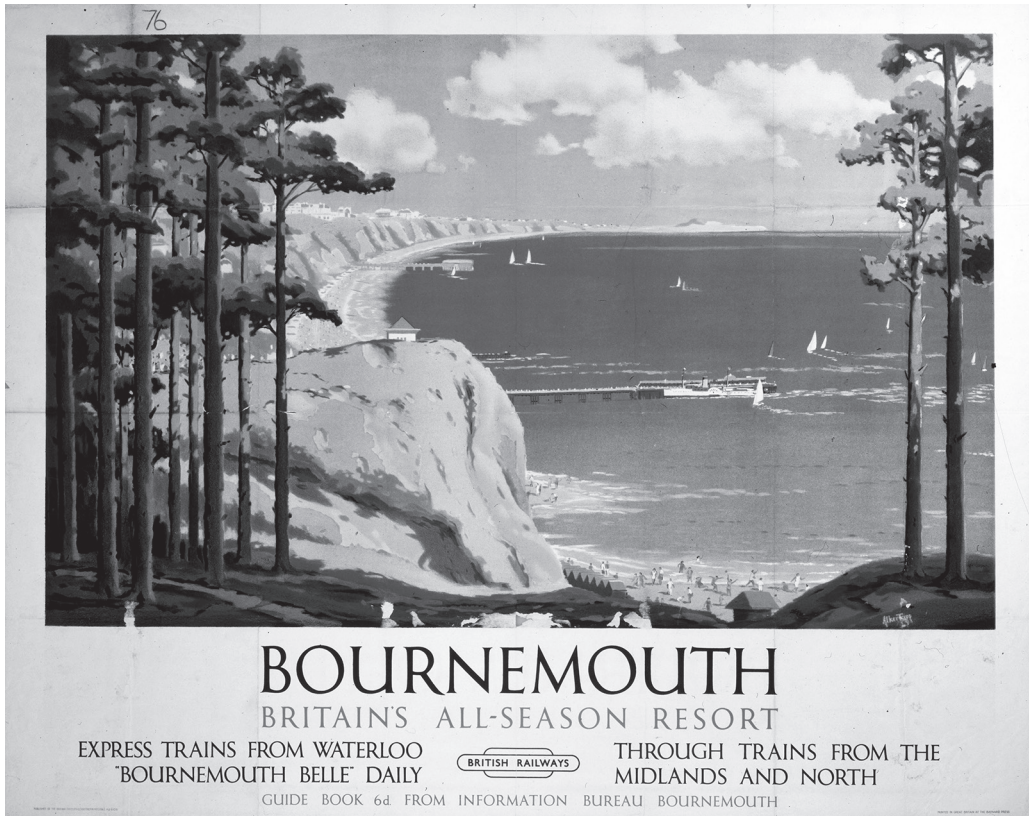


THE SEA IN THE
BRITISH MUSICAL IMAGINATION



Frontispiece: 'Bournemouth: Britain's All-Season Resort', British Railways poster, 1950s, by Alker Tripp

THE SEA IN THE BRITISH MUSICAL IMAGINATION

Edited by
Eric Saylor and Christopher M. Scheer

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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6

Jolly Jack Tar: Musical Caricature and Characterization of the British Sailor, c. 1875–1925

JAMES BROOKS KUYKENDALL

FIGURE 6.1 REPRODUCES the opening gambit William Walton conceived for his setting (in *Façade*, 1921) of Edith Sitwell's poem 'Hornpipe' ('Sailors come / To the drum / Out of Babylon').¹ It is an arresting gesture: an exceedingly familiar melody is presented by a single snare drum – stripped of its pitch content, though not of its popular and patriotic associations. When pitches of the melody are finally introduced (in the saxophone and pizzicato cello), they are obscured by the introduction of a different, but equally familiar, melody in the other instruments. The quodlibet texture presents the chorus of Arne's 'Rule, Britannia!' and the traditional fiddle tune generally known as the College Hornpipe.² It is this fiddle 'hornpipe' that seems to have been Sitwell's point of departure as she devised the metre of her verse, which follows the tune's melodic rhythms closely throughout. As with the other numbers of *Façade*, Walton's 'Hornpipe' is 'over in a flash, but unerringly pin[s] down some particular aspect of popular music'.³ In this instance, the combination of the hornpipe with Arne's national air (nowhere suggested in the text of the poem) situates this setting as a descendent of a distinct middlebrow tradition dating back decades in British musical culture, which morphed over time from theatrical burlesque to popular patriotic prototype to sophisticated ironic modernist trope. It should be noted, though, that these phases refer to the origins of such music, as (some) works from all three phases have maintained a place in the mainstream performance repertory from their genesis.

¹ Apparently this striking opening satisfied Walton so much that after the first public performance of *Façade*, he moved 'Hornpipe' to be the first recited number, directly after the Fanfare. See David Lloyd-Jones, 'Introductory Notes,' in *Façade Entertainments, William Walton Edition*, vol. 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xv.

² This is by no means a title or spelling universally used. 'Collage Hornpipe' is also common, as is 'Jack's the Lad' (derived from a broadside ballad sung to the tune, about which more below).

³ Constant Lambert, *Music Ho!: A Study of Music in Decline* (1934; new ed., London: Hogarth Press, 1985), 176.

Figure 6.1: 'Façade – An Entertainment', music by Sir William Walton, text by Dame Edith Sitwell, FRKF 638G, p. lv (detail)

Phase I: Burlesquing Jack Tar

Mary Conley has recently documented the rehabilitation of the British sailor from the late Victorian years through World War I, where the image of the debauched and drunken 'Jolly Jack Tar' of Nelson's day was supplanted by that of a heroic, professional, and ostensibly clean-living modern seaman. As she has argued, although there was massive change within the culture of the navy under Victoria and Edward VII, this was not aligned, nor was it concurrent, with the changing reputation of the sailor – which relied upon media representations of sailors rather than the genuine article.⁴ A legacy of the Napoleonic era was a series of the nautical plays (and to a lesser extent novels) concerning the struggles of the noble but simple sailor who above all would fulfil his country's expectations to 'do his duty'. Such works yielded a flat, unrealistic, and ultimately unsatisfying character, who would really come into his own only as the butt of parody in later decades.⁵ Thus the honest hero William of Douglas Jerrold's popular 1829 melodrama *Black-Ey'd Susan; or, All in the Downs* would reappear burlesqued, distorted, and improved

⁴ Mary A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870–1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

⁵ A useful discussion of the 'Jolly Jack Tar' joke is V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, *The Burlesque Tradition in the English Theatre after 1660* (London: Methuen, 1952), 98–107.

in F. C. Burnand's *The Latest Edition of Black-Eyed Susan; or, The Little Bill that was Taken Up* (1866) – illustrating a recognizable character type that persisted throughout the rest of the century. Already in 1845, Gilbert à Beckett had lampooned the well-established expected behaviour of ‘the stage seaman’:

The British seaman tells everybody he meets to ‘Belay, there,’ which we find, by a reference to a dictionary of sea-terms, is making a rope fast by turns round a pin or coil without hitching or seizing it. He calls his legs his timbers, though timbers, in nautical language, mean ribs; and he is continually requesting that they may be shivered. He is always either on terms of easy familiarity with his captain or particularly mutinous, and is often in love with the same young lady as his superior officer, whom, in consequence of their affections clashing, he generally cuts down to a mere hull, as he technically expresses it. He calls every elderly person a grampus, and stigmatizes as a land-lubber every individual whose pursuits do not happen to be nautical. When at sea, though only a common sailor, the stage tar is the most important personage in the vessel; and the captain frequently retires to the side of the ship – sitting, probably, on a water-barrel – in order to leave the entire deck at the service of the tar, while he indulges in a naval hornpipe.... The stage tar sometimes carries papers in his bosom, which, as he cannot read, he does not know the purport of; and though he has treasured them up, he has never thought it worthwhile to get anybody to look at them, but he generally pulls them out in the very nick of time, in the presence of some old nobleman, who glances at them, and exclaims, ‘My long-lost son!’ at the same time expanding his arms for the tar to rush into. Sometimes he carries a miniature, and finds some titled dame a mother to match it, or pulls up the sleeve of his jacket and shows a stain of port-wine upon his arm, which establishes his right to some very extensive estates, and convicts a conscience-stricken steward of a long train of villainies. At the close of his exploits it is customary to bring in the union-jack (nobody knows why it is introduced or where it comes from), and to wave it over his head, to the air of ‘Rule[,] Britannia.’⁶

Note the reference to both the ‘naval hornpipe’ and the flag waving for ‘Rule, Britannia’ – theatrical conventions, and ridiculed as such.⁷ Indeed, any links between the so-called ‘sailor’s hornpipe’ and the sea are tenuous in the extreme. As George Emmerson noted some forty years ago, the conventional wisdom about the hornpipe assumes an almost total misunderstanding of its origins: in the popular

⁶ Gilbert Abbott à Beckett, ‘The Stage Seaman’, in *George Cruikshank’s Table-Book* (London: Punch, 1845), 35–6; the volume includes a number of similar profiles of familiar stage types.

⁷ On the theatricality of ‘Rule, Britannia,’ Lambert observed

We can imagine *Rule, Britannia* being played by a ship’s band or being hummed on the quarterdeck by some dilettante admiral, but we can hardly hear it being sung by sailors as they go into battle. The classical construction and the operatic nature of some of the vocalisation – particularly in its original form – immediately give to it an aristocratic quality which prevents it from becoming truly popular in the fullest meaning of the word.

Lambert, *Music Ho!*, 132.

mind a hornpipe is first and foremost a sailor's dance to the specific duple time melody Walton alludes to above.⁸ This conception conflates a step-dance routine (the 'sailor's hornpipe') with just one of many tunes that it might be danced to, anachronistically imagining that combination to be something like what Samuel Pepys described as the 'jig of the ship' (seen at a 1668 production of *The Tempest*), and transferring the whole phenomenon from the theatre stage to the main deck.⁹ Sorting through the evidence, Emmerson argues that the dance steps for the 'sailor's hornpipe' routine were codified rather late, developing throughout the nineteenth century and gradually accumulating nautical illustrative motifs.¹⁰ To be sure, sailors did eventually take up this dance, but it did not originate aboard ship.

Similarly, Emmerson suggests that in the eighteenth century the term 'hornpipe' (when used by dancers) could refer to any step dance, not necessarily to a triple-time 'hornpipe' (as the term would be used among musicians, and exemplified by those of Purcell and Handel, for example); in this way, in time the triple-time dance music could be completely overtaken by a very different sort of duple-time 'hornpipe' – without the general public necessarily being cognizant of the musical differences, as the name remained the same. Emmerson describes in detail what he labels 'the *Jacky Tar* class of hornpipe':

[It] is characterized by staccato quaver runs punctuated by the stressing of the second and third beats within the bar at regular intervals. These intervals are not the same in every tune, but the phrases always end with this double stressing: 'pom! pom!' Since the first beat of the bar is stressed anyway, the tune's phrases seem to end: 'pom! pom! pom!' – often on the same note. The effect is brilliant and exciting.¹¹

The College Hornpipe tune exemplifies this melodic class, and in the public ear has come to eclipse all the rest of its type. It appears in eighteenth-century

⁸ George S. Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', *Folk Music Journal* 2, no. 1 (1970), 12–34.

⁹ See, for example, the discussion in Charles Napier Robinson, *The British Tar in Fact and Fiction* (London: Harper and Brothers, 1909), 159. Regarding authentic sailor music, however, Robinson provides an early date for the use of the College Hornpipe tune aboard ship: he quotes an 1834 account in the *United Services Journal* which describes it in use not as a dance but as a capstan shanty (p. 434). As 'Collage Hornpipe', the tune appears in the c. 1800 tune book of a sailor in the British India fleet; see *William Litten's Fiddle Tunes 1800–1802*, ed. Gale Huntington (Vineyard Haven, MA: Hines Point Publishers, 1977), 19 and 49.

¹⁰ Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', 26–7; Emmerson quotes an 1855 description of a 'Pas de Matelot' subtitled 'A Sailor Hornpipe – Old Style'. For a later example, see Alice M. Cowper Coles, 'The Hornpipe' (London: J. Curwen, 1910), an illustrated pamphlet with the instructions for the dance. Coles manifests the full fervour of the folklorist of her generation, asserting that the steps she records are 'genuine and most characteristic', having observed 'a very large number of blue jackets and petty officers dance the national dance just as it had been handed down in the Navy for generations' The pamphlet is accessible online at <http://archive.org/stream/hornpipeocole>.

¹¹ Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', 12.

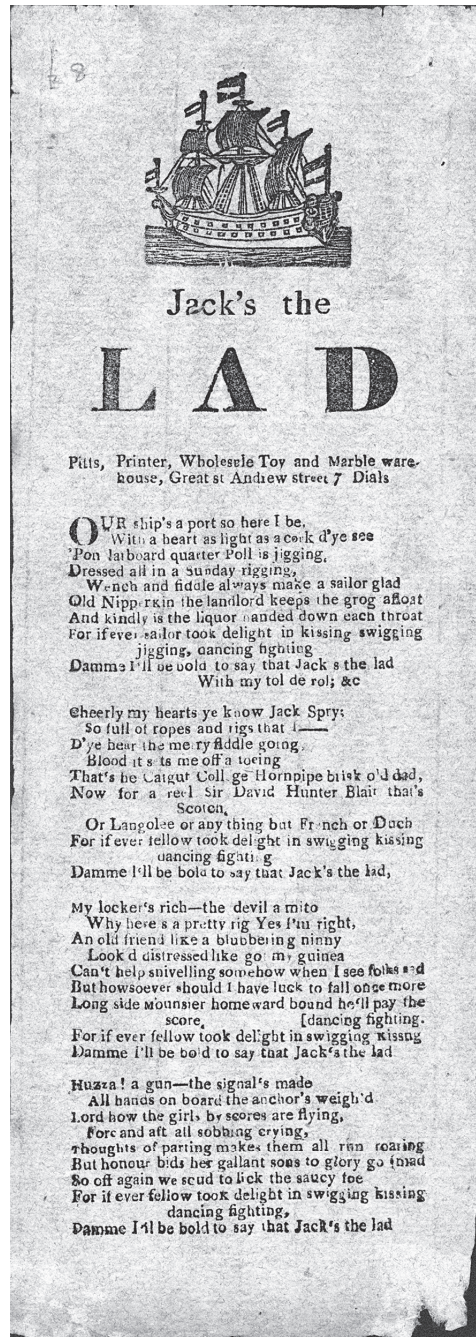


Figure 6.2: 'Jack's the Lad', ballad, printed by J. Pitts. The Bodleian Library allegro Catalogue of Ballads dates this imprint between 1802 and 1819

fiddle miscellanies with no clear nautical association;¹² the Georgian broadside text 'Jack's the Lad' about riotous sailor behaviour while ashore unambiguously makes this link (referring in its second stanza to 'the Catgut College Hornpipe'). In his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859), William Chappell remarks: 'The College Hornpipe, in spite of its extended compass, is the tune to which an old sailor's song, called *Jack's the Lad*, is sung. A copy of the words, printed in Seven Dials, was once in my possession.'¹³ Figure 6.2 reproduces a broadside such as Chappell might have owned.

Precisely how and when this melody (i.e. quite apart from the dance with which it became associated) became the dominant musical signifier for the sailor is very difficult to determine. While the 'Jack's the Lad' sailor text was linked with it very early in the nineteenth century, the College Hornpipe maintained an independent existence as an instrumental dancing melody without the bawdy associations of the sailor song. Clearly Henry Wood's celebrated *Fantasia on English Sea Songs* (1905, about which more below) went a long way in cementing the melody in popular consciousness, but literal quotations of the melody appear already in the late Gilbert and Sullivan operettas *The Gondoliers* (1889) and *Utopia Limited* (1893), each time with a specific nautical reference in the text. Even before these examples, however, the echoes of the College Hornpipe resonated in newly composed dance music in other theatrical works – although not necessarily accompanying a 'sailor's hornpipe' routine. In Edward Solomon's 'original nautical comic opera' *Bil-lee Taylor* (1880), for example, among the dances that open the second act, it is the 'Black Cook's Dance' that most closely resembles the College Hornpipe (Examples 6.1a and 6.1b).

Similarly, Sullivan's hornpipe for Richard Dauntless in the first act of *Ruddigore* (1887) is clearly indebted to Emmerson's 'Jacky Tar class' of tunes, and perhaps even to the College Hornpipe specifically. Durward Lely, the original Richard, in old age recalled that the hornpipe at this point was his idea. Having heard his song 'I shipp'd, d'ye see', he responded 'It sounds as though a hornpipe should follow ... Sullivan wrote a hornpipe – really the old stereotyped sailor's hornpipe musically inverted.'¹⁴ Although the dance was a late addition to the score, Sullivan was able

¹² For example, in *William Vickers tune book*, Newcastle(?), c. 1770 as 'Collage Hornpipe / or Lankinshire Hornpipe' [<http://www.asaplive.com/archive/detail.asp?id=R0312903>]; *William Clarke his music book*, Lincoln, c. 1770 as 'Colledge Hornpipe' [<http://folkopedia.efds.org/wiki/WCL059>]; and the tune appears in a number of contemporaneous Dutch manuscripts and editions (sometimes with an attribution to the dancing master Poitier), including *Speelmansboek met eenstemmige en meerstemmige melodieën en 'psalmloopen'* c. 1750–70 as 'Hollandse Hornpyp' [<http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=167435&lan=en>] and *De Nieuwe Hollandsche Schouwburg* (Amsterdam: Johannes Smit, c. 1754) as 'Hornpipe Dans van Potier' [<http://speelmuziek.nederlandsmuziekinstituut.nl/div/IIF11.html>].

¹³ William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London: Cramer, Beale, & Chappell, 1859; reprint New York: Dover Publications, 1965), [vol. II] 741.

¹⁴ Durward Lely, 'Happy Memories of a Savoyard', *The Gilbert & Sullivan Journal* 1, no. 6 (July 1926).



Example 6.1a: Edward Solomon, excerpt of 'Black Cook's Dance', *Billee Taylor*, piano score (London: Joseph Williams, [1881])



Example 6.1b: Excerpt of College Hornpipe as given in William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 1859); musical setting by G. A. Macfarren

to link it musically with the interlude which introduces Richard's introductory song; indeed, the string writing that accompanies the women's chorus welcoming Richard suggests the fiddle-tune origins of the College Hornpipe.

In 1876, Sullivan had testified on the matter of melodic resemblances to the Royal Commission on Copyright:

It is a curious thing in music, that a glaring plagiarism may exist without any resemblance at all in the actual succession of notes; you hear it in the rhythmical treatment, or in the form. On the other hand, you may find the same melodic succession of notes, in two compositions, and yet the most practised ear will fail to detect any resemblance between them if the rhythmical treatment is different.¹⁵

In all of the cases above, the rhythmic treatment and the idiomatic figuration are what link the music to the 'Jacky Tar class', without any particular sequence of notes.¹⁶ Whatever Durward Lely might have meant by 'the old stereotyped sailor's

¹⁵ *Royal Commission on Copyright, Minutes of Evidence* (1878), par. 2261 (p. 115) [Available as http://copy.law.cam.ac.uk/cam/tools/request/showRepresentation?id=representation_uk_1878a at p. 210 (1:211)]. See also William Lockhart, 'Trial by Ear: Legal Attitudes to Keyboard Arrangement in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Music & Letters* 93 (2012), 220. G. B. Shaw famously criticized Parry's 'Long since in Egypt's plenteous land' (in *Judith*, subsequently modified to become the hymn-tune repton) as this sort of plagiarism.

¹⁶ Martin T. Yates discusses specific but subtle musical allusions to the College Hornpipe melody in the score of *HMS Pinafore* in 'Characterisation and Emotion in the Savoy Operas', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, ed. David Eden and Meinhard Saremba (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 139–40. Less subtly, Sullivan produced another ersatz 'Jacky tar class' hornpipe for his 'Grand National Ballet' *Victoria & Merrie England* (1897).

hornpipe musically inverted; clearly the music had the right effect of evoking exactly what was needed for the character.

The character himself – Richard Dauntless, described in the *dramatis personae* as ‘a Man-o’-War’s-Man’, but apparently reduced to serving on the revenue sloop *Tom-tit* – was a throwback to the nautical melodramas, and seems to exhibit the same sorts of behaviour (and vocabulary) of à Beckett’s ‘stage seaman’ quoted above, duly waving the Union Jack in act II.¹⁷ In fact, Gilbert’s joke is that ‘Dick’ (as he is known to himself) lacks all the essential character traits of the melodramatic Jack Tar: beneath the veneer of nobility and pretended valour, he is as duplicitous and self-serving as they come. When he first appears amid a hero’s welcome, his account ‘I shipp’d, d’ye see’ (in which Gilbert borrows aspects of the ballad metre and internal rhyme of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*) is given a musical setting so clearly alluding to folk nautical idiom to suggest a heroism he does not deserve. As so often in the Savoy operas, Sullivan opts for a musical setting to match the character’s assumed attitude (befitting the noble Jack Tar of post-Napoleonic drama) rather than the true situation.¹⁸

A similar musical style is evident in Hamish MacCunn’s *Masque of War and Peace* (1900) in Neptune’s song ‘Oh I’ve heard nowt o’ the war’ (with the College Hornpipe serving as the accompaniment to his vocal lines); his entry during the preceding chorus is accompanied by tunes from *HMS Pinafore* (‘We sail the ocean blue’ and ‘I am the captain of the Pinafore’), as well as a contrapuntal treatment of ‘Rule, Britannia’ and the College Hornpipe.¹⁹ This decidedly popular approach – relying entirely on theatrical clichés – suggests that MacCunn could not quite bring himself to take his subject seriously. A much more substantial – if scarcely more serious – example is Alexander Mackenzie’s *Britannia* of 1894.²⁰ This ‘nautical overture’ displays a skilful sleight of hand; in its formal design, key structure and *thematische Arbeit*, it yields no particular surprises as a sonata-allegro movement in the Mendelssohnian tradition so pervasive among the late Victorians. As the work progresses, what has only seemed generically ‘nautical’ becomes explicit

¹⁷ On Gilbert’s use of this theatrical tradition, see Carolyn Williams, *Gilbert and Sullivan: Gender, Genre, Parody* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 97–114 and 276–8; and Eileen E. Cottiss, ‘Gilbert and the British Tar’, in *Gilbert & Sullivan*, ed. James Helyar (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1971), 33–42 [available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/5875>].

¹⁸ See my ‘Motives and Methods in Sullivan’s Allusions’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, 124–6. A consequence of Sullivan’s deadpan setting was an uproar across the Channel when the French felt they had been insulted; see, for example, Ian Bradley, *The Complete Annotated Gilbert & Sullivan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 674. Here Sullivan seems to borrow the mood of folk ballads like ‘Ten Thousand Miles Away’ (which had inspired other parodies, like Charles Edward Carryl’s 1885 verse ‘The Wallowing Window Blind’).

¹⁹ I am grateful to Jennifer Oates for sharing this example with me; on *The Masque of War and Peace*, see Oates, *Hamish MacCunn (1868–1916): A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 180–4.

²⁰ Both the first edition full score and the contemporaneous published piano reduction are in the public domain and available on the International Music Score Library Project (imslp.org).

as brief motivic snatches of the College Hornpipe emerge and as quickly dissipate. The piece anticipates Walton's 'Hornpipe' by commencing with a presentation of the 'Rule, Britannia' motif as a drum rhythm stripped of melodic contour. As soon as the development section begins (b. 160), fragments of the 'Rule, Britannia' infiltrate the texture, eventually coalescing into a full chorale-like statement in the horns and clarinets (bb. 189ff). In the recapitulation (bb. 349ff), the hornpipe-like third theme is presented in counterpoint with Arne's melody (with an *ad libitum* organ doubling). The contrapuntal climax is reserved for the coda, where in a splendid peroration Arne's melody comes into its own combined with snatches of the College Hornpipe.

Even twenty years later, this style persisted in novelty works like John Ansell's *Plymouth Hoe* (with the same 'nautical overture' subtitle), here combining a line in running sixteenth notes derived from the College Hornpipe with the 'Rule, Britannia' refrain and the beginning of 'The Saucy Arethusa' (Example 6.2).

Example 6.2: John Ansell, excerpt of *Plymouth Hoe: A Nautical Overture* (London: Chappell & Co., 1914)

The whole piece is a tightly woven medley of nautical tunes, with the College Hornpipe motifs providing the linking material – and, as in Mackenzie's *Britannia*, never stated as a complete melody. Composed just as World War I began, it was

never more than a popular favourite for light orchestras (or in arrangements for military band and brass band), although in 2014 it achieved the notable triumph of supplanting Henry Wood's *Fantasy on English Sea Songs* at the Last Night of the Proms. This centenary performance notwithstanding, the work was a late entry in the Phase I all-in-good-fun caricature of British seamanship, and it has remained of little more than nostalgic significance.

Phase II: Realizing Jack Tar

In the first decade of the twentieth century the Jack Tar caricature had been overtaken by a multifaceted portrayal – albeit no less a storybook character, but neither the prig of the 1830s nor the parodied prig of the 1880s. The new image was one actively promoted by the Admiralty, seeking explicitly to replace the Georgian image of Jack Tar with a modern sailor, celebrated for ‘his professionalism, discipline, intellect, and domesticity.’²¹ Rudyard Kipling's *A Fleet in Being*, an account of his two journeys with the Channel Fleet in the late 1890s, was an early attempt at introducing the general public (and young boys in particular) to true life aboard ship.²²

But this ‘truth’ of the hard-working, clean-living sailor was hardly a compelling inspiration for artists. In concert music, the catalyst for a changed depiction of the British sailor was apparently the centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar, and its attendant preparations. Certainly attorney and writer Henry Newbolt had been anticipating the celebration for several years, with a decided focus in his poetic efforts since the mid-1890s (including three ballads of the Napoleonic battles in his first collection of poetry, *Admirals All, and other Verses* (1897)). He produced a readable historical account, *The Year of Trafalgar*, in the centenary year, achieving some measure of popular success, and solidified a reputation as a naval historian.²³ As such, his concern was to take the human element seriously: the sailors of history were neither gods nor jolly jack tars, and his poetry and prose sought to humanize them all (Nelson included, albeit tempered with a great measure of adulation).

In essence, Newbolt was recovering the various depictions of the sailor that had dominated broadside ballads – which, aimed at a working-class market, were more directly related to real life than any bourgeois portrayal ever was (whether a

²¹ Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack*, 124. For explicit comparisons between the Georgian Jack Tar and the modern bluejacket, see the quotations on pp. 127ff.

²² Rudyard Kipling, *A Fleet in Being* (London: Macmillan, 1898); there is no mention of horn-pipes in his account of dancing (pp. 70–1), nor is there in Archibald Hurd's *How our Navy is Run* (London: Pearson, 1902), another publication emerging from the Admiralty's initiative to host journalists.

²³ Henry Newbolt, *The Year of Trafalgar, being an account of the battle and the events which led up to it, with a collection of the poems and ballads written thereupon between 1805 and 1905* (London: John Murray, 1905).

Table 6.1: Details of Stanford's nautical song-cycles

Songs of the Sea, Op. 91 (1904) [Boosey & Co, vocal score 1904; full score 1905]

For baritone solo* (with male chorus (TTBB) *ad lib.*) and orchestra

- 1 Drake's Drum (*Tempo di marcia moderato*)
- 2 Outward bound (*Andante espressivo*)
- 3 Devon, O Devon, in wind and rain (*Allegro con fuoco* [vs]; *Allegro molto* [fs])
- 4 Homeward bound (*Andante tranquillo*)
- 5 The Old Superb (*Allegro vivace* [vs]; *Allegro molto* [fs])

First performance: Leeds Festival, 7 October 1904.

Texts: Henry Newbolt. 1: *St. James Gazette* (15 January 1896) and subsequently in *Admirals All* (1897), although Stanford expunged Newbolt's dialect; 2 and 3 (as 'Wagon [*sic*] Hill'): *The Sailing of the Long-Ships* (1902); 4: written for Stanford, appearing subsequently in the 1907 expanded edition of *The Island Race*; 5: written for Stanford, but published first in *The Spectator* (20 February 1904) and subsequently in *The Year of Trafalgar* (1905).

* Neither published editions indicate a voice part for the solo; considering Harry Plunket Greene's association with the work even during composition, baritone is assumed.

Songs of the Fleet, Op. 117 (1910) [Stainer & Bell, Ltd, 1910]

For baritone solo, chorus, and orchestra

- 1 Sailing at Dawn (*Andante molto tranquillo*)
- 2 The Song of the Sou'-Wester (*Allegro non troppo, ma con fuoco*)
- 3 The Middle Watch (*Andante molto tranquillo*)
- 4 The Little Admiral (*Allegro vivace*)
- 5 Fare Well (*Quasi Adagio*)

First performance: Leeds Festival, 13 October 1910, after the intended 6 July 1910 Queen's Hall premiere at the Jubilee Congress of the Institute of Naval Architects was cancelled, owing to the death of Edward VII.

Texts: Henry Newbolt. Apparently written for Stanford, appearing subsequently as a titled set in *Poems: New and Old* (1912), including an additional poem, 'The Song of the Guns at Sea' (preceding 'Fare Well').

Jack Tar of the stage or of the parlour ballad).²⁴ While he sought to borrow some of the authenticity of the broadside tradition, he was certainly aiming for poetry rather than verse. His primary interest was in Britain's historic greatness on the seas – and thus the recurring reference to Drake and the sea-dogs in many of his poems – but he became increasingly drawn to the plight of current sailors. In 1908 he was invited to spend a week with the Channel Fleet (as Kipling had done a decade earlier), and his admiration for Drake and Nelson grew to encompass every man aboard: 'there is something about them that no other set of men come within a mile of', he reflected in his diary. '[Y]ou won't see them at all if you never see them at their work. I stand by them, for hours at a time, absolutely effaced and

²⁴ See Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 24ff and 158–9.

absorbed, with only a kind of mute tail-wag when they throw me a word.²⁵ Thus the admiral who invited him, Sir Reginald Custance, becomes ‘The Little Admiral’ of Newbolt’s poetic recollection of his trip (*Songs of the Fleet*) – as great as Nelson in Newbolt’s eyes, who only by being born at a different time did not get to display like heroism. (Nonetheless, in the poem Newbolt fantasizes he ‘could swear that he had stars upon his uniform / And one sleeve pinned across his breast.’)

Out of Newbolt’s nautical poems emerge two supreme orchestral song-cycles, Charles Villiers Stanford’s *Songs of the Sea* (1904) and *Songs of the Fleet* (1910). (See Table 6.1 for details of these works.) These were not Stanford’s first works to celebrate the sea; his choral ballad *The Revenge* (1886, to a text by Tennyson) had become a repertory favourite among choral societies, and his attempt to capitalize on its continuing success with *The Battle of the Baltic* (1891) had at least a respectable position amid the glut of Victorian choral literature. Both of these works were battle narratives, and in the two *Songs* cycles Stanford conspicuously departs from depictions of combat altogether. *Songs of the Sea* was not based on a cycle of poems and seems to have been conceived almost accidentally, starting as just two songs (‘Devon, O Devon’ and ‘Outward Bound’, neither with chorus) written speculatively.²⁶ The set comprises two strands: heroic ballads regarding something of historical significance (including, in the case of ‘Devon, O Devon’, a poem Newbolt intended to be about the Boer War rather than the sea), and sentimental ballads reflecting on departure and returning (with ‘Homeward Bound’ written by Newbolt at Stanford’s request as a match for ‘Outward Bound’). With both strands, Stanford turns from flat caricature to something more vivid, fleshing out the emotional and psychological experience of the sailor, sometimes despite Newbolt’s tendency towards a drawing-room style of violet verse (whether sentimental or heroic).

The closest Stanford gets to the older ‘Jacky Tar’ tradition is the spinning of the heroic yarn ‘The Old *Superb*’, which is the sort of tale *Ruddigore*’s Richard Dauntless wanted to tell, with a similar musical means to tell it.²⁷ But the seaman whose voice we hear in ‘Homeward Bound’ is given a setting with a Brahmsian pathos, and Newbolt’s wistful longing for home prompts Stanford to chromatic wanderings, with the most striking reserved for the restlessness at finally sighting the ‘pale white cliffs’ (‘Soft as old sorrow, bright as old renown’, moving rapidly from the home D flat downward through A major and F major – and silence – before necessarily re-establishing the tonic at ‘There lies the home of all our mortal dream’). Newbolt was thrilled with the results:

²⁵ *The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt*, ed. Margaret Newbolt (London: Faber & Faber, 1942), 116–17. Newbolt’s full diary account of his week at sea appears as pp. 106–20.

²⁶ On the origins of these works, see James Brooks Kuykendall and Edison Kang, eds, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Songs of the Sea and Songs of the Fleet*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Middleton, WI: A–R Editions, forthcoming).

²⁷ For Newbolt’s prose account of the historical event that inspired his song, see *The Year of Trafalgar*, 16–18.

I always felt that to hear those songs, given as Harry [Plunket] Greene could give them, was to be told secrets about myself, to see my own thought reflected with perfect accuracy but irradiated with the magic lights of a dream. He could set a ballad to a hornpipe [*sic* – ‘The Old *Superb*’?] so perfectly as to make my ears hear the wind in the rigging and my nerves dance, as it were to my own tune. Better still, he could tell me in my own language what it means to some of us to sight the White Cliffs after a long voyage, and what it may mean to any of us to be Outward Bound at last.²⁸

Songs of the Fleet offers more of the same (as is clear in the discussion by Eric Saylor in this volume). All ten of the songs in the two sets are through-composed, with subtle and sometimes astonishing differences between stanzas which at first sight seem to be strophic settings. Nowhere is this better displayed than in the final song, ‘Fare Well’. Newbolt’s text is different from the rest of the cycle, as it is addressed to a mother ashore (or, more likely, to the motherland) hearing the echoing voice of the dead at sea. This comes without warning in Stanford’s cycle, but Newbolt wrote a poem to intervene between ‘The Little Admiral’ and ‘Fare Well’. In his fifth poem, ‘The Song of the Guns at Sea’, the booming of the guns is translated into an exhortation about the sailor’s duty and ultimate sacrifice:

Come forth, O Soul!
 This is thy day of power.
 This is the day and this the glorious hour
 That was the goal
 Of thy self-conquering strife.
 ...
 Rejoice! Rejoice to obey
 In the great hour of life that men call Death
 The beat that bids thee draw heroic breath,
 Deep-throbbing till thy mortal heart be dumb
 Come! ... Come! ... the time is come!²⁹

Stanford opens ‘Fare Well’ with the pianissimo choral repetition ‘Farewell’ – a voice that is described but never speaks in Newbolt’s text. The harmony turns several times toward ♭VII (Sullivan’s ‘Lost Chord’, to be heard only in heaven),³⁰ particularly for the platitudinous summaries at the ends of the stanzas – ‘For saving thee, themselves they could not save’ (Example 6.3; note the change in the orchestration at this moment) and later ‘Service is sweet, for all true life is death’.

Stanford’s treatment of the last stanza is remarkable: featuring an entirely new melody, the first five lines are accomplished over the ‘farewell’ echoes from the beginning, chorus and orchestra alternating, but with an added choral interjection

²⁸ Henry Newbolt, *My World as in my Time* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933), 159.

²⁹ Extracts from the second and third stanzas, as published in Newbolt, *Poems New and Old* (London: John Murray, 1912), 9–10.

³⁰ See, for example, Nicholas Temperley, ‘Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music’, in *The Romantic Age*, ed. Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), 129–30.

ten - der words and grave, For, sav - ing thee, themselves they could not save.

p Str. *p* Br. *p* Str. *pp* Timp. / Horn

Example 6.3: Stanford, excerpt of 'Fare Well' from *Songs of the Fleet* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1910)

'Mother!' On the last syllable of the fifth line ('... but now their deed is done'), Stanford abruptly modulates via a plagal common-chord to F major. This initiates a sublime double return (Example 6.4), drawing on two elements of *Songs of the Sea*: the orchestral crescendo is built (significantly) on the motif 'Westward ho!' from 'The Old Superb', but it is articulated sequentially through the same mediant harmonies of 'Homeward Bound', this time in reverse (from F major up through A major to C# major – rather than settling down to rest at home, this is the transcendent ascent into glory). Over all of this, the soloist and chorus complete the third stanza ('Forevermore, their life and thine are one'), on the last syllable (b. 65), finally landing on the A \flat tonic with the triumphant orchestral restatement of 'Lead the line!' from the first of the *Fleet* songs, 'Sailing at Dawn' – Newbolt's vision of the 'Souls of all the seadogs' going before.

Molto Adagio

pp *cresc.* *pp* *cresc.* *ff*

Example 6.4: Stanford, excerpt of 'Fare Well' from *Songs of the Fleet* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1910); vocal and choral parts omitted; texture simplified to illustrate 'Westward ho!' motif

Henry Wood's popular *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*³¹ is a very different sort of piece from either of Stanford's cycles, but it nonetheless reflects the reconceptualizing of the Jack Tar in the years around the Trafalgar centenary. Wood's medley was prepared specifically for the centenary festivities, and some of its peculiarities are more readily explained with that anniversary in mind. (See Table 6.2.) With the sole exception of 'Farewell and adieu,' Wood's selections are not sea songs at all; indeed, Arthur Jacobs complains that 'not even Nelson's telescope would have found maritime content' in Handel's 'See, the conquering hero comes.'³²

Table 6.2: Details of Henry Wood's *Fantasia on British Sea Songs* (1905)

I.	Bugle Calls	
	a.	Admiral's Salute
	b.	Action
	c.	General Assembly
	d.	Landing Party
	e.	Prepare to Ram
	f.	Quick. Double. Extend & Close
II.	The anchors [<i>sic</i>] weighed	Solo for Trumpet & Trombone
III.	The Saucy Arethusa	Solo for Euphonium
IV.	Tom Bowling	Solo for Violoncello
V.	Jacks [<i>sic</i>] the Lad (Hornpipe[<i>l</i>])	Solo Violin
		Solo Flute
		Solo Piccolo
VI.	Farewell & Adieu ye Spanish Ladies	Quartet of Solo Trombones
VII.	Home Sweet Home	Solo's [<i>sic</i>] for Clarinet and Oboe
VIII.	See the Conquering Hero Comes	Solo's [<i>sic</i>] for 2 horns
IX.	Rule[,] Britannia	Organ & full Orchestra

Details here are taken from the title page of RAM MS 2651; a scan of the title page of MS 8 is available at <http://apollo.ram.ac.uk/emuweb/pages/ram/display.php?irn=2374>. The programme information reproduced in Wood's *My Life of Music* (pp. 19off) differs slightly. Arthur Jacobs suggests that Wood's principal source for the tunes was J. L. Hatton's *Songs of England*, which includes five of Wood's selections.

If the work's title is perhaps inaccurate, the content is reasonable, as taken together it implies a basic narrative tied to victory. After the introductory bugle calls are a series of vignettes: lovers parting (Wood even scores 'The Anchor's Weigh'd' for treble and baritone solo instruments), the camaraderie of the ship, tragedy among shipmates, recreation on deck (naturally featuring what Wood calls only 'Jack's the Lad' – by this time its nautical associations are assumed), dalliance in

³¹ The two manuscripts at the Royal Academy of Music (MS 8 and MS 2651) both show Wood's original title as 'New Fantasia on English Sea Songs'.

³² Arthur Jacobs, *Henry J. Wood: Maker of the Proms* (London: Methuen, 1994), 105. Even in the case of 'Farewell and adieu,' Wood seems to have chosen a tune more in use ashore than at sea.

port, longing for return, the hero's welcome (in Nelson's case, posthumous), and a final recasting of the immediate victory into imperial prophecy. Despite the close succession of 'Rule, Britannia' and the College Hornpipe, both of which were prevalent in the examples above in Phase I, Wood's *Fantasia* is part of a public image of the British sailor. The implied narrative of his choices fit with the more rounded depiction of the Jack Tar, as did those offered by Newbolt and Stanford – and again battle scenes have been completely omitted. In the 1905 celebrations, none of Wood's choices would have seemed odd; out of that context, and accumulating its own cultural weight through annual recurrences at the Last Night of the Proms for decades, the choices may seem baffling.

Phase II reaches its culmination during World War I, as performances of Stanford's cycles became even more frequent.³³ If Ansell's *Plymouth Hoe* could emerge at the same moment and yet represent Phase I, it may indicate something about the desperate urge to maintain public morale by any means – 'Rule, Britannia' and the College Hornpipe (both in Wood's *Fantasia*, as well) on one hand, or valorizing images of Francis Drake and Nelson on the other. Tellingly, although the Gilbert and Sullivan operas maintained a steady popularity, *Ruddigore* had dropped out of D'Oyly Carte's repertoire after its initial production in 1887, without a revival until the 1920s; there was nothing in it to boost morale, particularly given the duplicitous and self-deceived Richard Dauntless lampooned as the would-be hero.

Phase III: A *commedia dell'arte* Jack Tar

A consequence of the Great War was a post-war divide in the English middle-class regard for militarism and imperialism: patriotic 'Blimps' and the left-wing intelligentsia.³⁴ It was the latter satirizing the former that brought about a resurrection of the 'Jolly Jack Tar', at exactly the same moment that the 'Britons never-never-never shall be slaves' sentiment was materializing into an annual ritual (although not yet an orgy) at the 'Last Night of the Proms'.³⁵ The Intellectuals' parodies of this had nothing like the same public attention. The Sitwell/Walton *Façade* collaboration was, significantly, first conceived as a private entertainment, before being used to

³³ The Elgar/Kipling collaboration *The Fringes of the Fleet* (1916) is not considered here as it concerns civilian auxiliaries exclusively, but it fits squarely within Phase II.

³⁴ A notable account is George Orwell, 'The Lion and the Unicorn' (1941), in *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), vol. 2, 56–108. See pp. 73ff particularly regarding the Blimp/intelligentsia divide. (The term 'Blimps' comes from the character 'Colonel Blimp' created by political cartoonist David Low in 1934.) See also John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 80.

³⁵ David Cannadine, 'The "Last Night of the Proms" in Historical Perspective', in *Historical Research* 81 (May 2008), 315–49; on the gradual accumulation of 'last night' repertoire during this period, see pp. 323–6. Writing in 1938, Henry Wood reflected on directing his *Fantasia* during the war: 'Britain's navy meant something to us all in those days, for on it did our safety depend – and still does depend.' Wood, *My Life of Music* (London: Gollancz, 1938), 192.

bait the bourgeoisie. As Tim Barringer has noted, Edith Sitwell's 'Hornpipe' is a study in 'gentle' iconoclasm:

Victorianism is, perhaps, the keynote for this number, as Sitwell's text disgorges an entire lumber-room of relics, an emptying of the subconscious of a poet brought up in the severest of Victorian homes. The poem alludes to the Borealic Iceberg (as painted by Frederic Church); the Albert Memorial; the Queen herself, sitting shocked upon the rocking horse; and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, who makes several absurd appearances in *Façade* ... Yet the poem's tone is one of gentle, affectionate parody rather than the angry denunciations of the past typical of pre-war Futurism or Vorticism.³⁶

'Gentle', perhaps, but Walton's 'queasy paraphrase of hornpipe melodies, as if recalled by a drunken sailor'³⁷ served a pointed reframing of the newly promoted clean-living, professional sailor as the debauched Georgian Jack Tar.³⁸ It was this rougher, trouble-making Jack Tar figure who would re-emerge as a new stock character, very much at home within the sophisticate's revival of the *commedia dell'arte* tradition in whatever new artistic manifestation; whether Continental avant-garde (e.g. *Pierrot Lunaire*, *Pulcinella*), or the home-grown 'bright young things' (*Façade*, Dorothy L. Sayers's *Murder Must Advertise*), the fad displayed 'the perverse highbrowness which indulged in the low'.³⁹

When Diaghilev – whose financial backing came with a proviso to include an English ballet in his 1926 Ballets Russes season – commissioned Lord Berners for what became *The Triumph of Neptune*, it was to Sacheverell Sitwell that Berners turned for a scenario. Given Sitwell's artistic interests, it was natural for him to look for a visual rather than literary inspiration. This he found in the Victorian toy theatre (particularly the 'penny plain, tuppence coloured' products of Benjamin Pollock and H. J. Webb), as well as the caricatures of the Cruikshank brothers; Sitwell produced a similar regurgitation of Victoriana that his sister had only a few years before. In his scenario (which he called an 'English Pantomime'), the comic⁴⁰ sailor Tom Tug and a journalist venture together through a telescope to explore Fairyland, surviving perilous but vaguely familiar adventures, ultimately

³⁶ Tim Barringer, 'Façades for *Façade*: William Walton, Visual Culture, and English Modernism in the Sitwell Circle', in *British Music and Modernism 1895–1960*, ed. Matthew Riley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 125–45; quoted at p. 134.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Perhaps not by accident, the 'Hornpipe' was not included in the orchestral suites based on *Façade*, nor included in the first recording in 1929, and was only sporadically included in the occasional performances of the recited 'entertainment'; it was little known to the general public until it became the first number of the 'definitive' version in 1942.

³⁹ Colin Mason, 'William Walton', in *British Music of Our Time*, ed. A. L. Bacharach (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1946), 135.

⁴⁰ I borrow this adjective from Martin Green; see Martin Green and John Swan, *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), xvi.

becoming trapped in their new world when the telescope is damaged. In the concluding 'Apotheosis', in which Tom Tug is transformed into a Fairy Prince so that he can wed the Fairy Princess, Fairy Land is not so far removed from London that 'Rule, Britannia' cannot make its obligatory appearance (Example 6.5).



Example 6.5: Excerpt of 'Apotheosis' from *The Triumph of Neptune: Suite*. Music by Lord Berners © Copyright 1926 Chester Music Limited. All Rights Reserved. International Copyright Secured. Printed by permission of Chester Music Limited

In general, though Berners's score is much more indebted to Emmerson's 'Jacky Tar class' of hornpipe, with the 'pom! pom!' figures recurring at the ends of phrases in many sections (including the main theme of the 'Apotheosis'). The published score includes two numbers labelled 'Hornpipe' – one as an Entr'acte, and the other as part of the wedding masque at the end. The second of these (which in the autograph full score is labelled 'Matolette')⁴¹ is clearly indebted to the College Hornpipe specifically (cf. Example 6.1b and Example 6.6):



Example 6.6: Excerpt of 'Hornpipe' ['Matolette'] from *The Triumph of Neptune: Suite*. Music by Lord Berners © Copyright 1926 Chester Music Limited. All Rights Reserved. International Copyright Secured. Printed by permission of Chester Music Limited

Berners's nautical interests preceded *The Triumph of Neptune*, however, with his *Three Songs* (1922), and – more significantly in this context – his *Portsmouth Point* (c. 1918), subtitled 'Symphonic Sketch after a drawing by Rowlandson'. The 'drawing' in question was the print of a Georgian caricature of the Jack Tars and their

⁴¹ BL MUS Loan 106.21. Berners's use of the term 'Matolette' seems a characteristic anachronism, but it does provide an interesting link with the early Dutch sources of the College Hornpipe (cited above in n. 12) and with the 'Sailor's Hornpipe' dance; see Joan Rimmer, 'Dance and Dance Music in the Netherlands in the 18th Century', *Early Music* 14 (1986), 209–19 (esp. 212, 217, and n. 25).

behaviour in port as the fleet prepares to leave.⁴² Berners's setting is a wrong-note hornpipe of the 'Jacky Tar class' extended into a much longer work, but maintaining the 'pom! pom!' punctuation throughout (Example 6.7):



Example 6.7: Beginning of *Portsmouth Point*. Music by Lord Berners © Copyright 1920 Chester Music Limited. All Rights Reserved. International Copyright Secured. Printed by permission of Chester Music Limited

Berners apparently discarded the idea of a connection between the work and Rowlandson's print, recycling the piece immediately as the finale of *L'Uomo dai Baffi* (1918), there under the heading 'Poggia di Sigarette'.⁴³

Although Walton later denied any knowledge of Berners's *Portsmouth Point*, it was surely Berners who suggested to Walton the idea of a musical setting based on this print – possibly, of course, without disclosing to Walton his own aborted attempt.⁴⁴ Moreover, the initial inspiration for Walton's overture of the same name (1925) seems to have been London rather than Portsmouth, as the composer recalled in a 1977 interview with John Amis:

ww: I remember writing it ... it occurred to me on top of a 22 bus.

JA: Really? Which bit?

ww: The beginning – TRUM TRUM tra trum. I nearly had to get off the bus to go and write it down.⁴⁵

The very beginning is perhaps a more generic urban bustle – and, considering Walton's recollection, not that unlike the busier moments in the first movement of

⁴² See Barringer, 'Façades for Façade', 137–9 for a discussion of Rowlandson's print.

⁴³ The piano version is published in Berners, *The Collected Music for Solo Piano*, ed. Peter Dickinson, 2nd ed. (London: Chester Music, 2000).

⁴⁴ Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Walton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 41.

⁴⁵ John Amis, 'Portrait of Walton' (BBC Radio 3, 4 June 1977).

Vaughan Williams's 'London' Symphony.⁴⁶ Soon enough, however, he has settled on motifs which conjure up the nautical Jack Tar associations, reminiscent of the College Hornpipe (e.g. b. 61) and possibly even the opening of 'Rule, Britannia' (e.g. b. 88) – in Tim Barringer's words, 'spitting out remnants of half-remembered hornpipes without ever quite quoting them'.⁴⁷

If the *Façade* 'Hornpipe' includes a 'queasy paraphrase of hornpipe melodies,' *Portsmouth Point* presents a scene (and score) so busy that the result is a barrage of noise that prevents any one tune from getting through unscathed. Example 6.8 compares a melody in its sober version (already tripping over itself a bit as it gets its land legs) with a later version, no longer able to walk a straight line.⁴⁸



6.8a



6.8b

Example 6.8 (a, b): *Portsmouth Point*, an overture by William Walton © Oxford University Press 1928. Extracts reproduced by permission. All rights reserved

Similarly, Walton treats the 'hornpipe' and 'Britannia' motifs canonically, yielding a chaotic texture that evokes the gay abandon of sailors on shore-leave, with no hint of naval discipline (e.g. bb. 157ff). In this music, Walton captures much more of the crowded, carnivalesque, free-for-all atmosphere of Rowlandson's print than does Berners's much less complex version – which by comparison seems decorous. In effect, Berners's *Portsmouth Point* illustrates an attempted unison by drunken sailors (i.e. what music in this scene might sound like), while Walton's captures the pandemonium on the quay (with only stray snatches of tunes as whistled or sung, but considerably more activity).

If the young Walton had acquired some notoriety from his part in *Façade*, his *Portsmouth Point* was his first great public triumph. As such, it managed to straddle the Orwellian bourgeois divide – a work sufficiently Stravinskian to appeal to the modernist intelligentsia, while at the same time as familiarly situated in the English nautical tradition to appeal to the patriotic masses. Walton's overture

⁴⁶ Compare, for example, Walton bb. 7–34 and Vaughan Williams at rehearsal Mark O.

⁴⁷ Barringer, 'Façades for *Façade*', 139.

⁴⁸ 'The sailors of HMS Pinafore had had a night on the tiles.' Kennedy, *Portrait*, 42.

effectively spoke both languages. To some extent, the products of both Phase I and Phase III collapsed into each other, and employed similar musical techniques of melodic pastiche and contrapuntal combination. It was a situation at once Gilbertian and Sitwellian.⁴⁹ As Clive Bell was to diagnose a decade or so later, the coming into fashion of Victorian art after World War I was evidence of a critical insecurity: such art 'can be taken either seriously or as jokes ... The beauty of a taste for Victorian products is that it may mean something or nothing. It is fashionable because it is safe.'⁵⁰

Whether deployed satirically (in Victorian burlesque) or ironically (in comedic modernism), 'Rule, Britannia' or the College Hornpipe were potent signifiers for two distinct audiences; if the intellectual audience could not also have any use for the Phase II sentimentalism, the continuing popularity of this repertoire as well underscores the effectiveness of the music – and the remarkable staying power of the imagined Jack Tar in several different stages of evolution.

⁴⁹ Perhaps the ultimate product of this Phase I/III conflation is the Cranko/Mackerras Festival of Britten ballet production, *Pineapple Poll* (1951).

⁵⁰ Clive Bell, 'Victorian Taste' (originally a 1937 broadcast talk), in *Art in England*, ed. R. S. Lambert (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1938), 42–3.