. It is quite surprising that there is not even a recording of the Sonata by Bohuslav Martinů, a piece which was composed for Fuchs herself.

Additionally, it seems that Fuchs had a difficult time getting her recordings released or reissued. For instance, Bruce Resnikoff, senior vice president of MCA Records, says in a 1990 letter to Fuchs: “It was a pleasure speaking to you today regarding the records made by you and your brother for Decca Records. As we discussed, MCA Records has no plans to release any of these recordings in the near future.” It is unclear why record companies decided against reissuing these performances, but many of the Fuchs’s performances did not survive the movement from LPs to CDs. Music critic and author, John Swan, included both Lillian and

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Joseph Fuchs’s recordings in his article for the Association for Recorded Sound Collections, entitled “John Swan on Recordings Which Should be Reissued on CD.” He particularly draws attention to Lillian Fuchs’s recording of the Bach Suites:

To many violists, and not enough others, Lillian Fuchs, sister of violinist Joseph (and cellist Harry), is a legendary figure, both as interpreter and technician. These performances, beautifully recorded in mid-fifties mono, fully confirm the legend. Indeed, they are arguably equal or superior to any recordings of these works ever made on the cello. They are marked by a breadth and a warm expressivity, and an unerring sense of line. Fuchs’ tone is always responsive to that line, at times powerful, at times delicate, always resonant - never succumbing to the honking or rasping that can emerge from this sometimes acoustically intractable instrument, even in capable hands.134

Indeed, Fuchs’s recordings of the Bach Suites were of monumental importance to the history of the viola and yet, once again, her achievements were ignored by record companies. Despite her requests, Decca refused to reissue the recordings of these suites. In fact, Fuchs was never even paid royalties for the original recordings; only her recording time was reimbursed.135 Sadly, Fuchs also never published her own edition of the Suites. Much of her interpretation was based on the first published edition of the suites, edited by Joseph and Lillian Fuchs’s violin teacher, Louis Svečenski. As her student Amédée Daryl Williams notes, “The reason given by Lillian for not allowing her editorial suggestions to be printed is really quite simple: ‘Whatever markings may be appropriate for my interpretation of Bach’s music will most likely be inappropriate for other violists.’”136 This reflects a flexibility Fuchs had about her playing and her students’


135 Williams, 90.

136 Ibid., 91.
playing. She recognized that each musician’s interpretation was different. However, it also demonstrates her hesitancy to recognize the importance of her own influence on viola-playing.

Whether she saw it or not, the legacy and achievement of these recordings changed the way violists perceived the Bach Suites. Instead of viewing these works as reserved for the cello, more and more violists began performing them and including them as part of the standard repertoire. In fact, violists are now required to play a Bach Suite for most conservatory auditions and there are a multitude of editions written for the instrument. Fuchs played a critical part in this evolution. Even her interest in performing these suites set her apart from other violists. William Primrose initially considered the Suites only suitable for cellists and was not supportive of Fuchs’s efforts. Nevertheless, Primrose eventually reversed his position on the issue and published his own edition of the suites. He was consequently chosen as a panelist at the 1979 Bach symposium, created by the American String Teachers Association.¹³⁷

This is a striking example of how Fuchs’s career was undervalued, and how women’s views of themselves in a male-driven society encouraged them to minimize their own successes. Fuchs spent an enormous amount of time and energy learning and perfecting these suites. In fact, Williams notes that it took her an entire year to learn one suite because she was so detailed in her approach.¹³⁸ One can sense this in her recordings; every phrase has such nuance and style, while maintaining a vibrant, ringing sound. And yet, she could not get the record company to reissue these recordings, nor did she consider her interpretations important enough to receive their own edition. Primrose, however, was eager to create his own edition and immediately received

¹³⁷ Ibid., 92.
¹³⁸ Ibid., 86.
acclaim for it and was treated as an authority on the works. Thus, the student violist today easily encounters Primrose’s edition while Fuchs’s markings have never been found; only her recordings survive to indicate her interpretation.

Another difference between Fuchs and viola soloists like Primrose was her performance of new works specifically for the viola, rather than works transcribed from violin to viola. Tertis and Primrose did commission a large number of new works for the viola, but they also completed many transcriptions for the instrument. Fuchs, however, seems to have mostly performed pieces originally written for the viola, even if this meant playing more chamber music than solo works. This difference exists for two reasons: firstly, Fuchs saw the viola as a profoundly different instrument than the violin. She explained her preferences for certain kinds of instruments to a writer for Strad magazine,

I prefer the sound of Brescian instruments because some of the moderns, though very good, are a little high-pitched for me…. When they say “So what?” I say “because when you play in a quartet you don't need three violins, you need a viola.” The other essential component of a true viola sound is the possession of the personality of a violist, which comes when the instrument is taken seriously.139

Fuchs’s concept of sound was so tied to her experience as a chamber musician, contrasting with the approach a soloist like Primrose would have toward viola sound. Secondly, Fuchs saw the goal of musical interpretation as a complete expression of the composer’s intentions. A reporter who detailed the events of a workshop she conducted in Stratford, Canada, described her as “A five-foot ball of fire with complete belief that music can be played as written….!”140 In a way, it

139 Rooney, 678.
140 Williams, 115.
seems strange to consider it a “novel idea” to interpret music the way it is written; in actuality, however, this loyalty to the composer’s intentions differs greatly from the approach of many musicians, then and now. As Williams explains, “Her overall goal was to lead students beyond the technical aspects of performance and to give them as much insight into the musical interpretation of scores as possible.”¹⁴¹ Thus the idea of transcribing a large body of works that were explicitly meant for the violin and creating her own editions most likely contradicted her view of herself as a violist and an interpreter of music.

Nevertheless, she did complete one important transcription of a violin work: her own edition of Mozart’s Concerto No. 3 in G Major. This was in response to the limited number of classical period works for the viola, and especially the absence of works by Mozart. She reasoned that the third concerto, “possesses an unusually ‘dark’ register and an intimate beauty, which together with its color, range, and technique makes it most suitable to the peculiarities of the viola.”¹⁴² Thus, even though she did complete an occasional violin transcription, she still stayed faithful to the underlying sound she was trying to create on the viola.

She encouraged her students to retain this same loyalty to the composer’s intentions, both in her individual and chamber music coaching. She spent many more years as a chamber music coach than a viola teacher, as she felt that chamber music was her expertise. In fact, she initially refused William Schuman’s request that she teach viola at the Juilliard School, offering instead to teach chamber music. He refused her counter-offer and ten years went by before she finally decided to join Juilliard’s faculty as both chamber music coach and viola teacher. Her work as a

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 114.
¹⁴² Ibid., 98.
teacher was unusual because she allowed each student to develop differently, both artistically and technically. She understood the physical challenges of the viola and how this necessitated a different kind of teaching than the violin. Indeed, in a 1986 interview in *Strad*, she explains that one of the difficulties of the viola is, “the fact that there exists no uniform, standard size of the instrument. This divergence in size necessitates entirely individual treatment for each student. We must recognize the personal needs in each case, which is made even more complicated by the build, the length of the arms etc. of each student.”

She understood that viola teaching had to be tailored to the student, rather than imposing a set of technical rules.

**Fuchs’s Pedagogical Works**

Fuchs felt that the pedagogical repertoire for viola was so limited that she eventually composed three sets of études: *Twelve Caprices for Viola* (1950), *Sixteen Fantasy Etudes* (1959), and *Fifteen Characteristic Studies* (1965). There are two dissertations that discuss these pedagogical works: Michael A. Palumbo’s “The Viola: Its Foundation, Role, and Literature, Including an Analysis of the ‘Twelve Caprices’ of Lillian Fuchs,” and Teodora Peeva’s “Lillian Fuchs: Violist, Teacher, and Composer; Musical and Pedagogical Aspects of the 16 Fantasy Études for Viola.”

Palumbo, who studied with Fuchs, argues that because of the viola’s larger size, the technical demands of the instrument are quite different from the violin and violin études

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143 Rooney, 678.


transcribed for the viola do not properly address these technical issues. Thus, prior to Fuchs’s études, there was a dire need for pedagogical works created specifically for the violist: “Most of the études and methods for the viola, even those written by violists, were based on the technique of the violin. The subtle differences of bowing and the left hand were not explored in technique books.”

This is a fact ignored by most violists, even today. Fuchs recognized this problem and felt that it was a detriment to her own playing. Palumbo states, “Miss Fuchs explained to me, the caprices were written to help her overcome problems with which she was faced in playing the viola.” In reality, however, the *Twelve Caprices* were so difficult that Fuchs actually wrote the other two volumes of études to build up to the level necessary for the *Twelve Caprices*, thus creating an entirely new pedagogical method for student violists. Palumbo discusses several of the technical challenges specific to the viola: larger spacing between left hand fingers, greater need for finger extensions within positions in order to accommodate the fourth finger, challenges in playing perfect fifths because of wider distances between strings, and coordination of string changes. He also notes that Primrose believed “Half-step shifting is much more important on viola than violin,” probably because of the awkward, disjunct accompaniment parts so often written for the viola. After expounding on these technical issues, Palumbo continues with an analysis of each of the *Twelve Caprices*. Remarkably, these works manage to address the technical problems of playing the viola in a musically satisfying context. Palumbo notes that the titles of almost all of the Caprices refer to the musical character of the work, rather than the

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146 Palumbo, viii.
147 Ibid., viii.
148 Ibid., 33–34.
149 Ibid., 35.
tempo. For instance, the second Caprice is entitled “Deciso” (“decisively). A 1951 review of the *Twelve Caprices for Viola* notes that, “All these [technical] requirements and more are concealed in such musicianly setting that the player may at first not realize the specific benefits he derives from these enjoyable pieces. The student will be capable indeed, however, who has successfully navigated the difficulties therein.”

This is an ingenious way of teaching technique, in which the student’s desire to be musically fulfilled motivates him/her to tackle difficult problems.

Palumbo writes a comprehensive analysis of each Caprice and examines exactly which of these problems it addresses, separating his discussion into problems of the right hand and those of the left hand. For example, in the Second Caprice, Fuchs focuses on the right-hand challenge of playing multi-note slurs in a number of situations: with string crossings, accents, and with various phrasing and dynamics. For her left-hand focus, she requires the violist to work on finger extensions, and using such extensions to initiate a shift. Palumbo’s work presents a thorough examination of these Caprices and their technical and musical merits. It also inspired Teodora Peeva to employ this analytical structure in Fuchs’s *Sixteen Fantasy Etudes* (1959). Peeva makes this analysis the focus of her dissertation, thus applying Palumbo’s research to Fuchs’s later work. From these dissertations we learn which technical challenges Lillian Fuchs felt were specific to the viola and how she attempted to conquer them. We also gain a greater understanding of Fuchs’s approach to pedagogy, notably her integration of musical and technical demands. Additionally, Palumbo spoke with Fuchs directly about many of her Études and his analysis reflects Fuchs’s own pedagogical goals specific to each work.

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Interview with Junah Chung

In addition to the dissertations on her work, we also have a wealth of knowledge about her teaching from her former students, many of whom are still active performers. As part of my research, I conducted an interview with one such performer, Junah Chung, who is now an acclaimed violist living in the New York area, where he performs as a chamber musician and soloist and is the violist in the Broadway show, *Lion King*. Fuchs had a lasting impact on Chung’s career as a violist and his approach to playing. Chung painted a vivid picture of Fuchs as both a player and a pedagogue, including his humorous imitations of her admonitions to him, in which she always referred to him as “boy.” (“I thought you were smart, boy,” is a prime example.). Chung studied with Fuchs in the late eighties, and she was already quite an elderly woman, yet Chung’s descriptions of their lessons illustrate the energy and humor Fuchs sustained until the end of her life. When asked to describe her personality, Chung quickly responded, “Feisty, spunky, fiery. Spiritual, witty, humorous.”

In terms of her approach to the viola, Chung explained that Fuchs used her impeccable ear as her guide. Chung explained, “She talked about resonance. It was all about resonance, whether you’re doing a certain stroke. She didn’t talk in modern pedagogical technical terms at all. She was all about using the ear. She used her ear, and encouraged me to use my ear.” Chung later went on to say, “What I learned from her was that you should trust your ears and intuition and do whatever bowing and fingering for your ear to make them come out, because, ultimately that’s what she did. This explains her detailed approach to fingerings and markings in her études.

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and her *Sonata Pastorale*. Each fingering decision was based on her own artistic judgement and sense of how she wanted the instrument to sound. This was tied into her own teaching as well; she made her pedagogical decisions based on the kind of sound she wanted to hear emerging from the viola. As Chung described, “She was very concerned about how the viola would sound out in the audience—that’s my interpretation of most of her instructions.” Additionally, she saw the viola’s sound as distinct from the violin. When I questioned Chung about this, he definitely declared, “She didn’t really ever compare it to the violin.”

Unfortunately, Fuchs did not really discuss her views on viola pedagogy with Chung. As explained earlier, she was fairly close to the end of her life when Chung studied with her and she did not go into such details. Instead Chung claims she merely advised, “If you’re finding things sounding strange, practice a few scales.” However, Chung qualified this statement by explaining that she herself spent hours practicing scales, though apparently this was not an integral part of her teaching. Instead she felt it was more important to encourage her students to think like a composers and gain a deeper understanding of a piece as a whole. Chung recalled,

She would try to get me in the mind of the composer. ‘If you were composing, why would you compose something like this?’ She would tell me, ‘You should write a piece, boy….’ She talked about every single note, the way it was played or should be played. She thought as a composer. She never took one component out of context.

Thus Fuchs was a complete musician; she was not just a violist or a teacher. She understood music from all sides: as a composer, performer, and a pedagogue.

Her approach to Bach was especially noteworthy and she was the first to record all of Bach’s Cello Suites on the viola, which her fellow violists did not originally appreciate. In fact,
Chung recalled an encounter Fuchs had with Primrose at the summer music festival at The Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity, in which Primrose boldly declared, “I don’t think the Bach Suites belong on the viola.” Obviously he changed his mind on the matter, as this remark preceded the creation of Primrose’s own edition of the Suites. And yet Fuchs never created her own edition. When I asked Chung about this decision, he explained,

She was pretty evasive about that question. She was maybe a little self-conscious. She said, “I never put a pen to Bach.” Or something like that. She idealized Bach, so she wasn’t going to make changes, even though she made a million markings, slurs. She didn’t want to give away her secrets. She didn’t want to be criticized. My opinion was that it was her own private artistic business.

This answer offers a number of possible explanations. Chung has clearly pondered this same question and perhaps a combination of these reasons accounts for Fuchs’s reluctance to create her own edition of the Suites.

Her legacy extends far beyond her work on the Bach suites, however. When asked about Fuchs’s influence on the viola in the twentieth century, Chung proclaimed,

She was a true, complete artist and soloist and she really believed the viola was a solo instrument at a time when nobody else really did. She was a chamber musician, composer…. She had numerous works written for her. She wasn’t just—I wouldn’t characterize her as a virtuoso, I would characterize her as a complete artist. She brought a spirituality to great viola playing.

This is quite a meaningful statement. Chung clearly retains a deep respect for Fuchs’s approach to music, even many years after he studied with her. It also illustrates the profound difference between her and a violist like Primrose, who was much more of a virtuoso and a proponent of the

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152 Chung, interview.
viola as a lower version of the violin. In contrast, Fuchs was searching for a very particular viola sound, perhaps a spiritual sound, as Chung implies.

Chung also discussed Fuchs’s feelings about her solo viola work, *Sonata Pastorale*:

“That piece was really personal, special to her. She would talk about imagery [in it]—the opening being the call of the wild. The first time I brought it to her, she was so happy she said, ‘Boy, I give you carte blanche!’ Then she ripped me apart for the next couple lessons.” His recollections illustrate so much about Fuchs’s personality. She was obviously elated that young, talented violists wanted to play her work; at the same time, she was searching for a very specific sound and she would not rest until she felt that her student was able to create this and give her work the attention it deserved. This determination and commitment emerged repeatedly in my interview with Chung. “We leave no stone unturned,” Chung recalled Fuchs saying in one of his lessons. She had an incredible work ethic and motivation and while her brother rose to the top as a child prodigy, she slowly and patiently worked on her playing, gaining success through an immeasurable amount of hard work.

**Analysis of *Sonata Pastorale***

Fuchs did not just employ her technical understanding of the viola in pedagogical literature. She also wrote a work for solo viola, *Sonata Pastorale*. Interestingly, Fuchs’s student Amédée Daryl Williams points out that she, “repeatedly expressed a disdain for music written for viola and
piano, simply because she felt the piano’s range and timbre tended to envelop and overpower the viola’s distinctive sonorities.”¹⁵³ Thus the idea of writing a virtuosic solo work appealed to her. Throughout the piece she brings out these “distinctive sonorities” of the viola, exploring a wide range of timbre and sound.

*Sonata Pastorale* was published in 1956, in between the Twelve Caprices (1950) and the Sixteen Fantasy Etudes (1959). Although many sources cite the year of composition as 1956, Fuchs’s student, Amédée Daryl Williams, notes that the work was published in 1956, but Fuchs performed it earlier, in 1953, as part of a program in Town Hall. The *New York Times* reviewer’s comments regarding the Sonata were brief: “The sonata is attractively written. The slow movement reveals that Miss Fuchs has a pleasant gift of melodic inventiveness.”¹⁵⁴ Fuchs dedicated the work to Rosalie J. Leventritt, whose family joined together with the Perera and Robeson families to sponsor the chamber music competition that chose Fuchs to be the violist of the Perolé Quartet. Her relationship with the Leventritts went beyond this competition, however. She became involved in their chamber music soirées, in which they played chamber music with family and friends, and this is where she met her husband Ludwig Stein. Additionally, Rosalie Leventritt gave Fuchs her first chamber music coaching experience: Leventritt decided to use her home as a place for young string players to learn how to play chamber music and insisted that Fuchs be the primary coach. In fact, it was at Leventritt’s house that Fuchs first met and coached a young Isaac Stern. Fuchs had a life-long friendship with Leventritt and thus dedicated *Sonata Pastorale* to her.

¹⁵³ Williams, 107.

Lillian Fuchs had a strong belief in the importance of the compositional process for instrumentalists. She stated that, “Not until you have written a work yourself can you understand how to interpret another composer’s work.” Because of her busy performing and teaching career, her ability to compose was limited. However, she wrote several works in her lifetime, including the Piano Trio (1924), the Piano Quartet (1925), Jota for Violin and Piano (1947), as well as the études listed above. She also arranged Mozart’s Violin Concerto no. 3 for viola with her own cadenzas and composed piano accompaniments to several Paganini caprices.

Sonata Pastorale is her only original concert work written for the viola and it illustrates Fuchs’s approach to the viola’s sound, and how it differs from the violin’s. Indeed, she often brings out the darker side of the viola, employing G- and C-string drones, and writing large double-stop sections. Her familiarity with the viola allows her to demand these particular timbres from the performer; she puts in her own fingerings throughout the work, making sure that certain passages are played on particular strings to create a darker or brighter sound. Though the piece lasts only ten minutes, it includes seven different sections, some of which are repeated. This results in constant mood and tempo changes, creating an unsettling feeling for the listener, and certainly a contrast with what a twentieth-century listener might associate with a title that includes the word “Pastorale.” It is unclear why Fuchs called the work Sonata Pastorale, but a closer inspection of the word “pastoral,” proves its associations are more complex than its usual associations a reference to nature. Indeed, musicologist Geoffrey Chew notes that, “Pastoral depends upon the projection of a philosophical opposition, generally one between art and nature or between country and city. In pastoral music this opposition is usually reinforced by the use of

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155 Ibid., 93.
distinctive styles….”¹⁵⁶ This certainly explains the large contrasts that exist within Fuchs’s work. Chew explains that music referred to as “pastoral” has existed since antiquity, when it was most closely associated with the syrinx, a Greek instrument. Additionally, Christmas music of the eighteenth century was also often referred to as “pastoral”, especially in Christmas Cantatas. In regards to this genre, Chew notes that, “the time signature is often 12/8 or 6/8; the melodies are harmonized predominantly in 3rds and 6ths; long drone basses, or at least pedal points, on tonic and dominant are frequent….⁰¹⁵⁷ It seems likely that Fuchs was aware of this style, as she uses open-string drones throughout the work and employs a 12/8 time signature in several sections.

*Sonata Pastorale* is divided into two movements: Fantasia and Pastorale, each of which is divided into several sections that are demarcated with expressive titles. The Fantasia is comprised of Maestoso, Risoluto, and Allegro, while the Pastorale is made up of Andante Semplice, Allegro, Energico, L’istesso Tempo, Maestoso, Risoluto, Allegro, and Piú Vivo. The Fantasia explores a wide range of styles and tempi and often has the feeling of a cadenza. It begins with chords comprised of perfect fourths and fifths (See example 12). These chords, though consonant, are ambiguous. There is no sense of tonality or significance given to any particular note, though Fuchs does highlight the half-step movement between E and E-flat. The emphasis on both perfect intervals and half steps sets up a dichotomy Fuchs explores throughout this opening movement, where she frequently alternates between ringing consonant chords and chromatic movement. The openness of these perfect-interval chords create a sense of


¹⁵⁷ Ibid.
expansiveness and stateliness, to which Fuchs adds the marking “Maestoso.” The opening bars serve as a fanfare for the melody that follows in the fourth measure. Fuchs writes meandering eighth notes and the marking “teneramente,” “tenderly,” a particularly poignant indication. Fuchs uses unusual markings throughout her compositions, and she is very specific in the kind of sound she wishes the violist to create. For instance, she actually indicates for the violist to use a harmonic on the D in measure 4, as well as the open D string in measure 5 (See example 13).

Example 13: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 1–5

[Image of musical notation]

In general, string players tend to avoid open strings, especially in the higher range of the instrument, as this can cause the sound to be unnecessarily bright. However, here Fuchs clearly wants a ringing, open sound to go with her “Maestoso” marking and the use of harmonics and open strings helps to create this. To contrast this sound, she also indicates that the violist should play measure 4 in third position, on the D string, creating a more covered sound, as part of her “teneramente” marking. In measure 6, she returns to double-stops at the end of the measure, indicating a return to the fuller, more majestic sound of the beginning three measures. Within these first six measures, the listener already has a strong sense of Fuchs’s compositional style and her approach to viola sound: her use of double stops to highlight its thick, dark sound, her
approach to fingerings and technique as a way of underlining the composer’s musical markings, and her use of the viola’s timbres to create a wide variety of musical expression.

The first 12-measure section has a certain temporal freedom, and encourages both *rubato* and *accelerando*. The next very brief section, however, has a much steadier rhythmic pulse. Marked “Risoluto,” it is twice as fast as the opening. The beginning of the Risoluto, measures 13–15, outlines the chromatic scale, highlighting the interval of the half-step, while measures 16–19 stress the perfect fourth (See example 14). Just as in the Maestoso, Fuchs once again focuses on the contrast between perfect intervals and chromatic movement, thus unifying two sections that are markedly different in character.

Example 14: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 13–20; measures 13–15 demonstrate chromatic motion, measures 16–19 employ perfect intervals

When we finally get to the Allegro in measure 21, we have at last arrived at the heart of the Fantasia. Indeed, this is the longest section of the movement and displays Fuchs’s virtuosic approach to viola-playing. She again highlights the interval of the half-step, specifically between G-sharp and G. She marks the contrast between these notes with a significant difference in
character: while the G-sharp in measures 21–22 exhibits energy and determination, the G in measures 23–24 employs the open-string drone, creating a heavier, more intense sound quality (See example 15).

Example 15: Lillian Fuchs, Sonata Pastorale, measures 21–26; dichotomy between energetic G-sharp and grounded G-natural

Fuchs uses open strings like this throughout Sonata Pastorale to produce a twangy quality, a sort of nasal, yet ringing sound that is unique to the viola. She uses this technique throughout measures 27–32 and she makes it particularly obvious in measure 36, with the combination of a harmonic G with the open C string, creating a haunting sound in a piano dynamic (See example 16). Here, Fuchs once again outlines the chromatic scale, as she did earlier in the “Risoluto” section. This time, however, the music centers on C: the C drone, which continues for four full measures in addition to the two-measure phrases that begin and end on C in measures 40–42 and measures 42–44 (See example 16).
Example 16: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 36–44; use of drones and C centricity

Measure 46 marks an abrupt change in character, however. Marked “tranquillo,” this section, from measures 46–58, returns to the meandering eighth notes of the *Maestoso* introduction and explores a sweeter sound that has been missing from much of the piece so far (See example 17). Harmonically, it outlines part of an A-flat natural-minor scale, to which Fuchs adds lower neighbor notes. This quickly dissolves into a descending D-flat arpeggio, after which Fuchs employs the chromatic scale to take the listener into the key of F-sharp minor. The ensuing melody in measures 52–55 is a loose transposition of the measure 46 melody, yet this time its tonality centers around F-sharp, A-sharp, and C-sharp, an F-sharp major triad. Then Fuchs presents yet another transcription of the same melody in measures 56–58, briefly entering into C major. Measure 56 comes as quite a surprise to the listener, not only because of the abrupt movement from F-sharp to G in measures 55–56, but also because the previous two appearances of the melody begin on A-flat and C-sharp (D-flat), a perfect fifth apart, and the listener’s ears expect the next note to be F-sharp. However, Fuchs thwarts our expectations with the use of the
note G, a tritone away from the previous phrase’s first note, C-sharp. She emphasizes this surprise, writing the word *espressivo* and placing a crescendo up to the note G (See example 17).

**Example 17: Lillian Fuchs, Sonata Pastorale, measures 45–57**

![Musical notation]

After this brief interlude, Fuchs once again returns to a driving, virtuosic sound, starting from the upbeat to measure 64. This downward resolution from C to F is one of the clearest markers of tonality we get in the *Fantasia*. She marks this with an accent on the C, as well as an indication that the violist should use a harmonic on this note, giving it a clear, ringing sound. Indeed, throughout this section Fuchs constantly hints at F minor, placing accents on F (measure 65) and A-flat (measure 66), in addition to the previous C (See example 18). Her compositional style in measures 64–73 is different from any she has shown us thus far in the work, with her use of sequences that recall a Baroque style and directly contrast the wandering eighth notes from the earlier *tranquillo* section.
Nevertheless, by measure 77, the listener is back in familiar territory, with the return of the melody from measure 28, which transitions into a transcription of the *tranquillo* section, appearing in measure 92. Additionally, measures 103–110 are actually a repetition of the music in measures 64–71. This time, however, she ends the phrase with a sweeping crescendo on a G-minor scale, which climbs all the way from the lowest register of the viola to the very top, accompanied by an open D-string drone. The last note of this scale is a double-stop on two D’s, two full octaves apart. By the time the violist gets to this high D, the instrument is intensely ringing with the vibration of the open D string, and the arrival on a perfect octave magnifies the drama of this ascent (See example 19).
Fuchs adds to this powerful effect by writing the first full-beat rest of the entire piece, in measure 113, creating a striking silence (See example 20). She ends the Fantasia with a transposition of the material from measure 40, though this time the first two notes are a tritone apart, rather than a perfect fourth.

She is explicit in the kind of sound she wants the violist to create: she marks the G in measure 113 as a stopped note, while the G in measure 115 is written as a harmonic, which differentiates the two phrases, and accentuates the piano quality of the second one. She also ends the section on a double-stop harmonic D and G, one of the most ringing and ethereal chords one can play on the viola. Just as in the beginning of the Fantasia, Fuchs emphasizes perfect intervals. The melody from measure 113 to the end is an outline of perfect fourths and fifths, with added neighbor notes. Fuchs’s emphasis of these intervals reflects the importance she’s placed on open strings, related by perfect fifths, throughout the Fantasia. She adds a fermata to the final harmonic double-stop, giving the ending a sort of other-worldly, mysterious quality that sets the listener up for an introverted beginning to the Pastorale (See example 20).

Example 20: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 113–121; use of perfect fifths and harmonics
Indeed, the opening melody of the Pastorale is much more subdued than anything we heard in the Fantasia. Fuchs marks this section “Andante semplice.” While this does indicate a particular tempo, it also gives the performer a very clear idea of the sound Fuchs wishes to create. The marking “semplice” implies a kind of pure sound, without too much vibrato or exaggerated expression. This is the opposite of the beginning of the Fantasia, in which Fuchs’s marking “Maestoso” and use of double-stops indicated an open, exuberant sound. Indeed, Fuchs refrains from using double-stops throughout the entire opening of the Pastorale, a decision that surely relates to her marking “semplice.”

Another contrast with the Fantasia is the Pastorale’s addition of key signatures; for the first time, there is a clear tonal center and a key signature which supports it, G minor. The phrase structure is also more regular. The first phrase is nine measures and resolves to C, while the second is seven bars and resolves back to G. These first sixteen measures are thus quite conventional: an emphasis on G, moving briefly to C and landing once again on the central note, G (See example 21).

Example 21: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 122–137; First phrase, movement from G to C to G
The ensuing phrase (measures 138–153), though it also lasts another sixteen measures, is much more tonally ambiguous and chromatic than the first. It lands on E-flat in measure 152 and yet the implications of this note are unclear. It seems to suggest C minor, since the previous measure outlines a C-major triad and measure 154 begins on a low C, however there is no clear resolution (See example 22).


The final phrase (measures 154–167) is even more chromatic and breaks from the previous two phrases in its length of fourteen measures. This phrase, though more tonally ambiguous than the first two, lands on D, an important signpost in G minor because of its dominant function. However, this D does not take us where we would expect. Rather, a series of eighth notes climbs up and briefly visits G-flat major (measures 174–177), before resolving to C in measure 180. This is an important moment because, not only does Fuchs provide a clear, satisfying resolution to C, she also includes the open C drone that was so prevalent in the Fantasia. She builds on this, climbing all the way from low C to high C octaves in measures 192–193, ending the section as quietly as she began it (See example 23).
Just as in the Fantasia, however, Fuchs quickly transitions to an entirely different character, with the beginning of the Allegro in measure 194. She uses the all-important C from the previous measures to pivot to C minor, a key she remains in for much of the remainder of the piece. She also employs a different style here than we have previously seen in the piece: a dancing staccato that necessitates an excellent spiccato stroke on the part of the violist. This stroke is a common, yet challenging stroke on the viola. It is played off the string and requires a masterful bow technique to create a clear sound. Fuchs makes the task even more difficult by marking the Allegro piano, since the bow control has to be even more precise when played with smaller bows.

However, measures 194–204 is really just a transition that leads us to measure 205, the “energico” section, in which Fuchs displays the full virtuosity of the viola. We are firmly in C
minor here, and Fuchs emphasizes this with her continued use of a C drone. This drone, which shows up throughout the piece, exaggerates the dark, brooding character of the low viola sound (See example 24).

Example 24: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 205–207

One could even say that it is this quality that truly differentiates the viola from the violin, and Fuchs employs this whenever possible. In the *Energico* section, measures 205–241, Fuchs uses double-stops almost constantly, magnifying and deepening the viola’s sound. This section evokes the prior definition of pastoral music with its jaunty tempo, 12/8 meter, and use of drones. It also provides a striking contrast to the peaceful “country music” of the opening Andante Semplice melody. The two sections are also tonally related, with the beginning set in G minor and the *Energico* firmly in C minor, a perfect fourth apart.

Fuchs continues to return to this C throughout the *Energico*, though she does travel through various other keys. Most striking is the chromatic build-up at the end of the section, in which Fuchs uses double-stops in all of the final fifteen measures (See example 25). She begins with a familiar melody, which she had previously introduced in C in measures 219–220. This time, however, the melody is presented in D-flat. Using enharmonic equivalency, she changes the D-flat to C-sharp, implying an A-major chord. From here on, the harmony changes every
measure: A major to A augmented, to F-sharp diminished, to a C-minor seventh chord, to a C-flat major seventh chord, to E-flat, and finally to A flat major. We have travelled all the way from D-flat to A-flat, once again emphasizing perfect-interval relationships. However, we arrive at this point through chromatic movement, thus highlighting the juxtaposition of these intervallic relationships. Fuchs marks the arrival on A-flat in a number of ways: firstly, she marks it *forte*, thus indicating it is the apex of the crescendo. Secondly, she remains on this tonality for five straight measures, demonstrating its importance. Thirdly, she uses double stops in every part of the viola’s range, with no break between them. Thus, this is a particularly virtuosic phrase that also articulates the viola’s variety of timbres. In order to play this, the violist must change strings constantly, in addition to playing all the double-stops in tune. It is quite a technical feat, which simultaneously causes the entire instrument to ring in all different registers. The final A-flat chord (measure 240) is marked *fortissimo* and feels like the intended arrival point. However, Fuchs surprises the listener by transposing the chord up a half step to A minor, with the addition of the C string (See example 25). She creates a dramatic effect, both by using rests (of which we have had none in this entire Energico section), and by adding a fourth string, creating a quadruple-stop, and further enlarging the viola’s sound.

The L’istesso Tempo that follows the Energico is evocative of the Pastorale’s opening. It first seems to be a transposition in E minor of the Andante Semplice melody, and yet it quickly breaks away from this. However, this section is really a bridge, a way for Fuchs to take the listener all the way back to the Fantasia section, with the repetition of both the opening Maestoso and Risoluto sections. This is followed in measure 286 by the Allegro, a repetition of material from measure 196, which leads directly back into another statement of the Energico section.
Example 25: Lillian Fuchs, *Sonata Pastorale*, measures 227–241; chromatic build-up to end of Energico section

While this begins identically to the previous statement of such material, Fuchs changes its course with the introduction of the *Più Vivo* section. She builds to this with a brief slow-down and a dramatic *forte-piano* directly on the downbeat of the *Più Vivo* (measure 307). She begins with a melody we heard but this quickly dissolves into a flurry of repeated double-stops. Almost every measure of the *Più Vivo* uses some kind of double-stop, but eleven of these sixteen measures feature open string double-stops, with Fuchs once again emphasizing the twangy quality this creates (See example 26). She accentuates the note C throughout, especially in the final measures. Interestingly, the two-measure scale that builds to the ending is actually a Phrygian scale built on C, a mode she does not frequently employ in the work. These are the only two measures that do not use double stops in this last section, and they stand out because of this.
Additionally, they provide the longest and most dramatic crescendo of the *Piú Vivo*, leading us to the final chords of the piece. Fuchs writes *fortissimo* octaves, outlining a II–V–I cadence in C. Even in these last two measures, however, she chooses to highlight both perfect intervals and chromatic movement, a nod to the intervallic contrast she emphasizes throughout the composition (See example 27).

This piece is an important work in the viola repertoire, yet it is rarely played. Fuchs understood the limitations of writing a piece for solo viola, and employs a variety of techniques to magnify the force of the instrument. Chief among these is her use of double-stops, which dominate such a...
large part of the work. Through her use of chords, Fuchs magnifies the viola’s sound, especially with her frequent use of open strings, which make the instrument reverberate. As explained earlier in the chapter, Fuchs preferred viola works that were not written with piano, as she felt the viola’s subtleties were often lost underneath the force of the piano’s sound. This most likely informed her decision to write a work for solo viola and certainly motivated her to emphasize the virtuosic and expressive capabilities of the instrument. The work is emblematic of the kind of sound Fuchs herself sought; as a critic for the *New York Herald Tribune* described her playing at a 1949 concert presentation of the fifth Bach Suite: “Her sounds have at once the smooth voicing of a violin and the warmth of a cello scale. She has tension, authority and beauty, all within the most straightforward presentation imaginable.”\(^{158}\) And yet, Fuchs was aiming for neither “the smooth voicing of a violin” nor “the warmth of a cello scale.” Instead, her goal was to present the viola as its own sound world, its own expressive voice, without comparing it to the violin or ‘cello. This is part of what differentiates her from soloists like Tertis and Primrose. She was interested in creating an entirely new repertoire and approach to the viola, both pedagogically and musically. It is remarkable that she reached these goals in her lifetime and a testament to her strong work ethic. Nevertheless, some reviewers still chose to see her as an extension of her brother, or they focused more on the novelty of her physicality rather than her playing. Fuchs’s height was notable: she was extremely small, and this contrasted with her choice of instrument. Howard Taubman’s *New York Times* 1949 review emphasizes Fuchs’s stature, even more than her playing:

Lillian Fuchs, who is not much bigger than the viola she plays, appeared alone on stage to play Bach’s Suite in C Minor. The viola is not an easy instrument to manipulate, and it takes craftsmanship to keep it interesting when it is unaccompanied. Miss Fuchs was equal to the occasion.\footnote{Howard Taubman, “Musicians’ Guild Ends Fine Season,” \textit{The New York Times}, March 8, 1949.}

The critic’s comments on her stature are unimportant to the overall review and only serve to diminish the gravity of her performance and musicianship. Additionally, the remarks on the difficulty of the viola emphasize the lack of respect most concert-goers had for the instrument and their misunderstanding of it. They simply failed to take the instrument seriously. Fuchs was determined to change these views and her success is evident in every aspect of her career: her performances as soloist all over the world, her pedagogical compositions aimed purely at viola teaching rather than violin and viola, her works like \textit{Sonata Pastorale} that showcase the viola’s virtuosity and expressivity, and her tireless work to educate as many young violists as she could.
Chapter 4: Rosemary Glyde (1948–1994)

Biography

Rosemary Glyde, though lesser known than Rebecca Clarke or Lillian Fuchs, was a tireless advocate for the viola in the latter half of the twentieth century. She was a student of Lillian Fuchs and shared Fuchs’s ambition to expand the viola repertoire. Glyde was born in Auburn, Alabama in 1948 to musical parents: her father was a violist and a professor of viola at Auburn University and her mother was a cellist. Glyde’s parents were deeply committed to their three daughters’ musical education and taught them from early childhood up until their college years. Glyde’s affinity for music was apparent from early on. As her friend, composer Judith Shatin, recounted in a memoriam to Glyde,

As a young girl, she went with her family to a farmer’s watermelon patch in Alabama. They went into the field and Rosemary picked out a melon. The farmer told her it wasn’t a good one and rapped on several before picking one out for her. When he showed her she said, “That’s a B-flat watermelon.”

Glyde went on to study violin with Raphael Bronstein at The Hartt School, then transferred to Manhattan School of Music and eventually switched to the viola while at The Juilliard School. She received both a Masters and a Doctorate at Juilliard, studying with Lillian Fuchs. Fuchs was an important mentor to Glyde and had a lasting influence on her. Glyde’s


daughter Allison recalls that Glyde and Fuchs shared a “dedication to true artistry. Personality-wise, she and Ms. Fuchs were cut from the same cloth. Whatever Ms. Fuchs asked her to do, she would really work intensely on it…. [Fuchs] was an incredible mentor to her, she just loved every minute of it.  

While at Juilliard, Glyde began searching for ways to expand the viola repertoire. She used her doctoral work as a way to further these goals and discovered an 1803 piece written by Johann Andreas Amon. The work was entitled Quartet for Solo Viola and String Trio and Glyde edited it and performed it. Shatin recalls, “She was eager to have more work created for viola…. She was very excited about finding her D.M.A. project. She was very excited about finding extant works for viola and expanding the repertoire.”

Glyde was equally motivated to have new works written for the viola, and her relationship with Shatin reflects this dedication. She and Shatin met at The Aspen Music Festival and School in 1971 at a composers meeting. Shatin remembers Glyde as a lively, fun person to be around. She immediately started pressing me for viola music. She loved collaborating and working on new things. The first thing I wrote for her was a piece called Passages. She performed it at the Wheeler Opera House when she returned to the Aspen Music Festival. We collaborated on a number of pieces over the years. In 1978, she premiered my viola concerto Arche. She went on to play it with the Houston Symphony. I also composed Glyph for viola, string quartet, and piano for her.

Glyde had a deep respect for composers and their creative process. When Shatin wrote a piece for her, she and Glyde collaborated, in every sense of the word. Glyde made numerous

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162 Knox, interview.
164 Ibid.
suggestions about phrasing, tempo, musical flow, and composing for the viola. Shatin describes the process:

    Composing for Rosemary was an exhilarating experience. She made helpful editorial suggestions including comments about register and bowing techniques; she admonished me to remember the C-string. And she threw herself into interpreting the music with results that were unvarying in their verve and penetration.\textsuperscript{165}

This says a lot about Glyde’s approach to performing: she saw herself as an interpreter of music, an artist with her own opinions and ideas about music, rather than someone who adhered directly to the written page. She had strong musical opinions and her passion for playing extended to a number of areas in her life. As Shatin explains, “I feel that Rosemary as a person and as a musician was a seamless entity. Her approach to her music was very much her approach to life: engaged, passionate, opinionated, warm. From everything I knew of Rosemary, it was a seamless connection.”\textsuperscript{166}

    Glyde harnessed this passion as a tool to advocate for the viola as a solo instrument with its own repertoire, separate from the violin. She saw herself as a soloist,\textsuperscript{167} although she also loved chamber music and was a member of The Manhattan String Quartet shortly after her graduation from Juilliard. This quartet was formed in 1970 by Rosemary’s sister Judith, a cellist, along with Judith’s husband, violinist Eric Lewis. The quartet is still in existence today, though with different members. Rosemary’s membership lasted only two years, from 1976–78. After

\textsuperscript{165} Shatin, 9.
\textsuperscript{166} Shatin, interview.
\textsuperscript{167} Knox, interview.
Rosemary Glyde was a recitalist and teacher in the New York City area, serving on the faculty of The Mannes School of Music until her death in 1994.

**Glyde’s Dissertation**

Glyde completed her DMA dissertation, “The ‘Concerto pour L’Alto Viola Principale’ of Johann Andreas Amon” in 1975, at The Juilliard School. The work is currently held in the reference library at Juilliard, and is approximately 70 pages long. The majority of the dissertation is an analysis of the Concerto, which was composed by Amon (1763–1825) in 1803. She argues that the work is important because it is such a rarity: a classical-era concerto written for the viola, rather than the violin. As Glyde points out, even Mozart’s *Sinfonia Concertante*, his concerto for violin and viola, is, despite its brilliant viola part, a duo concerto. Thus, when Glyde discovered Amon’s Viola Concerto at the Library of Congress, she was intrigued, especially since it did not have an edition after 1814.

The beginning of the dissertation illustrates many of Glyde’s views toward viola composition and playing. For instance, the opening line reads as follows: “Viola virtuosity, *per se*, has really only begun to blossom in the twentieth century—with the advent of the virtuoso solo violist and the developing wealth of contemporary solo repertoire. The lack of a known repertoire of such material, bequeathed by the classical era, has remained an enormous problem for the solo viola performer….“

It is evident that Glyde had a deep understanding of the

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viola’s need for upward mobility, and thus she was motivated to add to its repertoire, through arrangements and her own compositions. She also was aware of how this dearth of repertoire had affected viola pedagogy: the less material written for the viola, the less it was taught, resulting in fewer players and once again less material. Glyde described it thus: “The lack of classical solo material has also greatly hampered the fundamental development of a viola pedagogy that can serve both virtuosic ends and training in the classical musical and technical style within this solo medium.”

In reading Glyde’s dissertation, her dedication to the viola is immediately obvious. Not only did she discover this work, she went so far as to create five different versions of the work, which was originally published for solo viola and chamber ensemble: an edited version of the solo viola part, a score of the viola and string orchestra parts, a piano reduction of the orchestra part, an edited copy of the work with comments, as well as the original score of the piece. She clearly felt quite passionate about adding this to the viola repertoire. As I read through this dissertation, I could not help but remember how Glyde’s daughter described her approach to her work: “[Rosemary] was not someone who would just kind of say, ‘Yeah, ok, this is done.’ Some people are kind of resigned to getting something done, maybe they get it done, but it kind of stops right there. She did not see things that way….She really saw herself as an advocate.”

Thus, Glyde went beyond just editing the piece; she organized the first performance of the work in the New York City area, which took place in Paul Hall in 1974.

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169 Glyde, iv–v.
170 Knox, Interview.
Despite her advocacy for the work, Glyde also acknowledges Amon’s drawbacks as a composer: “Although I have found much to admire in the viola concerto, I concede that there are weaknesses in it and that my limited knowledge of Amon does not permit me to claim a lofty position for him as a composer.”\textsuperscript{171} It seems that what interested Glyde the most about this work was Amon’s treatment of the viola as a solo instrument, especially his inclusion of particularly virtuosic passages in the high register. Glyde notes,

| Amon deserves the closest scrutiny for having contributed so much technical material in addition to having shown, even to the point of eccentricity, unprecedented confidence in the future violist. Some contemporary musicians might scoff at the high register in the Amon concerto. However, in 1975, the viola’s potentialities in the high register are no longer limited as they were; the high register can be musically gratifying to violist and listener alike. It seems staggering that Amon would have thought of the viola in this way in the year 1790, when some musical circles in the year 1975 still think of the viola as an instrument of lesser possibilities.\textsuperscript{172} |

This quote is particularly revealing because it demonstrates the constant prejudice the viola received from Amon’s time until the end of the twentieth century. It also shows Glyde’s understanding of the expressive capabilities of the viola. She felt the viola should not be held back by its past; rather, the twentieth century represented an entirely new era of viola-playing and repertoire. As she aptly put it, “Practically speaking, there is no need to make excuses for viola technique anymore….”\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{171} Glyde, 3.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 21–22.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 12.
Interview with Allison G.S. Knox

As part of my research, I conducted a phone interview with Rosemary Glyde’s daughter, Allison G.S. Knox, who was kind enough to educate me about Glyde’s family background and approach to her career. Knox noted that Glyde was deeply committed to music education, as were the other members of her family. Music was a central element of their family culture. As Knox explained, “Who she was as a musician was very much impacted by her family…. They studied together, they played together. While they were a family, they were also colleagues.”

Music was an integral part of her life and, as her daughter described,

She loved everything about life, including being out in the garden, going to a museum…. She loved everything about music. Her sisters and parents shared this. She loved that you could really create images with what you were playing, the same way a painter might create a scene. When she was writing music, she was thinking about these different scenes.”

Knox’s description of her mother demonstrates what a vibrant and creative person Glyde really was. When I inquired how Glyde and Fuchs were similar, Knox replied, “[Their] dedication to true artistry! Personality-wise she and Ms. Fuchs were cut from the same cloth. Whatever Ms. Fuchs asked her to do, she would really work intensely on it.” Much like Fuchs, Glyde was a very determined person, and this extended into many areas of her life. She was particularly concerned about the state of music education, as more and more schools abolished their music

174 Allison G. S. Knox, interview by author, Brooklyn, NY, March 6, 2018. My great thanks to Allison for taking the time to speak with me!

175 Knox, interview.
programs and failed to see the importance of arts education in general. Glyde’s daughter recalled that,

When I was little, she would come with me to school and do a quick music appreciation class. She would bring in her viola, a violin, and I would bring in my cello. She would do a quick demonstration of each musical instrument. She was always wanting to educate my classes, [explaining] “This is music, these are instruments, these are symphonies.” Her older sister Wendy did the same thing. While music was leaving the school systems, she and Wendy were determined to educate [children] about music. 176

This drive to educate was a motivating factor in her creation of The New York Viola Society, which she founded in 1992, just two years before her death. The society sponsored concerts and master classes and helped young violists attain scholarships. Glyde was the organization’s first president and the society honored her with a scholarship given in her name.

She had the idea for the organization and she brought a group of New York violists together to discuss its creation. And yet as Knox described,

I don’t know that it was particularly difficult to start; there was a lot of energy and dedication to it. It was already electrified. It just needed someone to say “Hey, let’s do this.” I wouldn’t say it was an uphill battle. She just knew it was something that could be. It was very much something she had envisioned, and she put it forward quite easily. 177

Without Glyde’s dedication and organizational skills, however, it never would have come into being. Its very existence is a symbol of Glyde’s advocacy for her instrument.

176 Ibid.
177 Ibid.
Analysis of *Whydah*

Glyde’s dedication to the viola was very much tied into her role as a composer and arranger. Although she did not write her own works until the end of her life, she arranged a number of works, including Rachmaninoff’s Cello Sonata and Bach’s Sonatas for Viola da Gamba. In addition to her work with Judith Shatin, she also commissioned pieces from composers such as Richard Lane and Bernard Hoffer.

Because she started composing toward the end of her life, her compositional output was quite small. Judith Shatin explains that “She had become very excited about doing more composing later in her life. It’s really tragic that she couldn’t leave more. The fact that I first met her at a composer group at Aspen showed that she was already interested in this early on.”

Her works include a piece for four violas, *Weiji* as well as the Fantasia for Solo Viola, *Whydah*.

*Whydah* was written in August, 1992, while she was in Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Glyde was inspired by an exhibit she saw in Provincetown about a pirate ship called “Whydah,” which was shipwrecked on April 26, 1717. The ship was built in 1715 as a slave ship but was taken over by pirates on its first voyage and sank off the coast of Cape Cod in a powerful storm. Only two of the ship’s crew survived and the Whydah could not be located. The legend of the ship’s demise and questions about its whereabouts lived on for more than two centuries. Finally, in 1984, an underwater explorer named Barry Clifford found the Whydah along with 200,000 artifacts on board the ship. These artifacts revealed a great deal about the life of pirates in the eighteenth century and inspired the exhibit that Glyde attended in the summer of 1992. She was

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178 Shatin, interview.
deeply affected by the story of the Whydah, both by the ship’s power and its devastating shipwreck. The introduction to her piece notes that she “attempted to capture the strength and cataclysm of the ship, symbolic of our own human struggle, through the powerful open string sonorities of the viola.”

Yet her work encapsulates much more than just the ship’s story. The piece contains four sections: Prologue, Tumult, Sheep’s Pond, and Epilogue. The Sheep’s Pond section stands in direct contrast to the violence of the Whydah story. It is named after a pond where her husband, William Salchow, watched his young sons play. As stated in the introduction to the work, it is “a brief glimpse seen through her husband’s eyes.” The serenity of this section, while it still features the viola’s open strings, portrays a vastly different character than the two previous sections.

The work’s opening, “Prologue,” begins on a strong, fortissimo open C string. Glyde uses neither a key signature, time signature, nor bar lines, thus giving her room to explore her ideas without constraints. The first part of the Prologue, entitled “Forthright,” is a gradual build-up in intensity. It consists of three phrases, each one longer and more intense than the previous (See Example 28). Within the first phrase, which is made up of five sets of barred notes, she moves from C to D-flat to D-natural before reaching chromatically back to the C that starts the following phrase. This motion from C to D-flat to D-natural occurs on the first of every set of notes and immediately establishes the powerful sound of the viola’s lower register. Glyde contrasts this sound with A-string notes soaring two octaves above the low notes. This difference in timbre is one she employs throughout Whydah, as a way to explore the outer limits of the viola’s sound, the vast range in its expressive ability. In the second phrase, she essentially repeats

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the first phrase, this time increasing the number of notes in each set. For instance, while the first three sets of the first phrase each contain 8, 9, and 10 notes, the first three sets of the second contain 9, 12, and 11. This increase in notes adds to the build in intensity and leads us to the third phrase, which is the climax of the first section. Here, Glyde uses double-stops for the entire phrase and once again uses a *fortissimo* marking. The effect of the C, D-flat, D-natural motion is amplified through Glyde’s use of octaves on the D-flat and D-natural. This motion becomes a guiding force through each of the three phrases and is really the only tonal marker we can hold onto. Throughout this piece, Glyde only gives occasional hints at tonality; however, she gives the listener a sense of centrality through her overwhelming use of the C string from the first note to the very last.

**Example 28: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, “Forthright” section**
The next section, “Deliberately yet flowing,” is not as structured as the opening. For instance, it is not always clear why Glyde decides to bar certain numbers of notes together. We very quickly lose the pattern of pedal tone that she set up in the “Forthright” section and this time she decreases the number of notes in each barred set to build the phrase rather than increasing the notes as she did previously. Similarly, rather than using the lowest notes to outline chromatic motion, she now uses the upper notes of each set to build to the top of the viola’s range. If we look at the transition from “Deliberately yet flowing” into “Compelling,” we see that she moves from A to B-flat to B-natural to C and up to C-sharp, which coincides with the top of a crescendo to fortissimo (See Example 29).

Example 29: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, “Deliberately yet flowing” and “Compelling”
Nevertheless, this excitement dies down fairly quickly as she ends the “Compelling” section on a definitive C major chord, and a repeated utterance of the open C string (See Example 30). This note is the unifying force of the work and Glyde clearly felt that the sound of the viola’s open strings had a particularly emotive power, as is indicated in the introduction to the piece where she makes a connection between the “human struggle” and the “powerful open string sonorities of the viola.”

Example 30: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, end of “Compelling” section

In the last part of the Prologue, marked “Rhapsodic,” Glyde once again highlights the C-major triad, both beginning and ending the section with it. She builds chromatically from this C-major triad up to an E-major triad, focusing on the upper range of the viola’s sound. Then, as she does earlier in the work, she contrasts the high timbre of the viola with the low, even marking that certain sections be played on the C string, to give them a darker quality (See Example 31).

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180 Ibid.
Example 31: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, “Rhapsodic;” juxtaposition of high and low registers

Example 32: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, “Tumult”
“Tumult,” the second large section of the work, is much more virtuosic than the Prologue. It begins with F and C, notes that Glyde emphasized throughout the Prologue. The chromatic motion that she used throughout the previous sections is now sped up into crescendoing sixteenth-note runs. Glyde uses these sequences throughout “Tumult” as a kind of refrain that returns twice more throughout the section. Between these sequences, she uses accented eighth notes, emphasizing the contrast between duple and triple rhythms (See Example 32).

Without a time signature, it is often hard for the performer to interpret Glyde’s rhythmic indications. However, her use of accents provides clues that help the performer shape phrases and bring out certain rhythms. This occurs at the very beginning of the piece, where she uses accents to divide up long sets of notes into smaller rhythmic entities. In this “Tumult” section, the accents differentiate between duple and triple rhythms and add to the sharp, edgy quality of the character. This is particularly true when she begins to use sixteenth-note, dotted eighth-note rhythms (See Example 33). She marks these to be played at the frog, where the majority of the bow weight lies. Additionally, this figure begins on a down-bow, with the longer notes (dotted eighth notes) occurring on an up-bow. This is an awkward bowing, but Glyde emphasizes it with her use of accents and a fortissimo dynamic. She also writes it in the upper register. The combination of all these effects creates an edgy, jarring sound, which evokes both the instability of the Whydah ship and the title of the section, “Tumult.” Glyde builds on this character, continuing the same sixteenth-note/dotted eighth-note rhythm, but adding double stops.

As in earlier sections, she also indicates that certain passages be played on the C string, especially when there are sequences of crescendoing sixteenth notes. This points to Judith Shatin’s description of working with Glyde on Shatin’s own viola music: “She made helpful editorial suggestions including comments about register and bowing techniques; she admonished me to remember the C-string.” What exactly did Glyde mean in her warnings to Shatin not to forget the C-string? Perhaps she meant that too many composers of viola music focus on the middle or even upper ranges of the instrument and forget about the instrument’s defining characteristic: its resounding lower range. This lower register is what sets the viola apart from the violin and gives it such a distinctive quality. Glyde seeks to bring out this quality throughout *Whydah*, not only by repeatedly using the open C string but also by requesting that the violist play a number of passages on the C-string rather than the G-string, thus creating a timbre not found on the violin.

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However, Glyde also emphasizes the upper register of the viola, and its ability to play just as virtuosically as its violin cousin. For example, in the climax of the “Tumult,” she writes descending *fortissimo* octaves that move downward in *glissando* slurs, a technique often associated with violin show-pieces. She writes three of these downward scales, the outer two chromatic scales and the middle one a whole-tone scale. At the end of this figure she immediately sends the violist back to *piano* before building back up to *fortissimo*, ending on a C octave. Once again, she makes C the most important note of the phrase; in fact it is the longest note in the entire “Tumult” section (See Example 34).

**Example 34: Rosemary Glyde, Whydah, climax of “Tumult” section**

When the “Tumult” finally subsides, though, it is G that we land on, not C. This is a sign that the character and tone of the music has abruptly changed. Glyde emphasizes this note change with
her doubling of the G; it is played as a double-stop with a stopped G and an open G. She names this section “Murmuring,” emphasizing this effect with the repetition of the G double-stop and a decrescendo. Here the G becomes a kind of drone, a stark contrast to the soaring “C” we heard at the climax of the “Tumult” (See Example 35).

Example 35: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, transition from “Tumult” to “Murmuring”

Glyde uses these murmuring Gs to lead into her next large section, entitled “Sheep Pond, looking back.” As explained in the introduction to the work, “The slow movement, ‘Looking Back, Sheep’s Pond’ is a brief glimpse as seen through her husband’s eyes as he saw a pond where years ago his young boys played one carefree summer’s day.”¹⁸² This does not seem directly related to the story of the Whydah shipwreck and it is curious that Glyde includes it. Perhaps she is emphasizing two different aspects of the sea: its destruction and its serenity. Her use of the notes C and G certainly represent these different characters. In this slow section, the G begins every phrase and is followed by a resolution from F-sharp to another G. This major seventh-minor second intervallic relationship is a hallmark of this section and evokes a feeling of pain or

¹⁸² Glyde, 2.
yearning. Glyde presents this melody four times consecutively, although each presentation is a little different (See Example 36). The dynamics are particularly significant. She moves from piano to pianissimo to mezzo piano to mezzo forte, adding double stops as the sound increases.

This section is like a musical representation of memory; each repetition of the melody is essentially the same memory, but presented slightly differently, just the way the a person’s memory of an event changes each time it appears in his/her mind.

Example 36: Rosemary Glyde, Whydah, “Sheep Pond, looking back”

Finally, however, the memory bursts forth into something entirely different as Glyde changes the melody and adds more double-stops. The elements of the original melody are still there, especially the F-sharp to G resolution, but now the rhythm is quicker and the phrases get shorter. As these changes occur, Glyde marks this section “More and more urgently, coaxingly,” and later, “Breathless” (See Example 37). This breathless feeling is illustrated in the music, with each
presentation of the new melody becoming increasingly shorter and louder until the whole section
dissolves back into the opening memory, presented two more times, each time successively
slower.

Example 37: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, shortening of phrases and rhythm at end of
“Sheep Pond, looking back” section

This middle movement illustrates so much about Glyde’s compositional style as well as her
approach to viola playing. In analyzing this section, it is obvious how connected music and
emotions were for her. She finds a number of ways to build tension throughout: lengthening or
shortening phrases; increasing dynamics; and climbing to the top of the viola’s register. Yet the
power in this section exists in repetition itself. Every time the melody is repeated, the listener has
a sense of growth: the melody is the same and yet altered in some way. From the violist’s
perspective, much of this section is kept on the C, G, and D strings. Even when the melody
begins to get higher, Glyde puts in fingerings advising the violist to go up in position on the D string; rather than play with the bright timbre of the A string. Only when the violist reaches “More and more urgently, coaxingly,” (Example 37) which occurs in a *mezzo forte* dynamic, does she allow the use of the A string. Thus she uses the timbre of the instrument to reinforce the dynamics and character she has composed.

The last section of the work, the Epilogue, is exactly the same as the opening Prologue. She calls this section “the symbolic struggle of the Whydah.” While it is identical to the opening, it leads to an ending Coda section, which Glyde marks “Wild.” It is a culmination of the strength and power of the rest of the piece, and Glyde once again uses the note C to represent this. In fact, this section contains the most appearances of this note in the entire work, with its repeated use of open Cs, almost like a theme that we continually come back to. Glyde creates a wonderful juxtaposition of the low and high registers of the viola as she alternates between open C staccato notes and a climbing chromatic scale from the D two octaves above middle C up to a C three octaves above middle C. As if to push this on the listener, she uses C for all of the last seven notes, ending with a dramatic *sforzando-piano* double-stop that she marks *molto crescendo* (See Example 38).

**Example 38: Rosemary Glyde, *Whydah*, use of the note C in Coda**
What does C represent in this piece? One could say that it represents strength, the core of the piece, or a sort of building block that we always return to, even when we veer into other sections. Glyde does not necessarily indicate this in her introduction to the piece, but she does mention her attempt to “capture the strength and cataclysm of the ship, symbolic of our own human struggle, through the powerful open string sonorities of the viola.”\textsuperscript{184} Her use of the note C and the C-string itself is particularly evocative of this struggle and, throughout the piece, it often feels as if we are fighting to get back to this note C. It is a particularly significant note for violists, and it is no surprise that Glyde warned Judith Shatin to “Remember the C-string.” The sonority of this string is one of the main characteristics that distinguishes between the viola and violin and Glyde sought to make this distinction throughout her career. In her compositions, her playing, and her creation of the New York Viola Society, Glyde fought for the viola to be appreciated distinctly from the violin and cello. Unlike many of her predecessors, she sought out works written specifically for the viola, in addition to providing her own. She was a true pioneer for her instrument, although she still remains unknown to a large number of violists. Her works are rarely performed and she has yet to receive the attention she deserves for her tireless educational and musical efforts. Hopefully, in the years to come, more of her works and arrangements will be performed and her efforts celebrated.

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

The viola’s status in the twentieth century changed dramatically: audiences, composers, and performers gradually gained a greater appreciation of the instrument’s dark, expressive sound and tenor range. Consequently, repertoire for the instrument increased as did opportunities for it to be featured as a solo instrument. While this growth has long been attributed to Lionel Tertis and William Primrose, there were many others who made equally important contributions to the viola’s ascension. Before Tertis and Primrose, the viola was seen as an offshoot of the violin, a necessary harmonic filler that only rarely presented melodic material and was rarely featured in a solo recital. Thus there was very little pedagogical material specifically written for the viola and no viola professorship at conservatories or universities; the viola was seen through the filter of the violin.

The three women I have examined in this dissertation, Rebecca Clarke, Lillian Fuchs, and Rosemary Glyde dedicated their lives to changing this prejudice against the viola. They were performers, composers, and teachers and they used all areas of their careers to reach this goal. Unlike Tertis and Primrose, they sought to present the viola as completely separate from the violin; that is, rather than focusing on concerti and transcribed works from the violin repertoire, Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde concentrated on smaller works that showcased the distinct, tenor voice of the viola. My analysis of their work and study of their lives has provided an alternate perspective on the history of the viola; I have shown that the viola’s rise to prominence had just as much to do with its popularity in small forms as it did in the concerto sphere. That is, the viola did not just gain appreciation because of works like the Bartók and Walton concerti; it was also
the cumulation of works like Rebecca Clarke’s *Morpheus* and Lillian Fuchs’s *Sonata Pastorale*, which brought the viola to the forefront and the creation of organizations such as The New York Viola Society that pushed the viola into the spotlight. Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde achieved all of this while struggling to be appreciated in a male-dominated field and in studying their lives we can gain a greater understanding of the viola’s struggles to be recognized in the violin-centric music world.

Rebecca Clarke especially struggled to build a career as a woman composer. She even had to leave the Royal Academy of Music because she was not taken seriously and instead was proposed to by her own composition teacher. It was not until she began studying with Charles Villiers Stanford at the Royal College of Music that she was finally appreciated as a musician. Unfortunately, the difficulty she encountered as a woman composer greatly affected her own sense of self. Even when her music was rediscovered at the end of her life and presented in a special concert promoted by New York’s classical music radio station, she felt her impact as a composer was insubstantial. She had no idea that her sonata would become a staple of the viola repertoire, performed by countless conservatory students and professionals. And yet, her achievements as a violist are still often ignored or forgotten. Clarke was one of the first women orchestral violists, playing in the Queen’s Hall Orchestra from 1912–1914, much to the chagrin of the male members of the orchestra, who Clarke notes were originally “disgusted” at the presence of women in the group. Clarke was also a fantastic chamber musician and this informed her view of how viola-playing had changed and was still evolving. She could look at a string quartet of Mozart and describe how his writing for the viola had changed the evolution of

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repertoire for the instrument. She really understood how viola repertoire had changed and was still in the process of evolving.

Clarke felt that what really set the viola apart was its unusual color and timbre and that twentieth-century composers’ obsession with musical color led to a greater appreciation for the viola’s attributes. She highlights the viola’s different colors and timbres throughout her work *Morpheus*. This is a work that ordinarily would receive very little attention because of its brevity. However, it is a microcosm of Clarke’s approach to viola composition and performance and illustrates how she used different timbres, harmonics, and registers to expand the expressive possibilities of the viola. It also demonstrates Clarke’s evolution as a composer: the piece begins very simply and, as it develops, Clarke expands the rhythmic and harmonic complexity while writing more virtuosic figures for the viola. Though the work is brief, it actually reveals a great deal about Clarke’s compositional development as well as her view of viola sound. She understood that the viola had a much wider palette of colors than many composers recognized and she experimented with how to bring out these colors as a means of expression.

Fuchs’s work, *Sonata Pastorale*, also shows her approach to viola playing and, in a way, teaching. She believed that the viola’s attributes were too often covered up by the piano and thus there should be more solo repertoire. She also struggled to be recognized in the male-dominated music world. Even in her own house, her talents were mostly ignored, since her brother Joseph appeared to be the real musical star. And yet she was unfazed by this lack of attention; rather she saw it as a way to develop her talents at her own pace. She spent an incredible amount of time practicing, sometimes repeating a single note or phrase for hours. She was searching for the most beautiful sound, the perfect turn of a phrase. Critics noticed and were impressed by the resonance
and precision Fuchs achieved, and yet many only mentioned her in connection with her brother’s success. Was this because of Joseph’s instrument or his gender? Probably a little bit of both. Nevertheless, her connection with Joseph ended up bringing her international fame; they performed *Sinfonia Concertante* around the world, and Lillian Fuchs was often the only woman on the stage. The recordings of Fuchs and her brother are still treasured today, and yet many of Fuchs’s own recordings are lost. Decca even denied a reissue of her recording of the Bach Cello Suites and Fuchs never printed a version of her editorial markings. Thus much of her work is lost to the public.

However, in her compositions Fuchs left us a blueprint of her approach to viola-playing. In *Sonata Pastorale*, she features the lower register of the viola and frequently uses double-stops and open string drones, giving the viola an intense, radiant sound, and increasing its resonance. She was trying to create a different voice for the viola, especially in the realm of chamber music. While her immediate goal was to write a solo piece for the instrument, her greater goal was to showcase the viola’s virtuosity and differentiate its sound from the violin’s. She carried these aims into all facets of her career: teaching, performing, and composing. For instance, when she wrote the *Twelve Caprices for Viola* (1950), *Sixteen Fantasy Etudes* (1959), and *Fifteen Characteristic Studies* (1965), she accomplished a number of feats: she expanded the viola repertoire, she changed the way it was taught, and she portrayed it as a virtuosic instrument, thus changing preconceived notions about the viola’s capabilities. Her work was infused with this drive to promote the viola as virtuosic and powerful, with a dark voice distinctively different from that of the violin.
Rosemary Glyde devoted her life to similar ambitions. In her efforts to expand viola repertoire, she discovered unpublished works, commissioned new pieces, and wrote a few compositions herself. She had a deep reverence for the compositional process and felt that many composers did not take advantage of all the registers and timbres of the viola (thus her comment to composer Judith Shatin, “Remember the C string”).\textsuperscript{186} In her work \textit{Whydah}, Glyde explores the upper and lower limits of the instrument and particularly highlights the open strings of the viola, especially the open C-string, which she comes back to throughout the piece. She fought for the viola to be seen as distinct from the violin and the cello and, to further this pursuit, she founded the New York Viola Society. This organization promoted works for violists and by violists and it even gave scholarships to violists. Glyde was a true pioneer for her instrument and yet many violists today are unaware of her achievements.

What does studying these women and their work tell us about the history of the viola in the twentieth century? Primarily it illustrates that there were many more contributors to the evolution of the viola than just Tertis and Primrose. On a deeper level, my analysis reveals that the viola’s popularity today is due to violists’ promotion of the instrument as distinct from the violin. Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde understood this and were willing to fight for the public to make this distinction. However, they all operated in a field that, even in the late twentieth century, was still overwhelmingly run by men; thus, they were used to having to work just a little bit harder than their colleagues to forward their own careers. They harnessed this ambition to achieve their goal: promoting the viola as its own instrument with its own repertoire and role in chamber music.

Although there were a number of people who fought for this goal, I chose women violists in particular because their struggle to be heard mirrored the struggle of the viola to distinguish itself in a violin-dominant music world. That is, it is not their gender that sets them apart, but their experiences as minorities in the music world that adds such a deeper perspective to our understanding of the viola’s history. Thus further study of this topic could include an examination of women composers in the twentieth century who promoted the viola; people like Judith Shatin and Joan Tower, who have written works that especially highlight the attributes of the instrument. As Susan McClary writes in her essay, “Feminine Endings in Retrospect,” “Women composers often seemed to be selected for research projects and specialized courses largely on the basis of their gender alone; we now are paying closer attention to the artistry and content of what they produced.”¹⁸⁷ The same is true of women violists; while it is notable that Rebecca Clarke was one of the first women to play in a professional orchestra, her influence reaches far beyond this with her numerous compositions, performances, and articles. More work needs to be done on the influence of twentieth century women composers on the world of viola composition. After all, women are still the minority in the world of composers and, for much of the twentieth century, so was the viola in the world of performance. It is due to people like Clarke, Fuchs, and Glyde, who worked tirelessly to promote the instrument, that the number of compositions for the instrument continues to grow, along with the public’s appreciation of the viola. Without these women, there would be significantly less viola repertoire, fewer conservatory students studying the instrument, and a dearth of solo viola recitals. It is my hope

that violists will come to recognize their importance and showcase their works, giving all three of these magnificent women the attention they truly deserve.
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