

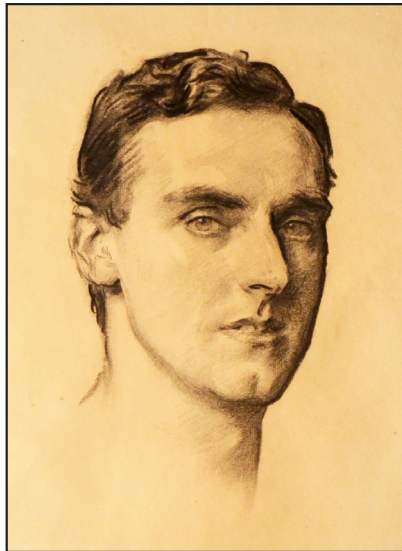
GUEST FEATURE CONTRIBUTION

## Music Composed during the Gallipoli Campaign in F.S. Kelly's Newly Discovered Wartime Diaries

*Thérèse Radic*

---

**Figure 1.** Portrait of Frederick Septimus Kelly in charcoal by John Singer Sargent, 1915. Image courtesy of Kevin Gordon, <kevingordonportraits.com>.



Frederick Septimus Kelly (1881–1916) was thirty-five when he was killed in action at Beaucourt-sur-l'Ancre, France on 13 November 1916. He had already made his mark in London, establishing a reputation as a pianist, composer, conductor and patron of music. As an oarsman he won Olympic gold for Britain (see Fig. 2), for all that he was an Australian of Irish extraction. As an officer in the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserves (RNVR), he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for 'conspicuous gallantry' during the evacuation of the

**Figure 2.** The British Olympic 1908 rowing team wearing their gold medals. Kelly is standing on the far left. Image © River & Rowing Museum, Henley-on-Thames.



Gallipoli Peninsula in January 1916 (see Fig. 3). His remarkable set of diaries, held by the National Library of Australia (NLA), record a privileged life led against the background of Edwardian high society.<sup>1</sup> Music was its focus. It ends abruptly in a violent death for King and country—a country not even his own.

**Figure 3.** Kelly's medals, left to right: Distinguished Service Cross, G.V.R., 1914–15 Star (Ty. Lieut. F.S. Kelly, D.S.C., R.N.V.R.); British War and Victory Medals, M.I.D. oak leaf (Lt. Commr. F.S. Kelly, R.N.V.R.), London Olympics 1908 commemorative medallion. Image courtesy of Dix Noonan Webb Ltd.



Kelly was the product of Empire: loyal to established values, King, country, and class. In 1911 he made his public debut as a pianist in Sydney, where his family lived. He returned to London to turn professional after years as a *grand amateur*, heard only in the stately homes of his well-connected friends gained at Eton and Balliol. Kelly inherited wealth; his father was

<sup>1</sup> According to John Buchan, Kelly's diaries began on 21 December 1906 and ended on 12 November 1916, the day before he died. See, John Buchan, ed., *Balliol College Memorial Book 1914–1919*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Balliol College, 1924). The volumes held in the National Library of Australia (NLA) begin on 1 October 1907 and end on 29 April 1915. This suggests that two volumes are missing (the first and the last) from the NLA's holdings, though the copy of Arthur Asquith's typescript of the edited-but-still-missing final wartime diary and a recently acquired fragment in Kelly's hand from within the diary or diaries can now fill in part of the gap. They have now been added to the NLA Kelly collection. Edward Speyer attributes the entry in the *Balliol College Memorial Book* to Kelly's close friend, the pianist Leonard Borwick. See Edward Speyer, *My Life and Friends* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1937), 118.

a mining magnate. He knew all the right people and had access to power and influence. He was the life and soul of any house party: witty, engaging and invited everywhere.

At twenty-two, worried that his money would make him ineffectual, he decided to devote himself to composition. To that end, between 1903 and 1908, he studied piano under Ernst Engesser and composition with Iwan (Ivan) Knorr at Das Hoch'sche Konservatorium at Frankfurt am Main. He was to leave a small but substantial legacy of songs, works for piano, chamber groupings, and orchestra. Two symphonies and an opera were contemplated but not realised. Time ran out.

When the legendary Antoine Marmontel offered to take the fourteen year old to Paris as his protégé, Kelly's father forbade it. The boy took to rowing as a form of consolation.<sup>2</sup> In 1900 he 'went up' to Oxford as the Lewis Nettleship musical scholar, mentored by (Sir) Donald Francis Tovey.<sup>3</sup> They had a close if troubled relationship.

**Figure 4.** A 1903 portrait published in 1916 in *British Sports and Sportsmen: Yachting and Rowing*. Image courtesy of George Newlands, McLaren Books.



With Frankfurt and the Sydney debut behind him, Kelly took on London in 1912. He gave recitals at Aeolian Hall, and concerto appearances at Queen's Hall with Sir George Henschel and the London Symphony Orchestra and later with the Queens Hall Orchestra under Sir Henry Wood. He also conducted for violinist Jelly d'Arányi<sup>4</sup> and cellist Pablo Casals. Kelly seemed about to launch a new career as a patron when he became chairman of the influential Classical Concert Society. Then, in 1913, he sponsored a visit by Maurice Ravel to London, appearing with him at Bechstein Hall. War intervened. He volunteered, serving with the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserves's Hood Battalion<sup>5</sup> at Gallipoli and on the Somme where he was shot

<sup>2</sup> Buchan, *Balliol College Memorial Book*, 314.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Donald Francis Tovey (1875–1940) composed some works as exchanges with Kelly. See, Mary Grierson, *Donald Francis Tovey: A Biography Based on Letters* (London: OUP, 1952), 114–15.

<sup>4</sup> Jelly d'Arányi de Hunyadvár (1893–1966) was said to be in love with Kelly, and was involved in Kelly memorial concerts after his death. Referred to in the diaries as 'Jelly' and 'Jelly Arangi.'

<sup>5</sup> When it became apparent that the war was to be fought on land rather than at sea as had been expected, the RNVR became land-based and its members fought as soldiers.

in the head leading a successful attack on a German machine gun post. He is buried in the Martinsart British Cemetery in France—the only Australian there. Memorial concerts of his work soon petered out. Until very recently, the rest was silence.<sup>6</sup>

The 1907–1915 Kelly diaries held by the NLA consist of eight quarto volumes bound in half red morocco with gilt lettering. Some 2,600 pages overall contain daily entries copiously interspersed with musical extracts and ideas for compositions. The diaries open with the entry for 1 October 1907, at Frankfurt am Main, and end aboard HMT *Grantully Castle* off Cape Helles, on 29 April 1915 as the Gallipoli campaign begins. They are held as MS 6050. These diaries, in my edited form, were published by the NLA in 2004 as *Race Against Time*. This was only a fraction of the originals. These eight volumes may have been preceded by a further volume dating from 1905–6. There are indications in musical sketches that Kelly travelled during this time, sailing from Frankfurt to the Bay of Bengal, China and Japan, and there is a sketch of a work inspired by a Burmese Kyi-waing.<sup>7</sup> These peacetime diaries were acquired by the NLA in 1979 from the antiquarian book-dealing firm of Henry Bristow Ltd of Dorset, England. The offer of sale included a description of Kelly, quoting the British *Dictionary of National Biography*, which claimed him to be English: ‘one of the most promising English musicians of his day ... and one of the greatest scullers of all time.’<sup>8</sup> This discounted the fact that Kelly was born and bred in Sydney.

Toward the end of the publication process of *Race Against Time*, Christopher Page, the author of *Command in the Royal Naval Division: A Military Biography of Brigadier General A.M. Asquith DSO*,<sup>9</sup> sent the NLA a copy of a typescript of Kelly’s wartime diaries. He had discovered this during his research into the life of Arthur Melland Asquith, a friend and fellow officer of Kelly, and son of the wartime British Prime Minister, Herbert Henry Asquith. The original is held by John Rous, grandson of Arthur Melland and great grandson of Herbert Henry. A further copy was sent to me by the library asking if I wished to add it to *Race Against Time*. Uncertain of its authenticity, I chose not to do this and set the typescript aside for further study. With the commemoration of WWI events looming, I looked at the typescript again and decided it should be published, with the 1914 enlistment extracts from *Race Against Time* acting as a curtain raiser.

In 2014, as this amalgam was nearing completion, the NLA bought a further Kelly war diary (see Fig. 5) from the broker Larry Hutchinson of Dunfermline, UK. It had taken ninety-eight years for this diary to resurface in the public domain. It is now housed as MS Acc 13.201. The writing matches the earlier diaries and consists of a half quarto size volume with ‘Sketches’ gold embossed on the maroon leather binding. It is a book sold for

<sup>6</sup> Most of Kelly’s music has been republished through the philanthropic Marshall-Hall Trust, Melbourne, and is available on request. For further biographical information, see: Thérèse Radic, ‘Introduction,’ *Race Against Time: The Diaries of F.S. Kelly* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2004), 5–70. (The first set of diaries can be seen in the photograph on page 72 of that book); John Carmody, ‘Kelly, Frederick Septimus (1881–1916),’ *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: MUP, 1983); Rhian Davies, ‘Kelly, Frederick Septimus,’ *Grove Music Online*, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com); Thérèse Radic, ‘Editing the Diaries of F.S. Kelly: Unique Insights into an Expatriate’s Musical Career,’ *Context: Journal of Music Research* 19 (2000): 19–33; Thérèse Radic, ‘Race Against Time,’ *The National Library of Australia News* 15.1 (2004): 11–13.

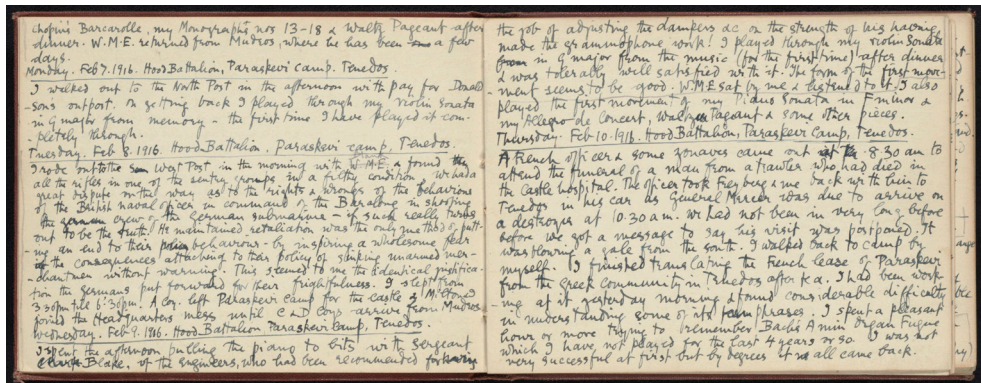
<sup>7</sup> F.S. Kelly Collection, NLA MS 6050 Box 3.

<sup>8</sup> Harold Brewer Hartley, ‘Frederick Septimus Kelly,’ *Dictionary of National Biography 1912–1921*, ed. H.W.C. Davis and J.R.H. Weaver (Oxford: OUP, 1927), 301–2.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Page, *Command in the Royal Naval Division: A Military Biography of Brigadier General A.M. Asquith DSO* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1999).



**Figure 5.** Extract from the recently discovered wartime diary of F.S. Kelly, dated February 1916. Image courtesy of National Library of Australia, MS Acc13.201.



sketching, not writing, and bears the imprint of 'JW and Co, London.' This was Williams and Co.'s drawing book, 'Artist's Sketch book No.2. Suitable for pen and ink and watercolour drawing.' There are sixty-two pages with pencilled notes in Arthur Asquith's hand with the entries running from 6 February 1916 to 8 April 1916. It would seem that at one stage, possibly in 1920, Asquith had Kelly's war dairies in his possession with a view to editing them for publication. He states in the preface to the typescript that Kelly's sister Maisie had 'placed at my disposal his diaries for the period 16 September 1914 until 11 November 1916. These diaries are contained in one thick leather bound volume [presumably the eighth of the NLA quarto set] and in seven pocket sketch books and were written in ink by him, usually from day-to-day.'<sup>10</sup> A single book from such a set would fit neatly into an officer's tunic pocket and be protected by the flap. The markings in this diary match those in the typescript, validating it. The dating sits inside that of the typescript. It enlarges on the cut envisaged by Asquith, whose aim seems to have been to produce an edit focused on the war, omitting the social data.

Nothing is known of what became of the other diaries, nor indeed of any further quarto-sized diaries which may have preceded the first 1907 entry. The NLA volumes, however, begin in an assured and practised manner, indicating that they continued a long established habit. The NLA also holds published and unpublished original Kelly scores and sketches as MS 3095, donated in 1974 by Beatrice Jane McPhillamy, Kelly's niece.

I was in negotiation with a publisher in the UK to produce my amalgamated version of the wartime typescript and diary fragment, when these were published as *Kelly's War: The Great War Diary of Frederick Septimus Kelly* edited by Jon Cooksy and Graham McKechnie.<sup>11</sup> I had hesitated too long.

Who was Kelly? To look at: medium height, a brooding face, dark hair already receding, a muscular body. What else? The pianist Leonard Borwick wrote of him: 'His exuberance and directness, and his passion for argument, brought him critics as well as friends, as did his habit of violent and uncontrolled merriment at inconvenient or even inappropriate moments; but in

<sup>10</sup> Arthur Asquith's preface to the typescript of the lost wartime dairy of F.S. Kelly, NLA MS Acc 13.201.

<sup>11</sup> Jon Cooksy and Graham McKechnie, eds, *Kelly's War: The Great War Diary of Frederick Septimus Kelly* (London: Blink Publishing, 2015).

the hearts of those who appreciated him he occupied a unique place. No one knew better how to extract the last ounce out of life; and his abundant vitality seldom slackened.’<sup>12</sup>

Kelly’s fellow officer, Arthur Asquith, reinforced this: ‘As a companion, his joy of life and his white-hot enthusiasm in discussing subjects abstract and personal, communicated themselves electrically to those with whom he lived. He was contentious, always happiest in argument; interested in the psychology of his friends, highly critical of them, and warm-heartedly loyal to them; and violently intolerant of anything that bore the faintest tinge of cheapness, insincerity, pretentiousness or bad manners.’

Kelly’s music entries in the wartime diary typescript can be grouped under four headings: his engagement with music for the troops (including the regimental band, groups of singers and the song book he had printed for their use); entertaining the officers’ mess; the resumption of London concert life while on leave; and his compositions written on the battlefield and while on furlough (their genesis and ongoing performance and publication). The first three get only a cursory glance in this article. Of the wartime compositions, just two—*The Elegy in Memoriam Rupert Brooke* and the Violin Sonata in G Major known as the ‘Gallipoli’ Sonata—will be looked at in any detail and then with an eye to establishing their provenance, not their internal or external architecture.

Kelly’s *Elegy in Memoriam Rupert Brooke*<sup>13</sup> (see Fig. 6) has its genesis in the poet’s untimely death and the composer’s part in his burial on the island of Skyros on 23 April 1915 as the friends—both naval officers—were preparing for the Hood Battalion’s landing at Gallipoli.<sup>14</sup> On 21 May, with the nine-minute work for string orchestra and harp still forming in his mind, Kelly wrote in his diary: ‘The modal character of the music seems to be suggested by the Greek surroundings as well as Rupert’s character, some passage work by the rustling of the olive tree which bends over his grave.’<sup>15</sup>

Wounded at Gallipoli—he was shot in the heel—Kelly completed notating the *Elegy* on 27 June while he was recuperating in Alexandria.<sup>16</sup> ‘It is,’ he wrote two days later, ‘so entirely bound up with Rupert Brooke and the circumstances of his burial that in a sense I feel myself the chronicler of its ideas rather than the composer ... The work is a true portrayal of my feelings on that night—the passionless simplicity of the surroundings with occasionally a note of personal anguish.’<sup>17</sup>

On leave in London, Kelly played the *Elegy* as a piano short score on 7 March 1916 at 10 Downing St. He later played it for the Gallipoli commander, General Sir Ian Hamilton, and again for his friend the pianist Leonard Borwick who suggested the addition of a harp part. Kelly demurred, but on 2 October at Mesnil, less than a month before his death at Beaucourt-sur-l’Ancre in the last phase of the battle of the Somme, he wrote the part and posted it back to Borwick. It was later incorporated in the 1926 edition of the work. The *Elegy* had its first

<sup>12</sup> Leonard Borwick (1868–1925) studied at the Hoch Conservatory, Frankfurt, where Kelly also studied at a later date. He is referred to in the diaries as L.B.

<sup>13</sup> Rupert Chawner Brooke (1887–1915) is referred to in the diaries as R. Brooke.

<sup>14</sup> Radic, *Race Against Time*, 381.

<sup>15</sup> Asquith typescript, entry for 21 May 1915.

<sup>16</sup> Kelly was at Gallipoli twice but wounded only once, despite claims to the contrary. He was one of the last to leave.

<sup>17</sup> Asquith typescript, entry for 29 June 1915.

**Figure 6.** First page of F.S. Kelly's *Elegy in Memoriam Rupert Brooke* (London: Edwin Ashdown, 1926). Image courtesy of National Library of Australia, MS-3095.

**ELEGY.**

F S. KELLY.

Lento.

SOLO VIOLIN.

6 VIOLINS.

6 VIOLINS.

6 VIOLINS.

6 VIOLINS.

4 VIOLAS.

4 VIOLAS.

4 CELLOS.

4 CELLOS.

4 DOUBLE BASSES.

HARP.

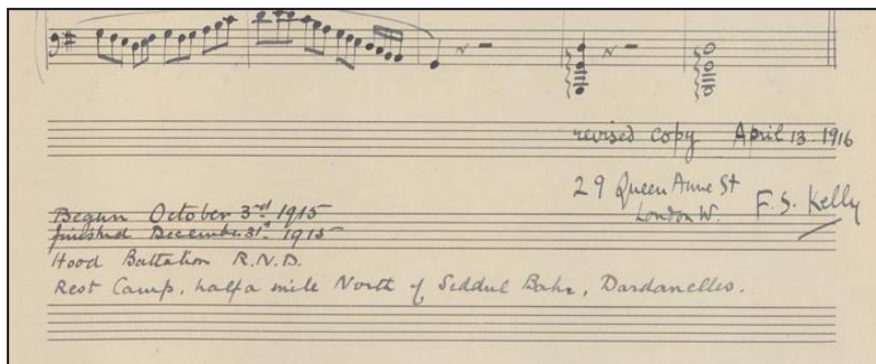
Copyright MCMXXVI by M. Kelly. E. A. 058

orchestrally realised performance in the Rugby School Speech Room on 28 March 1919, with Frank Bridge (1879–1941) conducting, at a memorial concert for Rupert Brooke.

Kelly's Violin Sonata was also composed during the Gallipoli campaign along with several other works, as indicated in the diary entries below. The library of the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Germany, holds the last known revised score of the sonata, a thirty-five page manuscript in Kelly's hand in a surround of blank pages. It consists of three movements: Allegro non troppo, Adagio con moto, and Ground. Allegro non troppo. On the last page (see Fig. 7) Kelly has written: 'revised copy April 13 1916. 29 Queen Anne St London W. F.S. Kelly. Begun October 3rd 1915 finished December 31st 1915 Hood Battalion R.N.D, Rest Camp, half a mile North of Siddul Bahr, Dardenelles.' The title page holds the words 'To Jelly d'Arányi,' also in Kelly's handwriting, confirming that he wrote this work with the violinist in mind. It appears to be a dedication.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The full MMS is online at <[sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/musikhs/content/pageview/6802849](http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/musikhs/content/pageview/6802849)>.

**Figure 7.** Final page of F.S. Kelly's Violin Sonata. Image courtesy of Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek J.C. Senckenberg, Mus. Hs. 2394.



The Violin Sonata, now known as the 'Gallipoli' Sonata, is first mentioned in Kelly's wartime diary entry for 28 August 1915 and comes as a casual note at the end of a dramatic day. It is implied that the sonata was already in train prior to this. The context of these 'mentions' reveals the circumstances in which the work was produced.

SATURDAY, August 28, 1915. Hood Battalion, Support trench behind 'Worcester Flats'.

*A Hood Officer carried out a reconnaissance in the night (Friday–Saturday) by crawling out alone to a Turkish trench forty yards away where they knew digging had been going on.<sup>19</sup> He first of all came on what he was sure was a man asleep and whom it was imperative to deal with if he wished to carry his investigations further. Having decided he couldn't murder him in cold blood he reached down to take him prisoner—and found it was a corpse! The rest of the trench only contained dead bodies. On his way back he was nearly attacked by one of his own men with a pickaxe. His little adventure was strictly against orders, but, like other forbidden things, as it was successfully carried out, he got nothing but praise from the authorities. The Drake scouts further down the line to the right were also sent out and found the first Turkish trench empty.<sup>20</sup> B. Company were relieved in the firing line at 2 p.m. and moved down to the support trench. I did some work at my new Violin Sonata in G major.*

It is two months before it appears again:

MONDAY, October 4, 1915. Hood Battalion, Base Camp, near D.H.Q. Cape Helles.

*Two of our Officers provided a great luxury for dinner in the shape of seven fish of about three quarters of a lb. each, which they had bombed. Freyberg<sup>21</sup> and Egerton<sup>22</sup> dined in our mess. We now have a cook who is somewhat of an artist and I felt quite proud of the menu—soup, fried fish, fried steak and onions, jelly and stewed prunes and savoury (gentleman's relish on toast), Vermouth, French red wine, beer, orange curacao and coffee! I was rather hung up with the first movement of my Violin Sonata and had to give the matter some hard thought to get the details right.*

<sup>19</sup> Kelly is possibly describing himself here.

<sup>20</sup> Drake was a RNVR battalion.

<sup>21</sup> Lieutenant General Sir Bernard Cyril Freyberg VC, GCMG, KCB, KBE, DSO & Three Bars, KStJ, VC NZ (1889–1963) was in Hood Battalion with Kelly. His name appears frequently in the Kelly diaries where he is referred to as 'B. Freyberg' or 'Freyberg.'

<sup>22</sup> William Markham le Clerc Egerton (1883–1969) is referred to by Kelly as Adjutant to the Hood. He is usually referred to in the diaries by the initials W.M.E.



MONDAY, October 18, 1915. Hood Battalion, Base camp, near D.H.Q.

*I went up to our new winter camp area with Freyberg, A.M.A.,<sup>23</sup> and W.M. Egerton after breakfast and we discussed the arrangement of the various dug-outs. On our way back Egerton and I saw two more triangles of what looked like flighting storks, winding their way south and the air was full of their rich cackle. On reaching the end of the Peninsula they seemed to make across to Asia instead of continuing on their course. I slept from 2 till tea time and then went on with the first movement of my violin sonata.*

SUNDAY, November 28, 1915. Hood Battalion, Rest Camp, X Beach, N.E. of Cape Tepe.

*I was obliged to leave my dugout about 3 a.m. when I found it was sleeting. The North wind blew a gale all day and it was bitterly cold. It was sleeting nearly all day. I worked a little at the slow movement of my G. Major Violin sonata. I heard several days later that one of these nights there were 20 degrees of frost.*

MONDAY, December 13, 1915. Hood Battalion, Rest Camp, X Beach, N.E. of Cape Tepe.

*It was another mild day. The tie for the final of the R.N.D. cup between Hood and Anson were played off at 2 p.m. and resulted in a win for Anson 5–0. I did a little work at the slow movement of my Violin Sonata in G major after tea. Freyberg is experiencing a great wave of energy in his determination to bring the battalion to a great state of efficiency and some toes have already been trodden on.*

THURSDAY, December 16, 1915. Hood Battalion, Rest Camp, X Beach, N.E. of Cape Tepe.

*I began the morning with a bathe just below the camp. I wrote several letters and before dinner I did a little work at my G major Violin (2nd movement). I very nearly came to an end at ten a.m. I was talking with Heald<sup>24</sup> when a shell pitched in a dugout occupied by Officers' servants about thirty five yards away. We went along to lend assistance to a few men who were wounded and as we stood there a second shell pitched and exploded a couple of yards away from me, covering my face with earth—which stung a good deal. I only received a scratch on my neck.*

SUNDAY, December 19, 1915. Hood Battalion, New Camp in French Area, high ground half a mile N.E. of Seddul Bahr.

*I heard that they had carried out a successful evacuation of Suvla last night, and that Anzac was to be evacuated tonight. There is much speculation as to whether we shall evacuate this end of the Peninsula. My feeling is that we ought to stay. Oddly enough I dreamt last night that a French Officer told me the whole of the forces were leaving here—not, however, for good but to give everyone a fortnight's holiday. In vain I protested it would be unwise to throw away nine months' work if we were going to return and should have to make the landing over again. He assured me all arrangements had been made for returning and anticipated no difficulty!*

*I worked at the slow movement of G major Violin Sonata after tea.*

TUESDAY, December 21, 1915. Hood Battalion, New Camp in French Area, high ground half a mile N.E. of Seddul Bahr.

*A south wind had sprung up during the night and it was blowing pretty hard all the morning. Rain came about midday and a very heavy shower washed out all uncovered lines. 3 Company's lines were very wet and I got leave to shift them to unoccupied covered lines belonging to the*

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Melland Asquith (1883–1939). Asquith and Kelly were both officers of the Hood Battalion. He is referred to in the diaries as A.M.A.

<sup>24</sup> Ivan Shackelton Heald (1884–1915) joined the Hood Battalion in 1915 as a Sub-Lieutenant RNVR. He is referred to in the diaries as 'Heald' or 'I. Heald' or 'Ivan Heald.'

*Londons, who do not come down from the trenches till tomorrow. I spent nearly my whole day writing down the ground (last movement) of my G major Violin Sonata.*

This G Major Violin Sonata is not the only violin sonata Kelly claims he conceived at the Gallipoli front. There was another in B minor. On 16 September 1915 in an entry headed 'General Headquarter, Imbros' he wrote, 'I had a new violin sonata in my head in B minor.'

TUESDAY, December 28, 1915. Hood Battalion, Right Sector, facing Kerevez Dare.

*It was a nice sunny day. Our lines were shelled pretty badly again and our Sergeant major, C.P.O. [Command Post Officer] R.D. Walker, recently my C.P.O. in B Company was literally blown to pieces in a communication trench. He was a very good man and I felt sorry at his loss ... I got ideas for third and fourth movements to my B minor Violin Sonata, No. 2.*

With evacuation from Gallipoli at hand, Kelly records how his music manuscripts were sent to safety.

FRIDAY, December 31, 1915. Hood Battalion Rest Camp, E. of Seddul Bahr.

*Every sign seems to point to an evacuation—suspicious notices coming round as to all Officers['] gear having to be ready at a moment's notice and parties being sent to the trenches to take stock of the main communications and to block all trenches leading off them.*

*I spent the morning and afternoon working on the last movement of my G Major Violin Sonata and had the satisfaction of finishing it at tea time. It has been rather a race against time as I was anxious to get it packed up and sent off with my gear—which might, for all I know, be called for at any moment. The gear left at 6.30 p.m. and I had put my manuscripts in the top of my tin box, but Freyberg very considerably suggested I should put them in the Orderly Room strong box, which is going off in the charge of two men. So there they went, the Violin Sonata and a red book containing the E minor piece I wrote at the Crystal Palace, two Organ Preludes, a setting of C. Smart's 'He sang of God, the mighty source of all things', and a revision of my early song, 'Rough wind, that moanest loud'. I am not displeased with the violin sonata, but its ideas are neither as distinguished nor as original as I should like. Perhaps distinction and originality are more likely qualities in forms in which one is most accustomed to write. I am still serving my apprenticeship in sonata form but in lyric form I feel I have every now and then said something good and original, e.g. my Monographs in E flat major, B minor, C minor and my studies in E major, F major and D minor. I had no time to put in phrasing nor expression marks and the indications of tempo are of the scantiest. As the Officers' gear was being piled on limbers there were the first rustlings of a North wind, which seemed by the thick clouds it was bringing, to prelude the break-up of the still warm weather we have been enjoying. I am filled with forebodings as to our safety if we really are carrying out an evacuation. A really bad spell of weather might mean a disaster. As I write the wind is increasing.*

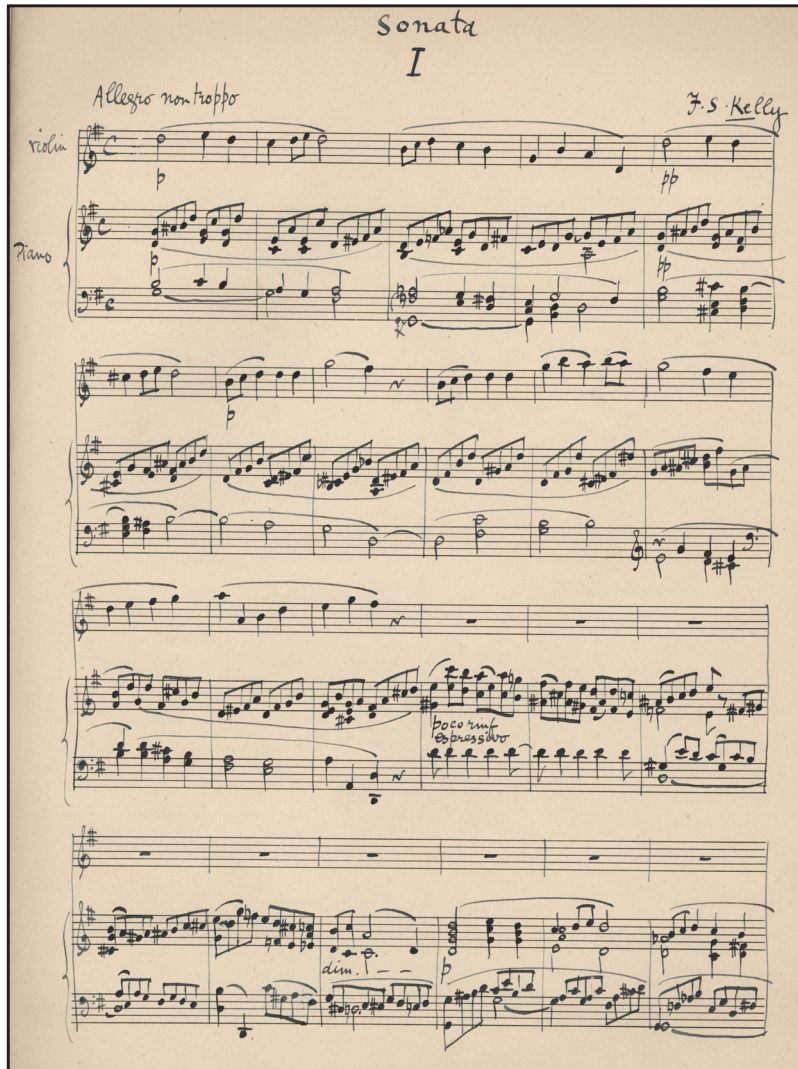
In February 1916, Kelly was able to play through the Violin Sonata for the first time:

MONDAY, February 7, 1916. Hood Battalion, Paraskevi Camp, Tenedos.

*I walked out to the North Post in the afternoon with pay for Donaldson's outpost. On getting back I played through my violin Sonata in G major from memory—the first time I have played it completely through.*

The G Major Violin Sonata found its way onto paper only on 28 February 1916 when Kelly was aboard ship sailing through the Mediterranean en route to England before being posted to France and the Somme (see Fig. 8 and Fig. 9).

**Figure 8.** First page of F.S. Kelly's Violin Sonata. Image courtesy of Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek J.C. Senckenberg, Mus. Hs. 2394.



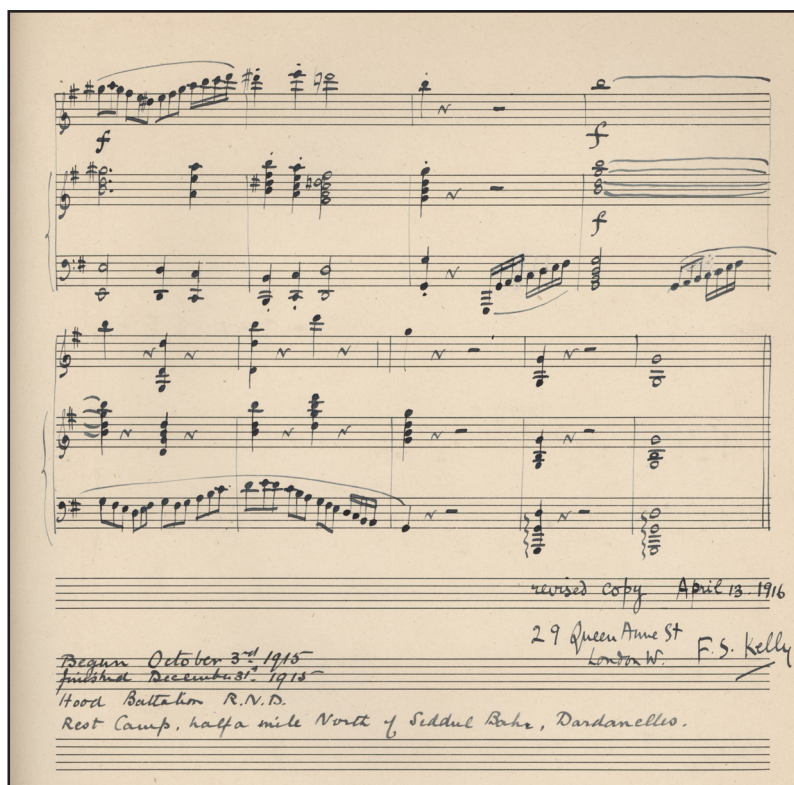
WEDNESDAY, February 9, 1916. Hood Battalion, Paraskevi Camp, Tenedos.

*I spent the afternoon pulling the piano to bits with Sergeant Blake of the engineers, whom had been recommended for the job of adjusting the dampers, etc. on the strength of his having made the gramophone work! I played through my violin sonata in G major from the music (for the first time) after dinner and was tolerably well satisfied with it. The form of the first movement seems to be good. W.M.E. sat by me and listened to it. I also played the first movement of my Piano Sonata in F minor and my Allegro de Concert, Waltz Pageant and some other pieces.*

MONDAY, February 28, 1916. H.M.T. Olympic, Mediterranean Sea.

*I found myself posted up as officer of the day and I made the rounds of the sentries on the watertight doors with the orderly officer at midday. During the course of the morning and afternoon I copied out the violin part of the 1st movement of my G major violin sonata.*

**Figure 9.** Last page of F.S. Kelly's Violin Sonata. Image courtesy of Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek J. C. Senckenberg, Mus. Hs. 2394.



TUESDAY, February 29, 1916. H.M.T. Olympic, Mediterranean Sea.

I spent an hour or more of the morning trying through songs with Brown,<sup>25</sup> who has had a professional training though he has not yet sung in concerts. I showed him my settings of the Song of David and 'O Wind, that Moanest Loud'. I played him several pieces afterwards. We had another concert after dinner, the feature of it being a set of topical verses about the R.N.D. sung by Col Burge, Buller, A.M.A. and Battersby to the tune of the Xmas hymn. [musical notation] The words had considerable point and gave much amusement. I played Grieg's Exotik, Anitra's Tanz, Chopin's C Sharp Minor Waltz and Rachmaninoff's Prelude in C Sharp Minor. General Richardson, who is returning from Salonika to take up a job at the war office took A.M.A., E.W. Nelson and myself into his cabin after it was over and gave us a very interesting account of the conditions in Salonika and the line defending it. He doesn't think anything will happen there. I finished copying out the violin part of my G Major Violin Sonata.

Kelly had been previously wounded on 4 June 1915 and was sent to Alexandria to recover, staying first at the Deaconess Hospital then at the Majestic Hotel. He returned to Gallipoli on 11 July 1915 and remained for almost another six months. By 9 January 1916 he had withdrawn from Gallipoli and by 4 March 1916 was home at Bisham Grange in England. Thereafter entries occur from his former flat at 29 Queen Anne St London, shared with pianist Leonard Borwick. He resumed his pre-war social and musical life in a London still able to produce a concert and social life, though in a depleted state.

<sup>25</sup> This probably refers to friend and composer Dennis Brown, but this is unclear.



MONDAY, March 6, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

*I travelled up to town with M.A.K.<sup>26</sup> and Joe<sup>27</sup> at 10 a.m. The latter had heard by telephone on Saturday night of his appointment to the Devonshire—which was a disappointment to him after the Dublin—and was coming up to the Admiralty to see when he should have to join her. I lunched at no 29 in the midst of a day spent in shopping. It was cold and there were several heavy snow storms. I went in the afternoon to report my arrival at the Admiralty and was received by Cols Foster and Ramsden and another official. They seemed to be in complete ignorance of any detailed information of the journeys of the R.N.D. and were much obliged for my news that the 2nd Brigade really had gone to Salonica—over a month ago! I heard the old Divisional staff was coming home (which gave me much satisfaction) and that in future there would only be one brigade—2 of the battalions—the Nelson and Howe being broken up. I got back to a late tea with L.B. and Golden—to whom I played my Elegy on Rupert Brooke. L.B. seemed to thoroughly feel all that the music should express and he had no criticism to offer except that the addition of a harp might just sweeten the solemnity without detracting from the elegiac character. I had considered this addition to the score when writing it and felt that as it would play such a small part I should not do amiss to make myself independent of it—putting it in, if desirable, later on. He played the pedal bars to my two organ Preludes, both of which he liked and he seemed also to like my E minor piece though he was unsure about the manoeuvring in the middle section to get back to dominant. He has a very keen sense of humour and a nice sense of the value of words in discussing such matters. I dined with F.W.W.<sup>28</sup> and his wife—the first time I have seen them since their marriage, in a house they have taken for three months—8 Neville Street, Onslow Square. Jelly was there and I brought my Violin Sonata in G major and we played it after dinner. She read it extremely well and I felt far from disappointed with it. This was the first time I have tried it with a violin. F.W.W. thought the first movement somewhat classically conventional but was enthusiastic over the second and last movements. Jelly also played my Flute Serenade—which sounds quite well on the violin. I played my Elegy on Rupert Brooke, the Greek dance I heard and took down at Mitylene and—while F.W.W. was looking for a taxi—Ravel's 'Ondine'.*

FRIDAY, March 10, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

*I spent the morning reading Joe's Records of the Dublin, which interested me a good deal. M.A.K. says he holds the record for the number of torpedoes fired at him—fifteen—of which, fortunately, only one struck his ship. I travelled up to town by the 2.10 p.m. train and did a little shopping before meeting Jelly Aranyi at 29 Queen Anne St. to rehearse my Violin Sonata in G major. We went through it pretty carefully and when it came to performing it in the evening at the Bonham-Carters (Dorset House) it went extremely well. She really plays wonderfully well. Violet Bonham Carter<sup>29</sup> had asked Adila, Jelly, Hugh, Godley and Fachiri (Adila's husband) to come and play quartets and I was a later addition to the original programme. There were about a dozen people there besides the players, half of them invited by me—F.W. Warres, E.L.W.<sup>30</sup> and Logan Pearsall Smith.<sup>31</sup> Among the rest of the audience were Walter and Dorothy James and Reggie Rowe, who has spent nine months in France at the front since I last saw him. I arrived*

<sup>26</sup> Kelly's older sister Mary Australie Kelly, known as Maisie, is referred to in the diaries as M.A.K.

<sup>27</sup> Admiral Sir John Kelly was married to M.A.K. He was not related to F.S. Kelly. He is referred to in the diaries as Joe and J.D.K.

<sup>28</sup> Felix Walter Warre, OBE, MC (1879–1953) was a close friend of Kelly. He is referred to in the diaries as F.W.W.

<sup>29</sup> Helen Violet Bonham Carter, Baroness Asquith of Yarnbury, DBE (1887–1969).

<sup>30</sup> Edmund Lancelot Warre (1877–1961) is referred to in the diaries as E.L.W.

<sup>31</sup> Logan Pearsall-Smith (1865–1946) is referred to in the diaries as L. Pearsall-Smith.

during the first movement of Beethoven's G major Quartet, 18, after which Jelly and I played my Violin Sonata. We then played the beloved Dvorak Quintet and I ended the programme by playing four studies in F major, B minor, E minor and D minor. Bongie and Ock sang 'Green grow the rushes, oh!'

MONDAY, March 13, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

It was raining hard as the F.W. Warres and I left the Grange at 10 a.m. for London. I had an appointment at 2.15 p.m. with the dentist. Golden had returned from York and we went for a walk after tea to do a little shopping. I took a Turkish bath at 5 p.m. I dined with a Mr. and Mrs. Fowler at 26 Gilbert St., friends of Jelly Aranyi. She was dining there, too, and after dinner Williams, the cellist—who returned recently from Rehleben concentration camp—his wife, Golden, Fachiri and Adila and a few other friends—including Langley, the once famous boy singer at Eton—came in. Jelly played Brahms's C major Trio with the Williamses, then followed my Violin Sonata and Schubert's B trio—which I played—brought the programme to an end.

The Fowlers seemed to me delightful people. The house contained many good things—not the least beautiful being a small animal like a lemur, which they called a 'bush baby' and which inhabited a book shelf and darted about like a mongoose. Its movements were like Domenico Scarlatti.

WEDNESDAY, March 15, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

E. Marsh and Percy Lubbock dined with L.B. and myself and after dinner E.L.W. joined us. L.B. played Morzkowski's Waltzes 8 vierhandig with me and then he played a number of pieces by Palmgren. I played my Elegy on Rupert Brooke and after L.G. had gone off to make calls, Bach's A minor Organ Fugue, Italian Concerto, Chopin's Barcarolle, Dvorak's 'Auf der alten Burg', 'Debussy's La fille aux cheveux de lin', Chopin's E minor Nocturne 48 No. 1, Mendelssohn's E minor Scherzo 16 and Spring Song. I was glad to find L.B. had a considerably heightened opinion of my Elegy—especially as he was very appreciative after a first performance. In the morning M.A.K. came and Jelly Aranyi played my Violin Sonata to her, Golden and L.B. The latter, as usual hit the right nail on the head in sizing it up as a good solid bit of work—with just the implied criticism, with which I heartily concur—that there is room for more originality in form and idea. Jelly and I played through the 1st movement of Ravel's A Minor Trio—while waiting for M.A.K. to come. After the sonata she played my Flute Serenade and Schumann's A Minor Sonata. M.A.K. sang 'Cold blows the wind', 'The Wraggle-Taggle gypsies' and 'High Germany'. By this time F.W.W. had come in. I lunched with Capt. A.C. Graham and his wife at the Carlton. Harcourt Powell who was at Eton with me and with whom I was to have rowed in the Lower Boy Pulling one summer before he contracted measles—was also there.

FRIDAY, March 31, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

I went to the exhibition of the Barbizon School at Tooth's again at 10.45 a.m. with L.B. with the object of taking another look at the Oudinot<sup>32</sup> picture that attracted my attention yesterday. It disappointed me on a second inspection—a certain flatness and soft sentiment being noticeable. We went from Tooth's to a house in Montagu Square where there was an exhibition of Fordin's drawings. They were all of the war, the intention being to bring home the enormity of German methods of conducting it. The irony was very penetrating and the drawing itself excellent. I lunched with Mrs. Fowler, Adila Fachiri, Jelly Aranyi and another lady at Claridge's and at 2.45 p.m. we went to Sunderland House (Curzon St.) where Jelly was taking part in a charity concert. She played my flute serenade, in which I accompanied her. Muriel Foster, Gervase Oliver, McInnes and Irene Vanbrugh were among the performers, but, as is usual at such shows, there

<sup>32</sup> Achille François Oudinot (1820–1891).

was not much enjoyment to be had owing to the whispering and the press of people. I made Maude Valerie White's acquaintance and found her quite delightful, and Miss Heald, who was there reporting for the *Daily Sketch*, came in and saw me. I went to tea with the F.W. Warres to meet Sir Ian and Lady Hamilton and to play them my *Elegy on Rupert Brooke*. Guernsey Warre was also there and later on Vereker Hamilton. I played Mendelssohn's *E minor Scherzo*, A major characteristic piece and Debussy's '*La fille aux cheveux de Lin*' and '*Mouvement*' after Sir Ian and Lady Hamilton had gone. Sir Ian has a delightful Aberdeen terrier that was strutting up and down by his car as I arrived. I dined with the Bighams at 6 Cheyne Walk—a delightful house with old paneling—and met the F.W. Warres, Alie and Adila Fachiri and Jelly Aranyi. We played Brahms' *C Minor Trio* (which I don't remember to have played before) Jelly, Fachiri and myself. Jelly and I played my *D Major Violin Sonata*. I also played my *Op. 4* and *Monographs Nos. 13–18* and my song '*Music when soft voices die*'. There was a telephone message during dinner announcing the presence of Zeppelins, but though we went out on the embankment we couldn't see or hear anything.

MONDAY, April 3, 1916. 29 Queen Anne St. W.

I travelled up to London with Lady Horner, Lady Moira Osborne and A.M.A. Golden and I went to the Philharmonic Concert at 6.15 p.m. and heard Elgar's *Cockaigne Overture*, a song-cycle by Grieg with some such trifle as '*Vinie*' Chopin's *F Minor Concerto* which Packmann played with a very delightful grace of rhythm, phrase and tone. What was lacking was warmth and soul. His encores *Op. 10 No. 3*, *Op. 25 No. 2* and the *D Flat Waltz* were very disappointing. Beecham's attitudes annoyed me but quite a good performance of the *Cockaigne Overture* took place—whether true or not to him I couldn't tell. Golden and I dined at Verrey's Restaurant and went on to the Fowlers where there was a party in honour of Freddy Manning whom Mrs Fowler described to me as the hope of England's literature. He seemed nice and sympathetic but I could discover no trace of his great calling in the little I saw of him. Adila, Jelly and Fachiri were there and we played Schumann's *Quintet*, the *Kreutzer Sonata* (Jelly and I) and the *Dvorak Quintet*. Between the last two items I played my *Elegy on Rupert Brooke*. '*Chucka*' [a dog] was in excellent form and jumped on my back during his leaps round the room.

TUESDAY, April 4, 1916. Ridgheurst Shenley, Herts.

I lunched with Venetia Montagu and Sylvia Henley at 24 Queen Anne's Gate and came back to No. 29 afterwards to rest. At 6 p.m. I met Adila and Alick Fachiri and Jelly Aranyi at Kings Cross Metropolitan station and we travelled down to Ridgheurst together. There was no one else there but Mr and Mrs Speyer and a lady who seemed to be a governess. After dinner we played my *Violin Sonata* (Jelly and myself), the first movement of Brahms' *B Major Trio*, Dvorak's *Dumky Trio* (the Fachiris and myself) Jelly played Bach's *A Minor Concerto* and read two charming violin pieces by Spohr (*Op. 139?*) called *Barcarole* and *Scherzo*. Then I played my *Elegy on Rupert Brooke* and Chopin's *Barcarolle*. I thought better of my *Violin Sonata* than on previous occasions. F.W.W. came to see me in the morning.

At this point mention of the *Violin Sonata* ceases. Seven months later Kelly was dead. The *Violin Sonata*—the *Gallipoli Sonata*—is said to have been first performed in public by Jelly d'Arányi and Leonard Borwick in December 1918 in a Classical Concert Society programme 'and again at Balliol Hall.'<sup>33</sup> Tribute concerts were few: the Small Queen's Hall Orchestra under Frank Bridge gave a Kelly concert including the *Elegy* at Wigmore Hall on 2 May 1919; on 19 February 1921 the *Flute Serenade* and the *Elegy* were given under the baton of Sir Donald

<sup>33</sup> Joseph MacLeod, *The Sisters d'Arányi* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1969), 120–2.

Tovey at the Reid Concert in Usher Hall, Edinburgh; and Sir Henry Wood conducted the *Elegy* in 1927, though not in the Proms.<sup>34</sup>

In the memorial published in the *Eton College Chronicle* on 7 December 1916, Asquith, very much the officer and gentleman, wrote begrudgingly:

He was not, and I think would never have made, an enthusiastic soldier. He spent most of his leisure composing music and reading books, and was not alive to all the aspects of the military life around him. But he had all a true artist's desire to perfect his Company. He was an uncompromising disciplinarian, spared neither others nor himself. And rarely turned a blind eye. Highly strung, and brave as a lion, aware and utterly contemptuous of all risks. He commanded the confidence and respect of all under his command ... He had books of songs and chanties printed, and sang almost every night after dinner with a glee party raised from among our Officers and men ... Latterly [1916 on the Somme] he took an interest in our Battalion Band, which improved out of all knowledge under his coaching. He planned, and finally achieved, a performance of the '1812' Overture, in a wood full of batteries, where a real bombardment supplied the part of the guns.

In contrast, Leonard Borwick wrote:

He was the composer of numerous works, many of which have been published. His composition, like his playing, showed, if possible, an excess of earnestness. And a corresponding slight lack of spontaneity; but there was distinction in everything he wrote, and a fine imaginative quality. Perhaps his best known work is his suite for flute (or violin) and orchestra [written for Melba's flautist John Lemmone],<sup>35</sup> which has been played several times in London, but he wrote many beautiful songs, and several very original and characteristic pieces for the pianoforte. During his two years' campaigning he composed some important works, including a violin sonata (written in Gallipoli) and a lovely elegy for strings in memory of Rupert Brooke, and it was obvious to all who came in contact with him recently that he was entering on a period of great fertility and promise as a composer. But the work which he had already accomplished bears all the elements of permanency, and is certain to grow in favour.

Indeed, in spite of these very qualified judgements, appreciation and awareness of Kelly's work has grown. There have been many performances and recordings of Kelly's music in recent years, mostly associated with WWI commemorative events and most frequently of the *Elegy*, notably in the BBC Proms Concert 42 'Lest We Forget' given at the Royal Albert Hall, London on 17 August 2014 with the Scottish Symphony Orchestra. Kelly is here to stay. The *Elegy*, rather than an ending, is only the beginning.

#### About the Author

Associate Professor Thérèse Radic is an Honorary Principal Fellow in the Faculty of the VCA and MCM who has published extensively on Australian music history and biography and is known as a playwright. She is currently working on a history of music in colonial Australia, and a biography of F.S. Kelly.

<sup>34</sup> MacLeod, *The Sisters d'Arányi*, 120–2.

<sup>35</sup> This is probably the Serenade in E minor for flute and small orchestra.