

Editing the Diaries of F.S. Kelly: Unique Insights into an Expatriate's Musical Career

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The National Library of Australia houses eight volumes of the diaries of composer-pianist Frederick Septimus Kelly, (1881-1916) purchased from an English book dealer in 1979. For twenty years these have remained virtually unread. In 1999 The National Library of Australia (NLA) commissioned me to select and edit extracts from these diaries¹ and to prepare an extended introduction to them for publication in 2001.² There are some 2,600 pages in the uncut original manuscript. What these voluminous writings offer, among other things, is a unique insight into the way an expatriate musical career was built within the wider context of musical and social institutions at a crucial time in the regeneration of British music. What they reveal is valuable talent typically lost to Australia through the general assumption that such talent was best sent to develop elsewhere. The 1979 offer of sale included a description of Kelly, using a quote from the then current edition of the *British Dictionary of National Biography*. This claimed him to be 'one of the most promising English musicians of his day ... and one of the greatest scullers of all time.' In fact Frederick Septimus Kelly, DSC, an Olympic gold medallist, was an Australian.

He was born at 47 Phillip Street, Sydney on 29 May 1881,³ to an Irish business and mining magnate, Thomas Hussey Kelly (arrived 1860), and his Australian-born wife Mary Anne née

¹ The diaries of Frederick Septimus Kelly, pianist, composer, oarsman, and naval officer, were acquired from the antiquarian bookselling and dealing firm of Henry Bristow Ltd. of Dorset, England. They consist of eight remarkably well-preserved quarto volumes of some 2,600 pages interleaved with brief musical extracts and ideas for compositions, and are bound in half red morocco with gilt lettering. They open on 1 October 1907 at Frankfurt-am-Main and end aboard H.M.T. *Grantully Castle* off Cape Helles, 29 April 1915. According to the *Balliol College War Memorial Book I* (Oxford, 1924) 314-15, Kelly's diaries began on 21 December 1906 and ended the day before he died, that is to say on 12 November 1916. These are not the dates of the microfilm, which begin on 1 October 1907 and end on 29 April 1915. This indicates there are two volumes missing from the beginning and from the end. An extensive search both in Australia and overseas has failed to locate them. The diaries in the National Library of Australia are held as MS 6050. In addition the Library holds published and unpublished original Kelly scores and sketches as MS 3095. The commissioned book, to be published by the NLA, will consist of sixty-thousand words culled from the diaries together with a twenty-thousand-word introduction.

² This paper is based on a reading of the eight volumes and the supporting documentation supplied by the NLA. Further materials believed to be held by members of Kelly's family are currently held in reserve pending publication of an official biography.

³ John Carmody, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* [ADB], vol. 9 (Melbourne: MUP, 1983).

Dick.⁴ Like his two brothers, Thomas Herbert and William Henry, Frederick was schooled at Eton and educated at Oxford. On their father's death in 1901, Thomas took over as managing director of the family's major holding, the Sydney Smelting Co. A former pupil of Joachim, he played with the first violins in Roberto Hazon's Sydney Amateur Orchestral Society, and in several chamber groups. He was a committee member of the Royal Philharmonic Society of Sydney and liked to lavish hospitality on his musical friends, counting among them Melba and the conductor Henri Verbrugghen. Frederick, known in the family as 'Sep,' remained close to this brother, though not to the unmusical William, whose political life was in the ascendant at the time the diaries open. William was in Federal politics as the dashing member for Wentworth, winning his seat in the lower house as a Liberal and holding it as a Nationalist. His name barely makes it into the diaries, though Frederick was attentive during his English visits.

It was his sister Maisie, Mary A. Kelly, who was closest to Frederick. She lived with him at Bisham Grange, their large river-front house on the Thames at Marlow in Buckinghamshire, the one-time dower house of Bisham Abbey, and enters the diaries as M.A.K. Kelly refers to all but the titled by their initials alone, even his sister, which makes it difficult to identify who is encoded in them. Maisie was an amateur singer and pianist of some merit. She married Captain John Kelly RN, at Malta in 1915. The Captain became Sir John Donald Kelly, Admiral of the Fleet. Maisie was possibly the recipient of the missing last diary dating from the landing at Gallipoli to Kelly's death on the Somme.

It was said that as a child Frederick was musically precocious, at five playing from memory Mozart and early Beethoven piano sonatas and this before he could stretch the octave.⁵ At Eton his talent flourished under the tutelage of Dr Charles Harford Lloyd,⁶ a former organist of Gloucester Cathedral, and of Christ Church, Oxford, who had been the conductor of the two Three Choir Festivals.⁷ The boy came to the notice of the French pianist and teacher Antoine François Marmontel,⁸ a friend and pupil of Chopin. By then Marmontel was nearing eighty and no longer teaching at the Paris Conservatoire where he had been on staff for some fifty years. His legion of students there included Albéniz, Bizet, and d'Indy. Marmontel's offer to teach the fourteen-year-old Kelly gratis on the condition that he devote himself to music was rejected by the boy's parents, though it was Frederick's wish.

A passion for rowing temporarily replaced his passion for music.⁹ He set about the business with characteristic determination and discipline and was highly successful even as a schoolboy.¹⁰ In 1898 he was awarded Balliol College's Nettleship Scholarship for music.¹¹ What

⁴ The copy of the birth record as supplied to me by the National Library of Australia states that Mary Ann Dick was born on 8 August 1842 at Jerry's Plains, East Maitland. She was baptised on 17 April 1843. She was the daughter of Zacharias Dick and Mary Cunningham, presumably Mrs Dick. The marriage details for the *NSW Pioneers Series* gives Thomas K. (should be H) Kelly married Mary Ann Dick in 1864 in Sydney. The Thomas Hussey entry in the *ADB* (vol. 9) adds that this was by Presbyterian rites.

⁵ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314.

⁶ *ADB*.

⁷ *Times* [London], 10 Nov. 1913.

⁸ David Charlton, 'Marmontel, Antoine François,' *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980).

⁹ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314.

¹⁰ *ADB*. He possessed a rare combination of outstanding sporting and musical ability. He rowed in the Eton eight in 1897 and stroked that crew to victory in the Ladies' Plate at Royal Henley Regatta in 1899.

were to remain the two loves of his life were already making opposing demands on his time and attention.

In 1900 Kelly 'went up' to Balliol College at Oxford University as the second Lewis Nettleship musical scholar.¹² There he studied under the first Nettleship scholar, (the later Sir) Donald Francis Tovey, with whom he formed a close if troubled friendship, often performing at the Oxford Musical Club of which he was President, and in the Balliol Sunday evening concerts.¹³ A long visit to Australia seems to have unsettled him.¹⁴ His father's death on 25 July 1901 and that of his mother in the following year are obviously connected to this protracted visit. Whatever the impact of these deaths may have been it seems clear that for a time he was deeply disturbed. His future and the role music would be permitted to play in it were in the balance. His father's will had set him free. Distracted, he began to falter academically but managed to graduate with fourth-class honours in modern history in 1903.¹⁵ In 1912 he took out his MA.¹⁶ It was at Oxford that he became known as 'Cleg'.¹⁷

After a string of wins rowing in the Balliol crew, Kelly turned to sculling, an unusual and spectacularly successful transition.¹⁸ In 1903 he won the university Pairs and Sculls at Oxford, as well as the Wingfield Sculls and the Amateur Championship of the Thames on the only occasion on which he entered.¹⁹ He won the Diamonds at Henley (sculling for Balliol) and in 1903 and 1905 (sculling for Leander)²⁰ when he set a record that stood until 1938.²¹ In 1908 he rowed in the English (Veterans) Eight that won gold at the Olympic Games.²² His diary entries for June and July 1908 record the training he undertook for this race, his times, the conditions, brief comments on the opposition, the heats and the final race. Like everything else in the diaries, these are records of events with very little in the way of comment added. Others would have to sing his praises and did. Contemporary reports of his oarsmanship and his unpretentiousness were glowing.

Between 1903-8 Kelly studied piano under Ernst Engesser and composition with Iwan Knorr at the Hoch Conservatorium at Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany. Bernhard Scholz, a

¹¹ ADB file notes taken from the Eton School Register Part VI: 'FSK 1893-1899, Stroke for Eton VIII 1899. Nettleship Sch (Music) of Ball. Coll. Oxf. 1898.'

¹² Ruth Vyce (Assistant Archivist, Oxford University), letter to C. Cunneen (ADB), 20 Sep. 1982. Frederick Septimus matriculated from Balliol 3 Aug. 1899, obtained his BA in 1903 and his MA in 1912.

¹³ ADB.

¹⁴ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314. The duration of this visit is not established, though there is a reference in the diary to his first trying over the Grieg Variations with Jessie Fraser, (née Middleton) in Sydney in 1899. When he returned to Sydney in 1911 he noted that he was last there in 1901. Though it is possible he made more than one visit home in the period between, it seems unlikely, given the time and the arrangements required for the journey.

¹⁵ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314. Also, ADB file notes taken from the Eton School Register Part VI: BA 4th class Mod. Hist 1903. Also ADB: MA in 1912.

¹⁶ Vyce, letter to Cunneen.

¹⁷ *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, 6th ed. (Sydney: Australian Geographic, 1996) vol. 5, 1813.

¹⁸ John Beveridge (Hon. Sec of the Leander Club Henley-on-Thames), letter to Thérèse Radic, 22 June 2000. In 1900 and 1903 he rowed in the Balliol crew that won the University Fours. In 1900 he stroked a Trial VIII and was ninth man for the University in 1901 and 1902, though he was not awarded his Blue until 1903 after his first sensational win in the Diamond Sculls, when he rowed against Cambridge. He was a member of the Leander Club crew which won the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley Royal Regatta in 1903, 1904 and 1905, and the coxless four that took the Stewards' Cup in 1906.

¹⁹ *Times*, 22 Nov. 1916.

²⁰ Beveridge, letter to Thérèse Radic.

²¹ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314-5.

²² *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 314-5.

signatory of the Brahms-Joachim manifesto against the New Germans, was then director. Kelly took the Brahms-Schumann side in this debate, as did Tovey, possibly making his own position difficult when he finally turned professional in a London whose music critics tended to take the Liszt-Wagner side or were simply against what was foreign at a time when British nationalism was on the rise again.²³

Among the Australian students who preceded Kelly at the Hoch Conservatorium was William Laver from Castlemaine (1883-89) who recommended study in Frankfurt to Rose and Percy Grainger and who later co-founded the Conservatorium of Music at the University of Melbourne and served as the third Ormond Professor of Music.²⁴ The push for Kelly to choose Frankfurt may also have similarly come from his mentor Donald Tovey.

A basic conservatism was apparent in nineteenth-century Frankfurt's musical life and is certainly evident in Kelly's musical education there,²⁵ yet the Hoch Conservatorium ranked high among the European music schools. Kelly arrived there in 1903 when he was 22. Percy Grainger enrolled at thirteen in 1895, leaving in the spring of 1900.²⁶ After an extended holiday Grainger returned to Frankfurt for the better part of a year but as a private pupil of his Conservatorium teachers.²⁷ Kelly and Grainger were not, then, fellow Conservatorium students, though they shared a teacher, Iwan (Ivan) Knorr. Knorr attracted some remarkable students: Hans Pfitzner, Frederic Lamond, Herman Sandby, Carl Friedberg, Clemens von Franckenstein, Balfour Gardiner, Roger Quilter and Cyril Scott among them.

Kelly, however, was only a year older than Percy Grainger. Comparisons between the two Australian-born expatriate pianist-composers is inevitable, not only because their similar ages and vocations led in the same places, but because the diaries record a tentative social and professional relationship between them after 1908, cut off only by their opposed responses to war, one fleeing to America, the other enlisting in the British navy. But where Melbourne-born Grainger initially struggled to make a living, Sydney-born Kelly struggled only to overcome the problems created by inherited wealth. His money made it all but impossible for him to grasp the meaning of how he was seen and heard by both his peers and the public. On the question of money Kelly expresses guilt about his good fortune quite early in the diaries and records a flirtation with religion to assuage this. Though he was nominally Anglican, the flirtation was with Christian Science. The attraction for Kelly the pianist seems to have been its connection with the idea of control of muscle by mind.

²³ Mary Grierson, *Donald Francis Tovey: A Biography Based on Letters* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege-OUP, 1952) 104. The *Times* in 14 reviews of Kelly concerts (21, 28, Feb., 6, 20, March, 16 May, 28 Sep., 7 Oct., 13 Dec. 1912; 7 May, 30 Oct. 1913; 12, 20, 27 March, 15 May 1914) finds such fault with his Brahms-Schumann performances that the only conclusion to be drawn is that either the performer is being used as a means to discredit these composers as dry and/or outmoded, or that the intention is to persuade Kelly to drop such music from his programs.

²⁴ Peter Cahn, 'Percy Grainger's Frankfurt Years,' *Studies in Music* 12 (1978): 112.

²⁵ Peter Cahn, 'Frankfurt am Main,' *New Grove Dictionary of Music*.

²⁶ David Josephson (*New Grove Dictionary of Music*, vol. 7, 614) gives 1899 as the date Percy Grainger left the Hoch Conservatorium. Peter Cahn ('Percy Grainger's Frankfurt Years,' 102) gives it as Spring 1900. John Bird (*Percy Grainger* [London: Macmillan, 1978] 37) claims that the Grainger mother and son took an extended and much-needed holiday at the end of 1899, returning in 1900 for a year during which both attempted to earn a living while Percy continued in private tuition from his Conservatorium teachers. Peter Cahn states that the teachers in Grainger's day included Ernst Engesser, Lazzaro Uzielli, James Kwast and the young Carl Friedberg. Uzelli had studied under Clara Schumann at the Hoch Conservatorium. Friedberg had studied under Kwast.

²⁷ John Bird, *Percy Grainger*, 2nd ed, (Sydney: Currency Press, 1998) 47.

The Conservatorium records show that Kelly was listed as a composition student only in his first year—with Knorr—but was enrolled as a piano student with Engesser from 1904 to 1908.²⁸ The gap may be explained by a voyage to what was then still termed the Orient.²⁹ It was the call to row for Britain in the Olympics that drew him back to England in 1908, the necessarily long period of training putting an end to his days as a music student at a time when he was becoming increasingly aware that he had outgrown his teachers and was in need of bringing his period at the Conservatorium to a close. The Olympic gold medal he won for Britain on 31 July 1908, however, marked the close of his competitive rowing career.³⁰ He seems to have felt that it was not possible for him to pay due attention to both music and rowing. Though he was to continue to row for recreation, music thereafter became the major focus of his life.

The diaries in Canberra begin in Frankfurt-am-Main late in 1907, though there is evidence to suggest that a travel diary from 1906 once existed. Kelly's habit was to chronicle his days, beginning with the precise amount of time he practiced and every piece of music he played privately or for others, when he took lessons and how they were conducted, the names of everyone he met and the places he wined and dined, what scores he sat reading over lunch and what he thought of the works concerned, what stage he was at in a composition, where he walked and for how long, even the mode of transport he took to and from concerts, whose every item and player he gives, and most of which he critiques. None of this makes for great literature. What it exposes in detail are the building blocks of a career supported and freed up by wealth. Kelly could make choices not open to other musicians. He could choose where and when he would study, where and when he would perform. He could afford to pay to have his music published by Schott. He had no financial needs to push him in unwanted directions musically. It was a career pursued partly as an antidote to deep feelings of meaninglessness, partly as the outcome of a sense of duty towards the arts that by good fortune permitted him an involvement in patronage, and partly as a mode of self-fulfilment through disciplined artistry. Passion goes missing. What comes close to obsession with order takes its place.

Kelly was an expatriate, a colonial, and as far as is as yet known, had no entrée into English society other than money, but that fortune had brought him into contact with the sons of the

²⁸ Peter Cahn, letter to Thérèse Radic, 8 Mar. 2000.

²⁹ NLA: MS 3095 No.11(c) of fourteen bound volumes of music in manuscript as given in the 1985 Corinne Collins catalogue, as revised in 1999 by Bruce Steele, containing dated sketches made by Kelly then apparently travelling from Frankfurt through the Bay of Bengal to China and to Japan sometime in 1906-1907.

³⁰ Peter Cahn (112) claims that Engesser's daughter quotes in her memoirs [Lullu Engesser, *The Hoch Conservatory: Pleasant Memories*, private printing, (n.d., n.p.) 26-7] a letter from Kelly of the year 1908 to her father, which testifies to his excessive gratitude. Cahn notes that in addition to his musical qualities Kelly was also an accomplished sportsman and says that it emerges from the already-mentioned letter that he refused to participate as an oarsman in the London Olympics of 1908 only for the reason that his athletic fame was proving damaging to him in the concert reviews. He says that Kelly was both popular and well-esteemed by his teachers and fellow-students. The diary entries for October 1907–August 1908, covering the Olympics, makes no direct mention of refusal, though it may be implied. If such a refusal ever occurred, Kelly clearly changed his mind. Kelly did row in the British team which won the gold medal for the eight man rowing event as is recorded in *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1908* [drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cook (London: British Olympic Association, c.1908) 237-53]. The rowing events were held at Henley, a short distance from Kelly's river-side home at Bisham. The diaries contain a full description of the heats, the main race and the aftermath, including weights, weather effects, course conditions and results.

establishment at Eton and Balliol and Kelly was adapt at developing such contacts. It had also brought into play a network created by his influential family in Australia. The result was that he was on close terms with a wide variety of highly-placed people whose names resonate even now: political names that include the Asquiths, the Balfours, the Bonham Carters; names in education like the Warre family of Eton—Felix Warre was a close friend and is mentioned in Kelly's will—and the Warners in educational bureaucracy; old families such as the Stanleys (Earls of Sheffield) of Alderley, the Grimstons (Earls of Veralum) of Gorhambury, and the Vansittart Neales, then at Bisham Abbey at Marlow; music patrons of the order of the banker Edward Speyer of the Classical Concert Society and the Dakyns at Haslemere; the poets Logan Pearsall Smith, Tovey's librettist Robert Trevelyan and more significantly, Rupert Brooke; the artists Ernest Thesiger and Singer Sergent, both of whom painted him; the art critic Roger Fry, who introduced him to the post-impressionist exhibitions, and the Italian Renaissance expert Bernard Berenson, who invited him to stay at his celebrated Florentine villa *I Tatti*; the Egyptologists Wilfred Scawen Blunt and H.S. Whittaker, with whom he travelled up the Nile; the fashionable—Lady Ottoline Morell and the Beerbohm Tree family among them; and, of course, the musicians, a circle that, apart from Tovey, Borwick and Grainger, included Sir Walter Parratt, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Pablo Casals, Henry Balfour Gardiner, Ernest Walker, Tom Spring Rice (later Lord Mounteagle), Roger Quilter, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Alfred Hill, George Marshall-Hall (whose opera *Stella* Kelly assisted through its rough London passage), Robert and Frank Bridge, Norman O'Neill, Denis Browne and many more. But not Melba.

The life Kelly led was one of privilege. There were servants and chauffeurs, two of the new-fangled motor cars, holidays at whim in France, Italy, Egypt, America, China and Japan, India, Burma, Australia and Java. The Ritz and the Savoy, the clubs of friends and his own, the Union Club, and a series of apartments in town complete with cook and butler, took care of his London entertaining. In town and out, he was invited everywhere and he played everywhere as a gentleman amateur of the highest order in concerts of a standard much to be envied even now but concerts that went largely unrecorded. The press was not invited. Edwardian society was his metier, the days and nights filled with music making in great houses and his own.

Not a word is said of his sexual preferences. The Hungarian violinist Jelly Aranyi loved him but he did not reciprocate. She was heart broken, but this is the only romance of which we know anything at present. Leonard Borwick and Felix Warre were close.

Much of the year he was involved in programming for the Classical Concert Society, replacing Edward Speyer as President in 1912.³¹ In 1913, after long negotiations, he brought Maurice Ravel to London for the first time, paying his way and acting as patron in the name of the society. Tovey's friendship and involvement with this important group was ruptured by his attempts to seduce Maisie Kelly as well as the lady then posing as Mrs Pablo Casals and whom, according to Tovey, the famous cellist took to beating, raising Tovey's ire and causing a scandal among his peers that had Kelly attempting a resolution. This is one of only two scandals mentioned in the diaries.³²

³¹ Not to be confused with his kinsman, Sir Edgar Speyer, also a music patron active in London.

³² The other was the rumour that an actress sister-in-law was having an affair with the Governor General of Australia in 1910-11.

Summer, Kelly devoted to the Henley Regatta and rowing but for the rest of the year he was a pianist, composing wherever he went, including his own pieces in his concerts and seeing them through the press, anonymously giving financial support to other musicians and finally in 1911, on a visit to Thomas Kelly in Sydney, turning professional. What had been long discussed among his friends was now attempted out of their sight. The change would involve exposing himself to a general public and to publicly expressed criticism for the first time.

In his private, high-society, salon-centred world of the wealthy expert amateur, standards might be high but no attempt was made to sell tickets to a highly selective general public, no fee above an honorarium was sought, let alone fought for, no contracts were signed and no press was invited. Stepping out of this sheltered world to compete for attention alongside street-wise professionals battling to make a living was a dangerous move.

The question of his being pseudo-English or residual-Australian seems never to have entered his head, as it certainly did with Grainger. It is not addressed in the diaries. His Australian year seems to have been a lonely one. No social whirl, not much music infrastructure, no friends of long standing, the new ones unable to compare with the glitterati of London. It was obvious that Australia was too small a pond for him, fond as he plainly was of it. As for his sense of nationality, the diaries imply that he thought of himself as a British-Australian, someone born out of Britain who could, with ease, move between both places and find a place in either. Money had bought him that assurance of double inclusion without tension as it had not for Melba, the only other Australian artist of the time to enter the same social strata. For Melba the stigma of being a woman and on the stage as opposed to the concert platform had to be overcome. As a composer, Kelly looked to his German training and his English circle. Though he was interested in Richard Strauss, went to Bayreuth, saw the Russian ballet in London and heard early Schoenberg there, he was no avant gardist. There is nothing overtly Australian in his output, for all that a handful of works were at least partially composed here: the Trio in B minor for Violin, Viola and Violoncello dedicated 'To T.H.K.' from 1911, some of the series of 12 piano studies dated 1909-12, and the *Serenade* for flute, harp, horn and string orchestra Op.7 which owes its origins to the ship-board meeting with John Lemmone, on the way to Australia in 1911 and included in Kelly's debut season in Sydney with Lemmone as the flautist, and the Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte in D minor written, like the Trio, at 'Glengarrah.'³³

Never one to let the grass grow, however, he gave up surfing at Bondi, rented a secluded hotel room in town in which to practice and set about giving a series of six concerts. On 17 June he appeared in the Beethoven G Major Concerto with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra conducted by Joseph Bradley at the Sydney Town Hall in what was effectively a celebrity concert by the visiting Sheffield Choir. Kelly and the Symphony were a sidelight. The rest were solo and chamber recitals at St James Hall running on into August. On 21 July Kelly conducted a small orchestra of which his brother Thomas was a member. It was at this concert that he introduced the Flute *Serenade* mentioned with John Lemmone as soloist. The reviews in the *Sydney Morning Herald* were polite.³⁴ Kelly paid all the expenses of this and the London concerts that followed, as he did Schott to publish his music. It is doubtful if he ever made a penny from any of it.

³³ Dated 1901 where 1911 is more probably intended.

³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* reviews: 19 June, 5, 9, July, 14, 22 July, 7, 9 Aug. 1911.

Back in London in 1912, his debut season of three solo concerts at the Aeolian Hall in Bond Street (20, 27 February and 6 March) and one orchestral concert with the London Symphony Orchestra (19 March) under (Sir) George Henschel, received a very different press. What he feared came to pass. The London critics found it hard to swallow that a much-celebrated athlete could also be a musician, in spite of the fact that he had an established reputation as an amateur. The Australian press had refrained, possibly because Kelly's record was not as well known here as it was there. The jokes made at Kelly's expense told on him. The nervous tick in his forearms that had plagued him for years, returned. The London reviews picked up on the emotional freeze that was Kelly's only way of getting through his programme without collapsing once this tick set in. There was praise of his fine technique and laments that he showed too much precision and too little fire. Though one has to read this against the fashion for heightened emotional display at the time, there seems to have been some truth in the accusations. Kelly notes but barely comments on the best of these reviews, those in the *Times*,³⁵ but refuses to come to grips with the hostility of the worst in the *Westminster Review*.³⁶ His response was to drop out of competitive rowing permanently.

Undeterred musically, he pressed on, making three appearances with the Queen's Hall Orchestra under Sir Henry Wood and a further Aeolian Hall solo recital that year. In 1913 there were six public concerts and in 1914, three, as well as a number of private concerts. As in Australia, he was beginning to expand his skills as a conductor, taking on his first full orchestra for an Aranyi concert on 27 November 1913 at the Aeolian Hall.

But on 4 August 1914 war with Germany was declared. Kelly volunteered, finding his niche as a Sub-Lieutenant in the Royal Navy Volunteer Regiment. Months were spent in various training camps where he rose to serve as a quartermaster, to his disgust. He was not, as so often claimed, at the fall of Antwerp, but early in 1915, eager for action, he arranged to be shipped out on *HMT Grantully Castle*, in charge of a platoon of the Hood Battalion and bound for the Dardenelles. The journey out saw the formation of a group from the Battalion known as the Latin Club which centred on the poet Rupert Brooke and included the critic-composer Denis Browne and Kelly. There was a period encamped at Port Said. Aboard ship again, Brooke's death from septicaemia, later the focus of a national mourning for what was seen as the death of a generation of Britain's most promising young men, found Kelly at its centre. He was present at the burial on the island of Skyros and copied Brooke's notebooks for safekeeping. The section of Kelly's diaries dealing with this event are frequently quoted in the Brooke literature.

The diaries in the National Library close as his ship begins to land troops on the Peninsula. This was not the end of Kelly's story, however. His group did indeed land at Cape Helles. Kelly took part in the attacks of 2 May and 6-8 May, was slightly wounded³⁷ on 4 June and spent a brief convalescence in Alexandria, where he wrote an *Elegy* for string orchestra in memory of Rupert Brooke before returning to the Peninsula. In June he was promoted lieutenant and in July returned to Gallipoli. The London *Times*³⁸ reported that he was one of the three

³⁵ The *Times*, 21, 28, Feb., 6, 20, March, 16 May, 28 Sep., 7 Oct., 13 Dec. 1912; 7 May, 30 Oct. 1913; 12, 20, 27 March, 15 May 1914.

³⁶ Grierson, 149-50.

³⁷ *Balliol College War Memorial Book I*, 317-19.

³⁸ *Times*, 22 Nov. 1916.

officers who remained at the observation post in the front trenches during the final evacuation and was one of the last men to leave the peninsula. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for 'conspicuous gallantry' for his actions there.³⁹

After some peaceful weeks in Tenedos and at home he rejoined the Hood Battalion in France in May 1916, where he commanded B Company at the Battle of Ancre.⁴⁰ Kelly fell at Beaucourt-sur-Ancre, during the last phase of the battle of the Somme, killed leading a 'gallant and successful attack on a machine-gun emplacement which threatened to enfilade the advance in the opening of the battle on 13 November 1916.'⁴¹ This turned out to be one of the bloodiest battles of the entire war. According to the Commonwealth Graves Commission he is buried in France in the village of Martinsart's British Cemetery.

What remains is the music, though perhaps not all of it. It consists of chamber works, piano works and songs; nothing large scale. The holdings tally with the diaries but there may be more manuscripts still at large.⁴² The diaries do mention plans for two symphonies. And recently Peter Cahn, archivist of the Hoch Conservatorium, has sent me the *Violin Sonata* written late in 1915 at Siddul Bahr in the Dardenelles for Jelly Aranyi and first performed by her with Leonard Borwick at the memorial concert at Wigmore Hall in London, on 2 May 1919. What I have heard of all this indicates effective writing and something more than youthful charm.

Kelly was 35 when he died. Though his music was played by Jelly Aranyi as late as the 1930s, it otherwise fell into silence until very recently, when interest in English Edwardian music generally has brought it to performance again. In Australia the Marshall-Hall Trust is to publish some small part of it.

Kelly's privileged position in English society gave him connections that, had he lived, might have been used to the advantage of other aspiring Australian musicians who were already seeking him out in the years directly before the First World War. There is strong evidence in the diaries to support his interest in assisting his fellow countrymen in this way. His loss to Australian musical culture, one of many such losses, denied us his influence and our consequent development. The diaries detail that loss, but they also reveal something of the work process that allowed Kelly to appear on the London concert platform. Possibly the most valuable insight they provide is into the chamber music programming decisions of the London Concert Society and the effects of those decisions on the development of London taste and the renewal of interest in British composition. Kelly still holds a place in assessments of that renewal.⁴³

³⁹ ADB briefing notes give sources for this as the Royal Naval Lists. Also cited is Douglas Jerrold, *The Royal Naval Division* (London: Hutchinson, 1923). Kelly is given in the briefing notes as DSC: L/G 5/9/1916, Supp. 6/9/1916. The award of the DSC to Kelly and two other officers of the Royal Naval Division was 'In recognition of their services with the Royal Naval Division in the Gallipoli Peninsula.'

⁴⁰ His Battalion's commanding officer was an old New Zealand friend from the Latin Club, Lieut-Col B.C.Freyberg VC, CMG, DSO. The Hood Battalion was at that time part of the 189th Brigade of the Royal Naval Division, which was assigned to the Vth Corps of the Fifth Division.

⁴¹ ADB briefing notes.

⁴² The NSW State Conservatorium Library holds printed music; the Britten-Pears Library at Aldeburgh holds some songs; the British Library holds some published orchestral, piano and vocal music.

⁴³ Edward Speyer, *My Life and Friends* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1937) *passim*. Also Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early 20th Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985) 139.

I would suggest that it is time Australians reclaimed Kelly, not for what he contributed to our culture so much as an exemplar of a lost generation, a puzzle in need of solving. That loss may have benefited those left, those who moved into the gaps perhaps, but it also impoverished music both over there and over here. Kelly's potential as a composer, as a pianist, as a conductor, as a patron, was never realised. We have yet to examine what this may have meant, the ways in which music was changed, here or in Britain, for those who came after.

APPENDIX: Published Works and Manuscript Papers of E.S. Kelly

This revised listing of the manuscripts of Kelly's music is reproduced with the permission of the Manuscript Librarian, National Library of Australia, and of Prof. Bruce Steele, Monash University, who revised the list whilst researching the papers.

A. Published works in the NLA MS 3095

Elegy (full score, 27 June 1915, Alexandria). Edwin Ashdown, 1926 (EA058).

Elegy (one set of orchestral parts). Edwin Ashdown.

Two Organ Preludes (25 March 1915, HMT Grantully Castle, Aegean Sea off Rhodes). Edwin Ashdown, 1925 (EA056).

Six Songs Op. 6. Schott, 1913.

1. March (LPS) (1910).
2. The Sages Dance (trans. LPS) (1910).
3. When the Lamp is Shattered (P.B. Shelley) (1910-13).
4. Music, When Soft Voices Die (P.B. Shelley) (1910).
5. The Cherry Tree (LPS) (1913).
6. Daffodils (W. Wordsworth) (1910).

Two Songs Op. 1. Schott, 1912.

1. Shall I Compare Thee (W. Shakespeare).
2. Aghadoe (John Todhunter) (1903).

[Copies are inscribed to M.A.K. (E.S. Kelly's sister Mary)].

Theme, Variations and Fugue for Two Pianos Op. 5. Schott, 1913. [One double score copy only; there are eleven variations].

A Cycle of Lyrics for Pianoforte Solo Op. 4.

1. Lament
- [Others are: 2. Sea-Piece, 3. Idyll, 4. Caprice, 5. Choler, 6. Reminiscence].

B. Published Works listed by Schott [on covers]

- Op. 1 *Two Songs*
- Op. 2 *Waltz Pageant* for Piano duet
- Op. 2a *Waltz Pageant* for Piano solo
- Op. 3 *Allegro de Concert* for Piano solo
- Op. 4 *A Cycle of Lyrics* for Piano solo
- Op. 5 *Theme, Variations and Fugue* for two Pianos
- Op. 6 *Six Songs*

C. Works and Diaries

NLA MS3095 (Music) may have been obtained in 1972 but there are no records.

NLA MS 6050 (Diaries 1906-16) acquired from the UK dealer Henry Bristow Ltd (1979).

Some songs held by Britten-Pears Library at Aldeburgh.

Some orchestral, piano and vocal music (all published works?) held by British Library.

In 1986, the NLA was informed by Kelly's nephew in Sydney that 'I feel quite sure that there is no family heir for F.S. Kelly's works' and that as family representative he was glad to authorise the NLA to approve requests for copying and publication. He has given some works to the NSW Conservatorium.

D. Biographical and Bibliographical

For his life and family, see entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Memoir in Balliol College Memorial Register (copy at NLA).

Extract from Henry Bristow's Catalogue No. 241 relating to the sale of the diaries (copy at NLA).

E. Unbound Manuscript Works in NLA, MS 3095*Elegy*

Photocopy of fair copy of full score.

Fair copies of parts: Solo V; 6V¹; 6V², 6V²¹; 6V²²; 4Va¹; 4Va²; 4Vc¹; 4Vc²; 4Db; Harp. 1925.

24 Monographs for Pianoforte Solo, Op. 11 'To Dr. C.H. Lloyd.'

[Kelly's note: 'This copy is probably very inaccurate judging from the copyist's treatment of the manuscript. F.S. Kelly May 4. 1916.']. Eleven are complete and there is one page of No. 12.

Twelve Studies for the Pianoforte Op. 9 'To Leonard Borwick.'

[Kelly's note: 'This copy is very inaccurate. F.S. Kelly May 4. 1916.']. The Index page lists all twelve by key. Extant in the MS: No. 1 and 2 pages of No. 2 [see below*].

A Bundle labelled 'Fragments 500p?'

'The Summer is Ended.' 2 copies.

'To Daffodils.' Part-song SATB, 2 pages only + all parts.

Sketch for a Quartet (strings).

'Sleep, O Sleep, Fond Fancy.' Song for treble voice.

'Let not the Sluggish Sleep.' 4-part song Composition Paper.

'Commit Thy Way to Jesus.' Anthem '378, 379, 380.'

'Ther[?] a baba.' Solo line only [Hebridean?]

Piano piece. 1 page. Moderato ma non troppo.

Scherzo in E. Piano sketch.

Four-page piano fragment dated '25 St James Court Jan 23, 24, 25, 26, 1909.'

'Weep You no more Sad Fountains.' Song, dated 'March 21 1909 Higher Combe, Haslemere.'

Two-piano fragment. One page, dated 'Feb 24. 1908.'

Piano piece in Db. One page.
 324 'O Lord Have Mercy.' Dated 'Monday 12 Dec. 1898.'
 'Though Itchen Flows Apart from Thames.' Dated 'Tuesday 13th Dec. 1898.' [An Eton hymn].
 Orchestral sketch fragments.
 Etude dated 'Dec. 27th 1897 28th.'
 Scherzando in Ab. Four pages.
 Piano piece (incomplete) in F# minor. Two pages.
 Fragment of an orchestral sketch.
 Fragment of an orchestral sketch.
 'Infant Joy' (Blake), 'Love's Music,' 'Pastoral,' all vocal line only.
 Beginning of a fugue.
 Monograph 23 and 24.
 *Studies for piano, end of No. 2 through to No. 12.
 Several blank or briefly notated pages.
 A little MS booklet containing sketches for piano pieces.
 Allegretto for piano dated '6 Dec. 1898.'
 Fragments of orchestral sketches.
 'Music When Soft Voices.' Song for treble dated 'Paris 27-28 April' [no year].
 Sketches for Orchestral Scherzo [?].
 Exam scores for 'First Exam for the degree of Bachelor in Music.'
 Fugue for piano dated '9th May 1904 Frankfurt am Maine.'
 Bisham Waltzes for piano duet (fair copies) dated 'March 3. 1912' [see Diary].
 Orchestral fragment
 Beginning of a piano sonata [?].
 Quartet for Horn, Violin, Viola and Piano dated 'Frankfurt Nov. 18-1904.'
 Con moto for English Horn and Piano.
Orchestral Suite
 Full parts for movements I, II and IV 'Introduction and Fugue.'
 Conductor's Score for II 'Waltz.'
 'Cello part only for III 'Intermezzo.'
 Theme 'My Love is but a Lassie Yet,' with *Variations* for piano solo. [MS breaks off at variation 22].

F. Fourteen Bound Volumes of Music in Manuscript, NLA MS 3095

1. a) *Introduction & Fugue* dated 'Dec. 4th 1905 Frankfurt A/M.' [Critical comments in German and alterations in pencil.
- b) *Orchestral Suite: IV Introduction & Fugue* dated 'Oct. 4 1906 2nd edition Frankfurt.' [Conductor's fair copy score with entries marked in colour].
- c) *Theme, Variations & Fugue for two pianos* Op. 5 dated 'Frankfurt A/M/ Dec. 1907/ revised Dec. 18 1911.' Variation X dated 'Oct 14th 1907.' Dedication: 'To my two masters Professors Iwan Knorr and Ernst Engesser.'
 [A big work, marked for publisher with readers' proof-corrections in red ink].

2. a) *Scherzo in C minor* [for full orchestra—incomplete].
 b) *Elegy*, full score and separate photocopy.
 c) *Intermezzo*, dated 'Tuesday 3rd April 1906.' [see next entry].

3. *Orchestral Suite in Eb* [four movements]
 I *Allegro con brio*, dated 'November 12th 1906 Frankfurt A/M,' [conductor's score marked for performance.
 [II *Waltz* is with unbound MSS; for IV see vol. 1 above.]
 III *Intermezzo*, dated '12 Oct. 1906 Frankfurt A/M.'

4. a) *Cadenza* (unfinished) to Beethoven Concerto in G Op. 58.
 b) *Sketches for Etudes* [annotated] 'improvised Oct. 26 1909.'
Pianoforte Sonata in F minor—Rondo; Poco Allegro (fragments)
Study No. 12 in D minor, 'June 16, 1913; June 25, 1913.' 'Idea dating from March 1913. Bisham Grange, Marlow.' [Not included with the 12 (items 11b and 13a)].

5. a) *Balliol Dances* [sketches of 14 dances, piano, four hands; incl. letter from Donald Tovey to FSK].
 b) *Bisham Waltzes*, piano, four hands.

6. Three booklets bound together.
 I a) *Theme for Orchestral Variations*, preceded by an introduction: 'Mesnil near Thiepval 28th October 1916.'
 b) 'Green Grow the Rushes Oh,' for voice, chorus and brass band (sketch).
 c) Harp part for *Elegy* for String Orchestra in memoriam Rupert Brooke: 'done from memory 27 Oct. 1916 at Mesnil.'
 II *Waltz-Pageant*, piano, four hands. Bass part for 16 Waltzes.
 III *Sketches for various works*.

7. a) *Trio in B minor* for violin, viola and violoncello 'To THK' dated 'May 31, 1911, Glenyarrah, Double Bay, Sydney.' I *Allegro appassionato*, II *Romance*, III *Scherzo*, IV *Allegro moderato ma con moto*.
 b) *Trio in Bb* for piano, violin and violoncello. I [sonata form,] II *Scherzo* [incomplete].

8. Songs
 a) *March* (L. Pearsall Smith) for tenor voice dated 'Jan 1, 1910, 34 Wimpole Street W.'
 b) 'Mirrors' (L. Pearsall Smith) dated 'Jan 6. 1910.'
 c) 'Fulfilment' (L. Pearsall Smith) dated 'March 31, 1910, 34 Wimpole St. London.'
 d) 'Harvest Eve' (L. Pearsall Smith) dated 'April 8, 1910, 34 Wimpole Street), ending dated 'May 31, 1914.'
 e) 'Music When Soft Voices Die' (P.B. Shelley) dated 'April 13, 1910, 34 Wimpole Street.'
 f) 'The Sages Dance' (trans. L. Pearsall Smith) dated 'May 25, 1910, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'

- g) 'The Pride of Youth' (Sir Walter Scott) dated 15 August, 1910, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
- h) 'Away! The Moor is Dark beneath the Moon' (P.B. Shelley) dated '27 August, 1910, 12.15 a.m., Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
- i) 'To the Daisy' (Wordsworth) dated '4 September, 1910, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
- j) 'The Daffodils' (Wordsworth) dated 'Oct. 15, 1910, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
- k) Music manuscripts for the publisher [Schott & Co.]:
Six Songs Op. 6, To Gervase Elwes.
- i March
 - ii The Sages Dance
 - iii When the Lamp is Shattered (1910 – 13)
 - iv Music When Soft Voices Die (13 April, 1910)
 - v The Cherry Tree (1 May, 1913)
 - vi The Daffodils
- OMIT Weep You no more Sad Fountains, (Anon), 'March 1910'
 To the Daisy, 'September 4, 1910'.
- l) Song Sketch book [page refs. to *Palgrave's Golden Treasury*]
 Away the Moor is Dark Beneath the Moon, p. 485, 'Nov. 5, 1909'
 O Nightingale (Wordsworth), p. 141 [sketch only]
 March (L.P.S.)
 When the Lamp is Shattered
 The Daffodils, G.T. p. 291, GT:226
 Song to the Evening Star, GT. p. 305
 Lord Ullins' Daughter
 The Soldier's Dream, Golden Treasury p. 306
 Prospice, G.T. Second Series, p. 192
 A Cradle Song G.T. p. 165
 The Summer is Ended
- m) Cadenza to Beethoven's G Concerto, 1st movement
- n) Fragments of song ideas – all from PGT
9. a) *String Trio in B minor* for violin, viola and violoncello.
 Annotated in pencil; revised and corrected by Sir Donald Tovey (Diary, 31 May, 1911).
 Movement IV annotated '12.45 a.m. October 4, 1910, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
- b) Two earlier versions (one incomplete).
10. a) *A Cycle of Lyrics for the Pianoforte* Op. 4.
- I Lament
 - II Vivace e leggiero
 - III Intermezzo
 - IV Caprice
 - V Choler
 - VI Reminiscence
- b) Piano sketches: Piece in F minor; Air & variations for two pianos; (both incomplete).

- c) Six-part round, 'It was a Lover and his Lass.'
- d) Various sketches and ideas.
11. a) *Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte* [98 bars in full; incomplete].
- b) *Studies* for the pianoforte, various dates 1909-1912, England and Australia. 1. in F; 2. in Bb; 3. in F#; 4. in Eb; 5. in b; 6. in D; 7. in g; 8. in Eb; 9. in g#; 10. in E; 11. in c; 12. in A [Nos. 1-8, 10, 12 in one volume] (see vol. 13).
- c) A separate MS book bound in, containing sketches apparently written during Kelly's travels in 1906 and 1907; some refer to 'ideas' from 1905 or 1906. He notes his mode of travel (usually ship) and location (from Frankfurt to the Bay of Bengal to China and Japan; a couple were composed on walks). Includes a 'piece' called 'Burmese Five' [?] and apparently written for a 'circular instrument with bells [gongs?]' played with a stick by a man sitting in the middle [Kyi-waing?].
12. a) *Aghadoe*, Irish ballad for contralto and orchestra, Op. 1 No. 2 dated 'April 23, 1914.'
- b) *Serenade* for flute, harp, horn and string orchestra, Op. 7.
- I Prelude
- II Idyll
- III Menuet
- IV Air and Variations
- V Jig
- c) arrangement of b) for flute and piano, dated 'April 12, 1914, Bisham Grange, Marlow.'
13. a) *Twelve Studies for Pianoforte* Op. 9.
To Leonard Borwick dated 'July 23, 1913, Bisham Grange.' Numbers and keys as in 11b) above.
- b) [16] *Waltzer für zwei Klavier* [Brahmsian]
14. a) *Sonata in F minor* for pianoforte
- I [untitled], '27.4.16 Bisham Grange.'
- II Adagio, 'May 1, 1916.'
- III Allegretto, 'May 3, 1916.' [incomplete].
- b) *Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte in D minor*, 'Began circa June 20. Finished Aug 2, 1901 [1911?], Glenyarrah, Sydney. Has separate violin part.
- c) *Allegro de Concert* Op. 3 'April 24, 1908 Bisham Grange.' (written March 28 1907, revised November 12 1911).
- d) *Irish Air with Variations*, '10-20 August 1898.'
- At end of variation IV 'Thursday 11th August 1898,' variation V '15 August 1898,' Final 'Aug. 19, St Andrews Aug. 20th/98 St Andrews.' At end of variations II, III, VI and VII, 'Wednesday 10 August 1898 Woollas Hall.'

Corinne Collins, August 1985

Revised Bruce Steele, June 1999.