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From Musicology to Novel:

reassessing Robertson Davies' literary representation of Peter Warlock

Monica . . . had played for perhaps three minutes, when a voice said very loudly behind her, "Stop that bloody row!" She turned, and standing in the doorway was a man. He was utterly naked . . . patchily hairy . . . He was smiling, which made it all worse. He seemed quite at his ease; it was she . . . she the clothed, she the outraged one, who was overset. (Davies, *Salterton*, 605-6)

That is how the character Giles Revelstoke is first revealed to the reader in Robertson Davies' *A Mixture of Frailties* (1958), the final novel in his *Salterton Trilogy*. Writers on Davies have already noted how Revelstoke is a "highly interpretative" portrait of the English composer Peter Warlock (1894-1930) (Grant, 362-3; Elliott, 1034, 1049; Peterman, 107-8), but this article explores in more detail how Davies developed material from Cecil Gray's 1934 study of the composer. Having reviewed Gray's book in the *Queen's University Journal* in 1935 (Davies, "Peter Warlock"),¹ Davies' novel drew not only upon Warlock's biography, but his work as a composer and critic, his reception, and his family background; the result—a particularly rich literary refiguring of "one of the most remarkable personalities of the post-war period in England" (Davies, "Peter Warlock", 4)—demonstrates Davies's nuanced approach in reflecting the complexities of composers' real personalities, rather than simply using musical characters as demonic or orphic symbols.

The idea of representing a real composer in literature is of course not a new one. Nineteenth-century examples include Frédéric Chopin in George Sand's *Lucrezia Floriani*, Franz Liszt in Daniel Stern's *Nélida* (both published in 1846),² or the moral exemplar of Felix Mendelssohn as the character Seraphael in Elizabeth Shepard's *Charles Auchester* (1853). However, literary refigurings of British composers from the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century are relatively few; they include the titular Auchester (the composer Charles Horsley) and Starwood Burney (William Sterndale Bennett) in Shepard's novel, the character Owen Jack in George Bernard Shaw's *Love Among the Artists* (1881), who shares a number of traits with the composer Hubert Parry (Weliver, 133-55), portraits of Ethyl Smyth as Edith Staines in E.F. Benson's *Dodo* novels and as Hilda Tablet (also based on Elisabeth Lutyens) in Henry Reed's radio plays (Fuller, 47-9; Masters, 105-6; Carpenter, 135-9; Savage, 180), William Walton in Lord Berners' *Count Omega* (and Berners himself in his own works and Nancy Mitford's *The Pursuit of Love*) (Amory, 200-2, 184-6, 145-8, 212-13), and Edward Elgar in James Hamilton-Paterson's 1989 novel *Gerontius* (Riley, 190-98). The persistent literary representation of Warlock is therefore something of a special case. As Table 1 shows, Davies was not the only author to use him as the basis of a literary work. Warlock was the subject of what Gray described as a "malignant and scurrilous caricature" as Halliday in *Women in Love* (Peter Warlock, 220);³ he was then refigured as Coleman in Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay*, where, according to Gray, he was "positively delighted" to find himself portrayed as a "virile, sinister, diabolic monster of vice and iniquity" (Peter Warlock, 227).⁴ Following Warlock's death, the composer reappeared in novels and short stories by Jean Rhys, Frank Baker, Ralph Bates, Osbert Sitwell and Anthony Powell, as well as Davies' work;⁵ these texts will be revisited later.

Davies and Warlock

Davies' *Salterton* trilogy charts the events in the lives of a small town community in Canada in the early decades of the twentieth century. Whilst the first novel, *Tempest-Tost*, focuses on a production of *The Tempest* mounted by the *Salterton Players*, the second, *Leaven of Malice*, explores the ramifications of a false engagement notice deliberately sent to the local newspaper, *The Bellman*. The final novel, *A Mixture of Frailties*, in which Warlock is

Table 1: Literary refigurings of Peter Warlock

CHARACTER	WORK
Julius Halliday	D.H. Lawrence: <i>Women in Love</i> (1921)
Coleman	Aldous Huxley: <i>Antic Hay</i> (1923)
Julian Oakes	Jean Rhys: “Till September Petronella” (written 1930s; published 1960)
Paul Weaver	Frank Baker: <i>The Birds</i> (1936)
Robert Durand	Ralph Bates: <i>Dead End of the Sky</i> (1937)
Roy Hartle	Osbert Sitwell: <i>Those Were the Days</i> (1938)
Giles Revelstoke	Robertson Davies: <i>A Mixture of Frailties</i> (1958)
Maclintick	Anthony Powell: <i>Casanova’s Chinese Restaurant</i> (1960)

refigured as the composer Giles Revelstoke, concerns a young soprano, Monica Gall, who is sent to London by a Trust to develop her vocal studies, and in the process, embarks upon an affair with Revelstoke. In the first book, music is a relatively minor element in the Shakespearian production, but it allows Davies to compare local musician Mr. Snairey with the more proficient (if unconventional) Humphrey Cobbler, and to establish Cobbler’s interest in Henry Purcell—paralleling Warlock.⁶ Characterization is developed further through musical means: Solly Bridgetower’s nascent feelings towards Griselda Webster are symbolized by the “melancholy piece of Mozart” that he puts “on his gramophone,” Snairey’s musical conservatism is established through his association with the staple fare of Edward German’s Henry VIII dances,⁷ the old-fashioned Hector Mackilwraith sits as far as possible from the “baboon-rump music-box” in the Snak Shak restaurant, and the Welsh gardener Tom Gwalchmai, bass soloist in the local church choir, intones “the low D which was so much admired at St. Clements” (Salterton, 40, 115, 32, 6).

By book two, however, we have three primary characters associated with music. Cobbler now attains a more prominent role, having been wrongly accused of perpetrating the malicious engagement notice; he might also be said to exhibit Warlockian characteristics by singing “Man is for the woman made” (attributed to Purcell) with his students in St. Nicholas’ Cathedral, to the surprise of Dean Knapp (Salterton, 294-5). The real author of the notice, the elocution teacher Mr Higgin, displays a studied music-making in his vocal performances of Guy d’Hardelot’s “Because” and Roger Quilter’s ‘Now sleeps the crimson petal’ that contrasts with the more natural musicality of both Cobbler and Monica:

It might be said of Mr. Higgin that he brought a great deal to the music he performed—so much, indeed, that some composers would have had trouble in recognizing their works as he performed them . . . he phrased with immense grandeur and feeling, beginning each musical statement loudly, and tailing off at the end of it as though ecstasy had robbed him of consciousness. He enriched the English language with vowels of an Italian fruitiness, so that “hand” became “hond”, and “God” “Goad.” It was plain that he had had a lot of training, for nobody ever sang so by the light of Nature. (Salterton, 380)

A third character, Pearl Vambrace, seeks solace in the Music Room of the University Library, allowing Davies to muse on the limitations of musical appreciation classes; significantly, Mr. Kelso, who gives the classes, has a “singularly unmusical voice”. Pearl’s natural response to the emotional nature of music allows her to appreciate works that her teacher deprecates as “Horrible Examples”: Sinding’s *Rustle of Spring*, “I’ll sing thee songs of Araby,” Sibelius’s *Valse triste*, *The Londonderry Air* arranged for violin, and Tchaikovsky’s *Sixth Symphony* (Salterton, 330-33).

The musical focus of the third book therefore represents a highpoint in this crescendo of references—no surprise given Davies’ awareness of the potential of music as a structural device; Robin Elliott has noted how Prokofiev’s Fifth Symphony frames and punctuates Davies’ play *Eros at Breakfast*, and how particular songs recur as musical leitmotifs: William Vincent Wallace’s “Yes, Let Me Like a Soldier Fall” in *What’s Bred in the Bone* and Monica’s performances in auditions and lessons of Tosti’s “Goodbye” in *A Mixture of Frailties* (Elliott, 1041-2). Indeed, *A Mixture of Frailties* is structured essentially as a series of musical performance set pieces, whether described in real time or in retrospect. Framed by the funeral service of Mrs Bridgetower—where, after works by Samuel Sebastian Wesley and Purcell, Monica is introduced to the reader via her “pure, sweet and clear” voice (Salterton, 483) in “My Task”—and the Memorial Sermon (where Monica sings Peter Cornelius’s “Three Kings” from *Weihnachtslieder*), these performances include Monica’s audition for the Trust and for Domdaniel, her leaving party, her lessons with Sir Benedict Domdaniel, Murtagh Molloy and Revelstoke (where Davies demonstrates his knowledge of vocal training, including the importance of the slackening of the jaw and aspects of posture), music-making in Wales, the broadcast of Revelstoke’s cantata and the post-broadcast party, Monica’s role as the False Witness in J.S. Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* with the Oxford Bach Choir, her singing Revelstoke’s songs to Aunt Ellen, her Canadian recital with Cobbler, the performances of *The Golden Ass* in Venice, and Revelstoke’s Memorial Concert.

Davies’ decision to model Revelstoke on Warlock can be attributed to a number of factors. Music was an important part of Davies’ education and family background—his father Rupert Davies (a competent flautist) led the choir of St. James Presbyterian Church in Thamesville, and his mother Florence played the piano. At Upper Canada College, Davies performed several roles in Sullivan’s *Savoy Operas*, and studied the piano before expanding his musical knowledge “with an eye to becoming a critic” (Grant, 124). This later bore fruit

in his writings for the Peterborough Examiner and Saturday Night, which included articles on Arnold Bax, Gilbert and Sullivan and Benjamin Britten (“Sir Arnold Bax”, “A Musical Buccaneer”, “Swinging Gilbert and Sullivan”) and a plethora of reviews of music-related books ranging from Manuel Konroff’s *The Magic Bow: A Romance of Paganini* to Stendhal’s *The Life of Rossini* (see Ryrie and Grant, 86-142). More specifically, as Judith Grant notes (99-100, 298), over the years Davies heard recordings of Warlock’s compositions by the English Singers, and sang some of these himself with the Coventry Singers. He also visited Warlock’s family between 1932 (two years after Warlock’s death) and 1940; here he saw “musical manuscripts in [Warlock’s] hand” (Grant, 362)—hence the reference in the novel to Revelstoke’s “elegant Italian hand . . . so small that it was a penance to read much of it” (Salterton, 621). Davies also “played his [Warlock’s] piano and pianola and talked of him with his mother, stepfather and son Nigel” (Grant, 362-3). Consequently, part of the sixth chapter of *A Mixture of Frailties* moves the action to Wales, allowing Davies to refigure Warlock’s mother and stepfather, the domineering Edith Covernton and Walter Buckley Jones, as Mr. and Mrs. Hopkin-Griffiths (Roper, 51).

However, it was *Peter Warlock: A Memoir of Philip Heseltine* (1934) by the music critic Cecil Gray (1895-1951)—the first extended study of the composer—that provided much of the basic information for Davies’ literary portrait. Having been introduced to Warlock at the Café Royal, Gray subsequently shared lodgings with him in Battersea, joined Warlock in promoting the Dutch composer Bernard van Dieren (1887-1936), helped him to found and edit the journal *The Sackbut*, and was later his co-author for *Carlo Gesualdo: Prince of Venosa: Musician and Murderer* (1926). Gray was therefore well placed to provide musical and biographical detail, aided by extensive quotation from Warlock’s correspondence with Frederick Delius; the book also incorporated a chapter-length contribution by Warlock’s contemporary at Oxford University, the poet Robert Nichols

(1893-1944), and a seven-page tribute by Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938), a pioneer in the revival of early English vocal music in Britain around the turn of the twentieth century. If there was bitterness in Gray's treatment of D. H. Lawrence in the book, particularly in relation to the "rupture" between Lawrence and Warlock (98-122), as Barry Smith notes (Peter Warlock, 94), "Gray could hardly have been expected to be impartial in this matter having himself fallen out with Lawrence and been lampooned in the novel *Aaron's Rod*."⁸ Unfortunately, Davies' review of Gray's study contained no discussion of Gray's critical methodology; instead, it offered a broad overview of Warlock's creative output, and confirmed the composer as "a great musician" who "has not left a single piece of work which any English musician would not be pleased to acknowledge as his own," concluding that it was time "that the world recognized and appreciated his genius" ("Peter Warlock", 4, 7).

In exploring how the fictitious Revelstoke compares to his real-life counterpart, first the double nature of Warlock's personality needs to be understood. Born Philip Heseltine in 1894, the composer adopted the pseudonym Peter Warlock in 1916 "for very important reasons" in an article on Eugene Goossens' chamber music in *The Music Student*, in order to conceal his identity (Smith, Peter Warlock, 103; Warlock, 23-4).⁹ In 1918, incensed by the publisher Winthrop Rogers' dismissive response to compositions by van Dieren, Heseltine submitted a set of seven songs to Rogers under the same pseudonym; this ruse was successful,¹⁰ hence his consistent use of the name Peter Warlock for his musical compositions from this point onwards, with only his writings on music appearing under the name of Heseltine. On the surface, the main difference between the two personas was that Warlock sported a beard, which he described in a letter to Colin Taylor of 19 July 1918 as a "fungus . . . cultivated for a purely talismanic purpose" that had a "psychological effect" on him (Smith, *Collected Letters*, 3: 179; Gray, Peter Warlock, 171); for Gray, this was representative of "the first decisive step towards the assumption of the elaborate mask which he was ultimately

destined to adopt permanently, as a defence against a hostile world” (Peter Warlock, 171). Gray’s description of a “masterful and compelling” Warlockian personality taking “ascendancy” over the “timid, shy and retiring” Heseltine from 1921—characterized in terms of sonata form as “two strongly contrasted subjects striving for mastery”—was a striking one (229, 231); Gray even described how “The creation gradually assumes the upper hand over its creator, the monster over Frankenstein, and ultimately destroys him” (236), hence Bruce Blunt’s criticism of how “the suggestion of the sinister” had given “an absolutely false impression of Philip Heseltine” in a 1944 BBC Home Service programme, “The World Goes By” (Smith, Peter Warlock, 245). More recent scholars, critical of Gray’s “controversial split-personality theory,” have preferred to see the persona more simply as “an attempt to create a more confident self-image with which Philip could face people, in the music world in particular, without the previous feelings of inadequacy” (Smith, Peter Warlock, 153). Davies may have been particularly attracted to this double man idea given that he explored his own alternative literary persona in the form of the columnist Samuel Marchbanks in the Peterborough Examiner, of which he was unofficial editor from 1942. As Peterman suggests:

While Davies produced editorials and book reviews for the Examiner, the Puckish or Rabelaisian side of his temperament, the side that could not resist a joke, needed release. Marchbanks gave him that other voice. (12)¹¹

Davies later published selective examples of his Marchbanks writings as *The Diary of Samuel Marchbanks* (1947), *The Table Talk of Samuel Marchbanks* (1949) and the *Marchbanks Almanack* (1967); he even penned an essay as Marchbanks in *Liberty* magazine in 1954 entitled “The Double Life of Robertson Davies,” where, describing Davies’ musical interests, Marchbanks suggested:

He is to this day a bad but enthusiastic pianist, and does a good deal of singing in a voice which has been described by an enemy as resembling an inexpertly played clarinet. He drags music into anything he does, and it is observable that he has never written a play (with the exception of a single one-acter called *The Voice of The People*) in which there is not a song or a dance, or both. (Klinck and Watters, 396)

Davies avoids any overt references to Warlock's double persona in *A Mixture of Frailties*, but does emphasize Revelstoke's mood swings, from "morose incivility" to "noisy hilarity," encompassing "melancholy and defiant high spirits" (Salterton, 753, 776). In terms of other biographical detail, like Warlock, Revelstoke lives in Chelsea's Tite Street (but at no. 32, rather than Warlock's 12A), has a love of cats—his pet "Pyewacket" is "delightful but musically uncritical" (Salterton, 607)—and shares his Eton and Oxford education. Both were encouraged in their early music-making; as Gray confirms, "At Eton . . . [Warlock] was fortunate in finding a sympathetic and stimulating influence in the person of the assistant music-master, Mr. Colin Taylor" (*Peter Warlock*, 37), whilst Revelstoke's mother explains:

"We've always said it [music] was a wonderful gift, ever since he [Revelstoke] became so serious about it at school. There was a master there in his time who was wonderfully gifted—quite professional, really." (Salterton, 640)

Just as Gray's book highlights Warlock's pleasure in "'juicy' words" and the "rendering of . . . profane song," his skills in penning "admirable" but "unprintable" limericks, and a familiarity with Rabelais (69, 14, 277, 276), so Revelstoke alludes to *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and, with his stage director Richard Jago, sings "lewd . . . rounds and catches . . . of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" with their "simple-minded obscenities" (Salterton, 753). One of these, Henry Purcell's "I gave her cakes and I gave her ale," may even have been familiar to Warlock, given his advocacy of Purcell's works more generally.

Gray also describes how Warlock treated women “with complete cynicism,” with “no use for the romantic idealism” of Heseltine (233). Hence Bun Eccles’ explanation in Davies’ novel that Revelstoke’s mistress Persis Kinwellmarsh is simply “supplying something Old Giles needs,” and the misery that Monica endures during her affair with the composer; the conductor Sir Benedict Domdaniel tells her ““I never saw Giles treat you other than badly”” (Salterton, 619, 792).¹²

However, Davies includes no reference to Warlock’s beard, nor the fact that he was born in London’s Savoy Hotel, and more strikingly, tells us that Revelstoke “never drank much” (Salterton, 667), in contrast to the important role that drink played in Warlock’s life. The theme of alcohol runs through several of Warlock’s songs—Rum in “Captain Stratton’s Fancy,” Beer in “Mr Belloc’s Fancy,” or Ale in “Good Ale,” “The toper’s song,” “Peter Warlock’s fancy” and “Maltworms”—not to mention his 1929 literary compilation, *Merry-Go-Down: A Gallery of Gorgeous Drunkards Through the Ages. Collected for the Use, Interest, Illumination, and Delectation of Serious Topers*. Gray was clear that the perception of drunkenness was an important part of the Warlockian image (“nothing delighted him more than to be thought a colossal drunkard . . . your real drunkard is nearly always secretly ashamed of his weakness and tries to conceal it, not to flaunt it in people’s faces”), and that although there certainly were frequent bouts of intoxication, these were punctuated with “months on end” where Warlock “would avoid alcohol altogether” (217). Although Gray cited William James’ *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), which associated the “drunken consciousness” with the “mystic consciousness,” and noted that in his own experience, he had “seldom met anyone of pre-eminent talent who does not, on occasion at least, indulge in alcohol to what is considered an excessive extent,” he was also keen to highlight the composer’s “encyclopaedic” knowledge of public houses, and his almost

mystical quest for the “perfect beer . . . a kind of ambrosia or nectar of the gods, but made out of pure hops and nothing else” (215-16, 259, 260).

The most striking aspect of Warlock’s biography, however, was his untimely death aged 36 in 1930 as a result of coal gas poisoning; although Warlock had put the cat out earlier that morning, and a draft will in pencil was found, owing to ambiguity over whether this was suicide or accident the coroner ruled an open verdict. Gray ascribed the event to Warlock’s “conviction of having come to an end of himself, not merely as a composer, but altogether, as a personality” (299). Davies incorporates this tragedy in *A Mixture of Frailties*, even having Pyewacket the cat on the stairs outside the flat, but moves Revelstoke’s death to the late 1930s (when he is only 34), chooses 29 September rather than 17 December, has the body formally identified by the composer’s stepfather (instead of his mother—as in Warlock’s case), and has no reference to any will. Gray rejected other potential contributory factors to Warlock’s death, whether “temporary financial embarrassment,” a “trivial quarrel” with his mistress, or John Ireland’s suggestion of “a lack of appreciation his work had encountered” (299, 297); however, Davies develops this combinatory idea so that various characters in the novel believe that they are the primary cause of Revelstoke’s demise: his mother for her failure as a parent, Bun Eccles for having tampered with the gas meter to save money, the critic Stanhope Aspinwall for his negative reviews, Domdaniel for his criticism of Revelstoke’s conducting, and Monica for having broken off her relationship with Revelstoke and for turning the gas back on after finding his body to cover her tracks. Even though Davies’ review of Gray noted unequivocally that Warlock “died by his own hand” (“Peter Warlock”, 7), the coroner’s verdict on Revelstoke’s death implicates Monica. Not all literary critics have been convinced by Davies’ combinatory strategy; David Creelman suggests that “the five separate confessions by the various characters who feel responsible for Giles’ death sign Davies’ troubled attempt to use comic effects to draw attention away from the fact that

the most radically free figure [Revelstoke] yet seen in his fiction has been extinguished” (54).¹³ However, the combinatory trope associated with a mysterious death was something that Davies returned to in *Fifth Business*, the first novel in the Deptford Trilogy. Here the “Brazen Head” as part of Magnus Eisengrim’s magic show comments on the unexplained death of Boy Staunton:

“He was killed by the usual cabal: by himself, first of all; by the woman he knew; by the woman he did not know; by the man who granted his inmost wish; and by the inevitable fifth, who was keeper of his conscience and keeper of the stone.”

(Deptford, 256)

Warlock as composer

Davies’ novel contains several detailed discussions of Revelstoke’s music, which sets this portrait of Warlock apart from the majority of other contemporary literary refigurings. As Gray notes, one of Warlock’s reception problems as a composer was that he was seen as “a charming miniaturist, but nothing more” (Peter Warlock, 21). Hence Odo Odinsels’ observation on Revelstoke: ““What has Giles done? He’s written perhaps fifty songs and a couple of suites for small orchestra”” (Salterton, 652), a reference to Warlock’s *Capriol Suite* and *Serenade*. In Warlock’s defence, Gray argued that “an obsession with the colossal is generally symptomatic of immaturity or arrested mental development in an artist,” and, citing writers such as Catullus, Propertius, Baudelaire and Verlaine, claimed that the composer “deliberately chose to concentrate his powers rather than to disperse and dissipate them” (22-3). Davies mirrored this argument in his review of Gray’s book, suggesting that “Although he [Warlock] never wrote for a large orchestra or choir and although the most ambitious of his works are comparatively short he achieved a miniature excellence which leaves nothing to be desired . . . One does not complain of a perfect lyric that it is not an epic” (“Peter Warlock”,

4). However, it would be misleading to conclude that Davies simply echoed Gray's views on Warlock's music. Certainly "The Bailey Beareth the Bell Away," "My Gostly Fader" and the carol "Balulalow," which Davies singled out in his book review as demanding "special attention," were described by Gray as "exquisite miniatures" (and in the case of "Balulalow," "a perfect gem"), and the "vigour and originality of manner" identified by Davies in "Captain Stratton's Fancy," "Mr. Belloc's Fancy" and "Good Ale" mirrored Gray's association of these songs with the "lusty, roistering swashbuckling, drinking, wenching Peter Warlock of popular legend" ("Peter Warlock", 7; Gray, Peter Warlock, 204, 228). But Davies was able to offer his own judgements, highlighting the carol "Adam lay Abounden" and the Herrick song setting "I held Love's Head" (works to which Gray provides no reference)—the latter being "characteristic" of the "settings of lovely lyrics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" in which Warlock "most excelled" ("Peter Warlock", 7).

Revelstoke differs from Warlock, however, in composing a few works on a larger scale: an opera, *The Golden Asse* (libretto by Lucius Apuleius) performed in London and Venice,¹⁴ and a chamber cantata, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. The latter work, based on Reginald Scott's *Discoverie*, Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, and the *Malleus Malleficarum*, together with references to Revelstoke as a "Satanic genius" (Salterton, 684, 685), mirrors Warlock's interest in the occult; as Gray confirmed, Warlock's notebooks were "filled with extracts . . . and comments" on "every aspect" of the occult, including astrology, studies of the Tarot, the writings of Éliphas Lévi and Cornelius Agrippa, and Samuel Mathers' *The Sacred Magic of Abramelin the Mage* (Peter Warlock, 163). Davies also adopts poetic license to flesh out the performance history of Revelstoke's music. Although Odinsels describes how Revelstoke has "had a few things done publicly, and I believe four years ago he gave a small recital of his own stuff to which not one critic of the first rank turned up" (Salterton, 652), apart from his memorial concert, Warlock did not have the luxury of a

recital devoted entirely to his works. Davies may have taken this idea from the concert of van Dieren's compositions organized by Gray and Warlock in February 1917 at the Wigmore Hall:

I was enabled to give a concert devoted entirely to the music of van Dieren . . . Practically without exception the representative leaders of musical opinion of every tendency and persuasion, from extreme left to extreme right, burst out into a simultaneous howl of execration, occasioned as much by the manifesto in the programme, for which Philip and I were jointly responsible, as by the music itself . . . The financial outcome of the concert . . . [was] expenses £110, receipts £5. (Gray, Peter Warlock, 141)

Similarly, there was no real-life parallel to Revelstoke's entire oeuvre being brought out in the eighteen months after his death by the publishers Bachofen in the novel; although Oxford University Press and Boosey had published selected works by Warlock, it was not until the 1980s that there was any attempt at a collected edition.¹⁵

If Monica describes Revelstoke's music as "awfully strange" and "mystifying," but "not as strange as lots of modern music" as it is "not so sort of repellent" and "doesn't fight the listener" (Salterton, 661), Domdaniel suggests:

"What he does best . . . is write for the voice, and that lifts him above all but a few today. This isn't an age when many composers seem to care about the voice; they want to use it in all sorts of queer ways, and often they do marvellous things, but it's not really singing, you know. It's abuse of the voice. But his stuff is wonderfully grateful to sing and that, combined with a modern musical idiom, gives it great individuality . . . he has an extraordinary melodic gift." (Salterton, 661-2)

Writers on Warlock concurred, highlighting his “unfailing instinct for a sheer good tune” and his ability to make his work “practicable for numerous singers” (Bennett, “Peter Warlock”, 302; Bennett, “Songs good”, 220). Just as critics have suggested that Warlock’s vocal lines are superior to his instrumental accompaniments—citing “overwritten” piano parts, highlighting the pianistic “excess” in the song “Hey, Trolly, Lolly lo” or suggesting that “if Warlock is kind to the singer, he is often exactly the reverse to the pianist” (Hold, 337; Bennett, “Songs good”, 220; Cockshott, 257)—so Domdaniel concludes that Revelstoke’s instrumental writing (where “he can’t completely say what he means”) contains “a few passages of awful muddle” (Salterton, 661). Revelstoke’s opera *The Golden Asse* is “modern enough in idiom,” but “not modern in asperity and rejection of sheer vocal charm” (757-8), and its striking metrical complexity becomes problematic when Revelstoke attempts to conduct the work:

The frequent variation of the time signature, which was one of the chief characteristics of Giles’ score, and which gave his music the variety and subtlety of nuance which was its chief beauty, seemed to be at the root of the trouble; the opera was not precisely as the company had learned it. (762)

This feature was echoed in Revelstoke’s recent vocal works: “His sensitivity to poetry, and to the rhythms of English, was reflected in all his songs, but in the new works it expressed itself in complications of time, and in prolongations of phrase, which made them very hard to study, though wonderfully easy to hear” (678). Perhaps Davies had in mind songs like Warlock’s “And wilt thou leave me thus” (Ex.1). Here we have Domdaniel’s sense of an expressive melodic line combined with a modern idiom, and as the example shows, each bar is in a different time signature.

Ex.1: Warlock, “And wilt thou leave me thus?,” (Oxford University Press, 1929), opening

*** Poco agitato e rubato**

Voice

And wilt thou leave me thus? Say nay, say nay, for shame! To

Piano

mp

Voice

savetheefromtheblameOf all mygriefand grameAndwiltthou leaveme thus? Say nay,say nay!

Pno.

poco ritenuto a tempo

poco ritenuto a tempo

* To be sung flowingly, in strict accordance with the punctuation of the poem and without regard for bar-line accents; not too slowly

There are further Warlock-Revelstoke parallels. The poetic texts that Revelstoke sets “tended toward poets not widely popular and usually dead” and “his settings of modern verse were few” (Salterton, 678), echoing Warlock’s literary proclivities; there are only a handful of Warlock song settings of twentieth-century poets (Bruce Blunt, Hilaire Belloc, Robert Nichols, Edward Shanks), in contrast to a penchant for Elizabethan and Jacobean poetry that included a large range of anonymous texts. Gray’s description of Warlock’s skill as an improviser, combined with his highlighting of Warlock’s reharmonization of the Welsh tune “Ton-y-Bottel” at the end of a church service (Peter Warlock, 143, 244), is mirrored in chapter six of Davies’ novel. Here Revelstoke delights the congregation with an “improvised . . . medley of Welsh airs” on the organ, and enrages his half-sister Ceinwen with his accompaniment of her Welsh song “Hiraeth,” an “experiment” where his “arpeggios

whined, they groaned, they shivered piteously” (Salterton, 639, 644). Although Revelstoke’s opera *The Golden Asse* is initially a success in Italy, there is a disastrous performance when the composer insists on conducting it himself—despite his own awareness that he was “no hand at conducting” (650). In blaming all those around him, Revelstoke reflects Gray’s suggestion that Warlock “tried every possible interpretation before it occurred to him to consider that he might have been in the wrong”, along with Warlock’s lack of confidence as a conductor (Peter Warlock, 211, 97). Davies also mirrors Warlock’s memorial concert on 23 February 1931 (Newman, “Music of Peter Warlock”) in Revelstoke’s commemorative event (Salterton, 788-9), which is held at the same venue—the Wigmore Hall.

Warlock/Heseltine as critic

Warlock’s work as a music critic, written primarily under his real name of Heseltine, is not neglected in Davies’ novel. The journal *Lantern*, co-edited by Revelstoke, is loosely based on *The Sackbut*. Founded in 1920 with Warlock as editor, *The Sackbut* was published initially by Winthrop Rogers (the Raikes Brothers of the novel), but when Curwen took it over in 1921, after nine issues had appeared under Warlock’s editorship,¹⁶ he was not retained in the role. Revelstoke describes *Lantern* as “the most advanced and unpopular critical journal being published in English today . . . searching for the honest, the true and the good” (Salterton, 607), but it “mystifie[s] Monica completely.”

It was handsomely printed, and contained several articles which were manifestly very angry and scornful on a high level, and some photographs and caricatures. But everything in it seemed to presuppose a special body of knowledge in the reader, and to allude to this private preserve of indignation and disgust in a way which shut out the uninitiated. (617-18)

As with Warlock's music, Davies takes the opportunity to expand the nature of the journal. The *Sackbut* did have an interdisciplinary reach as part of its aim (highlighted on the cover page of the inaugural May 1920 issue) to "provide an opportunity for the free and unhampered discussion of all matters relating, directly or remotely, to music;" poetry by Robert Nichols ("If Musick and Sweet Poetry"; "The Prince of Ormuz Sings to Badura"), Roy Campbell ("Three Poems") and Richard Aldington ("Beauty, thou hast hurt me overmuch") was featured, and Arthur Symons wrote an article on Petronius for the September 1920 issue. However, this interdisciplinary remit is more overt in *Lantern*, which is "devoted in a large part to criticism of critics—of literary critics, theatre critics, critics of painting, and music critics . . . men of mean capacities and superficial knowledge; it was the task of *Lantern* to show them up" (Salterton, 618).¹⁷ The art of criticism was discussed frequently in *The Sackbut*, but this focused primarily on music criticism—even if Gray's suggestion of "misconceptions of the very nature of the art with which they [musical critics] are concerned" in his essay "The Task of Criticism" obviously had wider applications:

Nothing really matters save the work of art itself; yet this is the one thing which all criticism seems to ignore. We are told what effect it has on certain people, what its antecedents were, what were the intellectual standards and ideals of the time at which it was written, but nothing about the work itself. All these things are quite secondary considerations which only obscure the issue; they will not help us to understand the absolute quality of a work of art, that which cannot be ascribed to any previous master nor to any external cause historical or geographical. For there is in all the greatest art a quality which cannot be explained by any of these external considerations. (13)¹⁸

The broader purview of *Lantern* explains its "menagerie" of staff, including Odinsels as the journal's photographer—perhaps a reference to Alvin Coburn, who contributed to *The*

Sackbut under Warlock's editorship (Coburn, "The Pianola as a Means of Personal Expression")—Phanuel Tuke as the literary co-editor, and John Macarthur Eccles ("Bun") as the art editor. Eccles may have been partly inspired by Augustus John, who wrote the introduction to Gray's study of Warlock, and whose illustration appeared in the last issue of *The Sackbut* that Warlock edited (March 1921). Domdaniel's view that Revelstoke "wastes too much time" on the publication instead of being "at work on music" (Salterton, 661, 662) reflects some of Delius's comments in a letter to Warlock of 7 July 1919, reproduced by Gray, on an earlier attempt to launch *The Sackbut*:

You would succeed in anything you take up if you would concentrate on it and not diffuse your energies in so many things. Stick to one thing just for two or three years and see if I am not right. I think you are admirably gifted as a writer; you would succeed either as a writer on music or as a composer if you stick to it and push through regardless of everything. (Peter Warlock, 202)

Despite *Lantern* representing Revelstoke's "personal mouthpiece" (Salterton, 696), by placing the journal in the 1930s, Davies allows the American Rhodes scholar John Scott Ripon to disparage its old-fashioned quality—highlighting even further its status as an unfortunate diversion:

"Dreadful muck, most of it . . . It's just plain out-of-date. All that preciousness belongs to the 'twenties . . . *Lantern* belongs to a much earlier, more romantic time, the Wicked 'Twenties, when every Englishman of the intelligentsia was ashamed of himself because he wasn't a Frenchman." (684-5)

However, unlike Revelstoke, whose *Lantern* essays were published immediately by Phanuel Tuke after his death, it was not until 1997 that Barry Smith edited a collection of Heseltine's

music criticism (Occasional Writings).¹⁹

Additional characters

Two other characters in *A Mixture of Frailties* associated with Warlock are worthy of note.

The music critic Stanhope Aspinwall is Revelstoke's *bête noir*, despite his criticisms offering a balance of praise and censure. Revelstoke's cantata *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, for example, displays a problematic "literary" quality:

"Though musical gifts and literary skill have often gone hand in hand there comes a time when one or the other must take the lead. Mr. Revelstoke will forgive me if I point out that, as Schumann, Berlioz and Debussy in their time had to give up their avocation as writers to embrace their fate as composers, that time has also come to him. (Salterton, 676)

Although Persis dismisses this as Aspinwall's revenge, given that Revelstoke has "exposed him so often as an incompetent," and advises Revelstoke to ignore such criticism (676-7), the composer's responses to these critiques become increasingly perverse, using Aspinwall's work as toilet paper and writing him "obscenely abusive letters" (737).²⁰

There is little doubt that Aspinwall is based on the critic Ernest Newman (1868-1959), with whom Warlock became "involved in a violent controversy" (Gray, Peter Warlock, 207). Newman had already voiced his own criticism of *The Sackbut*'s prospectus in the journal *Musical Opinion* ("Unconsidered Trifles"),²¹ and as Sarah Collins notes (404-6), Gray himself attacked the "historico-genealogical" or contextual approach to music criticism by writers such as Newman in the first issue of *The Sackbut* (Gray, "The Task of Criticism"), leading to some correspondence between the two writers (Newman, "A Note on Musical Criticism"; Gray, "A Critique of Pure Cant"). However, Warlock (writing as Heseltine),

developed a more personal campaign in subsequent issues of *The Sackbut*. Reproducing a letter from Kaikhosru Shapurji Sorabji criticising Newman for not looking at composers' manuscripts in issue two (Heseltine, "Ille Reporter", 55-6), he followed this up with a series of attacks in his contributions to the "Contingencies" column in issues three and four, highlighting "the contempt in which he [Newman] holds contemporary musical activity", and suggesting that Newman was "more interested in musical journalism than in music, more concerned with filling a column as easily and profitably as possible than with keeping the public informed of what is actually happening in 'the world of music'" ("Contingencies", 109, 160). In issue six, he described Newman's criticism of performance standards in a recent concert of his and his colleagues' music as a "despicable [exhibition] of vindictiveness and petty personal spite" that was "an offence against the first principle of justice and fair play" ("Contingencies", 282).²² According to Gray (Peter Warlock, 208), *The Sackbut*'s publishers "took fright" at these attacks "upon a national institution," leading to Warlock and Gray having to take over as temporary proprietors prior to Curwen's purchase of the journal. Although *Lantern*'s objective in attacking critics mirrored *The Sackbut*'s aim "to denounce with no uncertain voice whatever appears to tend towards the confusion and deterioration of musical taste in this country" (Heseltine, "Foreword", 8), Monica's search through the back numbers of the journal actually finds "no attack . . . whatsoever from Giles' hand" upon Aspinwall (Salterton, 677). However, just as Aspinwall praised Revelstoke's virtues "much more generously" in his commemorative articles (782), so, as Gray notes (Peter Warlock, 25), Newman was generous in his description of Warlock's choral works "Corpus Christi," "As Dew in April" and "Balulalow" at the memorial concert:

The young man who could conceive these exquisite things, and realize them so perfectly in music, must have had the root of the matter in him; they are three gems

that will of themselves keep his name alive as a composer. (Newman, “Music of Peter Warlock”)

Grant (362) suggests that the conductor Sir Benedict Domdaniel in the novel is “a freehand drawing” of Sir Adrian Boult (1889-1983), which Elliott echoes (1034), adding “a dash of Sir Thomas Beecham.” Boult is offered as a model partly because Davies met him, was aware of his “strenuous exercise program” via a mutual friend, Dora Herbert-Jones (Grant, 362), and because his nickname in the novel, “Brummagem Benny” (Salterton, 606), reflects Boult’s role as conductor of the City of Birmingham Orchestra from 1924 to 1930. There are also parallels with his physical appearance (“it didn’t matter a bit that he was so bald and had really an uncommonly big nose”), and Domdaniel’s “series of contemporary music broadcasts” may refer to Boult’s work with the BBC Symphony Orchestra in the 1930s (Salterton, 600, 604).²³ However, Beecham (1879-1961) is potentially more than a “dash,” particularly as Davies reviewed Beecham’s autobiography *A Mingled Chime* in the *Peterborough Examiner* in 1943 (“A Musical Buccaneer”); Beecham also had a strong link with Birmingham (arguing for the founding of the Birmingham Orchestra and a purpose-built concert hall there), and the “Association for English Opera” who put on Revelstoke’s *The Golden Asse* is probably modelled on the British National Opera Company, founded in 1921 by performers from the Thomas Beecham Opera Company.²⁴ Like Domdaniel, Beecham was in his fifties by the 1930s, and, mirroring Domdaniel’s attempts to promote Revelstoke, Beecham was a significant figure in Warlock’s career—although Domdaniel’s claim that he “did all that [he] could to bring him [Revelstoke] forward” (Salterton, 792) is a more accurate reflection of Beecham’s more consistent advocacy of the music of Delius, rather than Warlock. In 1915, Beecham invited Warlock to be editor of a music journal “which should be progressive and aggressive in tone” (Beecham, 224); titled *The Sackbut*, or *The Anti-Ass*, it would have been an earlier manifestation of its subsequent namesake, but this project never

materialized. In February of the same year, along with his mistress Lady Maud Cunard (1872-1948), Beecham helped Warlock to secure the post of music critic on the *Daily Mail* (Smith, Peter Warlock, 68); as Gray notes (Peter Warlock, 282), Beecham also asked Warlock to co-edit *The Magazine of the Imperial League of Opera* in 1929—the year in which Warlock also co-managed the Delius Festival with the conductor. Furthermore, the catalyst for Domdaniel’s admission that he is “English . . . but not really out of the top drawer” given the “large grandpaternal pop-shop in Birmingham” (Salterton, 664) may have been Beecham’s paternal grandfather, Joseph Beecham (1820-1907), inventor of Beecham’s Pills.

Three additional conductors may also have contributed to the Domdaniel mix. First, Sir Henry Wood (1869-1944), founder of the Promenade concerts; like Domdaniel, Wood studied with the singing teacher Manuel Garcia, and his first wife (Olga Michailoff) was a professional singer. Second, Constant Lambert (1905-51), the main conductor at Warlock’s memorial concert, who recorded Warlock’s *Capriol Suite*, *Serenade for strings*, and *The Curlew*; and finally, Malcolm Sargent (1895-1967)—known as “Flash Harry”—given Revelstoke’s description of Domdaniel as loving “to play the role of the exquisitely dressed, debonair, frivolous man of the world” (614).

Davies’ refiguring in context

One final context helps us to appreciate Davies’ literary refiguring of Warlock. Table I above has already confirmed that Davies was not alone in identifying the creative potential of representing the composer in a literary work; however, a comparison of Davies’ approach with other literary refigurings made after Warlock’s death reveals that the latter were much less ambitious in their scope, focusing on more selective—and primarily biographical—characteristics. Jean Rhys’s short story “Till September Petronella”, for example, begun in the 1930s (Angier, Jean Rhys, 223n) but not published until 1960 in *The London Magazine*,²⁵

is based on a summer holiday in 1915 that Rhys spent with Warlock (then known only as Heseltine), his lover “Puma” Channing, and the painter Adrian Allinson (1890-1959). Although much of the description of the character Julian Oakes focuses on his violent relationship with the model Frankie Morell (representative of the Warlock-Channing antagonism), Oakes is identified as a “music critic of one of the daily papers” and as a composer destined to be “‘very important, so far as an English musician can be important’,” who also has a propensity for alcohol (Rhys, 21, 23). In Frank Baker’s *The Birds*, Paul Weaver, a drunken poet with a “thick golden beard,” is a “great scholar of mediaeval poetry” who had “changed his style completely, with it his name and . . . his very identity,” writing “furiously passionate verses, archaic drinking songs, and vagabond love poems;” his presence in the novel is restricted to an argument in a café with his girlfriend Olga, after which he throws himself under a bus (Baker, 75-9).²⁶ In Ralph Bates’ short story *Dead End of the Sky*, our knowledge of the writer and composer Robert Durand comes from a series of impressions from different narrators. The unfolding Warlockian portrait confirms that he drinks “too hard” and lives “too loosely,” transcribes early music (delighting in “confounding all the academic fools and pedagogues”) and writes “musical miniatures” (principally “carols and madrigals” that include “counterpoint of absolute sixteenth-century purity”), begins “silly affairs that wasted his spirit and gave him nothing,” and has a “forked beard” (Bates, 316, 317, 367, 366, 333, 334); mirroring Warlock’s literary interest in drink, Durand also begins (but never completes) a book called *The History of the Courtyard Vine*. Significantly, although the character Yvonne suggests that Durand “is totally divided against himself” as he “pleads for the primitive life, yet he cannot spend a day with primitive people,” she dismisses this analysis, concluding that the “split-man, double personality business, is just a literary fake,” and has been propounded by critics “who find the description of one individuality too difficult” and therefore “make it easier by attempting to describe two in one” (364). Like

Warlock, Durand also commits suicide owing to a feeling of futility as a creative artist, but instead of gas, uses a revolver.

Roy Hartle in Osbert Sitwell's *Those Were the Days*, part of the "travelling clique" (285) of the artist and sculptor Stanley Esor"—who "had been leader of one artistic movement or another" (271)—has only a passing reference. Sporting a "bristling moustache" rather than a Warlockian beard, Hartle is a "large, lively, bumping musician, inclining to perspiration," with "a liking for beer, sanded floors, commercial travellers' stories and Saxon doggerel—(how he loved roaring out the choruses!)" (286). Sitwell also highlights the scholar-composer trope, but is clear that this is to the detriment of the music: "His [Hartle's] knowledge of musical history was considerable, and had unfortunately influenced his work, made it into a thin, lifeless copy of sixteenth-century English music: but, on the other hand, it helped his friends to describe him as Elizabethan; 'a true Elizabethan'" (286).²⁷ The character Maclintick in Anthony Powell's novel-sequence *A Dance to the Music of Time* (a friend of the composer Hugh Moreland, modelled on Constant Lambert),²⁸ is a weak music critic dominated by his wife. The only real links with Warlock are that Maclintick has a propensity for alcohol, "an aptitude for quarrelling with anyone who might be of use to him professionally," and an "inability to regulate his own emotional life" (Powell, 348, 463), and commits suicide by gassing himself; his visual appearance ("The minute circular lenses of his gold-rimmed spectacles, set across the nose of a pug dog, made one think of caricatures of Thackeray or President Thiers") however (Powell, 260), and his liking for spirits rather than beer, as Stephen Lloyd notes (Lloyd, 532-3) suggest that Gray was also the basis for this character.

Conclusion

In contrast to other literary refigurings of Warlock that relied primarily upon selective details from Warlock's biography (with little or no reference to his music), in *A Mixture of*

Frailties Davies drew upon his own musical education and interests, his personal relationship with Warlock's family, and his familiarity with Cecil Gray's 1934 study of the composer, to create a rich and detailed representation through the character of Giles Revelstoke. Whilst Gray's study was obviously a catalyst for Davies, however, he was able to rework and develop the material presented in this musicological text. Expanding the nature of Warlock's compositional reach and the interdisciplinary breadth of *The Sackbut*, and conflating several contributors to British musical life, Davies established his own interpretative space, allowing him to probe "the interrelation of the demonic and creative" (Peterman, 107). In presenting this informed and colourful portrait within a literary structure organized around a series of musical performances, Davies can therefore be identified as a significant melopoetic writer.

Although the novel's basis in musicological detail is fascinating in its own terms, this injection of realism could even be seen as a commentary on the nineteenth-century tradition of music-related novels. Significantly, Monica's Aunt Ellen possesses a copy of Jessie Fothergill's best-selling volume of 1877, *The First Violin*:

In it, a humble English girl with a lovely voice was engaged as companion to a wealthy old lady who took her to Germany to study; and there she had learned to sing from the magnetic—but daemonic and sardonic—von Francius, and had engaged in a long and sweetly agonizing romance with one Courvoisier, who was first violin in the orchestra, a man of mystery, and, in the end (for this was an English novel, and such a dénouement was inevitable) had proved to be a German nobleman, disguised as a musician for reasons highly creditable to himself and shaming to everybody else . . .

What a very musical book it was! (Salterton, 537, 539)

Davies' novel deliberately undermines the stereotypes of Fothergill's romantic narrative.

Although Monica considers Domdaniel for the role of von Francius, "he was rather too

affable for a genuinely demonic genius, and showed quite ordinary braces when he took off his coat” (538); similarly, Monica’s vocal coach Murtagh Molloy—based on Davies’ own vocal coach, Bertie Scott (Elliott, 1047)—“a stumpy Irishman, bald and fifty if he was a day,” is also, for her, “a long way from the daemonic von Francius” (Salterton, 575).²⁹ To underline this point, Davies also distances both Domdaniel and Revelstoke from a musical marker of the demonic—Camille Saint-Saëns’ *Danse Macabre*. Domdaniel dismisses this work as “terrible stuff,” and it is the *Danse Macabre* to which Revelstoke refers when he asks Monica to ““Stop that bloody row”” and to desist from playing ““that trash anymore”” (527, 605, 606). As a potential critique of the musical novel, therefore, as well as a detailed refiguring of a real-world composer, *A Mixture of Frailties* represents an important contribution to musico-literary relations. Ultimately, although it can be enjoyed without a detailed knowledge of Warlock, the informed reader can both appreciate the references to this fascinating composer, and admire Davies’ imaginative reworking of Gray’s musicological study.

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Notes

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¹ These reviews are housed in the Queen's University Archives; I am grateful to Lucinda Walls of Queen's University Library for making copies available.

² "Daniel Stern" was the pen name of Marie de Flavigny d'Agoult (1805-76), who lived with Liszt from 1835 to 1839.

³ For an overview of the Warlock-Lawrence relationship, see Copley, *A Turbulent Friendship*.

⁴ For Huxley's initial description of Coleman, see *Antic Hay*, 51. As Gray suggests (*Peter Warlock*, 227-8), there are also parallels between Warlock and another *Antic Hay* character: Theodore Gumbriel, who changes from the "Mild and Melancholy" man to the bearded "Complete" man. Gray was refigured in Huxley's novel as Mercaptan.

⁵ Jocelyn Brooke's 1948 novel *The Scapegoat* includes the final 9 bars of Warlock's Folk-song Preludes for piano; see also David Pownall's play *Music to Murder By* (1976), where Warlock appears as himself.

⁶ See Davies, *Salterton*, 120, 150-1. Warlock published an edition of Purcell's *Fantasias* for strings in 1927, and described Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* as "as near an approximation to the perfect type of opera as anything that has followed it" (Heseltine, "The Scope of Opera", 232). Cobbler's championing of Beddoes may reflect Gray's suggestion (*Peter Warlock*, 302) of "a quite uncanny resemblance" between Warlock and Beddoes in terms of their "duel personality," "disreputable character" and suicide "in practically identical circumstances."

⁷ In Davies' novel *World of Wonders* (1975), the character Magnus Eisengrim notes that German's Henry VIII dances were "known to every bad orchestra in the world" (Deptford, 741).

⁸ See C. H.W.'s review of Gray's book in *The Bookman*, December 1934, 42, which suggested Gray's "biased" approach. In *Aaron's Rod* (23), Lawrence introduces the character Cyril Scott (based on Gray) as "a fair, pale, fattish young fellow in pince-nez and dark clothes;" Gray was also refigured as James Sharpe in Lawrence's *Kangaroo* as "a young Edinburgh man with a modest income of his own" who rents a Cornish cottage (232), and as Cyril Vane in the autobiographical novel *Bid Me to Live* (1960) by H. D. (Hilda Doolittle—who was Julia Cunningham in *Aaron's Rod*).

⁹ Smith (Peter Warlock, 104) notes Heseltine's other pseudonyms on his manuscripts and in his published writings, which included Huanebango Z. Palimpsest, Prosdocius de Belmandis, A. Whyte Westcott, Apparatus Criticus, Jerry Cinimbo, Obricus Scacabarus, Bagwaller, Q. Yew, Barbara C. Larent, and Rab Noolas. The latter represented "Saloon Bar" read backwards—something that the character Magnus Eisengrim comments upon in Davies' *The World of Wonders* (Davies, Deptford, 676-7). According to Cecil Gray's daughter Pauline (Gray, *Musical Chairs*, "Afterword," n.pag.), Gray used his own pseudonym "Marcus Lestrangle" when composing his *Syllogism or Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis* for orchestra and female chorus.

¹⁰ See Smith, *Collected Letters*, 3:197 and 3:206.

¹¹ Monk (33) suggests that Davies chose Marchbanks "because of his ambivalent status between a real person . . . and a fictitious character"—a persona representative of the "continuous presence of the shadow . . . in the psyche of his creator" (42)—but dismisses a second pseudonym, Dr Amyas Pilgarlic, as "a mere grotesque, a caricature" as his name "gave him away as a fiction" (27-8). There are obvious Warlockian parallels with Marchbanks' "exuberance" and how "he enjoys his pleasures and suffers his miseries vigorously and uninhibitedly" (Monk, 33).

¹² Davies' description of Persis (Salterton, 607) suggests that she may have been partly modelled on "Puma" Channing, who Warlock married in December 1915.

¹³ As Creelman notes (53-4), Revelstoke's status as a "powerful trickster figure" has been explored by several writers; see Peterman (110) and Buitenhuis (50). However, Russell M. Brown and Donna A. Bennett highlight "the jovial, antisocial, iconoclastic church organist" Humphrey Cobbler from this perspective, noting that he "opens Leaven of Malice with a light-hearted Halloween witch's Sabbath in the cathedral and . . . concludes A Mixture of Frailties with a 'Joe Miller,' a musical joke which juxtaposes the secular and the sacred" (350).

¹⁴ For Davies' awareness of Apuleius's text, see Elliott, 1036-7. Gray (Peter Warlock, 168, 181) reproduces Warlock's letters that mention his operatic project *Liadain and Curither*, which he began sketching in 1917-18, but which has not survived; see also Copley, *The Music of Peter Warlock*, 291-2.

¹⁵ Eight volumes of a Peter Warlock Collected Edition were published by Thames in association with the Peter Warlock Society between 1982 and 1993.

¹⁶ As Smith notes (Peter Warlock, 185), the March 1921 number turned out to be the final issue that Warlock edited, as "during his absence in France," the June issue was "pieced together . . . from some of his manuscripts" by the journal's secretary, Miss Voules.

¹⁷ Warlock did attempt to set up a new magazine focusing on poetry and music called *The New Hat* in January 1915, in collaboration with Thomas Earp (1892-1958), later art critic of the *Daily Telegraph*; see Smith, *Peter Warlock*, 67-8.

¹⁸ For studies of musical criticism in *The Sackbut*, see Collins, and Scaife, 223-75.

¹⁹ Smith (*Occasional Writings*, 1:7-8) describes an abortive project to publish Heseltine's music criticism in the 1930s, involving Arnold Dowbiggin, van Dieren, Gray and Hubert Foss. Gray's reference (Peter Warlock, 261-2) to Warlock's "large quantity of fine

journalistic work which is being collected into a volume” may have been suggestive for Davies.

²⁰ According to Gray (Peter Warlock, 114 n.1), Warlock’s treatment of the manuscript of D. H. Lawrence’s *Goats and Compasses* was similar; this was “gradually consumed . . . leaf by leaf, in the discharge of a lowly but none the less highly appropriate function.”

²¹ Here Newman took issue with the attack on the “average music critic,” questioned the suggestion that the “average man of letters” would make an effective music critic, defended specialist music journals and their “honest commercialism,” and concluded (471): “I am not the least bit antagonistic to any new journal. The more the better, if they are good. I merely take exception to a prospectus which is gratuitously offensive to musical critics and journals.”

²² Smith (Peter Warlock, 161) reproduces Warlock’s limerick aimed at Newman: “Said a critic initialled E. N.: / ‘Why does my wife like young men?’ / A friend said: ‘You fool, / Don’t you know that the tool / Is mightier far than the pen?’”

²³ See *Doctor*, 378-88.

²⁴ Both Beecham and Boult conducted the British National Opera Company: Beecham in performances of *Die Meistersinger* in 1924 and 1929, and Boult in *Parsifal* in 1926.

²⁵ Elements of “Till September Petronella” appeared in Rhys’s unpublished first novel, *Triple Sec* (1924), where the character Philip Forrester represented Heseltine; see Angier, “Week-end in Gloucestershire,” 34, 39-46.

²⁶ This 2013 edition is based on Baker’s personal copy, incorporating his many revisions of the 1936 text. Olga may be loosely based on Puma Channing (see note 12), given her black hair, beautiful eyes, “death-mask”-like face (76), and the confrontational nature of her relationship with Weaver; the Piccadilly café which had “a reputation for attracting artists, musicians, poets, actors” (74) is probably based on the *Café Royal*.

²⁷ For Sitwell's dismissive opinions on Warlock, see *The Scarlet Tree*, 265, and *Laughter in the Next Room*, 178-9. Warlock's view of Sitwell was similarly unflattering; see Smith, *Collected Letters*, 4: 57. Davies reviewed Sitwell's *Left Hand, Right Hand* and *The Scarlet Tree* in the *Peterborough Examiner*, 18 July 1945, 4, and 30 October 1946, 4, respectively, and both again in *Saturday Night*, 22 June 1957, 23-4.

²⁸ Powell's memoir of Lambert is incorporated in *Shed* (17-26); for more detailed parallels, see Lloyd, 529-34.

²⁹ Davies (*Salterton*, 539) notes how Fothergill heads one of her chapters with a musical quotation from Schumann's *Träumerei*, but does not mention her only other chapter heading from the third movement of Joachim Raff's *Fifth Symphony*, "Lenore" (implying instead, incorrectly, that all of Fothergill's chapters have musical quotations); presumably Davies' Schumann focus was designed to underline the romantic nature of Fothergill's narrative. See *Fothergill*, 166, 276.