"TENTATIVE AND FEMININE": VIOLA SONATAS BY BRITISH WOMEN

Emma Cifrino

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate College of Bowling Green
State University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC

August 2016

Committee:
Matthew McBride Daline, Advisor
Alan Smith
ABSTRACT

Matthew McBride Daline, Advisor

Rebecca Clarke’s *Sonata for Viola and Piano (1919)* is one of the few works by a female composer considered standard repertoire for violists. One of the first generation of women to study at the Royal College of Music, Clarke’s gender clearly influenced her compositions. Feminist musicologist Susan McClary has written extensively about the gendered implications of the sonata form; she argues that the late 19th-century sonata form is in essence the story of a male protagonist defeating feminine threats to his masculinity. When the composer is a woman, like Clarke, the possibility that this formula is either consciously or unconsciously subverted by the composer must be considered. Several scholars have noted that Clarke’s sonata in some ways appears to subvert the typical sonata narrative. Clarke’s countrywoman Pamela Harrison also composed her own *Sonata for Viola and Piano* in 1946; this piece is examined through the lens of the previous scholarship on the Clarke sonata. Performance applications are also suggested.
For Julia Adams.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper would not exist without the moral, professional, and academic support of my committee and advisor. Additional gratitude is due to Dr. Arne Spohr, for encouraging my musicological inclinations, and Dr. Mary Natvig, for offering wisdom and guidance whenever I asked. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the 2016 BGSU Graduate String Quartet – Helen Cates, Yi-Chieh Chiu, and Jon Moody – for their staunch friendship and passionate musicianship during this year.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 1

CHAPTER I: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ......................................................................... 3
   Rebecca Clarke .......................................................................................................................... 3
   A Brief Biography of Pamela Harrison .................................................................................... 6

CHAPTER II: “DO WOMEN COMPOSE DIFFERENTLY?” ....................................................... 9
   Musicological Approaches to Female Composers ................................................................. 9

CHAPTER III: GENDERED ANALYSES OF THE REBECCA CLARKE SONATA FOR VIOLA AND PIANO (1919) ......................................................................................................................... 15
   Susan McClary’s Framework and Liane Curtis’s Analysis of Clarke’s Sonata ................. 15
   Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance ........................................................................ 19

CHAPTER IV: THE HARRISON SONATA FOR VIOLA AND PIANO .................................. 22
   Harrison & Clarke: Similarities ............................................................................................. 22
   Departures from the Clarke Sonata ....................................................................................... 26

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS ................................................................................................. 31
   Clarke vs. Harrison: Subversions, Inversions, and Reiterations ......................................... 31
   Performance Applications .................................................................................................... 32

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................................... 34
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clarke, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, mm. 1-3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Clarke, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, I. Impetuoso, mm. 39-42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Clarke, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, III. Adagio, mm. 220-224</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>“T1.1” Pamela Harrison, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, I. Moderato, mm. 1-5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>“T1.2” Pamela Harrison, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, I. Moderato, mm. 18-21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>“T2.1” Pamela Harrison, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, I. Moderato, mm. 55-60</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>“T2.2” Pamela Harrison, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>, I. Moderato, mm. 83-87</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Author’s analysis of Pamela Harrison, <em>Sonata for Viola and Piano</em>: I. Moderato</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

During the period of 1900 to 1950, two previously marginalized groups of musicians finally became part of the classical mainstream: female composers and violists. This simultaneous flowering of music for the viola and music by women unsurprisingly produced a large volume of compositions for the viola by women. Both of these musical movements also happened to center around Britain; while Lionel Tertis championed the viola as a solo instrument, the first wave of female composers were being educated at the Royal College of Music in London. Consequently, an enormous spike in works for viola began to emerge by British female composers such as Elizabeth Maconchy, Dame Ethel Smythe, Elizabeth Lutyens, and, most famously, Rebecca Clarke.

In this project, I intend to examine two sonatas for viola and piano by British women composers of the first half of the 20th-century, beginning with Rebecca Clarke’s Sonata for Viola and Piano, one of the few compositions by a woman to have become a part of the standard repertoire. The second work I will discuss is the 1946 Sonata for Viola and Piano by Pamela Harrison. Harrison, like many female composers of her time, garnered some recognition during her lifetime but faded into obscurity after her death in 1990. However, her Suite for Timothy for orchestra has gained some recognition in recent years, as has her viola sonata, recorded in 2002 by Helen Callus and Robert McDonald.¹

Though Clarke was roughly thirty years Harrison’s senior, the two composers had several major artistic influences in common. Both studied composition at the Royal College of Music, Clarke with Charles Villiers Stanford - best known as the teacher of Ralph Vaughan Williams - and Harrison with Gordon Jacob, who himself had studied with Stanford and Vaughan Williams.

Thus Clarke and Harrison are often stylistically aligned with Vaughan Williams and his quintessentially British use of modal sonorities and bitonality.

There are a handful of scholarly essays that survey the Clarke viola sonata and her other works through the "lens" of gender theory, but there is a complete dearth of writing, scholarly or otherwise, based on Harrison’s overall output, let alone her viola sonata. The general thrust of the scholarship on Clarke is that her compositions tend to “subvert the sonata mold itself”2 by altering the typical masculine/feminine dichotomies inherent in the traditional sonata form. Using a framework for gender-coded analysis pioneered by feminist musicologist Susan McClary, Clarke scholar Liane Curtis analyzes the first movement of the viola sonata in her essay “Rebecca Clarke and the Sonata Form: Questions of Gender and Genre.”3 I will use Curtis’s analysis of the Clarke sonata in order to accentuate my own analysis of the Harrison sonata, which will encompass the bulk of the second half of my thesis.

The Harrison sonata consists of four movements: Moderato, Vivace, Adagio, and Presto. Like the Clarke sonata, the larger form here is cyclical; the main thematic material from the first movement eventually takes over in the last movement, ending where it began. However, while Clarke’s opening theme is driving, insistent, and essentially martial in character from the very beginning, Harrison’s lyrical and meandering theme only becomes forceful in the last moments of the fourth movement. In this project I will address this and several other points of comparison between the two works using both Curtis’s essay and McClary’s original framework.

---

CHAPTER I: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Rebecca Clarke

On February 25th, 1976, WQXR in New York broadcast an interview with Mrs. James Friskin, a charming octogenarian who had been a friend of the late British pianist Dame Myra Hess. Mrs. Friskin gave the radio show’s host a lively account of Dame Hess in her schoolgirl days at the Royal College of Music in London.\(^4\) When the interviewer, Robert Sherman, asked if Mrs. Friskin had ever performed with Dame Hess in concert, Mrs. Friskin produced a concert program from 1925. “Wigmore Hall,” stated the program, “Rebecca Clarke. Concert of Her Own Compositions. Wednesday, Oct. 21, at 8.30. Myra Hess, Adila Fachiri, May Mukle, John Goss”.\(^5\)

Before this radio interview, Mrs. Rebecca Clarke Friskin had been almost entirely forgotten by the classical music establishment. It was, in Clarke’s own words, “as if I had never written anything”.\(^6\) Even so, the 1925 concert program was not an anomaly; Rebecca Clarke was a well-known figure in London in the 1910s and 20s. Her compositions were frequently performed and garnered several accolades, including prizes at the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge competition in 1919 and 1921.\(^7\) She knew and worked with the most recognizable names of the British musical renaissance - William Walton, Arnold Bax, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Lionel Tertis, among others. In an interview with violist Nancy Uscher, Clarke even recounts performing the Brahms sextets with legendary cellist Pablo Casals.\(^8\) However, by 1976 Clarke

---


\(^5\) Ibid., 165.

\(^6\) Curtis, “Violist to Violist (Interview with Nancy Uscher),” *Rebecca Clarke Reader*, 197.

\(^7\) Liane Curtis, “Clarke, Rebecca,” *Grove Music Online*.

\(^8\) Curtis, “Violist to Violist,” 191.
had not composed in more than two decades, and even though she experienced a “mini-revival” just before her death in 1979, she was omitted from 1980 edition *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, despite having been included in previous versions of that same volume.⁹

Clarke was born in Harrow, London, in 1886. Her father, an American by birth, was a trained archaeologist and sometime inventor as well as a passionate amateur musician.¹⁰ According to Clarke, her father sent her younger brother for violin lessons and told young Clarke that she “may just as well go along and listen.”¹¹ While Clarke’s relationship with her father was never particularly warm, his influence certainly set her on the path to a career in classical music. Besides allowing her to take violin lessons once it became clear that she was the more talented student, Clarke’s father also sent several of her compositions to his acquaintance Sir Charles Stanford at the Royal College of Music. Clarke became one of Stanford’s first female students at RCM; typically women attended the Royal Academy, which had been coed from its inception.¹² Stanford was the teacher of an incredibly important generation of British composers. Ralph Vaughan Williams was perhaps his most famous student, but he also taught many others, including Gustav Holst, Frank Bridge, and Gordon Jacob.

Clarke’s association with this group of composers is important to note for several reasons. First, it situates her and her music firmly within the British Musical Renaissance of the early 20th century. Though scholars disagree on the exact application of this term, the British Musical Renaissance is broadly characterized as a turn of the century nationalistic movement;

---

⁹ Ibid., “Introduction,” *Rebecca Clarke Reader*, 4, note 3. Due to Curtis’s efforts, Clarke received a lengthy article in the 2001 revision of the *New Grove*.
¹¹ Ibid., “Violist to Violist,” *Rebecca Clarke Reader* 185.
composers of this period, lead by Vaughan Williams, looked to the folk music of the British Isles for inspiration in creating a uniquely British sound. Composers involved in this movement typically employ modal harmonies and frequent bitonality. Second, it gives us insight into her relationship with sonata form.\textsuperscript{13}

While Clarke was active as a composer from roughly 1910-1940, she was primarily known as a violinist and violist. As evidenced by the 1925 program discussed above, she often performed her own works in recitals; however, she made the bulk of her living performing as an orchestral and chamber musician. In fact Clarke began her career as a freelance musician before she could conclude her composition studies with Stanford, due to an argument with her father that caused her parents to withdraw financial support.\textsuperscript{14} She continued to compose regularly, mostly songs and chamber music for strings, until 1942, when she found herself stranded in the United States due to the onset of World War II. Removed from the musical scene in London where she had built her career, Clarke almost entirely abandoned music and took a position as a nanny in New York City. There was one consolation for her after being separated from her musical life in London, however: she was reunited in New York with former RCM classmate James Friskin, a Scottish pianist who taught at Julliard for decades. Friskin and Clarke married in 1944. Clarke said of her marriage in an interview with Ellen Lerner:

\begin{quote}
I got much more interested in what he [Friskin] was doing - he was a wonderful musician - and I really didn’t do any composing at all after I got married. I’m sure that’s shocking to you. It wasn’t because I got married that I didn’t; I had been writing much less during the years before I got married.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{13} Laura Seddon, \textit{British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century} (London: Ashgate, 2013), 117-118.
\textsuperscript{14} Curtis, “Clarke, Rebecca,” \textit{Grove Music Online}.
\textsuperscript{15} Curtis, “Musicologist Ellen D. Lerner Interviews Rebecca Clarke, 1978 and 1979,” \textit{Rebecca Clarke Reader}, 211.
After Friskin’s death in 1967, Clarke remained in New York for the rest of her life. She died in 1979 at the age of 93.

**A Brief Biography of Pamela Harrison**

While Rebecca Clarke was making a name for herself in London as a violist and composer during the 1910s and 20s, Pamela Harrison was growing up 25 kilometers southeast of the capitol, in the idyllic home county of Kent. Born in 1915, Harrison was the only child of doting parents who enthusiastically encouraged their daughter’s musical inclinations. She was accepted to the Royal College of Music in 1932, where she studied composition with Gordon Jacob. Harrison was a former student of Clarke’s teacher Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, and had a reputation for compositional conservatism.

In September 1943, Harrison married fellow RCM graduate Harvey Phillips, who was a cellist with the Hirsch and Aleph string quartets. Phillips also founded the Harvey Phillips String Orchestra, which premiered works by Harrison, Jacob, and Kenneth Leighton. These performances were frequently broadcast on BBC radio. Harrison’s chamber music also enjoyed considerable exposure on the BBC in the 1950s and 1960s. Her viola sonata was actually

---

16 Almost all biographical information on Harrison comes from her son, Timothy Phillips, who maintains an archive of Harrison’s music in Dorset, UK. Phillips also runs a website about Harrison (http://www.pamelaharrisoncomposer.co.uk) and occasionally publishes short articles about her life and work.
17 Eric Wetherell, “Jacob, Gordon,” *Grove Music Online*.
18 “Marriages September 1943 - Harrison, Pamela,” FreeBMD.org.uk, http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=XDLAo3bnnG3%2Fe7Gz3z40tg&scan=1
broadcast twice, first in 1951 with Watson Forbes on viola and Alan Richardson on piano, and again five years later with Jean Stewart and Josephine Lee.\textsuperscript{22}

Writing for \textit{Grove Music}, where Harrison was granted a two-paragraph entry in 2004, Stephen Banfield says that Harrison’s work was “characterized by gracefulness and clarity, no doubt reflecting her admiration for French music, and exhibiting traits common to her British exemplars, notably Bax, Moeran and John Ireland.”\textsuperscript{23} Banfield also hints at a relationship between Harrison’s music and Ralph Vaughan Williams - and, by extension, the larger British Musical Renaissance.\textsuperscript{24} Though Banfield makes the connection between the two composers based on use of bitonal harmony, I would argue that there is also a broader, more abstract commonality. According to her son, Harrison’s creativity was often spurred by the natural beauty of the Kentish landscape. She felt strongly connected to the land: “Nothing,” says Timothy Phillips, “could beat a bracing walk in the countryside with the dog, and her motivation came from this love of her natural surroundings.”\textsuperscript{25} Vaughan Williams advocated for British music to come from this same source in his 1934 essay “Should Music Be National?”:

I am told that when grape vines were first cultivated in California the vineyard masters used to try the experiment of importing plants from France or Italy and setting them in their own soil. The result was that the grapes acquired a peculiar individual flavour, so strong was the influence of the soil in which they were planted. I think I need hardly draw the moral of this, namely, that if the roots of your art are firmly planted in your own soil and that soil has anything individual to give you, you may still gain the whole world and not lose your own souls.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{22} A full list of BBC broadcasts of Harrison’s music can be found at \url{http://www.pamelaharrisoncomposer.co.uk/bbc-chronology.html}.

\textsuperscript{23} Stephen Banfield, “Harrison, Pamela,” \textit{Grove Music Online}.

\textsuperscript{24} Banfield, “Harrison, Pamela,” \textit{Grove Music Online}.


Harrison’s music was certainly rooted in specific soil: the soil of Kent as well as the soil laid down by Clarke and her contemporaries.

Unlike Clarke, Harrison composed throughout her life, though she often had additional vocations, including working for some time as a Dalcroze Eurythmics instructor. She died in an automobile accident in 1990. Since then, many of her works have been published by her son, and several commercial recordings of her music have been released. Violists Helen Callus and Hillary Herndon have both recorded the viola sonata, and the Royal Ballet Sinfonia released \textit{A Suite for Timothy} (1948) as part of their English String Miniatures series.\footnote{“Recordings,” \textit{Pamela Harrison: Composer}, http://www.pamelaharrisoncomposer.co.uk/recordings.html.}
CHAPTER II: “DO WOMEN COMPOSE DIFFERENTLY?”

Musicological Approaches to Female Composers

Before discussing Susan McClary’s gendered analysis of the sonata form, it is important to summarize the general state of feminist musicology and its most prominent views on female composers. Like any other discipline, feminist musicology is far from homogenous, and in regard to female composers there are several distinct strands of discourse; however, for the purposes of this paper, these strands can be broken down into “essentialist” and “anti-essentialist” viewpoints.

Essentialism, as its name suggests, is the belief that women are inherently, essentially, different from men. This is not restricted to mere biology; essentialism can also maintain that the overall experience of being a woman - or, to paraphrase Judith Butler,28 performing female gender identity - results in certain instinctive patterns of behavior. In current mainstream feminist philosophy, “essentialism” is now mostly a negative term used to describe the failings of past feminist movements. However, during the Second Wave of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, essentialist views were par for the course among the movement’s major figureheads. Martha Rampton, founder of the Center for Gender Equity at Pacific University, says of Second Wave feminism:

One of the strains of this complex and diverse "wave" was the development of women-only spaces and the notion that women working together create a special dynamic that is not possible in mixed-groups, which would ultimately work for the betterment of the entire planet. Women, due whether to their long "subjugation" or to their biology, were

---

28 Butler’s monograph *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990) is widely credited with popularizing the concept that “gender” is a socially constructed performance. However, forty years before Butler’s book was published, French feminist Simone de Beauvoir wrote that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman,” in her famous 1949 text *The Second Sex*. 
thought by some to be more humane, collaborative, inclusive, peaceful, nurturing, democratic, and holistic in their approach to problem solving than men.\textsuperscript{29}

Many Second Wave feminists still preach essentialist feminism; feminist academic Germaine Greer told a BBC reporter in 2015 that transgender women are “not women.”\textsuperscript{30} When asked to respond to the backlash against this assertion, Greer doubled down on her position, saying that “just because you lop off your dick and then wear a dress doesn’t make you a fucking woman.”\textsuperscript{31}

Greer’s comments, of course, are the far extreme of essentialist feminism. In musicology, essentialism is a subtler force, and is not necessarily a negative or destructive characteristic. Ruth Solie, in her introduction to the collection \textit{Musicology and Difference} writes that “essentialism has a bad name,”\textsuperscript{32} however, she goes on to explain that many theorists are comfortable with some essentialist rhetoric because “by claiming a special essence, women (or Blacks, or gays) resist the oppressive force of fictive universals.”\textsuperscript{33} This idea that feminist musicologists allow themselves to traffic in some essentialist language because they want to resist oppressive homogeneity most certainly applies to scholars like Susan McClary, and, as can be seen below, Eva Rieger.

As noted above, feminist musicologists Susan McClary and Eva Rieger have both been labeled essentialists. In his essay “Gender and Other Dualities of Music History,” Leo Treitler claims that Susan McClary betrays essentialist tendencies in her work, saying:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{29} Martha Rampton, “Four Waves of Feminism,” Pacific University, http://www.pacificu.edu/about-us/news-events/four-waves-feminism
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
[McClary] seems to work in parallel with literary critics who scrutinize the gender roles and relations in works of fiction, but in the absence of counterparts in musical works to the explicit embodiments of such constructions in texts about men and women she must first herself construct them out of the musical materials. In doing so she adopts the very stereotypes that she has deplored, underscoring them by contrast with the feminine characteristics that she describes in music composed by women.\footnote{34}

Treitler has, over the years, been positioned as the leading opponent of essentialism in feminist musicology, beginning with his essay’s appearance as the opening chapter of \textit{Musicology and Difference}. Ruth Solie admits that she placed his essay at the beginning of the collection “because it throws down precisely the gauntlet that this side of the debate always holds in readiness... [f]or Treitler the ambiguities of this procedure rest partly on the familiar problem of what content we may attribute to music, but also on a strong distaste for essentialist politics.”\footnote{35}

Treitler’s anti-essentialist position can be summed up nicely in his own words: “If I find a woman’s composition assertive and thrusting,” he asks, “and if a man’s composition conveys to me ‘a sense of existence that is...timeless’...am I bound to think that they are cross-dressing?”\footnote{36}

In a seemingly less pejorative application of the term, Eva Rieger’s essay “‘I Recycle Sounds’: Do Women Compose Differently?” is printed in \textit{Source Readings in Music History: The 20th Century} (perhaps not coincidentally edited by Leo Treitler), with this introductory text:

While many have argued for more active professional participation by women simply on the principle of equal opportunity for all, others have maintained that such participation is desirable because women bring unique qualities to the art, enhancing and enriching it. The latter, so-called essentialist, position is represented in this 1992 article (here somewhat condensed) by the Dutch musicologist Eva Rieger (emphasis mine).\footnote{37}

\footnote{34} Leo Treitler, “Gender and Other Dualities of Music History,” in \textit{Musicology and Difference}, 36-37.  
\footnote{35} Ruth Solie, introduction to \textit{Musicology and Difference}, 15.  
\footnote{36} Treitler, “Gender and Other Dualities,” 39.  
Rieger’s essay is particularly important for a gendered analysis of the Clarke sonata, as she enumerates a clear set of feminine compositional aesthetics which inform our interpretation of Clarke and Harrison’s use of both the sonata form and the sonata genre. She suggests that female composers do translate some of their lived experience as women into their music. Identifying traits which she “find[s] typical for a great deal of music written by women,” is not, Rieger argues, a backward or oppressive exercise. Instead, Rieger falls into the category of scholars that have, according to Solie, “repeatedly argued” that essentialism “can be a powerful tool in the hands of the oppressed themselves.” In this vein, Rieger hopes that women can “redefine” and “derive strength” from feminine compositional aesthetics “instead of ignoring or condemning them.” These feminine aesthetics, she reminds us, do not necessarily spring from an understanding of women as a physical or biological category, but instead are due to the fact that women have long been part of a certain social category which emphasizes certain traits and behaviors.

These traits of female composition that Rieger identifies are helpfully organized in her article as a list. This list will be referenced frequently in the remainder of this document, so it is reproduced below, with Rieger’s explanatory comments excised.

1. Many women composers have a special ability to create a maximum amount out of a minimum of material, a sort of “restricted aesthetics.”
2. Many have a special preference for functional music
3. Communication is of primary concern to them.
4. Women composers are more interested in constituent substance than in compulsive innovation.
5. They often strive to overcome binary contrasts.

---

39 Solie, 5.
40 Rieger, 1416.
41 Ibid.
6. The aspect of *Ganzheitlichkeit* means that they wish to combine not only various fields of art, but also the whole human being, body and soul, Mankind (or Womankind) and Nature.

7. They relate closely to their own bodies and the human voice.\(^42\)

Both Clarke and Harrison exhibit many of the characteristics in Rieger’s outline, though there are notable exceptions in the work of both composers. For example, in her viola sonata Clarke does not shy away from extreme binary contrasts; however, the almost ruthless repetition of the first theme does resonate with the concept of “restricted aesthetics.” Harrison, on the other hand, does seem to avoid harsh binary contrasts, though her themes are still clearly delineated. She could also be said to experiment with “restricted aesthetics,” as her set of themes laid out in the first movement of her sonata continue to appear in the rest of the work in various guises.

In Rieger’s view, feminine aesthetics appear in the work of female composers primarily because of a common female social experience. In her monograph *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*, Sally Macarthur argues that music by women is also affected by the actual female body of the composer. She bases this claim on an examination of the formal proportions of several works by women, including Clarke’s 1921 *Piano Trio*.\(^43\) Macarthur notes that “the great masterworks from the canon conform to the ideal proportion (or golden section),” but “analytical models such as these privilege a particular kind of music.”\(^44\) She finds that the music of women composers often does not conform to the ratios of the golden section. Using Clarke’s *Piano Trio* as an example, she writes:

I suggest, then, that it is possible to interpret this as having something to do with the sex of the composer. In other words, it is possible that a female composer, inhabiting a female body, conceives of her musical proportions differently than does a male composer. It would seem that Clarke, even if at a subconscious level, avoids creating

\(^{42}\) Ibid, 1417-1419.

\(^{43}\) This work was also composed for the Berkshire Festival, and also came in second place.

\(^{44}\) Macarthur, *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*, 70.
these proportions that are idealized in musical form. In turn, she could be seen to subvert the sonata mold itself.\textsuperscript{45}

While these claims may smack of essentialism to modern feminists, it must be remembered that when discussing composers like Clarke and Harrison, they are irrevocably situated in a particular historical moment and understanding of their work must be grounded in that moment. Both the Clarke and Harrison sonatas were composed in a time before Judith Butler, before Leo Treitler, and even before Simone de Beauvoir. The historical fact is that neither composer would have conceived of herself as anything but a woman, in the essentialist terms women were viewed during their time. Their own words and actions prove this over and over again. Therefore, analysis of their work based on scholars like McClary, Rieger, and Macarthur, who all acknowledge cultural and historical essentialism as a messy but unavoidable reality, is relevant and illuminating both to musicologists and performers.

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 96.
CHAPTER III: GENDERED ANALYSES OF THE REBECCA CLARKE SONATA FOR VIOLA & PIANO (1919)

Susan McClary’s Framework and Liane Curtis’s Analysis of Clarke’s Sonata

In her seminal 1991 collection, *Feminine Endings*, Susan McClary set herself an ambitious and potentially revolutionary task: to find “the truth” of music’s “human, rather than transcendental status.” Perhaps her most infamous and incisive attack on the “transcendental status” of Western music is her essay “Sexual Politics in Classical Music,” where she offers a framework for understanding the sonata form as a conflict between the male protagonist, who represents the power of the mind to “rise above” the mundane, and the female Other, who represents the seductive allure of the body:

The first theme establishes the tonic key and sets the affective tone of the movement: it is in essence the protagonist of the movement, and it used to be referred to quite commonly (in the days preceding feminist consciousness) as the ‘masculine’ theme. Indeed, its character is usually somewhat aggressive; it is frequently described as having ‘thrust’; and it is often concerned with closure. Midway through the exposition of the movement, it encounters another theme, the so-called feminine theme, usually a more lyrical tune that presents a new key, incompatible with the first. Given that a tonal, sonata-based movement is concerned with matters of maintaining identity, both thematic and tonal, the second area poses a threat to the opening materials.

In typical examples of sonata form, McClary writes, the first theme ultimately “absorbs” the second theme.

Finally, at the recapitulation, the piece returns to reestablish both the original tonic key and the original theme. The materials of the exposition are now repeated, with this

---

46 Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 4. McClary couches this quest in terms of the Bluebeard fable; the full quote, in which Bluebeard stands for the musical establishment, reads as follows: “He is forever being betrayed by women who do not take him at his word, who insist on knowing the truth: the truth of his human rather than transcendental status.”

47 Ibid., 68-69.
difference: the secondary theme must now conform to the protagonist’s tonic key area. It is absorbed, its threat to the opening key’s identity neutralized.  

Therefore it can be inferred that subversion occurs when the masculine theme is for any reason unable to tame the second theme.

It is easy to identify the so-called “masculine” and “feminine” themes in the first movement of Clarke’s sonata. Liane Curtis has done a masterful description of these themes in her essay “Rebecca Clarke and the Sonata Form: Questions of Gender and Genre,” which first appeared in *The Musical Quarterly* in 1997 and has since been reprinted in the *Rebecca Clarke Reader*. She traces the first “masculine” theme (see fig. 2.1) as it is slowly replaced by the secondary “feminine” theme (see fig. 2.2) in the first movement, suggesting that, when read through the lens of McClary’s gendered framework, Clarke subverts the sonata form by concluding the movement with a return to the “feminine” theme.

---

**Fig. 1**: Clarke, *Sonata for Viola and Piano*, mm. 1-3.

---

48 Ibid., 69.
49 Curtis, “Gender and Genre,” 400.
Fig. 2: Clarke, *Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Impetuoso*, mm. 39-42.  

As can be seen in Fig. 2.1, the first theme has a distinct “martial quality” due to the bugle call-like dotted-eighth sixteenth figure. The emphasis on perfect, open intervals also recalls a horn or natural trumpet, and the metric character is a march-like duple meter. In contrast, the second theme (fig. 2.2) is almost entirely made up of descending half-steps, slinking downward with no clear resolution or tonal center. Chromaticism, and the resulting tonal instability, marks this theme as a McClaryian “threat” to the tonal center of the first theme. Curtis goes so far as to call this second theme “stereotypical” in the way it so clearly conforms to the gendered sonata formula.

Curtis, however, is interested in complicating this equation. She points out that the concept of a gendered sonata form operates on two levels. The first level is the narrative - masculine theme battles feminine theme for dominance in the sonata form. The second level is the “genre” of Curtis’s title. She identifies the entire genre of the sonata - as opposed to the sonata form - as “a masculine domain,” to Clarke, “and thus for her basically a foreign one.” Curtis cautions us to disentangle these two levels of analysis, or our understanding of sonatas by female composers will be unavoidably muddied. As an example, she asks:

---

51 Clarke, 5.
52 Curtis, “Gender and Genre,” 400.
53 Ibid., 400.
54 Ibid., 408.
Does Clarke the subvert her subversion by recalling the masculine first theme, both the fifth leaps and \( x \), to conclude the piece as a whole? Must this be seen as the unavoidable feminine submission to the return of the dominating masculine force? Applying this coded gender identity to the themes leaves us little alternative to such an interpretation.\(^{55}\)

However, there is an alternative to this interpretation. In the first movement, the subversive gesture is the fact that the second theme takes over from the first theme, instead of being “absorbed”\(^{56}\) by the first theme. Curtis describes this transformation as an inversion of the two themes “expressive profiles,”\(^{57}\) noting that at the end of the first movement “the second theme has thrown off its restraint and now builds to its own climax; from there the piece subsides.”\(^{58}\)

Furthermore, the movement’s closing material is drawn not from the masculine first theme, but from the sensual, feminine second theme.\(^{59}\)

In the third movement, the martial theme from the first movement returns in the final bars, but it is metrically transformed from duple to triple meter, and the piano part is now quite active and pungently chromatic. While the viola plays an elongated version of the opening gesture, consisting of a descending open fifth, the piano counters with an ascending diminished fifth before falling into a chromatic descent for the remainder of each measure (see fig. 2.3).

Both the change to triple meter and the material in the piano directly reference the feminine second theme, which was presented in the first movement in three-four time and is almost entirely composed of descending chromatic lines (see fig. 2.2). These conversions effectively feminize the first theme.

---

\(^{55}\) Curtis, “Genre and Gender,” 401.

\(^{56}\) McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 69.

\(^{57}\) Curtis, “Gender and Genre,” 395.

\(^{58}\) Ibid., 396.

\(^{59}\) Ibid.
Clarke and the British Musical Renaissance

While Clarke’s experience as a woman certainly informed her compositional style, her position as a British composer of the early twentieth century was also extremely important. As noted in Chapter I, the British Musical Renaissance was in full force when Clarke was most active as a composer, and the influence of the movement is clear in her viola sonata. In his survey of Clarke’s chamber music, Calum MacDonald writes that the viola sonata shows Clarke’s “continuing love of English modality and folksong-inflected melody”. He suggests that this interest in English folk song was the result of her friendship with Ralph Vaughan Williams, who famously collected and composed adaptations of English folk music and early English art music. Vaughan Williams was especially interested in the modal features of some folk song, to the point where he may have overrepresented songs with modal tunes in his published collections of folk songs.

---

60 Clarke, 40.
62 MacDonald, 15.
Vaughan Williams saw modal folk song as the ideal basis for a British nationalist style of music because it differed so significantly from the prevailing tonal model of the Continental musical tradition. Julian Onderdonk writes in his article “Vaughan Williams and the Modes”: “[Vaughan Williams] did believe that...the modes offered the best means to demonstrate that folk song was ‘purely melodic’ in orientation - that it existed independent of and in a sense anterior to forms of music that were harmonic in conception.” In other words, British nationalism could be reflected in music by opposition to typical goal-oriented tonal procedures. This means that while Clarke’s use of modal writing may be seen as a feminine characteristic based on McClary’s framework, it is more likely that her interest in modality was spurred by her British identity rather than her female identity. For this reason the modal episodes in Clarke’s sonata are not included here as evidence of a feminist aesthetic. Additionally, Clarke’s main themes do not contain significant modal elements, effectively removing the question of mode from the discussion at hand.

Musicologist Laura Seddon brings up another specific circumstance of the British Musical Renaissance in her monograph British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century. Seddon argues that the sonata form as understood by Clarke and her British contemporaries differs significantly from the model used by McClary, and thus any gendered reading of instrumental sonatas from that time period is tenuous at best. In particular, the version of sonata form described by Clarke’s teacher Stanford did not emphasize the binary contrast between the first and second themes. Instead, “the second subject ought rather to be like a continuation of the trace of thought of the first.” Removing this binary contrast,

---

64 Ibid., 616.
65 Seddon, British Women Composers, 77.
66 Stanford, quoted in Seddon, British Women Composers, 78.
Seddon says, means that the duality of the sonata form is limited to abstract concepts of unity versus duality.\textsuperscript{67} Be this as it may, Clarke’s viola sonata does show explicit binary contrasts between the first and second theme, so it must be assumed that she is using the more traditional sonata form as her model.

\textsuperscript{67} Seddon, 78.
CHAPTER IV: THE HARRISON SONATA FOR VIOLA & PIANO

Harrison & Clarke: Similarities

In the previous chapter, it was established that Clarke’s *Sonata for Viola and Piano* can be seen as a reflection of her training with Stanford and the creative mood at the RCM in the early twentieth century, especially the influence of the folk song revival and Ralph Vaughan Williams. Additionally, Clarke’s gender does correlate with certain subversive gestures she incorporates into her use of the traditionally masculine genre of the instrumental sonata. This chapter will examine Pamela Harrison’s *Sonata for Viola and Piano* (1946) by comparing it to the analysis of the Clarke sonata laid out in the previous chapter. The first section of this chapter will enumerate the similarities between the Clarke sonata and the Harrison, and parse what this means for a gendered reading of the Harrison. It will begin by picking up where the previous chapter left off its discussion of Clarke by addressing the issue of the sonata form as it was understood by the influential teachers of the British Musical Renaissance. Does Harrison’s sonata fit the parameters of this version of sonata form? Does it share more similarities with the form than the Clarke Sonata, or fewer?

Stanford draws the attention of his students to the details of sonata form: the main theme is of vital importance as it is the basis of variation and it “should contain sufficient material to vary”; other demands he makes on the main theme are, “secondly, that it should have at least one striking feature; thirdly that it should be simple”. The first and second subjects should contrast “but not lose character”.  

68 Seddon draws the attention of his students to the details of sonata form: the main theme is of vital importance as it is the basis of variation and it “should contain sufficient material to vary”; other demands he makes on the main theme are, “secondly, that it should have at least one striking feature; thirdly that it should be simple”. The first and second subjects should contrast “but not lose character”.  

68 Seddon, *British Women Composers*, 78.

69 Ibid.

It is easy to see how well many of the formal features of Harrison’s viola sonata align with Seddon’s description of the British Musical Renaissance sonata. The first theme, which is comprised of two parts, *T1.1* and *T1.2*, has several “striking features”.  

First, the metric
alternation between duple and triple meter in both themes, reinforced by the harmonic rhythm in the piano, creates a distinct hypermetrical structure of 2+2+2+2+3 (see figs. 3.1 and 3.2). In addition, the melodic contour of T1.1 is distinctive enough that it can be transposed into several keys, some of which change the intervallic relationships in the original melody, while maintaining a clear identity. This feature of T1.1 fulfills another of Stanford’s requirements— it provides “sufficient material to vary”. Furthermore, T1.2 is also designed to provide “material to vary”: its structure is essentially cyclic, with constantly rising arpeggiation in the viola and major chords rising by whole steps in the piano.

![Fig. 4: “T1.1” Pamela Harrison, Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Moderato, mm. 1-5.](image)

![Fig. 5: “T1.2” Pamela Harrison, Sonata for Viola and Piano I. Moderato, mm. 18-21.](image)

In fact the middle section, comprised of T2.1 and T2.2, has a sense of physicality absent in the preceding material. This is due to the non-isochronous distribution of strong beats in this

---

70 Ibid.

71 Harrison, Sonata for Viola and Piano (PH Music, 2001), 1.

72 Ibid., 2.
section. For example, from mm. 98 to 113, the strong beats fall on the first and last beat of each common time measure, instead of the typical one and three or even two and four. Non-isochronous rhythms are most common in non-Western music; therefore this non-isochronous gesture in T2.2 can be seen as an indicator of "Otherness." In the interrelated semiotic codes of duality, it is known that the Other is also the feminine, and in turn, the feminine is the bodily. The unevenness of this section prompts an awareness of the body because it disrupts the "natural" flow of rhythm. For example, when we walk, we do not necessarily notice the motion of our feet - until we trip. Furthermore, the similarities between T2.1 and the Clarke sonata’s feminine theme cannot be denied, especially in terms of contour. Both themes descend for several beats in equal intervals; the Clarke in half-steps with an occasional augmented second, and the Harrison in whole-steps with two chromatic passing tones. The melody then pivots upward for a moment before falling again.

![Musical notation]

Fig. 6: “T2.1” Pamela Harrison, *Sonata for Viola and Piano, I. Moderato*, mm. 55-60.  

---

73 Harrison, 4.
As was noted in the previous chapter, the Clarke example can be seen as coded feminine in part because of its strong chromaticism, which contributes to tonal instability. Despite lacking the pungent chromaticism of the Clarke, the whole step motion in the Harrison can also be understood as feminine because of its evocation of a whole-tone scale. The history of the whole-tone scale and altered whole-tone scale as an Orientalist “sign” is outside of the scope of this document, but suffice to say that many scholars, including McClary and Treitler, convincingly associate Orientalism with The Other, and thus the feminine. Treitler quotes to great effect from Edward Said, author of perhaps the most important text on Orientalism, 1978’s *Orientalism*: “Orientalism is a praxis of the same sort…as male gender dominance, or patriarchy.

---

74 Ibid., 6.
75 According to the Grove article on musical mode, 19th-century Orientalist style music by Western composers was “usually chromatic or based on a whole-tone scale in its specifically melodic inflection,” (Harold S Powers, et al., “Mode,” *Grove Music Online*).
76 McClary, 63 and Treitler, 30.
in metropolitan societies: the Orient was routinely described as feminine, its riches as fertile, its main symbols the sensual woman, the harem, and the despotic - but curiously attractive - ruler.”

Treitler adds that he feels that “the two are not only of the same sort, they are the same myth, differently peopled.” Furthermore, the whole tone scale serves the same harmonic purpose as the chromatic scale: it destabilizes the tonal center. The symmetry of both scales make it impossible to discern harmonic “thrust” and thus the music loses the drive for “closure” inherent in typical tonal harmony.

**Departures from the Clarke sonata**

As in the Clarke sonata, the first theme of the first movement returns in the final moments of the last movement of the Harrison. Again, this can been seen as the masculine theme asserting dominance over the feminine theme. However, in the Harrison, the return to the first theme is not significantly subverted by the material of the second theme. In fact, the ending is a clear, triumphant reiteration of the first theme in A mixolydian, ending on an A major triad. This is reflected in the form of the first movement, which, unlike the Clarke, also follows traditional sonata form closely. The final recapitulation in this movement is marked *fortissimo* and also lands squarely on an A major triad - almost the complete opposite of the first movement of Clarke, where the ending material, based on the second theme, is *piano* and never returns to the key area of the first theme.

Though Harrison does not “subvert the sonata form itself” in the same ways as Clarke, certain features of her sonata can be seen as subversive gestures. Furthermore, her sonata also conforms to several of Rieger’s characteristics of feminine aesthetics. To begin, Harrison’s

---

78 Treitler, 30.
sonata, like Clarke’s, displays “restricted aesthetics” in her repetition of a few basic themes throughout the work. All of the themes introduced in the first movement recur in the following movements in various guises, showing Harrison’s concern with crafting a self-contained and self-generating piece. More importantly for this analysis, however, is Rieger’s assertion that women composers work with time in specific ways. In her explanation of her fifth point (women composers “often strive to eliminate binary contrasts“) Rieger writes that women composers often seek to erase the binary contrast of past and present by displaying a “cyclic preference” in their music, instead of conforming to the typical “straight-forward line preferred by many men.” This section will provide specific examples of this type of writing in Harrison’s sonata.

\[\text{Fig. 8: Author’s analysis of Pamela Harrison,} \text{ Sonata for Viola and Piano: I. Moderato}\]

The first theme, \text{T1.1}/T1.2, was identified previously as the “masculine” primary theme, and \text{T2.1}/T2.2 as the secondary “feminine” theme. While the analysis of \text{T2.1}/T2.2 as “feminine”

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{Rieger2019} Rieger, “Do Women Compose Differently?” 1419.} \]
\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{Rieger2019} Ibid.} \]
and “oriental” in character due to its harmonic and rhythmic features is fairly straightforward and holds up well to scrutiny, T1.1/T1.2 is not as easy to categorize. The first iteration of T1.1 in mm. 1-5 of the first movement, for example, is not in A mixolydian; instead it appears in A dorian. Both parts are marked mezzo forte. However, when the theme is reiterated in mm. 9-13, it is in D major and marked forte. This key change is not strictly harmonic; the opening half-step gesture (C-B-C) is also transformed into whole-steps (F#-E-F#), though the contour remains the same. The whole-step version of T1.1 is the only version that appears for some thirty measures. As stated above, the movement (and the entire sonata) ends on an A major triad and uses the whole-step version of the theme; does this mean that the whole-step version of the theme is the “real” first theme? It is certainly stronger and more decisive than the A dorian version in the opening bars. However, the half-step version of T1.1 is restated right before the transition into T2.1. The way this version of the theme frames the opening statement of T1.1 and T1.2 suggests that this is the generative, definitive version of the theme.

With these characteristics of T1.1 in mind (quieter dynamic, modal instead of tonal harmony, non-isochronous meter and hypermeter), let us attempt to assign a gender to this theme. The implications of non-isochronous meter have already been discussed in this chapter, so a feminine identity must be assigned to the rhythmic language of this passage. Curtis also identifies “hushed dynamics” as a characteristic of the feminine theme; this certainly applies to both half-step versions of T1.1. According to McClary, the masculine theme should be “concerned with closure” and constantly strive toward a strong tonal resolution. As discussed in Chapter III, modal writing tends to privilege melody over tonal progress. While modal writing in of itself is not necessarily indicative of feminine qualities and could instead be understood as a

---

81 Curtis, “Gender and Genre,” 400.
82 McClary, Feminine Endings, 68.
nationalistic tactic when used by British composers, Harrison also chooses to end each iteration of the theme with an unexpected modulation, which is then taken up by the piano; the first version of \textit{T1.1} modulates to D$\#$ minor in the piano at m. 5, and to a fragmented G major 7th chord with an augmented 5th in m. 48. Due to this total disregard for tonal closure, the harmonic language of this theme can be considered “feminine” according to McClary’s terms.

Reading \textit{T1.2} as masculine is also a fraught proposition. This theme’s most defining characteristic is its ability to constantly generate material. Of course, the connection between generative ability and women is as ancient as human speech. “The creative powers of women,” Rieger writes, “are experienced in their own bodies.” In other words, women have been the generative sex, socially and biologically, for millenia, and this is reflected in their music. In \textit{T1.2} the rising arpeggiation in the viola can continue indefinitely; it has no foreseeable harmonic goal. This effect is amplified by the ascending major triads in the piano, which also lack any sense of tonal harmony due to their constant modulation. \textit{T1.2} is the kind of material which McClary might call “timeless, sustained hovering” that is characteristic of a female compositional voice.

Given these distinct feminine features of \textit{T1.1} and \textit{T1.2}, the first theme of the Harrison sonata is, in McClary’s terms, a female protagonist. This is in direct contradiction to the aggressively male protagonist of the Clarke sonata. In fact, it could be said that the “feminization” of the male protagonist in the Clarke has a mirror-image counterpart in the Harrison. The final affirmations of \textit{T1.1} in the first and last movements of the Harrison are marked \textit{fortissimo}, are built on the whole-step version of the melody, and end on a decisive A major triad. These alterations can be considered a “masculinization” of the theme which is

---

84 McClary, \textit{Feminine Endings}, 125.
necessary to satisfy the need for closure inherent in the sonata form. In this way, Harrison does not so much subvert the sonata form but rather reaffirms it in a surprisingly violent statement.
V. CONCLUSIONS

Clarke vs. Harrison: Subversions, Inversions, and Reiterations

Clarke and Harrison, though they came from different generations, were both subject to the constraints of being a female in a predominantly male profession. Contemporary listeners were fascinated by the ways in which their music subverted or reiterated social perceptions of women. A 1925 review by the Daily Mail proclaimed Clarke “the equal of several of the known young men of music”, while the Star wrote that she had “a strong right arm”. In short, Clarke’s music was surprisingly masculine and did not betray her female identity. This was surprising and thus noteworthy to critics of the time.

Reviewers’ perception of Clarke as having masculine qualities is relevant to the conclusions of this document because of the way I have shown that Clarke subtly manipulates the male-oriented sonata form. She plays by the rules - the masculine protagonist struggles against the feminine Other and ultimately seems to succeed in quashing the second theme’s seductive allure - but the final triumph of the masculine theme is belied by the intrusion of feminine elements.

The title of this paper comes from a short review of Harrison’s Lament for viola and piano which appeared in the Musical Times in 1966. Peter Dickinson offers this assessment of the work: “Pamela Harrison’s Lament for viola and piano is tentative and feminine; David Barlow’s Siciliana has more range.” Even more recent critics have used language that implies that Harrison’s music is light or insubstantial; Elaine Fine calls Harrison’s sonata “sprightly” in her review of Hillary Herndon’s 2013 recording. In the context of my reading of Harrison’s

---

sonata, this tendency makes perfect sense. Her feminine compositional aesthetics are clearly displayed throughout her sonata, but instead of reclaiming these aesthetics in order to “redefine” them, she allows the male-centered narrative of traditional sonata form to take over in the end. The stark contrast between the femininity of both the first and second themes and their ultimate masculine resolution makes the bulk of the sonata seem particularly effeminate.

**Performance Applications**

The central question of any musical analysis is “why does this matter?” As musicians, we are taught early on that tonal analysis helps us craft convincing performances; at the most basic level, if we understand that the dominant wants to resolve to the tonic, we can shape our phrases accordingly. When it comes to what we now call “early music”, illuminating historical and cultural contexts is also considered essential for an “authentic” performance. Though the early twentieth century seems not so far removed from our current cultural situation, I would suggest that understanding the cultural forces that shaped the Clarke and Harrison sonatas can also usefully inform the way we perform these works. To conclude this paper I will give a few specific examples of how a gendered analysis might be applied in performance.

In the Clarke sonata, her feminization of the masculine theme in the last movement can be reinforced by several interpretive choices. First, both the violist and pianist should emphasize the first beat of each 3/2 bar in order to give a strong sense of meter. In addition, the marked *animando* should be fast enough so that the meter almost feels like 3/4 instead of 6/8. The chromaticism in the piano should also be brought to the front; in fact, the viola part should be treated like an accompaniment to the material in the piano.

Similarly, Harrison’s masculinization of her feminine theme will be clearer if the performers pay special attention to the tonal features of its final iteration. For example, the
opening half step gesture’s transformation to a whole step gesture can be emphasized by widening the whole step interval in the viola. The contrast between the feminine character of most of the work and the final masculine declaration can also be heightened by increased dynamic contrast; the last several bars are marked triple forte, so the players should take all other dynamics in the sonata as being exponentially less than this dynamic. In short, performers should save the absolute top of their dynamic range for the very last measure.

These are just a few of the performance applications that can be extracted from a gendered analysis of these works. I hope that this document proves to be a jumping-off point for other scholars to explore the social context and implications of Harrison’s music in particular. Her output is ripe for its own “mini-revival”, and her viola sonata is just one of her many complex and fascinating compositions.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


“Marriages September 1943 - Harrison, Pamela.” FreeBMD.org.uk. http://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=XDL Ao3bnnG3%2Fe7Gz3z40tg&scan=1


“Pamela Harrison: Composer.” *Pamela Harrison: Composer*. http://www.pamelaharrison.co.uk


