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Andrew Gustar

'Words by F M Hueffer': A Survey of Song Settings of Ford's Poems

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Music was important in Ford Madox Ford's life. His father, Francis Hueffer, was a prominent musicologist and critic, as well as a composer. Mizener refers to Ford's 'considerable musical training',¹ and Max Saunders describes how 'music or the enthusiasm for music put an end to his education, stopped him from going to university, but ultimately led to his becoming a writer instead of a composer'.² Nathan Waddell argues that Ford was 'attuned to the enormously rich possibilities of dialogue between music and the other arts', and that music influenced his writing.³ Music is often mentioned in Ford's fiction and memoirs, and several of his poems were clearly intended as songs. Indeed, Ford composed music for some of his own and others' poems, as described by Stang & Smith.⁴ Ezra Pound claimed that 'we would not be far wrong in calling Mr Hueffer the best lyricist in England'.⁵

This essay surveys other composers' musical settings of Ford's poems. A search of library catalogues, musical literature and other sources reveals fourteen published songs, summarised below. Only those by Warlock and Britten are mentioned in Ford biographies.

The following sections discuss these songs in more detail.⁶

	Composer	Year	Song Title
1	G. H. Sunderland Lewis	1902	Close the Book <i>(At the End of a Phase [An End Piece])</i>
2	Herbert Dyer	1907	Close the Book <i>(At the End of a Phase [An End Piece])</i>
3	Donald Tweedy	1923	The Little Angels of Heaven <i>(There Shall Be More Joy)</i>
4	Peter Warlock	1923	Consider
5	Thomas Wood	1928	A Country Lullaby (<i>Lullaby</i>)
6	Thomas Wood	1928	Old Winter
7	Erik Chisholm	1928	The Song of the Women <i>(The Song of the Women: A Wealden Trio)</i>
8	Benjamin Britten	1929	The Wealden Trio: The Song of the Women <i>(The Song of the Women: A Wealden Trio)</i>
9	George Antheil	1933	An End Piece
10	Paul Nordoff	1938	There Shall Be More Joy
11	Robert Fleming	1939	The Wealden Trio: The Song of the Women <i>(The Song of the Women: A Wealden Trio)</i>
12	Herbert Kennedy Andrews	1942	An End Piece
13	Zdeněk Blažek	1953	Závěrná (<i>An End Piece</i>)
14	Peter Schickele	1979	The Posy Ring

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1. G. H. SUNDERLAND LEWIS: CLOSE THE BOOK

George Harold Sunderland Lewis (1862-1936) was born in Ripon. He attended Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and from 1886 until at least 1911 was Choir Master, then Study Master, at Haileybury College near Hertford.⁷ He retired to Teignmouth, Devon, and died in Highgate, London.⁸ At Haileybury he composed songs, hymns and other vocal works, including a 'clever and entertaining' operetta 'Insularius' performed there before Christmas 1903.⁹

His song 'Close the Book' was published by Boosey & Co. in 1903. Ford's poem 'An End Piece' was first published as 'At the End of a Phase' in October 1901 in *Pall Mall Magazine* (Volume 25, p.192):

AT THE END OF A PHASE

CLOSE the book,
And here's an end of ev'rything;
Pass up from the shore,
And pass by byre and stall.

For the smacks shall trail home on the tail of the tides,
And the kine still stay deep in the sweet-water sides,
And they still shall be burying, still wedding brides;
But I must be gone in the morning.

One more look,
And then farewell sweet summering;
A moment more,
And then no more at all.

For the skipper shall summon his hands to the sea,
And the shepherd still shepherd his sheep on the lea,
But it's over and done with the man that was me,

And over the hill comes the morning.

A slightly revised version appeared six months later in *Living Age* (Volume 233, April 1902, p.128).¹⁰ By the time the poem was published in *The Face of the Night* (London, 1904, p.100), it had been further modified and retitled:

AN END PIECE

CLOSE the book and say good-bye to everything;
Pass up from the shore and pass by byre and stall,
–For the smacks shall sail home on the tail of the tides,
And the kine shall stand deep in the sweet water sides,
And they still shall go burying, still wedding brides,
But I must be gone in the morning.

One more look, and so farewell, sweet summering;
A moment more and then no more at all.
For the skipper shall summon his hands to the sea,
And the shepherd still shepherd his sheep on the lea,
But it's over and done with the man that was me,
As over the hill comes the morning.

Sunderland Lewis set the poem in December 1902,¹¹ largely following the 1901 *Pall Mall* version. Printed inside the song's title page, the poem is laid out and indented as above. However, the smacks 'sail' rather than 'trail', and the shepherd has a 'flock' not 'sheep'. These might be Sunderland Lewis's changes, or perhaps there is another intermediate version of the poem.

It is an attractive and straightforward song in 6/8 time, with a largely stepwise melody and a simple

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piano accompaniment. The two verses are set to essentially the same melody, which has no accidentals (i.e. notes outside of the main key of F major), although the accompaniment includes some chromatic passing notes. No tempo is specified, but a moderate speed seems appropriate. I can find no mention of any recordings or public performances.¹²

The song is dedicated to 'R H Powell Esq'. Richard Henry Powell (b.1884) was president of the Hailybury school Literary Society in 1901, and later went to Trinity College, Cambridge. He became a journalist, and then sports editor, at *The Times*, and published two plays. He was killed in action in France in May 1915.¹³

Stang & Smith mention that Ford also set 'An End Piece' to music (no later than 1905), describing his setting as a 'conventionally Sullivanesque solo parlor song'.¹⁴

2. HERBERT DYER: CLOSE THE BOOK

Herbert Arthur Dyer (1878-1917) was born in Cheltenham to musical parents (his father was Music Director at Cheltenham College), and he probably went to Bromsgrove School.¹⁵ He studied music at Oxford, and was a keen singer.¹⁶ By 1903 he had returned to Bromsgrove School as Music Master. Dyer was a Second Lieutenant in the 65th Squadron Royal Flying Corps, and was killed in action in France on 7th December 1917: his Sopwith Camel biplane B2464 was 'last seen flying near Baillieul towards Armentières at 14:30/15:30 on special

mission Comines – Warneton.’ One report mentions that before the war he had been conductor of the Queens Hall Orchestra.¹⁷ The British Library contains several songs and piano pieces by Dyer published between 1903 and 1916.

Dyer’s song ‘Close the Book’ dates from January 1907,¹⁸ and was published by Boosey & Co.¹⁹ Dyer also sets the early version of ‘An End Piece’, sticking exactly to the poem as published in *Pall Mall* in 1901. It is a darker, more serious setting than Sunderland Lewis’s, marked *Adagio*, with bigger melodic leaps, richer harmonies and occasional chromatic notes. A shift from 3/4 time to 4/4 for the beginning of the second verse has the effect of punctuating the melody (which is otherwise essentially the same for each verse). Dyer picks out the rhythm of the longer 5th, 6th and 7th lines of each verse with repeated quaver chords in the piano, contrasting with the gentler accompaniment of the opening and closing lines. Unlike Sunderland Lewis, Dyer supplies detailed markings for tempo, dynamics, stresses, pauses and articulation.

Both Dyer and Sunderland Lewis set ‘An End Piece’ in F major. Nevertheless, Edward Buxton Shanks, writing in 1913, describes it as a poem which ‘a composer would be obliged to set ... in the minor’.²⁰

3. DONALD TWEEDY: THE LITTLE ANGELS OF HEAVEN

Donald Nichols Tweedy (1890-1948) was born and died in Danbury, Connecticut. He earned his MA at Harvard in 1917, then studied for a while in Eu-

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rope. He taught at the Eastman School of Music from 1923, then at Hamilton College, Texas Christian University, and Danbury Music Center. He was best known as a music educator: lecturing and writing programme notes, journal articles and *A Manual of Harmonic Technique Based on the Practice of J.S. Bach* (1928). He composed several instrumental and orchestral works, songs, and a ballet.²¹

‘The Little Angels of Heaven’, a setting of Ford’s ‘There Shall Be More Joy’, dates from 1923. It is the second of two songs for voice and piano published by G Schirmer in New York, the first being ‘A Late Lark’, a setting of William Ernest Henley’s ‘Margarithae Sorori’. Both poems appeared in the 1920 anthology *Modern British Poetry*,²² which is probably where Tweedy encountered them. The only available copy of the score is in the British Library. I can find no evidence that it has ever been recorded.²³

Tweedy’s setting is a jaunty *Andantino grazioso* in 12/8 metre. It is in a folk-like E-Dorian mode. The first and last verses are set similarly, with the second and third having variant melodies and increased harmonic and rhythmic tension, including sections with half-bar-alternating semitone modulations. The vocal range and a few large chromatic leaps in the melody suggest that it is intended for a reasonably proficient soprano (or mezzo). The accompaniment requires a competent pianist, with some modulating semiquaver arpeggios, wide leaps, and filled octaves.

The Musical Quarterly described the song in 1925 as ‘delightfully naïve’.²⁴ This would have amused

Ford, given the poem's unorthodox origins. 'There Shall Be More Joy' was first published in *On Heaven* (1918, p.122), a collection of poems written during the war.

THERE SHALL BE MORE JOY

The little angels of Heaven
Each wear a long white dress,
And in the tall arcadings
Play ball and play at chess;

With never a soil on their garments,
Not a sigh the whole day long,
Not a bitter note in their pleasure,
Not a bitter note in their song.

But they shall know keener pleasure,
And they shall know joy more rare—
Keener, keener pleasure
When you, my dear, come there.

The little angels of Heaven
Each wear a long white gown,
And they lean over the ramparts
Waiting and looking down.

The poem is not in the main body of *On Heaven*, but appears in an appendix, alongside a Latin translation. Ford's introduction explains that it was one of the 'verses written in moments of leisure in the O.R. [orderly room] of No.1 Garrison Coy., Welch Regt. These were poems written to *bouts rhimés* supplied to me by my friend and old O.C. Coy. [officer commanding company] H. C. James.

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When in a minute or two I had filled in the lines in English, in a few seconds he would supply the Latin version'. James would disguise the rhyming words as an official army memorandum, an example of which Ford also includes in the appendix. This is the same game that Tietjens and MacKechnie play in chapter two of *No More Parades*:²⁵

Tietjens said:

'Give me the fourteen end-rhymes of a sonnet and I'll write the lines. In under two minutes and a half.'

Mackenzie said injuriously:

'If you do I'll turn it into Latin hexameters in three. In under three minutes.'

Ford's young partner in this game, Captain Herbert Cyril James (1892-1961), was born in Neath, near Cardiff, in December 1892 - the fifth of seven brothers who all served in the war. He attended St John's School, Leatherhead, from 1902, and in 1911 won a scholarship to read Classics at Jesus College Oxford, graduating in 1914, before joining the 3rd Welsh Regiment. He was 'wounded, mentioned in dispatches' in 1917, and finished the war as a captain in the Indian Army. In 1939 he was working as a coppersmith at HM Dockyard in Sheerness, Kent, and he died in nearby Sittingbourne in early 1961, aged 68.²⁶

4. PETER WARLOCK: CONSIDER

Philip Arnold Heseltine (1894-1930) was born in

the Savoy Hotel, studied at Eton and (briefly) Oxford and London universities, and was a conscientious objector during the war. He was an admirer and friend of D H Lawrence and the composer Frederick Delius. Around 1917 he became interested in the occult and adopted the pseudonym Peter Warlock. A prolific composer of songs, he also wrote choral works, piano pieces, and orchestral music including the *Capriol Suite*, based on a manual of Renaissance dances, for which he is best known.²⁷

Warlock's setting of Ford's 'Consider' was composed in 1923 and published by Oxford University Press the following year. The score states that the words are reprinted 'by permission of Messrs. Martin Secker and the author', implying that Ford was aware of the song.²⁸ Secker published Ford's *Collected Poems* (1916), so this was probably Warlock's source.²⁹ It is tempting to speculate that D H Lawrence introduced Warlock to Ford, although Lawrence and Warlock only seem to have been on good terms for six months before they fell out in April 1916 – a period during which Ford was otherwise engaged on the Western Front. Nevertheless, Lawrence might have introduced Warlock to Ford's poetry.

Ford first published 'Consider' in *Songs from London* (1910, p.18):

CONSIDER

NOW green comes springing o'er the heath,
And each small bird with lifted breath

Cries, 'Brother, consider the joy there is in living!'

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‘Consider! consider!’ the jolly throstle saith.

The golden gorse, the wild thyme, frail
And sweet, the butter cowslip pale,
Cry ‘Sisters, consider the peace that comes with giving!
And render, and render your sweet and scented breath!’

Now men, come walking o’er the heath
To mark this pretty world beneath,
Bethink them: ‘Consider what joy might lie in living,
None striving, constraining none, and thinking not on Death.’

The poems in *Songs from London* are not all ideal for setting to music,³⁰ so it would be wrong to read too much into the collection’s title. ‘Consider’, however, is clearly a good candidate.

Warlock’s song is a lively *Allegro con fuoco* in F major for solo voice and piano, clearly influenced by the composer’s love of English folk song. It is largely in 3/4 time, with occasional brief shifts to 4/4 or 9/8. The three verses are set similarly, with some variation and development as the song progresses. The tricky piano part consists of triplet semiquaver arpeggios more-or-less throughout. The top notes of the accompaniment often form a ‘cuckoo-like’ motif which recurs throughout the song, linking to the pastoral imagery of the text. Michael Pilkington notes that ‘[t]he accompaniment is very unlike Warlock’s usual style; it is possible that the dedication to C. W. Orr, a songwriter who frequently used this texture, is significant’.³¹ It has been recorded several times, and the sheet music is readily available.³²

5. THOMAS WOOD: A COUNTRY LULLABY

Thomas Wood (1892-1950) was born in Chorley, Lancashire, the only child of master mariner Thomas Wood and his wife, who took young Thomas on several voyages. He studied at Oxford University and the Royal College of Music. In 1919 he became Director of Music at Tonbridge School in Kent, and in 1924 returned to teach music at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1930 he went to Australia for a couple of years, subsequently publishing a book *Cobbers* (OUP, 1934), described by the Australian Dictionary of Biography as ‘the most perceptive and captivating characterization of Australia and its people ever written by a visitor’. He died of a heart attack in 1950 in Bures, Essex, where he had lived for many years.

As well as writing and teaching, Wood composed choral music, songs and some instrumental pieces. His music often has a nautical theme, inspired by his lifelong love of the sea. His arrangement of ‘Waltzing Matilda’ was the first to achieve commercial success.³³

‘A Country Lullaby’ is a setting of Ford’s poem first published as ‘A Lullaby’ in *Poems for Pictures* (1900, p.27). It reappeared (as ‘Lullaby’) in *From Inland and Other Poems* (1907, p.39).

LULLABY

WE’VE wandered all about the upland fallows,
We’ve watched the rabbits at their play;
But now, good-night, good-bye to soaring swallows,
Now good-night, good-bye, dear day.

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Poppy heads are closing fast, pigeons circle home at last;
Sleep, Liebchen, sleep, the bats are calling.
Pansies never miss the light, but sweet babes must
 sleep at night;
Sleep, Liebchen, sleep, the dew is falling.

Even the wind among the quiet willows
Rests, and the sea is silent too.
See soft white linen, cool, such cool white pillows,
Wait in the darkling room for you.

All the little lambs are still now the moon peeps down
 the hill;
Sleep, Liebchen, sleep, the owls are hooting.
Ships have hung their lanthorns out, little mice
 dare creep about;
Sleep, Liebchen, sleep, the stars are shooting.

Wood's song was published by Stainer & Bell in 1929 in a version for unison voices and piano.³⁴ The score indicates that it was written at 'Bures St Mary 1928'. In 1933, Stainer & Bell published a choral version (for Soprano, Contralto, Tenor, Bass) with piano part 'for practice only',³⁵ which was written at Bures St Mary in July 1933. The score states that Wood used *Collected Poems* (1916) as his source.³⁶ Interestingly, he replaces the word 'Liebchen' with 'Darling' throughout.

The song is slow, marked 'Simply, with quiet beauty', and is dedicated to the poet Helen Parry Eden (1885-1960). It is in D major, with no accidentals (i.e. notes outside the D major scale) anywhere in either the vocal parts or the accompaniment.³⁷ This lack of tonal variety is partially offset by occasional

shifts from triple time to two or four beats in the bar.

The lack of accidental notes, and a largely stepwise melody with a range of just over an octave, suggest that this was intended for unsophisticated or novice singers. This is supported by the inclusion, in both versions, of ‘tonic sol-fa’ notation.³⁸ The choral version, whilst still not difficult to perform, has a richer sound from the four-part harmony (actually six-part for a few bars at the end, when the tenors and basses each split into two groups). Wood takes advantage of the extra voices to overlap and shift the lyrics between the parts, and extends the second and fourth verses to bring them to a calmer and fuller close. A review in the *Musical Times* reported that ‘[t]he BBC Singers, conducted by Trevor Harvey, were happily in the spirit, in some imaginative songs by Thomas Wood, of which ‘A Country Lullaby’ was particularly attractive’.³⁹

Ford also set this poem to music. The Cornell archive contains a musical manuscript (from between 1894 and 1905) inscribed ‘Lullaby – Words and Music by F. M. Hueffer.’ Stang & Smith (1989, p.198) describe Ford’s setting as ‘a very lovely, occasionally surprising piece ... [recalling] the music of Gabriel Fauré’.

6. THOMAS WOOD: OLD WINTER

Thomas Wood’s part-song ‘Old Winter’, for unaccompanied mixed choir, was published by Stainer & Bell in 1929.⁴⁰ The score notes that it was composed at Bures St Mary in Winter 1928. It is dedicated to Cecil Armstrong Gibbs (1889-1960), an

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English composer known for his prolific output of songs.

Ford's poem of the same name was first published in *Poems for Pictures* (1900, p.42).

OLD WINTER

OLD Winter's hobbling down the road,
Dame Autumn's cloak looks frosty grey
With a furry edge.
We deemed it berry red in the ray
The sun vouchsafed the dying day
E'en now through the gap in the hedge.

Chorus

Spring's gone, Summer's past,
Autumn will never, never catch them,
But Winter hobbles along so fast
You'd almost think he'd match them.

Old Winter carries a heavy load,
Sticks and stakes to your heart's desire,
But as for me,
I'll not tramp in the Autumn mire,
But sit and blink at the merry fire
And hark to the kettle's minstrelsy.

Chorus

Spring's gone, Summer's past,
Autumn was mellow, mellow yellow,
But for all old Winter's hollow blast
He's not such a bad old fellow.

The title page of *Poems for Pictures* adds the subtitle 'And for Notes of Music'. It is clear from the 'chorus' indications that Ford intended 'Old Winter' to be sung.

Wood's song is marked 'Cheerfully, with a touch of rough good-humour', and uses the Dorian mode (the white notes of the piano, starting on D rather than C) to give it a folk-like feel. It is more challenging than 'A Country Lullaby', with wider ranges, a few changes of metre (though predominantly in 2/4), a handful of accidentals, independent vocal lines, some attractive harmonic suspensions, and detailed markings for dynamics, tempo and articulation. The two verses are set differently, with the chorus using the same music each time.

I can find no reviews of any concert performances, nor recordings. On 28 October 1939, the BBC Home Service broadcast a 15-minute programme of music by Thomas Wood, sung by the BBC Singers conducted by Trevor Harvey, including both 'Old Winter' and 'A Country Lullaby' (and finishing with 'Waltzing Matilda'). The programme was repeated in 1941. Wood and his music often appear in broadcast listings between 1927 and 1953.⁴¹

7. ERIK CHISHOLM: THE SONG OF THE WOMEN

Erik William Chisholm (1904-1965) was born in Glasgow. He showed early musical talent and was giving organ recitals by the age of 12. As a composer and performer, he played an important role in Glasgow's musical life between the wars, and was a founder of the Celtic Ballet. After the Second World

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War he became head of the South African College of Music in Cape Town, where he died of a heart attack in 1965.

Chisholm wrote over 100 works, including nine operas, 35 orchestral pieces, and more than 40 songs. He has been described as the 'leading Scottish modernist composer', and his style, influenced by Scottish traditional music, as 'varied, eclectic, and challenging'.⁴²

'The Song of the Women' is not inconsistent with this description. It was published by Curwen in 1928, so may have been composed whilst Chisholm was working in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia (1927-8).⁴³ The scoring is for three unaccompanied female voices (or three-part chorus). Although ostensibly in F minor, the melody is highly chromatic, and there are many changes of time signature (many lasting a single bar) and other rhythmic irregularities, with a fast tempo.

An article about Chisholm in *The Musical Times* of 1 June 1932 describes 'The Song of the Women' as a 'charming part-song'.⁴⁴ It does not appear to have been recorded, although the sheet music is available from the Erik Chisholm Trust.

Ford's poem 'The Song of the Women: A Wealden Trio' was first published in *Savoy* magazine in August 1896 (volume 4, pp.85-6), then in *Philistine* the following December (volume 4.1, pp.11-13), and subsequently in *Poems for Pictures* (1900, pp.34-35):

THE SONG OF THE WOMEN: A WEALDEN TRIO

1st Voice

WHEN ye've got a child 'ats whist for want of food,
And a grate as grey's y'r 'air for want of wood,
And y'r man and you ain't nowise not much good;

Together

Oh—
It's hard work a-Christmassing,
Carolling,
Singin' songs about the 'Babe what's born.'

2nd Voice

When ye've 'eered the bailiff's 'and upon the latch,
And ye've feeled the rain a-trickling through the thatch,
An' y'r man can't git no stones to break ner yit no sheep to watch—

Together

Oh—
We've got to come a-Christmassing,
Carolling,
Singin' of the 'Shepherds on that morn.'

3rd Voice, more cheerfully

'E was a man's poor as us, very near,
An' 'E 'ad 'is trials and danger,
An' I think 'E'll think of us when 'E sees us singin' 'ere;
For 'is mother was poor, like us, poor dear,
An' she bore Him in a manger.

Together

Oh—
It's warm in the heavens, but it's cold upon the earth;
An' we ain't no food at table nor no fire upon the hearth;
And it's bitter hard a-Christmassing,

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Carolling,
Singin' songs about our Saviour's birth;
Singin' songs about the Babe what's born;
Singin' of the shepherds on that morn.

Like its companion 'Old Winter' in *Poems for Pictures*, Ford clearly envisaged it as a song.

The poem was included in *An Anthology of Modern Verse* in 1921, which was probably Chisholm's source, as he set two other poems from the same anthology, for similar forces: 'Cradle Song' (for three female voices, published by Curwen in 1928) from the poem of the same name by Padraic Colum, and 'The Song of the Workers' (for mixed choir and bagpipes, date unknown) from the poem 'Piper, play' by John Davidson.⁴⁵

8. BENJAMIN BRITTEN: A WEALDEN TRIO

Shortly after Chisholm, 'The Song of the Women' was set to music by the young Benjamin Britten (1913-1976). The song, composed between April 1929 and May 1930, was part of his application for a scholarship to the Royal College of Music. It remained dormant until 1967, when Britten revised it, and it was published by Faber in London and Schirmer in New York the following year. Britten's portfolio for the RCM also included a setting of Hilaire Belloc's 'The Birds'. Both poems appear in *An Anthology of Modern Verse* (1921), which is likely to have been Britten's source.⁴⁶

Britten inverted Ford's title, calling his song 'A Wealden Trio: the Song of the Women'. Like

Chisholm, he follows Ford's directions, setting it for three-part unaccompanied women's voices.⁴⁷ It is slower than Chisholm's version (marked 'Freely') and is a catchy tune in a tonal G-minor, skipping along in a regular 12/8 metre.

The song is dedicated to Rosamund Strode (1927-2010), Britten's music assistant from 1964. Although the cover page has 'The Song of the Women', the title at the top of the score is 'Christmas Song of the Women', which is also used in some catalogues (it is sometimes described as a 'carol'). There are several recordings, and the sheet music is readily available.

'Wealden' refers to the dialect of the Weald of Sussex and Kent, which Ford evokes. Britten's score explains that 'by using dialect the poet wished to suggest a certain roughness of language' and advises that 'singers must take care to avoid undue exaggeration'.

9. GEORGE ANTHEIL: AN END PIECE

George Johann Carl Antheil (1900-1959) was born to German immigrants in Trenton, New Jersey. He started playing the piano aged six, and wrote music, prose and poetry from a young age. He never formally graduated from high school, but from 1916 he studied piano in Philadelphia and New York, where he met prominent members of the modernist movement. In 1922, he sailed for Europe, giving concerts in several major cities, spending a year in Berlin, and settling in Paris in mid-1923. He returned to the US in 1933 and became a prolific and

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sought-after film composer. He died of a heart attack in Manhattan in 1959.

Antheil is the only composer on this list who can be definitely linked to Ford. In *It was the Nightingale* (1933, pp.260-1) Ford describes Antheil's friendship with Ezra Pound, whom he met in Paris. Pound might have introduced him to Ford, who was also in Paris in 1923-24.⁴⁸ Antheil's brief *piano sonata no.3* was published in Ford's *The Transatlantic Review* in 1924,⁴⁹ and he contributed two articles - 'Mother of the Earth' and 'Notes for Performers' - to the magazine during its short run.⁵⁰ The Cornell Ford archive contains two letters from Antheil to Ford, one undated, the other from the 1930s.

'An End Piece' was the last of Antheil's *Six Songs* for voice and piano published by Schirmer in 1933. The others were settings of 'The vision of love' (George Russell), 'Down by the Salley Gardens' and 'The sorrow of love' (W. B. Yeats), 'Lightning' (D. H. Lawrence) and 'I hear an army' (James Joyce). These all appear in the *Anthology of Modern English Poetry*, a German edition of English poems, which was almost certainly Antheil's source.⁵¹ The five poets represented in *Six Songs* were probably acquaintances of Antheil, most likely through his friendship with Pound.

The Schirmer edition is a facsimile of Antheil's manuscript score.⁵² It is in C major in a regular 6/8 metre. There is no tempo indication, but it cannot be too fast as several times separate syllables are set to runs of semiquavers. The song begins dreamily, with a repeated rocking bass line and rich four-note

chords in the right hand. Later in the first verse the accompaniment becomes dissonant and percussive, and the vocal line increasingly irregular and chromatic. The second verse follows a similar pattern, with a particularly harsh dissonance (repeated chords using six pitches within a single octave) for the climactic line 'But it's over and done with the man that was me'. Antheil repeats 'Close the book up and say goodbye', returning to the dreamy mood to close the song. Note that he adds the word 'up' (both at the start and end), probably to better fit his tune.

I can find no recordings or evidence of public performances. The song is unrelated to a piece of the same name that closes Antheil's *Piano pastels: 15 pieces for Jenny* (Weintraub: 1969), composed around 1956.

10. PAUL NORDOFF: THERE SHALL BE MORE JOY

Paul Nordoff (1909-1977) was born in Philadelphia and raised by his grandmother. Aged fourteen he went to the Philadelphia Conservatory to study piano, and later studied at the Juilliard School. He received two Guggenheim Fellowships for composition (in 1933 and 1935), travelled to Germany, then from 1938 worked as Head of Composition at the Philadelphia Conservatory, and subsequently at Michigan State College and Bard College. From 1958 he devoted himself to music therapy for disabled children, developing the influential Nordoff-Robbins method with Clive Robbins (1927-2011). Nordoff died of cancer in Herdecke, West Germany, aged 67.⁵³

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Nordoff's music is generally tonal and neo-romantic in style. His setting of Ford's 'There shall be more joy' for voice and piano was published by Schott in 1938, and was probably composed during his time in Germany.⁵⁴ It is a cheery *allegro* in F sharp major, with the second and third verses in E flat, and a return to the opening melody for the final verse. There are no accidentals in the vocal line, but the rippling accompaniment in 12/8 time makes frequent use of the flattened sixth, adding a touch of harmonic ambiguity.

This is the eleventh of twelve songs Nordoff published simultaneously. The other texts – by Marjorie Allen Seiffert, Kathleen Millay, John Dryden, Conrad Aiken, Elinor Wylie, Charlotte Mew and Anonymous – do not appear to have been published together in an anthology, so Nordoff probably used a variety of sources. The sheet music is still available, the song has occasionally been performed in public (though I can find no reviews), and there are a couple of recordings.

11. ROBERT FLEMING: THE WEALDEN TRIO

Robert James Berkeley Fleming (1921-1976) was born in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Canada. Between 1937 and 1939 he studied at the Royal College of Music in London, before returning to Canada to study piano, conducting and composition in Saskatoon and then at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto. He worked at the National Film Board, Ottawa Ballet Festival and Carleton University, and as organist and music director at several churches.

He was most prolific as a composer of film music, contributing to well over 200 film scores. He also wrote songs, choral and other works. The Robert Fleming Prize for young composers is awarded annually by the Canada Council for the Arts.

According to the German music encyclopaedia *MGG*,⁵⁵ Fleming composed 'Song of the Women' in 1939, perhaps during his time in London. The published version (a facsimile signed manuscript) is dated 'Nov 1940 – Saskatoon' and is scored for three-part women's choir (soprano, soprano, contralto) accompanied by piano or string quartet.⁵⁶ Fleming attributes the words to 'Ford Maddox Hueffer'. There do not appear to be any recordings.⁵⁷

Fleming's setting is a *moderato* in 4/4 time, with folk-like harmonies in F major / D minor, shifting to G major / E minor half-way through the third verse, and occasional modulations to C minor. Fleming replaces 'wood' with 'food' on the second line, and makes some small alterations, such as removing 'not much' from the last line of the first verse. He has the final three lines sung simultaneously, so that 'saviour's birth', 'babe what's born' and 'shepherds' rise together in a chromatic crescendo, followed by four bars of accompaniment that draw the song to a close.

12. HERBERT KENNEDY ANDREWS: AN END PIECE

Herbert Kennedy Andrews (1904-1965) was born in Comber, County Down and educated at Bedford School, the Royal College of Music, Trinity College

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Dublin and New College Oxford. He was organist and choirmaster at Beverley Minster from 1934-8. Thereafter, apart from some teaching at the RCM, he lived in Oxford, playing the organ and lecturing at New College and Balliol. He died whilst playing for the inaugural service of the new Harrison & Harrison organ of Trinity College, Oxford, having been consultant for the project.

Andrews wrote books, articles and reviews, and composed songs and music for the church. His setting of Ford's 'An End Piece' was published by Oxford University Press in 1942. The song is dedicated 'In Memory of William Prendergast' (1868-1933) who was organist at Winchester Cathedral from 1902 until his death. There are no clues as to the source of the text, although Andrews credits the words to Ford Madox Hueffer, so he perhaps used one of Ford's own collections.⁵⁸

The song is a *Lento alla marcia* for voice and piano in E major and 4/4 time. A smattering of chromatic notes gives an unsettling major/minor alternation. The piano's regular rhythmic pattern is like a funeral march, with melodic and rhythmic dissonances that propel the song forward despite its slow tempo. A review in *Music & Letters* in 1943 describes it thus: 'This sober poem by Ford Madox Hueffer is rendered by a declamatory chant contrasted with the rhythm of a slow march. The harmony is essentially tonal and the setting of the words artistic except in one place where the singer has nine syllables on a repeated E and then jumps to a high G'.⁵⁹ Another review the following year concludes that 'This setting of Ford Madox Hueffer's "Close the

book and say good-bye to everything” is an elegiac march with Dorian effects in a texture not exclusively modal. It gives us a flavour like that of the slow movement in Brahms’s E minor Symphony’.⁶⁰

13. ZDENĚK BLAŽEK: ZÁVĚRNÁ

Zdeněk Blažek (1905-1988) was born into a musical family in the village of Žarošice, near Brno. He studied at the Conservatory and University in Brno, and at Prague Conservatory. He taught music theory and composition at Brno Conservatory, and was its director for many years until his retirement in 1971. He died in Brno.

He wrote many vocal works, including songs, choruses and operas, as well as piano, chamber and orchestral music. *Oxford Music Online* says that ‘he remained faithful to the late Romantic, nationalist Suk–Novák tradition. Contemporary musical developments hardly touched his style, which remained essentially homophonic’.⁶¹

Blažek’s *Tři zpěvy podzimu* [Three autumn songs] op.46, for low voice and piano, were composed in 1953 and published by SNKLHU (Státní Nakladatelství Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění [State Publishing House of Fine Literature, Music and Art]) in 1958. The third song, ‘Závěrná’ [‘Closing’ or ‘Conclusion’], is a setting of a Czech translation of ‘An End Piece’ by, according to one entry in the Czech National Library catalogue, ‘Forda Maxe Hueffera’. The other two songs are catalogued as ‘Na stráni’ [On the hillside] by an R Brock (probably Rupert Brooke’s ‘The Hill’ from 1910), and ‘Těšitelé’ [‘The

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Comforters'] by Dora Sigerson.⁶² All three poems appear in the Anthology of Modern English Poetry, the same source that George Antheil used for his 'Six Songs'.⁶³

The text is as follows (with a rough English translation):

Zavři knihu a pak sbohem, cos měl rád.
Od břehu se vzhůru kolem stájí dej.
Vždyť bárky se navrátí s přílivem zpět
a stáda pít půjdou, než začne se tmět,
v strastech i slastech si žít bude svět,
jen mne tu již nebude ráno.

Ještě pohled, chci jen létu sbohem dát,
jen malou chvíli ještě posečkej,
vždyť rybář již po ruce sítě své má
a pastýř se na pastvu se stádem dá.
Jen člověka nebude, jímž jsem byl já,
až za horou vysvitne ráno.

Close the book then say goodbye to what you liked.
From the shore, go up around the stables.
For the barges will return with the tide
and the herds will drink before dark,
the world will live in sorrows and pleasures,
Only I won't be here in the morning.

One more look, I just want to say goodbye to summer,
just wait a little longer,
for the fisherman already has his nets at hand
and the shepherd shall go with the flock.
There will not be a man like me,
When morning dawns behind the mountain.

This is a faithful, if condensed, translation of Ford's poem, with shorter lines and a different rhyme scheme. I have been unable to identify the translator.

The song is calm and meditative, marked *Andante tranquillo*. The two verses are set to the same music in A minor, with some chromaticism in the harmonies, and a varied rhythm (shifting between 3/4, 4/4 and 2/4 time signatures) that seems well suited to the text. The vocal range suggests it is intended for a mezzo-soprano or baritone. There do not appear to be any recordings, nor copies outside of the Czech National Library, and I can find no evidence of concert performances.

14. PETER SCHICKELE: THE POSY RING

Peter Schickele (b.1935) was born in Ames, Iowa to Alsatian immigrant parents, and studied composition at Swarthmore College and the Juilliard School. He is best known by his *alter ego* of P. D. Q. Bach (1807–1742?), the fictional 'only forgotten son' of the Bach family, and composer of such masterpieces as *The Short-Tempered Clavier*, the *Half-Nelson Mass* and *Fanfare for the Common Cold*.

Under his own name, Schickele has written for folk musicians including Joan Baez, contributed to shows including *Oh! Calcutta!*, and composed many works for orchestra, chorus, chamber ensemble, and other forces. He wrote *Summer Music* in 1979,⁶⁴ the second part of which is entitled *Songs on Old French Poems*, for unison chorus or solo

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voice with soprano recorder, piccolo or flute. The last of these three songs is 'The Posy Ring (Clement Marot; trans. by Ford Madox Ford)'. The first two are 'Spring' by Charles d'Orléans (trans. by Andrew Lang) and 'Would I might go far over sea' by Marie de France (trans. by Arthur O'Shaughnessy), so Schickele's source was almost certainly *The Modern Book of French Verse* (1920), which contains all three poems in these translations.⁶⁵

Ford's 'The Posy-Ring' first appeared in *The Face of the Night* (1904, p.56).

THE POSY-RING

(After Clement Marot)

THIS on thy posy-ring I've writ:

 'True Love and Faith'

For, failing Love, Faith droops her head,

And lacking faith, why, love is dead

 And's but a wraith.

But Death is stingless where they've lit

And stayed, whose names hereon I've writ.

Clement Marot (1496-1544), from Cahors in south west France, was a poet in the royal court of Francis I. Many of his poems were set as *chansons* during his lifetime.⁶⁶ Ford's 'The Posy-Ring' is based on the last part of Marot's *Rondeau LXI* 'Amour et Foy' [Love and Faith].⁶⁷

Tant sont uniz, tant sont bien alliez,

Qu'oubliant l'ung, l'autre vous oubliez:

Si l'Amour fault, la Foy n'est plus chérie:

Si Foy perit, l'Amour s'en va perie:

Pour ce les ay en devise lyez,
Amour, et Foy.

A more literal translation is given by Timothy McTaggart (1992, p.xxvii):⁶⁸

Love and faith are so closely allied,
That by forgetting one, you forget the other:
If love fails, faith is no longer cherished;
If faith dies, love shall also die;
For this reason I have bound them in a motto,
Love and faith.

Ford's poem is very much 'after' Marot, rather than a direct translation. Posy rings - gold finger rings with a short engraved inscription - were popular lovers' gifts from the 15th to the 17th century in England and France. Ford's 'posy-ring' is Marot's 'devise' [motto].

Schickele's setting is delightfully simple, in 6/8 time, marked 'Robust, very rhythmic'. It starts with a short repetitive theme in the recorder, then the verse is sung unaccompanied, and the verse is then repeated, this time with the recorder accompaniment. The whole song uses a pentatonic scale (G, A, B, D and E), giving it a medieval feel, reminiscent of a cheerful Troubadour song. Ford would have appreciated this, his father Francis Hueffer having a particular interest in the Troubadours.⁶⁹

CONCLUSIONS

Fourteen settings of seven poems is a modest but respectable tally for somebody whose poetry is little known. Most of the songs were written between

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the wars, when Ford was best-known, especially in North America.

The composers fall roughly into two groups. There were those who, based on the sources they used, probably knew of Ford's poetry and selected individual poems from his own published collections. Sunderland Lewis, Dyer, Warlock, Wood and (perhaps) Andrews fall into this category – all of them British. These were often either the first or only composers to set certain poems.

The other group were those who chose poems from anthologies – Tweedy, Chisholm, Britten, Antheil, Nordoff, Fleming (probably), Blažek and Schickele. In some cases (such as Antheil) they may have been fans of Ford but, being based in North America or continental Europe, could only access his poems via anthologies. In other cases, these composers may have simply browsed for interesting poems, irrespective of who the poet happened to be. Only a handful of Ford's poems ever appeared in anthologies, so some were set several times, and many others not at all.

All fourteen songs are attractive and well-constructed. They are mostly towards the traditional (i.e. tuneful) end of the stylistic spectrum, often with a folksong or pastoral influence, although it is good to see musical modernism represented by Chisholm and Antheil. It is disappointing, though unsurprising, that few of them have been recorded or performed in concert. Like Ford's poems, they deserve to be better known.

Notes

1 Arthur Mizener, *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford* (New York: World, 1971), 92

2 Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: a dual life*, two volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), I, 40.

3 Nathan Waddell, 'Ford, Family and Music', in *The Routledge Research Companion to Ford Madox Ford*, edited by Sara Haslam, Laura Colombino and Seamus O'Malley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 79-93 (91).

4 Sondra J. Stang and Carl Smith, 'Music for a while': Ford's Compositions for Voice and Piano', *Contemporary Literature*, 30, 2, 'Ford Madox Ford and the Arts' (Summer 1989), 183-223. The paper includes a summary of Ford's musical life and interests.

5 Ezra Pound, review of Ford's *Collected Poems* in *New Freewoman*, I (15 December 1913), 251. Quoted by Frank MacShane, *Ford Madox Ford: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 58.

6 I have not included music extracts in this essay, which is intended for a literary readership. Further details are available from the author.

7 L. S. Milford, *Haileybury register, 1862-1910*. London: Printed by R. Clay, 1910, p.xxiii. <https://archive.org/details/b28993287>.

8 From <https://www.harant.co.uk/composers/composers.php>, with the years and place of death confirmed from <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/>.

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9 From *The Journal of Education*, No.354 (2 January 1899), 50. <https://archive.org/details/journaleducatio01unkngoog>

10 See the discussion in Ashley Chantler, *A Critical Edition of Ford Madox Ford's The Questions at the Well* (1893). PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2003, 18-19. *The Questions at the Well with Sundry Other Verses for Notes of Music* was Ford's first volume of twenty poems, five of which have 'song' in the title (although none appears to have been set to music).

11 '12.02' is printed at the end of the published score.

12 The title page gives the price of '1/6 net', and warns that 'This song may be sung in public without fee or licence. The public performance of any parodied version, however, is strictly prohibited.'

13 See <https://dorkingmuseum.org.uk/2nd-lieu-tenant-richard-henry-powell/>

14 Stang & Smith (1989), 199.

15 He is listed in the 'Old Boys' rugby team in *The Bromsgrovian*, Vol XVIII, No.6 (May 1903), p.142. http://www.bromsgrove-schoolarchive.co.uk/Filename.ashx?tableName=ta_publications&columnName=filename&recordId=106. This source also contains references to his musical activities.

16 M. Humphreys and R. Evans, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell, 1997), 98. A tenor of the same name is mentioned in *The Musical Times* and elsewhere around

the end of the century.

17 See <https://www.greatwarforum.org/topic/160159-guy-mainwaring-knocker/> and <https://www.wingsofwar.org/forums/showthread.php?19689-100-Years-Ago-Today/page 58>

18 The score ends with ‘1.07’.

19 Since Sunderland Lewis’s song appeared in 1903, the price had increased to ‘2/- net’, and Boosey had added that ‘public performance by gramophone or other mechanical reproductions are not permitted’. Recording technology was developing rapidly.

20 E. Buxton Shanks, review of Ford’s *Collected Poems* in *Poetry and Drama*, i, December 1913, 492-493: quoted by MacShane, *Critical Heritage*, 77.

21 M. Meckna, ‘Donald Tweedy.’ *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2016 (accessed 21 March 2020).

22 Louis Untermeyer, editor, *Modern British Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1920). ‘There Shall Be More Joy’ is on p.104, ‘Margaritae Sorori’ on p.12.

23 There are details of a public performance in Boston, MA in 1937. See <https://archive.org/details/composersforumla1936comp/page/n247>

24 W. T. Upton, ‘Some Recent Representative American Song-Composers.’ *The Musical Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1925): pp.383-417. Accessed April 7, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/738628. The mention of Tweedy’s song is on p.417.

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25 Ford Madox Ford, *No More Parades* (1925; edited by Joseph Wiesenfarth, Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2011), 37-38. At this point Tietjens believes MacKechnie's name is Mackenzie.

26 These details have been pieced together from sources including *St John's School Leatherhead: The School and the War* (April 1919) (<https://stjohnsleatherheadatwar.co.uk/Filename.ashx?systemFileName=%2F-Media%2FSJJ19190002.pdf>); the obituary of his youngest brother Frank in the *Barry Dock News* (July 27, 1917) (<https://papuraunewydd.llyfrgell.cymru/view/4130657/4130664>); the Oxford University Roll of Service (1920, p.464) (<https://archive.org/details/oxforduniversity00univuoft/page/n483>); and genealogical information at <https://www.freebmd.org.uk>.

27 Fuller biographies of Warlock are available on *Oxford Music Online*, *Wikipedia*, and elsewhere.

28 The following year, Ford mentions 'the recumbent tomb of an honourable Mrs Tremayne-Warlock' in *No More Parades* (140).

29 *Collected Poems* was published under the name Hueffer, although the score credits the words to Ford Madox Ford.

30 'Views' and 'Modern Love', for example, are both long, with multiple sections and irregular rhymes.

31 Michael Pilkington, *Gurney, Ireland, Quilter and Warlock* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 140. Charles Wilfred Orr (1893-1976) was also a prolific composer of songs. Warlock helped him to publish some

of his early works.

32 For example in Thames Publishing's *Peter Warlock: Critical Edition: Volume V – Songs 1923-1928*. There are several recordings on *YouTube* and *Spotify*.

33 Wood's arrangement, recorded by Peter Dawson in 1938 (HMV B8771), became the first hit version of the song, and was quickly followed by many others. See <https://www.nfsa.gov.au/latest/waltzing-matilda>.

34 Stainer & Bell Unison Songs No.73.

35 Stainer & Bell Choral Library No.284.

36 The Cornell Ford archive contains a letter from Wood to Ford, dated 25 March 1929, saying that he has 'corresponded with Messrs. Martin Seck with regard to two of your poems'.

37 A note at the bottom of the 1929 score says that although 'the music has been printed in D, [t]he song is however more effective in D flat, the transposition being easily made since there are no accidentals in the song.'

38 Tonic sol-fa, or *solfège*, is a system of hand signals used by conductors to indicate notes (do-re-mi, etc) to singers.

39 W. R. Anderson, 'Wireless Notes', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 77, No. 1119 (May 1936), 424-425.

40 Stainer & Bell Choral Library No.247.

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41 See <https://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/schedules/bbchomeservice/basic/1939-10-28>.

42 For further details see the website of the Erik Chisholm Trust at www.erikchisholm.com.

43 I have not been able to identify the dedicatee 'Miss Beatrice Vennard', although it appears to be a name with some links to Canada.

44 W. Saunders, 'Erik Chisholm', *The Musical Times* 73.1072 (1 June 1932), 508-509.

45 A. Methuen, editor, *An Anthology of Modern Verse* (London: Methuen, 1921). 'The Song of the Women' is on p.121, 'A Cradle Song' is on p.46, and 'Piper, play' on p.50.

46 'The Birds' is on p.8.

47 The score explains that 'the piece was originally intended for three solo voices, but it can be sung by three soloists with chorus, or by one soloist (mezzo-soprano) with chorus, or the whole may be sung *tutti*.'

48 Pound was obsessed with Antheil for a while, and even wrote a book about him - *Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony* (Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1924). Antheil was rather less enthusiastic about Pound. See, for example, Bernard J. Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the Transatlantic Review* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967), 65-66.

49 The sonata, subsequently subtitled 'Death of Machines', consists of four short movements lasting, in to-

tal, under two minutes. It is sometimes described as a sonatina. There are several recordings.

50 The piano sonata was in *The Transatlantic Review* 1:2, (February 1924), 106-107. 'Mother of the Earth' was in 2:2 (August 1924), 226-227), and 'Notes for Performers' (written with Pound) was in 1:5 (May 1924).

51 Leon Schücking, editor, *Anthology of Modern English Poetry* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1931). The poems are on pp.217, 261, 266, 150, 148 and 139 respectively. I have a copy marked 'Importé d'Allemagne' with the name of a retailer in Paris, and the warning 'Not to be introduced into the British Empire and USA.'

52 From <https://classicalondemand.com/six-songs.html>

53 There is more on Nordoff and his music in R. C. Friedberg, *American Art Song and American Poetry* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 181-199.

54 The song bears the dedication 'For Phyllis' – whom I have not been able to trace.

55 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* – available (with subscription) at <https://mgg-online.com>

56 The score is available from the Canadian Music Centre at <https://cmccanada.org/shop/8124/>

57 Fleming composed another song for these forces around the same time – a setting of 'Dusk Lights' by William Spearing. He set several of Spearing's poems between 1936 and 1941, but I can find no anthologies that might help identify his source of Ford's poem.

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58 According to the google ngram viewer (<https://books.google.com/ngrams>), by the early 1940s 'Ford Madox Ford' was mentioned in written English about three times more often than 'Ford Madox Hueffer'.

59 E. L. 'Review: An End Piece (Ford Madox Hueffer), Song for Voice and Piano by H. K. Andrews', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (July 1943), 184

60 A. H. 'New Music'. *The Musical Times*, Vol. 85, No. 1213 (March 1944), 87-88.

61 J. Trojan, 'Blažek, Zdeněk.' *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2001 (accessed 31 March 2020).

62 Dora Sigerson (Mrs Clement Shorter) (1866-1918) published 'The Comforters' in *The Sad Years*, a book of poems written during the war, shortly before her death in 1918.

63 Schücking (1931). I have not been able to find a Czech translation. 'The Hill' is on p.35, 'The Comforters' on p.224, and 'An End Piece' on p.139.

64 Published by Elkan-Vogel, Bryn Mawr, PA. in 1990.

65 A. Boni, editor, *The Modern Book of French Verse* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920). The poems are on pp.19, 7, and 63 respectively.

66 Marot gets a brief mention in Ford's *The March of Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1939), 437.

67 See <https://clementmarot.com/other%20poems.htm>

68 Timothy McTaggart, 'Jardin musical, contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons', Volume 1 of *Sixteenth Century Chanson: Chansons from the Atelier of Waelrant and Laet* (New York: Garland, 1992).

69 Francis Hueffer's doctoral thesis was a critical edition of the works of Guillem de Cabestant, a 12th-century troubadour. He later published *The Troubadours: A History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1878).