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‘Staple of the Contemporary Music Scene’: Roberto
Gerhard in Geopolitical Perspective

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To the memory of Olga Glondys

New approaches to the study of Roberto Gerhard’s work in exile have in the last years started to interrogate the conditions of possibility behind his absence from well-established canons. This research has mostly revolved around matters of national identity, either focusing on the complexities and difficulties of Gerhard’s output returning to Spanish and/or Catalan Francoist or democratic contexts and historiographies, or discussing the ways in which stereotypes of Spanishness in England conditioned the expectations and understanding of the music Gerhard composed in exile.¹ My contribution continues this line of

research in new directions by exploring how the development of the composer's career and conceptualisation of the social role of music in mid-century post-Second World War Britain was shaped by geopolitical discourses that made culture the central ground of political struggle.

Gerhard took part in explicitly ideological cultural debates at key historical intersections of the 20th century. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, while in Berlin in Weimar Germany as a student of Arnold Schoenberg, and during the Spanish Second Republic (1931–9), his work as an intellectual and musician embraced the political role of culture and art in the fight against fascism and for the advance of the popular classes. In the post-war period, this important political role was re-signified to accommodate the geopolitics of the Cold War, which had shifted the definition of democratic values vis-à-vis their enemies, from fascism to Communism. Cultural producers such as Gerhard, whose trajectories dated back to the 1920s and came from an open commitment to leftist anti-fascist politics, had to navigate, from their own localities, this transcendental shift. It is evidence of this 'navigation' in Gerhard's output while in exile in England that this chapter explores.

Enrique Sacau Ferreira and Igor Contreras Zubillaga's works on *desarrollista* late-Franco Spain's

support for avant-garde music have extended to musicologists of Spain the argument about how the Francoist state instrumentalised art as part of its efforts to align itself with the geopolitics of the Cold War, a topic that has been mostly explored, for Spain and elsewhere, with respect to the visual arts.² Within the field of Spanish Republican exile, we owe to the work of Olga Glondys the first pathbreaking study of the relations of intellectuals Salvador de Madariaga, Enrique Adroher (working under the pseudonym *Gironella*), Julián Gorkin, and Joaquín Maurín with the cultural Cold War, through their involvement with the journal *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura*. This was the Spanish-language editorial branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), the soft-power organisation secretly financed by the CIA to promote anti-Communism and liberal values to left-leaning intellectual elites.³ To be clear, my aim is not to demonstrate that Gerhard too was on the payroll of the CCF, but rather to explore the connections generated by the Cold War of aesthetics to politics in the production and circulation of Gerhard's music in exile. While accepting analyses of Gerhard's work in England demonstrating that he encountered stereotyping and xenophobic attitudes that conditioned him as an exile composer, I want to argue here that there is, as well, solid evidence that his career as a

contemporary serialist musician of Catalan and Spanish origin, in England and beyond, consistently benefited from both personal and institutional forms of prestige, support, and patronage. Neither this, nor his being pigeon-holed as a composer of recognisably Spanish music, nor the changes in his ideas about the social role of music, can be disengaged from geopolitical dynamics playing out in the cultural, including musical, field. They provide us with a horizon of intelligibility for his musical professional development in exile, one that shaped the possibilities of production and circulation for his work and that adds complexity to their interpretation.

Gerhard's Writings on the Nature of Music and Its Social Role

Gerhard's ideas of who can be an audience and who an interpreter of serious music, and those about the historicity of music change from the 1930s to the 1960s, reveal ideological changes that parallel those of historical conditions. The politics of Gerhard's musical ideas in the 1930s are clearly based on popular nationalist conceptualisations sensitive to the working classes' creative potential, and defend the need to empower people as agents and the importance of education as a vehicle to achieve a truly democratic society. These

principles can be identified in his commitment to the Catalan autonomous government, the Generalitat, during the Spanish Second Republic, especially in his involvement in radio broadcasting and with the *Associació Obrera de Concerts*;⁴ the same principles are also present when he writes about the radical cultural scene in 1920s Weimar Germany and how he would like to see it emulated in Catalonia. Gerhard is at this point welcoming towards innovations in music of the ‘functional’ kind, or *Zweckmusik*, as a way of enticing new and potentially larger audiences and of fulfilling a progressive social purpose.⁵ The Communist composer Hanns Eisler, who ‘has written political music for his proletarian choirs’, as well as Paul Hindemith, Kurt Weill, and Bertolt Brecht, who ‘have created the genre of *Lehrstück* or school piece’, are cited as good examples of the important social role that new music is called to play.⁶

As opposed to gala performances, towards which an audience, every day more distant, cold and disillusioned, pays conventional tribute, music aspires to become an object of prime spiritual necessity. *Zweckmusik*: a utilitarian concept, in opposition to a self-indulgent view of music – this is the yardstick. It was logical that this aspiration amongst musicians should be taken into schools, so as to inculcate a feeling for the spiritual necessity of art within the minds and hearts of

tomorrow's generation.⁷

There is a sense at this moment that an audience identified as working class is perfectly capable of performing and enjoying new and classical music:

In Vienna, Webern has for two years been conducting the Arbeiter Symphonie-Konzerte (a similar institution to our Associació Obrera de Concerts); the Viennese association has also a great mixed choir, formed exclusively of workmen, with whom Webern has performed such works as Mahler's Second and Eighth Symphonies, Brahms' Requiem, Schoenberg's *Friede auf Erden* Op. 15 and works by Reger, Kodaly, Hanns Eisler and other modern and classical composers. Anyone attending any of these concerts, which are sponsored by the *Sozialdemokratische Kunststelle* will understand the profound educational and elevating activity in which Webern has been engaged.⁸

Social class here is at the centre of Gerhard's musical vision for a new nation, emphasising the pedagogical element: new music fit for a new citizen who needs ear-training to listen, discipline to sustain the effort, and a willingness to get rid of automatism for its interpretation.⁹ Such a focus survives into the 1940s. In 1945 Gerhard expresses his admiration for amateur music-making in Britain, including choirs and colliery workers' brass bands, encouraging musicians to compose more

with working-class performers and audiences in mind, as they are untapped ideal recipients of contemporary music.¹⁰

As we move into the 1950s, Gerhard's writings keep faith with critical pedagogy and aesthetic education as vehicles for the acquisition of knowledge, appreciation, and enjoyment of new music. However, there is a move to a focus on listeners, and a much-reduced niche of potentially reliable ones – a turn that Martin Brody identifies, for serialist composers on the western side of the Iron Curtain, as the key sign of an ideological shift.¹¹ Indeed, his interest in working-class musical agency and music-making, with its Socialist and anti-bourgeois connotations, disappears with the change. A clear example to document this changing definition of audiences as elites is Gerhard's article 'Is Modern Music Growing Old?'. Originally a talk given in 1960 while Gerhard was at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, as a visiting professor, it offers a critical response to the pessimistic assessments on contemporary music put forward by Theodor Adorno at the time, most directly in his article 'The Aging of the New Music', written in 1955.¹² In Gerhard's article, the working classes are presented as having joined the 'masses catered for by mass-produced entertainment', rendering the concept of the people meaningless: 'What is the meaning of the term "the people" in our mechanised society?'.¹³ The colonisation via commodification of taste by the cultural industry,¹⁴ of which

‘the people’ are presented as the irredeemable clients/victims, is grounds for the artist to reject any role for the musician on their behalf. Instead, Gerhard has replaced them with what he calls the Cinderella class:

Contemporary music ... addresses and can reach that particular Cinderella class in our present-day class system – the educated and the self-educated middle-class man and woman (mostly in a lower income-bracket than the mass-entertained working class) who are gifted with more intellectual alertness and spirit of exploration than means or opportunities to exercise and satisfy them ... They are people who bring to listening, viewing or reading a mental equipment and a response that are uniquely the product of our time. In teaching and training them thus to listen, view and read, contemporary art has played a great part. I think that a contemporary artist who has had a part in creating such an *élite*, can be proud of it. This *élite*, rather than *das Volk*, or the millions Beethoven longed to embrace, constitute the potential audience of today’s music. I feel that to have established such a relationship is social integration enough for us, in fact, it’s all we need or can bear.¹⁵

Here Gerhard continues to be as sensitive to class as in his earlier quoted articles, to the extent of feeling that it is necessary to point out that the ‘educated and the self- educated

middle-class man and woman' whom he now favours as optimal listeners of contemporary music are 'in a lower income-bracket' than the working classes he used to champion. Crucially now, the criterion to differentiate social strata is not economic welfare, since the working classes are better off than the middle classes, but rather 'intellectual alertness and spirit of exploration' – in other words, cultural sophistication or cultural capital, which seems to be the patrimony of the middle classes, as the working classes are now 'mass-entertained'. So, from an interest in educating new audiences amongst historically situated working classes for a new society, we move to an aim of communion with ideal listeners whose concentrated attention manages to erase everything else in their minds,¹⁶ particularly their social side, because this side is entirely 'made up of other people' – in other words, of borrowed patterns of behaviour, mostly unconsciously imitative.¹⁷ The social role of the composer is to create this non-mediated musical experience that places its participants in the void of a time emptied of historical texture. Gerhard writes: 'we have taught and trained this audience to read, to view, to listen *differently*. To have achieved this, to have helped the élite to live today the life of the imagination, is social relevance and social integration enough.'¹⁸ This evacuation of the historical is another symptom of Gerhard's ideological shift. From the 1930s Gerhard had made the historical nature of

music a central element of his defence of so-called atonal music. It features prominently in the well-known polemic with Lluís Millet after the latter's review tore apart Gerhard's *Wind Quintet* performed at the Palau de la Música in Barcelona. The composer's rebuttal of Millet's claim that new music is anarchic and gets rid of all hierarchies of sound is made on grounds of its historicity

[t]hat would be literally absurd unless you explicitly mean that you accept as a natural hierarchy, as a unique order, as irrefutable as the laws of the physical world, the historical order of the age of homophony or the harmonic style with its hierarchy of tonal chordal functions ... [Y]ou cannot ignore the historical process through which this tonal order has been constituted, which in part belongs to convention.¹⁹

This idea of music as historically conditioned continues into the 1950s, as is proven in the remarkable 'Sound and Symbol', a review of Victor Zuckerkandl's book by the same title broadcast on BBC Radio on 13 August 1957.²⁰ Gerhard's critique of the book is based on a historicisation of its Euro-/ethno-/modern-centrism. He denounces 'the astonishingly narrow range of Zuckerkandl's musical interests ... All non-European music is quietly dropped; not a word about Chinese or Indian music; much less about music of the so-called primitive cultures or the non-learned traditional music of the

people in the world at large.²¹ Gerhard clearly spells out that any concept of music is always already historical:

It simply isn't possible to study music as a 'natural phenomenon' alone ... it is also and always an historical reality. As such it occupies its niche in historical time and is rooted in ideas and conventions which, for the most part, have no universal validity, but only an historically circumscribed validity ... *with* the historical period goes also the contingent view of what *that* period understood by 'musical reality'; the two are inseparable.²²

Around this same time, however, Gerhard was moving away from these principles. His article of 1956 titled 'The Contemporary Musical Situation' already contains references to the centrality of time to music that point to a radical move away from historicity,²³ a connection that will be more fully articulated with ideas of musical abstraction and autonomy in the 1960s and that Adkins calls Gerhard's 'third way' of composing.²⁴ The refusal to accept any analogy of music with language, be it literary²⁵ or that of painting,²⁶ signals a retreat from the world in the name of music that reminds one of José Ortega y Gasset's argument about a 'dehumanised' art:

Communication is, no doubt, a language. But music is improperly called a 'language'. For all the obvious similarities in their respective structural organizations, it

has become an increasingly misleading analogy to call music a 'language'. The sign, or rather the signal, in music never points to a 'signified' beyond and other than itself. On the contrary, it is intransitive, as it were; it arrests and focuses attention upon ... the mobilization of a vast constellation of signals in their courses ... Music ... is not made with notes ... [T]he basic stuff of music is sonic motion, not notes or sounds... The true business of the composer is to release the flow and shape, and steer the stream of sonic events in time.²⁷

The argument about the intransitiveness of music necessitates a systematic severing of all ties with anything lying beyond 'steer[ing] the stream of sonic events in time'. Gerhard was an active participant in the late 1950s and into the 1960s in debates about the composition of contemporary music and serialism (Gerhard preferred the term 12-tone technique) where he was consistently critical of what he considered excessive rationalism²⁸ and the primacy of technique as the essence of music and the creative process,²⁹ which he frequently associated with the Darmstadt Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik (International Summer Courses for New Music). Still, all these discussions are carefully contained within the realm of the musicological, and only venture outside to make humanistic, universalist claims about the power of music. While he is very open to technical

innovations along the lines of electronic music and the use of computers, as we approach the 1960s the terms of the debate for Gerhard are increasingly reduced to the closed circle of contemporary music defined by the abolition of thematisation and the decentring of the artist's subjectivity.³⁰

It is little wonder then that, as late as 1964, when Gerhard, in a discussion of the cantata that the BBC had commissioned him to compose inspired by Albert Camus's *The Plague*,³¹ expresses the willingness of his music to be a response to social events, this requires a justification:

It is only rarely that music, with its intrinsic lack of semantic definition, allows us to guess at the motives which may have prompted the composer's work, and the evidence is seldom more than circumstantial or anecdotal. The musical medium itself is often thought of as 'timeless', in the sense of being ineffably remote from any concrete, time-bound concern, as though the composer lived, thought and worked outside historical time altogether. It came, therefore, as a welcome relief to me to have been able, just for once, to break out of this 'timelessness', and to give expression to a passionately felt concern with one of the most oppressive tragedies of our time.³²

A tension is expressed here between embracing music as produced outside historical time versus music that is sensitive,

expressive, and responding to this historical time. Of interest here is Gerhard's use of the word 'relief' and the expression 'just for once' to describe his feelings at composing the cantata. It is as if this concept of 'timelessness' is repressing not just passion, but the historicity behind it.³³

Geopolitical Aesthetics and Gerhard' Exilic Output

But why this repression? Let us now consider how what I have up to now presented mostly as the personal evolution in Gerhard's musical ideas can be made further intelligible against the background of post-war Britain, European, and western politics. Gerhard's references to 'athematicism' and 'timelessness', and his rejection of the working classes as interlocutors of his desire to communicate through music, point to a realignment of contemporary music's social role (and art in general) as lack. Raymond Williams called it Britain's post-war 'liberal-conservative consensus',³⁴ when discussing the negative reactions of critics to his book *Culture and Society* (1958) for having attempted 'a reassociation of culture and social thinking which they thought had been seen off after the thirties.'³⁵ It is the making of this dissociation as required cultural norm (the consensus) that encapsulates its ideological (liberal-conservative) force. Or, to invoke the term used by Anne C. Shreffler in her study of the impact of Cold

War politics on Igor Stravinsky's music, the 'politicity' of the apolitical: 'Ideology ... was also intrinsic to "unpolitical" music in the West. In the case of serial music, its very hermeticism – performed in acts of autonomy, of erasure and of scientific order – reveals its stake in Cold War tensions.'³⁶ A more comprehensive exposition of what is at stake in this connection to politics of aesthetics, the styles, and techniques of contemporary music is offered by Danielle Fosler-Lussier:

The postwar division of Europe, imagined as the Iron Curtain, had a profound effect on all spheres of culture, and the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as rival superpowers spurred efforts to distinguish them musically, as in every other way ... European and American musicians were called upon to act as advocates for one of the two competing visions of modernity: aestheticist modernism in the West and Socialist Realism in the East. Each of these traditions encompassed ideas about how composers should relate to the rest of society, how their music should sound, and what the music should mean to its audiences. Under these circumstances, to compose a musical work in a particular style meant to take a position in the political and aesthetic debates of the day ... [T]hese ubiquitous metamusical meanings played a crucial role in listeners' experiences on both sides of the cold war conflict ... [I]n

Western Europe the most influential modernist musicians soon began to ... favour Webern's twelve-tone works and the serial techniques derived from them.³⁷

Modernist music was held as the best representative of liberal democratic and capitalist values of 'freedom' and 'autonomy' and, therefore, influential as a form of anti-Communism, because of its supposed lack of theme and ideology. The political meaning of this re-configuration within the musical field of modern music after the Second World War is clearly articulated by Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett when discussing Nikolas Nabokov, Secretary General of the CCF and a composer himself:

[Nabokov] knew as early as 1948 that in the politicized climate, the traditional division between Schoenberg and Stravinsky – twelve-tone and neoclassical – was collapsing, and both were now rejected with equal vehemence by Soviet officials. Schoenberg, Stravinsky, and radical experimentalists all fell into the same broader category of modern music, which in turn was music of the non-communist world. Possessing fierce loyalties toward Stravinsky, Nabokov never truly endorsed Schoenberg or a post-war serial school. Yet he recognized that 'the advanced twelve-tone school and their conductors' were staples of the contemporary

music scene and therefore crucial to advancing the anti-communist program of 'freedom'.³⁸

Gerhard's trajectory clearly fits the parameters of the West's desired Cold War aesthetics: his early affiliation to dodecaphonic music and continuous post-war commitment and adscription to new music; the steady progress of his career throughout the 1950s thanks to William Glock's support³⁹ (regular publications from 1952 to 1961 on 12-tone music in *The Score and IMA [International Music Association] Magazine*, a journal founded by Glock and primarily devoted to contemporary music;⁴⁰ the special edition it dedicated to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday in 1956;⁴¹ the invitation that same year to teach at the Dartington Summer School of Music, also by Glock,⁴² who had founded it in 1948 to emulate the Darmstadt Summer Courses for New Music in Germany,⁴³ and where 'the internationalism of the avant-garde in Britain was fostered');⁴⁴ the final break-through as a composer in the 1960s as he turned to more abstract and 'pure' music; his theoretical move away from the social role of music. Even his refusal to get involved in Republican exile politics, including Catalanist positions,⁴⁵ his renunciation of nationalism, acquires an added meaning as a Cold War idiom – a way not only of distancing himself from Francoist Spain but of removing ties between his music and politics. All of which supports the relevance of seeking and interpreting these

‘ubiquitous metamusical meanings’ in his work in exile. As much as Schoenberg for Nabokov, Gerhard was a staple of the contemporary music scene. The aforementioned critical positions that Gerhard’s articles exhibited from the 1950s towards aspects of modernist music always remained within the parameters of serialism’s standards of quality and prestige.⁴⁶ While Gerhard did not actively and explicitly align himself politically, as modernist musicians such as Stravinsky, Hermann Scherchen, Béla Bartók, Milton Babbitt, Aaron Copland, Bruno Maderna, Karlheinz Stockhausen, and Hanns Eisler chose or were forced to do, he was clearly positioned on one side of the cultural Iron Curtain.⁴⁷ Shreffler points that there is a politics to identify in ‘how people functioned within the networks of prestige, prizes, and jobs’, because ‘even in an ostensible apolitical context, certain styles and techniques are marked in specific ways according to various hierarchies of prestige, value, and taste’.⁴⁸ By following these kinds of traces, we find Gerhard consistently in the right places at the right times.

There is no doubt that Gerhard’s career was aided by connections to institutions and individuals with proven direct relations to the politics and financing of the cultural Cold War. He attended the aforementioned Summer Courses for New Music in Darmstadt, the beacon of modern music. Created in 1946 in West Germany with money from the Allied military

government to promote a kind of music away from the stigma of socially committed music, it was in the first instance associated with Nazi propaganda but, after the USSR condemnation of modern musical styles as decadent in 1948, also with Soviet-backed accessible and nationalist music.⁴⁹ It was at the neighbouring Wiesbaden Gerhard offered the premiere performance of *The Duenna* in 1951,⁵⁰ when the Darmstadt courses were still sponsored by the USA,⁵¹ as part of the annual meeting of the International Society of Contemporary Music (ISCM). He was influenced by and kept relationships with prominent musicians associated with Darmstadt, such as Maderna, Stockhausen, and Scherchen.⁵²

Moreover, Mark Perry has argued the importance of the USA for the development of Gerhard's work in the last decade of his life, and the Cold War context adds meaning to the understanding of this development.⁵³ Gerhard travelled twice to America to teach composition, first in 1960 to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and in the summer of 1961 to the Berkshire Music Center at Tanglewood in Massachusetts; he also had his work performed, and received a number of important commissions from orchestras and organisations in the United States.⁵⁴ Not unlike the BBC, but much more secluded from general audiences, the university as an institution in the United States played a key role in defending and cultivating modernist music against the influence of mass

culture. Its function as provider to composers of autonomy and freedom from the market was from the 1950s supplemented and over-determined by the new meanings that these words acquired during the Cold War.⁵⁵ The interest that academics in the United States had in Gerhard's music must be framed within this context. It is not surprising that his time at Tanglewood was funded by the Ford Foundation, the importance of whose engagement in cultural diplomacy is hard to over-state.⁵⁶ The biggest private philanthropic organisation in the world in the mid-1950s, its connections to US foreign policy, and the helping role it played in the cultural Cold War global effort has been well documented.⁵⁷ In the words of Kathleen D. McCarthy: 'During the 1950s, Ford's international arts and humanities grants were cast in ideological terms, weapons in the Cold War quest for the hearts and minds of men.'⁵⁸ As Volker R. Berghahn has demonstrated, the Foundation responded positively in 1956 to calls from the CIA to provide covert support, including developing close ties with and funding to the CCF, to legitimise and dissipate mistrust in the United States government's cultural Cold War.⁵⁹ Amongst its projects was a collaboration with Europe to create an Atlantic community or partnership 'putting together the resources, talents, and skills of the Atlantic area', 'a massive philanthropic program that would propel the creation of an Atlantic cultural community',⁶⁰

while ‘reaching foreign intellectuals and increasing their understanding of the United States’.⁶¹ While it is impossible that Gerhard was aware of this behind-the-scenes plotting, for our purposes it is nonetheless relevant to understand that his work would not have been supported had it not fitted the Foundation’s parameters.

Rethinking Gerhard in Cold War Britain

Beyond these references to an international dimension, Gerhard’s shifts in his understanding of the social role of music and affinities to Cold War agendas need to be understood principally within the context of post-war Britain. Gerhard’s arrival in England as an exile in 1939 was made possible by a geopolitical logic that understood modernist and avant-garde music as part of the cultural fight against fascism. As Samuel Llano has documented, the main argument put forward by John B. Trend and Edward Dent for a short fellowship for Gerhard at King’s College, Cambridge, was based on a rejection of the folklore paradigm to define Spanish national music. Instead, Gerhard’s musical credentials were established on the basis of his use of modernist and avant-garde techniques.⁶² Both scholars had met Gerhard previously, and Dent, founding President of the ISCM from 1922 to 1938, and President of the International Music Society from 1931 to 1949, was an

internationalist, at the forefront of knowledge and a champion of contemporary music.⁶³ Moreover, Dent's acquaintance with William Glock, a key figure in the introduction of modernist music from the Continent who, like Gerhard, had lived in Berlin in the 1920s, went back to their days as students at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and it is not far-fetched to imagine that it was Dent himself who introduced him to Gerhard.⁶⁴

After the war, the geopolitical logic changed and, as we have been seeing, so did Gerhard's relation to his music and to cultural politics.⁶⁵ Britain's economic recovery under a Labour government and the emergence of the welfare state offered, for Gerhard, as for other Republican exiles such as Arturo Barea, a plausible way out for their democratic aspirations of the 1930s in Second Republic Spain. On the cultural front, the BBC kept the cultural industries' commercial deactivation of divisions among high, low, and popular spheres at bay, offering viable livelihoods to classical musicians such as Gerhard. It is not surprising, then, to find that Gerhard, despite his exilic condition, had found navigating the geopolitical shift reasonably easy. Let us return to his dialogue with Adorno in 'Is Modern Music Growing Old?' to find further proof of the shift. The answer to the question in the title is, for Gerhard, against Adorno, a resounding 'no':

[T]he last thing of which music today can be accused is

of [sic] having grown old or derivative. On the contrary: not only has the spirit of exploration not abated one whit, but in the handling of tone and time it has led to new modes of musical thinking which, though having roots in the work of pioneers, had not in reality been foreseen by them.⁶⁶

In fact, Gerhard and Adorno do not disagree on their critique of the reification of modern music, with its move to mechanised mathematical solutions. Adorno's indictment of their 'reducing music to naked processes in the material ... to replace composition altogether with an objective-calculatory ordering ... an integral rationalization ...' was shared by Gerhard, as we have seen.⁶⁷ What they disagreed on was the implications of it. For Adorno the issue was the loss of new music's critical angle, with which it had relinquished its most valuable and defining trait. Such critique could only be expressed negatively as suffering and angst, because alienation is unescapable. The role of music, which can only be developed in isolation and independence, is to bring the situation to consciousness by showing the contradiction 'between what is and the true, between the management of life and humanity'.⁶⁸ But in the 1950s, for Adorno the management of life has been made radically comprehensive by the combination of advanced capitalism and the coercion of totalitarianism. Both sides of the Iron Curtain annihilate the

individual either by prescribing fun through the culture industries as a norm to further perpetuate people's subjection to capital, or by using brute force and censorship.⁶⁹ When it is needed the most, music cannot even convey this contradiction and has lost its critical edge.⁷⁰

Gerhard's worldview is very different from Adorno's, his diagnosis of the times a much gentler one. At points, he is prepared to offer a critique of capitalism that sounds as harsh as Adorno's: 'Hans Arp once said that the man who invented the excruciating phrase "time is money" deserved to be horse-whipped. A society that has adopted this saying has nothing more to learn about devaluation.'⁷¹ However, as is the case for other modernist artists in the Cold War period, Gerhard imagined his art as escaping the trappings of capitalism. In his case this is through his affiliation to the BBC, which allows him to make a living without surrendering to commercialism, and to retain a view of himself as providing a positive social intervention, even if reduced in ambition, by educating audiences in the appreciation of new music. His life and professional conditions in Keynesian Britain must have favoured a view that the historical reasons for anxiety cited by Adorno were much less pressing after the Second World War. Believing that an acceptable solution had been found for the artist, Gerhard could not understand, as Adorno, consent as subsumption. It is understandable that he found reasons for

joy and pleasure in music and, by contrast, Adorno's catastrophism unreasonable.⁷² His position was that of someone who is in receipt and appreciates the benefits of the 'free' world and supports the consensus over it. The promotion of working-class musical capabilities that he had defended as the musician's role in the 1930s is now seen with suspicion as a mark of totalitarianism:

For the slogan about integrating art and society, a rather vague notion though it has always been, has nevertheless an unmistakably ominous ring ... there can be little doubt that in the business of integrating art and society, integration from above would always be at the artist's cost. And we may be sure that the mutilation the artist would suffer at the hands of the culture-commissar would be likely to be pretty drastic.⁷³

Socially conscious art is reduced here to that mandated by the USSR culture-commissar to the detriment of the artist. By contrast, Gerhard was in favour of the creative freedom enjoyed by he who 'accepts no master'.⁷⁴ All of which is evidence that Gerhard had taken sides in Cold War times with liberal democracy, a political system supported by the same capitalism that he rejected for fuelling mass culture and, as such, was at pains to prevent from influencing his work as a musician.

Gerhard's position was a good fit for a BBC that, in the

1950s, was explicitly connected to the cultural Cold War. Indeed, the operations of ‘the British Foreign Office’s new anti-communist propaganda outfit’, the Information Research Department (IRD),⁷⁵ was sufficiently important for historians to argue that ‘the anti- Communist, Cold War consensus which prevailed in Britain after 1950 ... was in part deliberately constructed by the British Government’.⁷⁶ Considering that Britain had a long tradition of global cultural diplomacy through its pioneer British Council or the propaganda role that the BBC had played during the war, it is not surprising to learn that the IRD ‘enjoyed the voluntary support of a number of ostensibly autonomous institutions and groups’, including ‘the BBC and major newspapers’.⁷⁷ In January of 1951 the IRD backed the founding of the British Society for Cultural Freedom (BSCF), the country’s CCF chapter, which ‘by adopting an oblique cultural strategy ... did succeed in infiltrating British literary, political, and academic life to a surprising extent during the 1950s’.⁷⁸ Evidence of that for the BBC is the appointment in early 1952 of Harman Grisewood as BSCF’s chairman.⁷⁹ Grisewood was the founding father and, until 1952, Time Controller of the Third Programme, later assistant to the BBC’s Director General and amongst ‘a number of BBC senior executives having other prominent Cold War roles’.⁸⁰ He was also an enthusiast of the pyramid of taste,⁸¹ the view of the BBC’s duty as a public patron to ‘rais[e]

the standards of public enlightenment and taste'⁸² that dominated the corporation in the 1950s. It was to position it at the pyramid's apex that he created the Third Programme,⁸³ with its 'somewhat elitist and esoteric appeal to a limited audience'.⁸⁴

Intellectuals on the left such as Raymond Williams would be critical of the pyramid as incarnating a conservative project aimed at perpetuating the reproduction of elites.⁸⁵ Gerhard, on the other hand, not only benefited from commissions and broadcasts of his work that were closely associated with the Third Programme but, as we have seen, argued in favour of its elitism and embraced the possibility it offered him of escaping the influence of mass culture. In so doing, he was aligning himself, even if unwittingly, with cultural strategies encouraged and sanctioned by influential BBC managers close to the CCF.

It seems also possible to argue that in Britain the music associated with the correct Cold War political position was not, for the best part of the 1950s, modernism. Philip Rupprecht has documented how extensive the stigma in post-war Britain surrounding composers' interest in 12-tone music was. Dominant conservative critics rejected it in favour of the national and the folkloric in music, which explains the xenophobic prejudices targeted at émigré serialist musicians that so conditioned their careers, as Llano and Perry show for

Gerhard.⁸⁶ Rupprecht helps us put these British attitudes towards modern classical music into wider perspective by demonstrating that these critics extended them as well to young British modernist music composers such as Peter Maxwell Davies and Elisabeth Lutyens.⁸⁷ Moreover, his study points to ‘metamusical meanings’ associated with serialist music in post-war Britain that are the opposite of what we have seen to be considered the norm during the Cold War. Alongside rightly taking issue with these critics’ racist, anti-European attitudes towards music of Austro-German origins for, according to them, unpatriotically lacking nationalist tones,⁸⁸ Rupprecht notes that, because it was theory-infused rather than inspired, they abhorred it as Marxist.⁸⁹ While calling modernist music Marxist in the 1950s is out of sync with the hegemonic geopolitical ways in which its poetics was being mobilised elsewhere, its demonisation as Marxist still reinforces the foundations of the Cold War confrontation. As such, it provides evidence that, even when Gerhard was being constrained to produce music containing Spanish stereotypes that can be traced back to the Romantic period, its orientalism was being redeployed within an ideological framework that decoded the association of music with nationalism as non-Marxist. Therefore, it is to be understood as a form of interpellation in British Cold War dynamics and not as a narrowly-targeted-to-foreigners exhibition of xenophobia.

This ‘anomalous’ interpretation of modern music not only created a delay to its emergence in the UK, but also, as a reaction against it, gave the music a particularly progressive take. William Glock’s appointment in 1959 as BBC Controller of Music was not only transformative for Gerhard.⁹⁰ Glock’s work played a part in implementing the recommendations of the massively influential report of the Pilkington Committee on Broadcasting, which effected a turn to the left of the pyramid’s principle by empowering public patronage in the arts to give the masses democratic access to minority cultures and a cultural experience outside the market.⁹¹ As a result BBC2 was created, and the progressive potentialities of the Third Programme were arguably unleashed, paving the way for the return of the avant-garde as a politically radical artistic position in the late 1960s.⁹² That being said, the cultural Cold War, the aim of which was precisely to persuade ‘the non-communist left’, also operated in these more progressive quarters.⁹³ While some characterize Glock as supporting ‘the anti-authoritarian, anti-establishment avant-garde’ understood as ‘an iconoclastic and experimental document of a revolutionary age’,⁹⁴ the many connections he kept with Nikolas Nabokov suggest that his radicalism played into the hands of Cold War dynamics, at least until the CCF’s true nature was publicly exposed in 1966.⁹⁵ As per Gerhard, compositions in the last decade of his life included what is

considered his most abstract music, but also expressive pieces such as the cantata *The Plague* and the soundtrack for the landmark British art film *This Sporting Life* (Lindsay Anderson (1963)).⁹⁶ The relations of this late work to the rapidly changing aesthetic and political landscape of the 1960s away from the liberal-conservative consensus remain to be explored.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that, by looking at the intersections among musical, cultural, and political matters from national but also transnational perspectives, we can position Gerhard as actively engaged with contemporary cultural debates throughout his professional life. Once he was in exile, these intersections reveal that Gerhard was part of, and benefited from, Cold War networks of influence in post-war Britain and beyond. By using soft but very real power, these networks capitalised on practices and ideas, and persuaded minds in order to create a favourable consensus. Musically, the interface between British and transnational Cold War discourses enabled, as well as constrained, Gerhard's production. Ideologically, his writings of the 1950s and 1960s show that he moved his cultural politics towards liberal

positions hostile to the popular nationalist attitudes he had held in the 1930s. Not only an exile defined by his nations of origin, this chapter has demonstrated that Gerhard can be more complexly understood if in dynamic relation to trans-national discourses of his time.

¹ Germán Gan Quesada, 'La recepció de la música de Robert Gerhard a Catalunya durant el franquisme (1948–1970): Trobades i desavinences', *Revista catalana de musicologia* 7 (2014): 153–71; Samuel Llano, 'Identidad y nación: Música', in *Líneas de fuga: Hacia otra historiografía cultural del exilio republicano español*, coordinated by Mari Paz Balibrea (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2017), 403–15; Samuel Llano, 'Review of *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* by Eva Moreda Rodríguez', *Music & Letters* 98/4 (2017): 687–9; Eva Moreda Rodríguez, 'Outreach, Entertainment, Innovation: Exiled Spanish Composers and European Radio', *Contemporary Music Review* 38/1–2 (2019): 7–23; Eva Moreda Rodríguez, 'Early Music in Francoist Spain: Higinio Anglés and the Exiles', *Music & Letters* 96/ 2 (2015): 209–27; Eva Moreda Rodríguez, *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain* (London: Routledge, 2013); Belén Pérez Castillo, 'Roberto Gerhard in the Music History of Franco's Spain', in *Essays on Roberto Gerhard*, ed. Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2017), 63–91. See also Mark E. Perry, 'Gerhard as a Composer in Exile', <https://doi.org/10.5920/GerhardComposerExile> (2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nH0T5OVN4Mw> (accessed 2 August 2021).

² Enrique Sacau Ferreira, 'Performing a Political Shift: Avant-Garde Music in Cold War Spain', Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 2011); Igor Contreras Zubillaga, 'Tant que les revolutions ressemblent à cela': L'avant-garde musicale sous Franco (Paris: Horizons d'attente, 2021). For the visual arts, the pioneer text is Serge Guilbault, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983). For the Spanish case see Mónica Núñez Laiseca, *Arte y política en la España del desarrollismo (1962–1968)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2006); and Julián Díaz Sánchez, *La idea de arte abstracto en la España de Franco* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2013).

³ Olga Glondys, *La guerra fría cultural y el exilio republicano español: Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura (1953–1965)* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012). During the Second World War, other Republican exiled intellectuals had been involved with the British government. Arturo Barea, Luis Araquistáin, and Salvador de Madariaga, the latter two prominent anti-Communists, worked for the BBC's propaganda effort, closely monitored by the Foreign Office, in broadcasts for the Hispanic world. Moreover, Araquistáin reported to the British Ministry of Information and the United States Office of Strategic Services on Republican exiles and their relation to Communism. Juan Francisco Fuentes, *Luis Araquistáin y el socialismo español en el exilio (1939–1959)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2002), 48, 80.

⁴ Germán Gan Quesada, 'Robert Gerhard Ottenwaelder', *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10656/robert-gerhard-ottenwaelder> (accessed 2 August 2021).

⁵ Already in exile in England, he evokes that period in Roberto Gerhard, 'Reminiscences of Schoenberg (1955)', in *Gerhard on Music*, ed. Meirion Bowen (London: Routledge, 2017 [2000]), 106–12.

⁶ Roberto Gerhard, 'New Musical Methods (1930)', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 41–52 (51). Gerhard devoted one article in 1931 to Eisler (Roberto Gerhard, 'Hanns Eisler (1898–1982)', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 59–61), where Eisler's work and the validity of his commitment to the masses and revolution are shown respect and acceptance.

⁷ Gerhard, 'New Musical Methods', 52. Similar arguments are made, welcoming the effectiveness with audiences of the new genres created by Weill and Brecht, musical theatre and Singoper, in an article written the same year: Roberto Gerhard, 'Opera (1930)', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 77–8.

⁸ Roberto Gerhard, 'Webern in Barcelona (1932)', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 143.

⁹ For example, in Roberto Gerhard, 'Schoenberg in Barcelona (1932)', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 103–4.

¹⁰ Roberto Gerhard, 'England, Spring 1945', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 177–9.

¹¹ Martin Brody, "'Music for the Masses": Milton Babbitt's Cold War Music Theory', *Musical Quarterly* 77/2 (1993): 161–92 (177).

¹² Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music (1955)', in *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 181–202.

¹³ Roberto Gerhard, "'Is Modern Music Growing Old?'" (1960), in Bowen, *Gerhard on*

Music, 201–10 (207–8).

¹⁴ ‘To regard the far reaches of the mind as “dehumanized” because they cease to thrill us in the ordinary emotional sense of the word seems impossibly narrow-visioned.’ Roberto Gerhard, ‘Art and Anarchy (1961)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 211–15 (212).

¹⁵ Gerhard, ‘Is Modern Music Growing Old?’, 209.

¹⁶ ‘[I]n that stage of perfect detachment which a great work of art can induce, both originator and perceiver seem, on the contrary, to find access to that part of ourselves where we are all essentially the same, but where the common ground lies far beyond the place of superficial social conformity.’ Roberto Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience (1960)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 11–16 (13).

¹⁷ Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience’, 13.

¹⁸ Gerhard, ‘Art and Anarchy’, 215 (emphasis in the original).

¹⁹ Gerhard, ‘New Musical Methods’, 45.

²⁰ Roberto Gerhard, ‘Sound and Symbol (1957)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 17–23.

²¹ Gerhard, ‘Sound and Symbol’, 17.

²² Gerhard, ‘Sound and Symbol’, 18 (emphasis in the original). More references to the evolution and historicity of music can be found in his article of one year before: Roberto Gerhard, ‘The Contemporary Musical Situation (1956)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 24–34 (24–8).

²³ Gerhard, ‘The Contemporary Musical Situation’, 31.

²⁴ Monty Adkins, ‘In Search of a “Third Way”’, in *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, ed. Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 257–83.

²⁵ ‘Abstract music simply means, “music” music, emancipated from cohabitation with the principles of literary language.’ Joaquim Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, trans. and ed. Meirion Bowen (Sheffield: Anglo-Catalan Society, 2000), 110.

²⁶ ‘I think that the group of North-American composers who have adopted so called aleatory or indeterminate methods of composition have been inspired by the procedures of the “abstract expressionist” painters. It is another case of music prompted by ideas of extra-musical origin.’ Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 109.

²⁷ Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience’, 16.

²⁸ ‘The paraphernalia of rational, systematically organized thought that goes nowadays into the composing of music, is but one very partial aspect of the creative effort.’ Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience’, 15.

²⁹ See Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 109; Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience’, 16. Roberto Gerhard, ‘The Muse and Music Today (1962)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 216–25; Roberto Gerhard, ‘An Inaugural Lecture (1961)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 226–33; Roberto Gerhard, ‘Concrete Music and Electronic Sound Composition (1959)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 180–6; and Roberto Gerhard, ‘Functions of the Series in Twelve-Note Composition (1960)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 157–74 (172–3). The last, also a talk given while at the University of Michigan, includes specific critical references to Darmstadt (Gerhard, ‘Functions of the Series in Twelve-Note Composition’, 173), and so does Gerhard, ‘The Composer and His Audience’, 15.

³⁰ Gerhard, ‘An Inaugural Lecture’, 230–3.

³¹ Belén Pérez Castillo, “‘I am in tune with Camus.’ Roberto Gerhard and Camus: A Synergy against Totalitarianism”, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Roberto Gerhard Conference*, ed. Centre for Research in New Music (Huddersfield: Centre for Research in New Music, Department of Music, University of Huddersfield, 2010), 21–34 (23).

³² Roberto Gerhard, ‘The Plague (1964)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 196–98 (198). A less open statement, but similarly sympathetic with the expressionist function in music, is made by Gerhard in relation to the music he composed for the recitation in translation of Federico García Lorca’s poem ‘Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías’ on BBC Radio; Roberto Gerhard, ‘Introduction to Lament for the Death of a Bullfighter (1960)’, in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 180–6 (185–6). Significant in this sense is also the testimony by the composer Roger Reynolds, who attended Gerhard’s classes in Michigan, and remembers him declaring that the theme of his Symphony No. 3, ‘Collages’, was the pain in the world. Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 126.

³³ Samuel Llano has argued the need for Gerhard’s incidental music to be re-evaluated to account for its importance in the musical evolution of the composer: ‘Roberto Gerhard, Shakespeare and the Memorial Theatre’, in Adkins and Russ, *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 107–30; ‘Exile, Music and Cultural Translation: Gerhard’s Transnational

Chronotopes' (2021), <https://doi.org/10.5920/GerhardChronotopes>; 'Roberto Gerhard: Re-Appraising a Musical Visionary', https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P6Bc_Z_62WYA (accessed 2 August 2021); and in this volume (113–29). A similar case is made by Gregorio García Karman, who also reinforces the idea of these compositions' expressiveness; 'Roberto Gerhard BBC Sound Compositions', in Adkins and Russ, *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 307–47 (330). Along those lines, it might be productive to think of incidental music as a form where Gerhard allowed himself to write thematic and expressive music. See also Leticia Sánchez de Andrés's comments on Gerhard's last-composed ballet, *Pandora*, and its anti-war and anti-Francoist connotations: Leticia Sánchez de Andrés, 'Roberto Gerhard's Ballets: Music, Ideology and Passion', in Adkins and Russ, *The Roberto Gerhard Companion*, 91–104 (101).

³⁴ Quoted in R. Shashidhar, 'Culture and Society: An Introduction to Raymond Williams', *Social Scientist* 25/5–6 (1997): 33–53 (49).

³⁵ Raymond Williams, 'Culture and Society', in *Politics and Letters – Interviews with 'New Left Review'* (London: Verso, 2015 [1979]), 97–132 (132).

³⁶ Anne C. Shreffler, 'Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's Threni and the Congress for Cultural Freedom', in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity*, ed. Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 217–45 (238). Her work demonstrates how the concept of freedom is associated with ideas of autonomy and serialism, and concludes: 'The language used to describe serial music therefore depends upon and articulates the specific understanding of freedom in the West during the 1950s, including its political and scientific dimensions, and including the overwhelmingly positive value judgement attached to it' (222–3). See also Jennifer DeLapp-Birkett, 'Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition in the Early Cold War United States', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 27 (2008): 31–62 (32–3, 54).

³⁷ Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), xi–xiii. She adds: 'The cultural climate of the cold war only heightened the desire for some clear standard of judgment, particularly one that would prove "Western" high culture superior to its populist Eastern European counterpart' (85).

³⁸ DeLapp-Birkett, 'Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition', 54.

³⁹ Philip Rupprecht, "'Something Slightly Indecent": British Composers, the European Avant-Garde, and National Stereotypes in the 1950s', *Musical Quarterly* 91/3–4 (2008): 275–326 (290).

⁴⁰ Neil Edmunds, 'William Glock and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy, 1959–73', *Contemporary British History* 20/2 (2006): 238–40 (237). For the full list of articles published in the journal see Meirion Bowen, 'Appendix I: Chronological List of Gerhard's Writings', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, 244–7 (245–6).

⁴¹ Meirion Bowen, 'Chronology of Gerhard's Life and Work', in Bowen, *Gerhard on Music*, xi–xiv (xiii).

⁴² Rupprecht, 'Something Slightly Indecent', 288, 290.

⁴³ Edmunds, 'William Glock and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy', 235; David Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State in British Avant-Garde Music, c. 1959–c. 1974', *Twentieth Century British History* 27/2 (2016): 242–65 (246–7).

⁴⁴ Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 247.

⁴⁵ Moreda, *Music and Exile in Francoist Spain*, 89–90.

⁴⁶ Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*, 85–9.

⁴⁷ See Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*, on Bartók passim, on Maderna 38–42, on Stockhausen 42–6, and on Copland 89. On Scherchen see Dennis C. Hutchison, 'Performance, Technology and Politics: Hermann Scherchen's Aesthetics of Modern Music', Ph.D. thesis (University of Florida, 2003), 99–104; on Copland see DeLapp-Birkett, 'Aaron Copland and the Politics of Twelve-Tone Composition'; on Stravinsky see Shreffler, 'Ideologies of Serialism'; on Babbitt see Brody, 'Music for the Masses'.

⁴⁸ Shreffler, 'Ideologies of Serialism', 219.

⁴⁹ Rupprecht, 'Something Slightly Indecent', 283; Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided*, 30–3.

⁵⁰ Rupprecht, 'Something Slightly Indecent', 286.

⁵¹ Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 248.

⁵² Karman, 'Roberto Gerhard's BBC Sound Compositions' (references to Scherchen 316 and 342, and to Stockhausen 316). On Maderna see Adkins, 'In Search of a "Third Way"', 268. Gerhard had known Scherchen as an orchestral conductor in the 1930s (Hutchison, 'Performance, Technology and Politics', 72–6) and encountered him again in the 1950s

through his interest in electronic music at the Gravesano Electro-Acoustic Institute, which Scherchen founded in 1953.

⁵³ Mark E. Perry, 'Roberto Gerhard in the United States', in *Perspectives on Gerhard: Selected Proceedings of the 2nd and 3rd International Roberto Gerhard Conferences*, ed. Monty Adkins and Michael Russ (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press, 2015), 61–9.

⁵⁴ On commissions and performances see Perry, 'Roberto Gerhard in the United States'. According to Homs, Gerhard received invitations from American universities, which he rejected, to stay in a permanent post. Homs, *Robert Gerhard and His Music*, 65. Perry, on the other hand, speaks of one rejected offer in 1963 from the University of Illinois for a one-year post; Perry, 'Roberto Gerhard in the United States', 67.

⁵⁵ Brody, 'Music for the Masses', 167–8, 180, 184.

⁵⁶ Perry, 'Roberto Gerhard in the United States', 64.

⁵⁷ See Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2001). Stone, an enthusiastic supporter of US values and the country's global role in the Cold War in countering Communism and anti-Americanism, was in charge of the 'International Affairs (US and Europe) Program' of the Foundation from 1954.

⁵⁸ Kathleen D. McCarthy, 'From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950–1980', *Daedalus* 116/1 (1987): 93–117 (93).

⁵⁹ Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars*, 219–30; McCarthy, 'From Cold War to Cultural Development', 95–9; Francis X. Sutton, 'The Ford Foundation: The Early Years', *Daedalus* 116/1 (1987): 41–91 (84).

⁶⁰ Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars*, 228, 230.

⁶¹ McCarthy, 'From Cold War to Cultural Development', 94. For information on how the Ford Foundation's funding was distributed in categories, see Sutton, 'The Ford Foundation', 69.

⁶² Samuel Llano, 'Robert Gerhard and John B. Trend: Correspondence, Collaborations and Exchanges', *Journal of Catalan Studies* 14 (2012), 151–66.

⁶³ Annegret Fauser, 'The Scholar behind the Medal: Edward J. Dent (1876–1957) and the Politics of Music History', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139/2 (2014): 235–60 (241–7).

⁶⁴ Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 250.

⁶⁵ That being said, there is evidence of the old anti-fascist parameters still being applied, even if residually, to identify Gerhard's work in the 1950s. I believe this is the case with Thorold Dickinson, director of the film *Secret People* (1952). Dickinson had made a documentary in 1938 about the Spanish Civil War: *Spanish A.B.C.*, with Igor Montagu and Sydney Cole. I agree with Richard Murphy that Dickinson's political and ethical sympathies with the lost Spanish cause must, more than musical suitability, have played a role in his choosing Gerhard to write the film's soundtrack, given how difficult their relationship turned out to be on this front, with Gerhard having repeatedly to simplify his music to please his director. Richard Murphy, 'Secret People: Lindsay Anderson and Thorold Dickinson', in *Lindsay Anderson Revisited: Unknown Aspects of a Film Director*, ed. Erik Hedling and Christophe Dupin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 55–68 (67–8).

⁶⁶ Gerhard, 'Is Modern Music Growing Old?', 209.

⁶⁷ Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music', 187.

⁶⁸ Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music', 200. Schoenberg had accomplished this challenge by creating a 'useless, isolated monadic totality, [which] refuses the immediacies of existence and hence exposes the truth about subjectivity in the age of advanced capitalism, when genuine individuality is suppressed under a banner of reified individualism'. Philip Rosen, 'Adorno and Film Music: Theoretical Notes on Composing for the Films', *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980): 157–82 (163). As Gary Zabel explains, '[the musical work] calls for social change by speaking "the coded language of suffering"'. The dissonance in Schoenberg expressed the 'pain at the liquidation of the individual ego by late bourgeois society'. Gary Zabel, 'Adorno on Music: A Reconsideration', *The Musical Times* 130/1754 (1989): 198–201 (199).

⁶⁹ References to fun in Theodor W. Adorno, 'Analytical Study of the NBC "Music Appreciation Hour"', *Musical Quarterly* 78/2 (1994): 325–77 (374–5). The study was originally written in the late 1930s.

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- ⁷⁰ Adorno, 'The Aging of the New Music', 199.
- ⁷¹ Gerhard, 'The Composer and His Audience', 16.
- ⁷² From the evidence of his qualifying Adorno as 'the more hysterical among the commentators' (Gerhard, 'Art and Anarchy', 214), 'ponderous', and having adopted a 'dogmatic pose' based on 'loose talk' (Gerhard, 'The Contemporary Musical Situation', 32), it seems clear that Gerhard under-estimated and misunderstood the gist of Adorno's position on music and on philosophy more generally. Adorno did not advocate *art engagé*, as Gerhard claims (Gerhard, 'Art and Anarchy', 214), with his position 'not in the least raising the demand that music prove itself politically and socially relevant by delivering an affirmative message'. Zabel, 'Adorno on Music', 199.
- ⁷³ Gerhard, 'Is Modern Music Growing Old?', 209–10.
- ⁷⁴ Gerhard, 'Art and Anarchy', 214–15.
- ⁷⁵ Tony Shaw, "'Some Writers are More Equal than Others": George Orwell, the State and Cold War Privilege', *Cold War History* 4/1 (2006): 143–70 (143).
- ⁷⁶ Hugh Wilford, 'The Information Research Department: Britain's Secret Cold War Weapon Revealed', *Review of International Studies* 24/3 (1998): 353–69 (369).
- ⁷⁷ Wilford, 'The Information Research Department', 369.
- ⁷⁸ Hugh Wilford, "'Unwitting Assets?'" British Intellectuals and the Congress for Cultural Freedom', *Twentieth Century British History* 11/1 (2000): 42–60 (47–8).
- ⁷⁹ Wilford, 'Unwitting Assets?', 59.
- ⁸⁰ Shaw, 'Some Writers are More Equal than Others', 155.
- ⁸¹ Wilford, 'Unwitting Assets?', 48.
- ⁸² Harold Nicolson, 'The Third Programme', in Harold Nicolson, *The Third Programme: A Symposium of Opinions and Plans* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1947), 3.
- ⁸³ Richard S. Katz, 'Public Patronage, Music and the BBC', *Journal of Broadcasting* 24/2 (1980): 241–52 (251).
- ⁸⁴ Denis Stevens, 'Recollections of a Conductor-Scholar: Performance Practice Issues on the BBC Third Programme', *Performance Practice Review* 2/1 (1989): 73–81 (76).
- ⁸⁵ Paul Jones, 'The Myth of "Raymond Hoggart": On "Founding Fathers" and Cultural Policy', *Cultural Studies* 8/3 (1994): 394–416 (403). The argument of elitism as associated to the Third Programme is unavoidable, as 'The Third Programme appealed explicitly to the intellectual elite of the country, and with them it was extremely popular'; Katz, 'Public Patronage, Music and the BBC', 248. David N. Smith is even more direct when stating that it was aimed at the 'educated upper-middle class'; 'Academics, the "Cultural Third Mission" and the BBC: Forgotten Histories of Knowledge Creation, Transformation and Impact', *Studies in Higher Education* 38/5 (2013): 633–77 (673). According to John Morris, Third Programme Controller between 1952 and 1958, it had from its inception committed to 'make no concessions to popular taste'. It 'deliberately set out to provide listeners with difficult, serious artwork, and broadcast music, prose fiction, poetry, plays, and also discussions relating to the fields of art, philosophy, history and science'. Julie Campbell, 'Beckett and the BBC Third Programme', *Samuel Beckett Today* 25 (2013): 109–22 (110–11). The frequent use of Oxbridge and University of London scholars in the 1950s and 1960s for its programmes contributed to 'the undiluted intellectualism of the old Third Programme'; Smith, 'Academics, the "Cultural Third Mission" and the BBC', 674.
- ⁸⁶ Llano, 'Identidad y nación', 408–15; and, in this volume, Samuel Llano, 'Exile, Music and Cultural Translation' (113–29), and Mark E. Perry, 'Gerhard as Composer in Exile' (147–62). On the way that Gerhard was falsely believed in England to be an expert on stereotyped views of Spanish music such as flamenco and zarzuela see Moreda, 'Outreach, Entertainment, Innovation', 15–16.
- ⁸⁷ Rupprecht convincingly disproves critics' accusations that they did not engage with the English tradition ('Something Slightly Indecent', 311). His assessment can be extended to Gerhard since, as Llano, White, and others recognise, the dichotomy of folklore and serialism in Gerhard's output in exile is an artificial one. Llano, 'Exile, Music and Cultural Translation'. Julian White, 'National Traditions in the Music of Roberto Gerhard', *Tempo* 184 (1993): 2–13.
- ⁸⁸ Rupprecht, 'Something Slightly Indecent', 302–4.
- ⁸⁹ Rupprecht, 'Something Slightly Indecent', 275–7, 283; Edmunds, 'William Glock and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy', 234, 238–40.
- ⁹⁰ There were 16 performances of Gerhard's work in 1961, including at the reconceptualised Proms. He could exercise his influence to appoint a friend who had conducted performances

of his work, Antal Doráti, as the new conductor for the BBC Symphony Orchestra. Edmunds, 'William Glock and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy', 241–2, 245, 247. With the help of Director General Hugh Carleton Greene, Glock's work at the BBC supported modernist music – just as the BBC had supported modernist literature in the Features from the 1930s and on the later Third Programme, which started broadcasting on 29 September 1946. See n. 83 to this chapter; Angela Frattarola, 'The Modernist "Microphone Play": Listening in the Dark to the BBC', *Modern Drama* 52/4 (2009): 449–68; Alexandra Lawrie, 'Who's Listening to Modernism? BBC Features and Audience Response', *Media History* 24/2 (2018): 239–51.

⁹¹ One of the most influential members of the Committee was Richard Hoggart, who in 1964 would co-found the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham. Jones, 'The Myth of "Raymond Hoggart"', 401–3; Jim McGuigan, 'Richard Hoggart: Public Intellectual', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 12/2 (2006): 199–208 (200). On the Pilkington Report see Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 242–5, 258. Key quotations from the Pilkington Report can be found at 261–2.

⁹² Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 252–5, 265. For an argument that is critical of the Third Programme on grounds of moralising and imperial undertones, but that also provides a defence of it as stimulating non-conventional and critical forms of listening in its audience, see Josh Epstein, "'We Are a Musical Nation": *Under Milk Wood* and the BBC Third Programme', *Modern Drama* 62/3 (2019): 249–71.

⁹³ Wilford, 'Unwitting Assets?', 48.

⁹⁴ Edmunds, 'William Glock and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Music Policy', 249, 252.

⁹⁵ Addison, 'Politics, Patronage, and the State', 249. It is worth pointing out that according to the author Glock knew nothing about Nabokov's connections to the government of the United States.

⁹⁶ Aside from the disagreements between Gerhard and Anderson, and how unhappy Gerhard was with the final result (see Darren Sproston, 'From Rugby League to Marriage Intrigue: Tracing the Creative Process from *This Sporting Life* to *Epithalamion*', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdCoRtH2yQo> (accessed 2 August 2021)), Murphy attaches great importance to the soundtrack's 'doomy modernism' and 'disturbing atonal music' (Murphy, '*Secret People*', 68) to connect the film to the *nouvelle vague* and, in that sense, to its status within British art cinema.