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HOW WE TREAT OUR COMPOSERS

by

Alan Rump

This report was commissioned by the Department of Education and Science as the British contribution to the Council of Europe's Symposium on aid to musical creation, held in October 1979. In view of its relevance to an understanding of the position of the composer in Britain today, the Arts Council is making it available to the public in its original form. The views expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily represent those of the Arts Council.

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INTRODUCTION

The composer confronts his manuscript alone save for his imagination, his inner ear, perhaps a piano or some electronic equipment. Between him and his audience stands a network of institutions and individuals that will chart the course of his finished music and which has already to some extent shaped the nature of his compositional task, his attitude to it, his economic status and the time he can afford for composition. This study attempts to explain the functioning of that network from the composer's point of view. If there is a particular cue for this approach, it is to be found in the 'Postscript' to the only book which relates to this (largely untilled) field of study in respect of modern Britain: "... the major influences on the market for musical composition in the foreseeable future will be more of an institutional than technical character."[1]

The first 'institution' to be considered is the law - society's expression, however indirect, of how the business of music should be ordered. Though seldom evident in musical transactions, the law impinges on nearly all of them and forms the basis of the composer's claim to remuneration. Thereafter the means of disseminating the composer's works are examined in turn (with particular emphasis on broadcasting, since the B.B.C. today has the largest part to play in making the work of serious composers widely known). In Chapter Six the sources of subsidy for contemporary music are analysed, and in the final chapter the effects of institutional and individual actions on the composer's livelihood are examined. Broadly, what has been sought is the elucidation of both the financial realities and the nature and results of decision-making in all these areas. There is little philosophy or speculation, although suggestions as to how the position of the composer and his music might be improved are sometimes made. The intention in beginning at about 1960 has been to establish the trends that have led to today's situation rather than to write a 'history'. There has been neither the time, space nor resources to delve deeply into the social backgrounds of composers and their audience.

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[1] Alan Peacock and Ronald Weir: 'The Composer in the Market Place', Faber, London, 1975, page 165. In 166 pages Peacock and Weir deftly delineate British composers' attempts to carve out a living for themselves between 1900 and 1970. "The general approach, therefore, is historical and descriptive, but we have cast our study within a general framework which is derived from economic analysis" - page 11.

So that neither my musical prejudices nor those of the reader should become too heavily engaged, there are few references in the text to individual composers; doubtless, however, implicit musical value judgements will be thought to be seen and may be made by the reader, just as they are made through the actions of the institutions described in these pages. Pop, light, jazz, improvised, electronic and various kinds of incidental music are considered in passing, but the core of concern is with that music composed in the hope of serious attention in the concert hall and on the radio, record or tape.

The work was commissioned by the D.E.S. as the British contribution to the Council of Europe's symposium on aid to musical creation. Given the propensity of some musical administrators not even to acknowledge letters, let alone answer the questions in them, it is probably the case that the ability to write in the name of 'Strasbourg' and international co-operation has sometimes produced information where none would otherwise have been forthcoming. Nevertheless, many people engaged in the business of bringing music to the public have been generous with their help; amongst them Elizabeth Yeoman of the Composers' Guild, Jonson Dyer of the Music Publishers' Association, George Neighbour of the P.R.S., Barrie Iliffe of the British Council, Roy Bohana of the Welsh Arts Council, John de la Cour of South West Arts, and Annette Morreau and Richard Lawrence of the Arts Council all deserve particular mention. Long hours of discussion with composers (not least my colleagues in the Music Department of Bristol University) have been an important shaping influence on the study, though interviews have not been reproduced as 'evidence', since they tend to be individualistic and impressionistic, and because a running tape-recorder or the threat of a published transcript can inhibit free expression and the information, often of a highly personal nature, given. Of composers other than my colleagues, I owe a special debt to Nicholas Maw and Tim Souster for their frankness and willingness to expound at length (both pianissimo and fortissimo) their views on the lot of the British composer. My final thanks are reserved for my wife Avril for her patience with a great litter of information in our home and in my head over several years.

CHAPTER ONE : THE LAW

Copyright

The composer gives his work to the world, he composes in the hope that his music will be used and communicated to an audience; yet he must also protect it from the world, saving it from mutilation, plagiarism or being 'passed off' as the work of another, and, unless he has considerable wealth and leisure, he must also withhold it from the world against payment for his time and talent. The tension between the composer's desires and needs is implicit in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> " 1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
>
> 2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author."

2) can be achieved only at the cost of a bargain with 1). To protect his moral and material interests in his works, the composer cannot allow the public absolutely free access to them; rather he must interpose certain conditions safeguarding their integrity and his income from them. Similarly the purveyors of his music, especially the publishers and record makers, can and will make his music as widely available as possible only at a price which includes some protection of their capital and promotional outlay against cheap duplication. The alternative is a system of state patronage which controls the dissemination of music and rewards the composer irrespective of the extent to which his work might be desired by the normal network of decision-makers: publishers, broadcasters, performers, record makers, audiences, and the buyers of records and sheet music. Such a system might allow the composer to give his work freely, but it would at the same time endanger his own artistic freedom by creating a machine for arbitrary and total censorship or, at the very least, the dominance of just a handful of taste-makers. This is too high a price to pay for the comfort of 'the composers' village'. The state inevitably must assume the role of patron to a large extent - because it has itself subsumed the older sources of patronage, because serious music

is a public good and one for which the sum of payments by individuals would understate demand - but a democracy must also ensure the existence of a plurality of decision-makers and sources of funds. Lenin once decried the 'freedom' of the 'bourgeois' artist as in truth only slavery to 'the money-bags'; if we are to avoid the slavery Lenin and his heirs created, then we must make sure that the money-bags are many and their dispensers are various. Thus, besides being itself a patron, the state has a duty to lay down adequate ground rules for the striking of bargains between the composer, his agents and the public, to create a healthy balance between the world's need of access and the composer's need of protection: in other words, to provide a proper system of copyright law.

The British Copyright Act of 1956 was never an entirely satisfactory piece of legislation, but now it has been utterly overtaken by changes in society, technology and international copyright law. There is no guarantee that whenever a composer's music is used he and the other agents of its provision will receive payment, however indirectly. When payment is made it will often be at a distressingly low level: in 1978 a ten-minute piece broadcast on B.B.C. Network Radio brought in just £72.50 for the composer and his publisher to share between them before tax; a twenty-minute work for chamber orchestra played in the Queen Elizabeth Hall (seating capacity 1,100) gave them £75.50. The barrier to dramatic increases in these rates is the Performing Right Tribunal. It was set up by the 1956 Act to provide a place of complaint against organisations, such as the Performing Right Society (P.R.S.), which operate licensing schemes for the public performance and broadcasting of copyright works. Its Chairman is a lawyer appointed by the Lord Chancellor and its other members are appointed by the Department of Trade and Industry. It can confirm or vary licensing schemes referred to it and adjudicate on complaints from individuals who claim to have been refused licences on reasonable terms. There is no right of appeal against its decisions, except to the High Court on points of law. Clearly there is a need for such a Tribunal to prevent bodies like the P.R.S. abusing their powers in an arbitrary way, but the presence of the Tribunal has tended to keep performing and broadcasting royalties at an historically low level because of its very nature as a 'consumer's watchdog'. Its most important decision was made in 1972 when it set the B.B.C.'s payment to the P.R.S. for the right to broadcast all copyright music at 2%

of the B.B.C.'s income from television licences and the Government's grant-in-aid for its external services - this despite the enormous use of signature and incidental music on television and the fact that 55% of all B.B.C. radio output is music. This vital ruling controls one quarter of all P.R.S. income. The Statutory Recording Licence provides another example of an historically low royalty. Since the Copyright Act of 1911 it has been the case that once a piece of copyright music has, with permission, been recorded for sale in this country (or records of it have been imported for sale), then anyone has a right to record and sell that piece if they pay the copyright owner a royalty of $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ of the ordinary selling price of the record. The figure of $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ was set by a Public Enquiry in 1928 and has recently been confirmed by another Public Enquiry initiated by copyright holders who argued that the rate was too low. The provision was made to ensure fair competition in the record industry; it is very seldom invoked but provides an important basis for negotiation, indeed the British Phonographic Industry Copyright Association submitted to the Whitford Committee on copyright reform that, "This is not an old provision which has little practical application; it is very much the stuff of everyday life in the recording industry."[1] For serious music, the rates negotiated can on some occasions be below $6\frac{1}{4}\%$. There is a statutory minimum payment to the copyright owner set at a derisory 0.313 pence per record. It must be remembered that these mechanical royalties have to be shared between the composer and his publisher. If the composer does not have a publisher, then some record companies stipulate in their contracts that the copyright be assigned to their own (so-called) 'publishing' company, which then takes half the royalties.

Composers and publishers do not suffer only from poor levels of royalties of all kinds, there are acts in relation to copyright music forbidden by the 1956 Act which are carried on daily without let or hindrance: the protection against photocopying, the 'pirating' and 'counterfeiting' of records, and the recording of radio and television broadcasts and borrowed records at home is painfully inadequate. These ills have been aggravated by the spread of sheet music and record libraries within the public and educational library system, giving not only multiple usage of a single bought copy without further payment but also widening the opportunities for illegal photocopying and taping.

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1 'Report of the Committee to consider the Law on Copyright and Designs' (known as the Whitford Report after its Chairman). H.M.S.O. Cmnd 6732, page 86.

The current price differentials between buying a piece of music on paper or record and illegally reproducing that music from borrowed copies are so large as to encourage people to break the law, especially in the privacy of their own homes or in the name of education, when flouting copyright is spuriously justified as morally defensible within teaching institutions which have very limited budgets. The fact that copyright music can be copied readily and cheaply on paper or tape almost with impunity from legal retribution not only robs composers and the music industry of income, but also creates considerable sales-resistance to the higher prices that are necessary because of widespread illegal copying - the spiral must be broken or the supply of serious new works in print and on record will dry up.

Inadequate copyright protection and low royalty levels dampen the activities of the industrial producers of serious music; the composer's income is depressed both directly and indirectly (because publishers can afford to pass on to him a lesser proportion of their own income). His attitude to his work can also be damaged. A composer of a certain temperament may agonise over a work for a very long time and eventually produce a piece that is used over and over again; but if some of those uses occur without payment and if the payments that are made are low, there will be an unhealthily strong incentive for him to contradict his own nature and write many pieces quickly for the sake of garnering commission fees plus the royalties from the one or two performances (and perhaps a broadcast) that new works fairly readily command. Such a strategy spells disaster for his publisher, who is faced with recurring large capital outlays, but little prospect of consistent future returns. Poor royalties also lead to a greater requirement for state subsidy than might otherwise be necessary. The larger the role of direct state subsidy the greater the institutional danger of decisions as to which composers and which works shall succeed being concentrated in too few hands, the greater the danger to serious contemporary composition and its dissemination from the policy changes of just one or two organisations, and the greater the composer's divorce from economic contact with his audience. A 'mixed economy' of public and private payment for the arts, and for serious contemporary music in particular, is inevitable; a democracy should nevertheless retain a multiplicity of effective decision-makers and sources of money. In the very long run, the intensity of use to which a composer's works are put by the generality of music lovers should

be the arbiter of his reward; this requires a properly comprehensive system of copyright protection, which Britain has not got.

Britain has had copyright legislation since 1709 and before that a form of quasi-copyright operated through the common law and the printing monopolies granted by the Crown. Extensions of the law have always met with considerable resistance and nowhere in its history has the case for the moral and economic primacy of authorship loomed very large, it has been the producers more than the creators of intellectual property who have successfully pressed for change - the very term 'copyright' rather than 'author's right' is indicative of this.[1] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the prime motives for some form of copyright protection were political and religious censorship and the protection of existing monopolies. The 1709 Act was brought about by pressure from the printers and booksellers of the Stationers' Company who, through an almost accidental legislative void, found their monopoly threatened by 'pirates' and freelance publishers. Paradoxically the Act effectively ended the Company's monopoly though it did offer short term copyright protection. Subsequent extensions of the period of copyright were granted at the asking of publishers for the sake of the economics of their business. Acts of 1833 and 1842 extended the nature of copyright to include performing rights for dramatic and musical performances, but the music publishers chose not to enforce them. In consequence an enterprising character not untypical of the nineteenth century, named Mr. Wall, quietly bought performing rights and then extracted the statutory 40s. penalty from unwitting infringers. His activities gave rise to Acts of 1882 and 1888 requiring a notice to be printed on sheet music if performing rights were to be reserved. After Britain acceded to the Berne Copyright Convention in 1886, the absurd position obtained in which French composers could and did collect performance royalties in Britain whilst native composers, because of their publishers' attitudes, did not. The Performing Right Society was not formed until the publishers decided it should be in 1914. William Boosey stated that until the twentieth century, "I considered that the payment of a fee for the performance of new music, and even established music, was calculated to injure

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[1] France has the 'droit d'auteur', Germany the 'Uhreberrecht', Italy the 'diritto d'autore', Spain the 'derecho de autor'. The U.S.A., on the other hand, is a 'copyright' country, its laws on the subject being descendants of earlier British legislation.

seriously the sales of established favourites, and was very detrimental to the popularising of new works."[1] He might have added that publishers were the main promoters of concerts and used the performing right as a means of defence against competitors putting on concerts with borrowed, second-hand, hired or 'pirated' music. The profits from concerts could be pocketed entirely by the publishers whilst the disorganised and perhaps unaware composers looked on. Several developments changed Boosey's mind. Towards the end of the century the popularity of concerts waned as that of the variety music hall waxed; after the turn of the century publishers sheet music sales too began to fall, first as a result of rampant 'piracy' and then through competition from the rapidly improving phonograph and gramophone; the importance of international copyright protection was also rapidly becoming clear. Boosey was not above invoking the needs of the composer in forming the 'Musical Defence League' which aimed "to drive into the heads of several very dense Members of Parliament, that composers were not able to live upon suction but required as much nourishment to keep body and soul together as any other members of the community,"[2] but it was the publishers' assessment of their own needs that created the drive towards the passing of the 1911 Copyright Act and the formation of the P.R.S. The urgency of consolidating and codifying the myriad pieces of legislation on copyright in books, music, performances, paintings, sculptures and photographs had been recognised by a Royal Commission as long as 36 years before that, but like so many reports of its kind, its function became one of gathering dust. Apart from pressure from publishers, what finally stirred Parliament into action was the revision of the Berne Convention made at the 1908 Berlin Conference, which made it imperative that Britain should change its copyright law in order to give foreigners and British nationals the protection required if the country was to remain a party to the Revised Convention.

During the nineteenth century opposition to the extension of copyright had been expressed in Parliament by high-minded individuals, of whom the historian Macaulay was the most notable, on the basis that it was a tax on culture and learning that should be paid only up to that point which secured a satisfactory flow of truly worthwhile works. Copyright was attacked on the streets by the sheet music pirates. The 1920's saw the rise of a phenomenon that is still with us, combinations of music users whose aim was to limit the extent of

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1 William Boosey: 'Fifty Years of Music', London, 1931, page 174.
2 William Boosey, op.cit., page 113.

copyright[1]. The British Music Union, formed in 1919, published its own catalogue of 'free' music for which no performing right was demanded; it also promoted abortive Parliamentary Bills in 1923 and 1924 to weaken the 1911 provisions. In 1927 a more comprehensive union of music users was formed, the International Council of Music Users. Its members sought, "to provide that the charges made ... for the performance of music in public shall be upon a fair and more equitable basis."[2] In 1929 it sponsored the infamous 'Tuppenny Bill', which attempted to make performing rights the subject of a compulsory licence with a statutorily fixed maximum royalty of 2d., and this payable as a once and for all sum on purchase of the sheet music. The Bill inspired immense opposition in which, for once, the poor rewards to composers in comparison with the rest of the music trade were used as evidence. The 1930 Report of the Special Select Committee appointed to examine the Bill rejected any fixed fee for public performance; it also recognsed that composers and their agents needed to form what it termed "a super-monopoly of monopolies" to administer performing and broadcasting rights, but it recommended that the actions of such a supermonopoly should be subject "to arbitration or some other tribunal."[3] Thus the establishment of the Performing Right Tribunal was suggested nearly thirty years before it actually came into existence. The reasons why the P.R.S. aroused so much opposition in the twenties and thirties were not just the newness of the charges it imposed and the possible abuse of its monopoly powers, but also because as its membership grew[4] it was obliged to consistently raise its tariffs in order that existing members should not have their income cut. The problem of increasing the size of the P.R.S. 'cake' at a rate fast enough to accomodate both expanding uses of music and expanding membership is a continuing one. As broadcasting grew rapidly, the collective strength of the P.R.S. became a virtue for an entirely new reason - to offer countervailing force to a single, powerful buyer of music, the B.B.C. Between 1929 and 1936 the B.B.C.'s use of the P.R.S. repertoire grew at a faster rate than its payments to the Society, thus actually reducing the amount distributed for each work broadcast. Accordingly the P.R.S. in 1937 demanded a massive

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1 See Peacock and Weir: 'The Composer in the Market Place', Faber, London, 1975, page 74 ff.

2 Quoted in C.F. James: 'The Story of the P.R.S.', London, 1951, page 52.

3 See Peacock and Weir, op.cit., pp. 78 and 79.

4 By no means all the publishers joined the P.R.S. soon after its formation: as important a firm as Novello, for instance, did not join until 1936; only by 1939 could the P.R.S. boast a membership embracing the great majority of active composers and publishers.

increase in B.B.C. payments, claiming 1s.0d. per radio licence issued. The B.B.C. offered only 5d. and the dispute went to voluntary arbitration, resulting in a settlement at 7d., which effectively doubled the payment received by the Society.[1] The importance to composers and publishers of this decision and others like it since cannot be over-emphasised.

As the century progressed the cycle of pressure for copyright law reform began to repeat itself: technological change (the spread of radio and television, of synchronised film and the improvement in record reproduction), social change (the rise of wireless listening, the dance hall, the night club, the cinema and the 'Americanisation' of popular musical taste), plus the need to modify national legislation to meet the revision to the Berne Convention made at Brussels in 1948, all created demand for new law. The activities of the P.R.S. played their part too. In the late forties and early fifties it embarked on a programme of revising its tariffs (some of which were by then a good deal more than a decade old) in the light of inflation and changing patterns of music use; these revisionsoccasioned, naturally enough, considerable resistance from the corporate consumers of music. The Government established a Committee of Enquiry in 1951 which reported the next year.[2] In the great debate before the passing of the Copyright Act in 1956 it was once again the business interests of the producers and consumers of copyright material that were to the fore rather than those of the creators of intellectual property. The music publishers by now had ameliorated the effects of declining sheet sales by astutely making themselves apparently indispensable to the broadcasting and mechanical reproduction of music (which in truth they are not, except as promotional agents) as well as leading the P.R.S. from the front. Although the interests of publishers and composers are very closely allied, they are not necessarily identical. The bulk of the submissions to the Gregory Committee were made by the industrial producers of copyright material, consumers of copyright material and their various associations. The voice of the P.R.S. was as much that of the publisher as the composer, which left only the nascent Composers' Guild to speak for the serious composer. For these and the historical reasons outlined above, the composer/author's rights in the 1956 Act are swamped by and almost indistinguishable from the rights

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1 See Peacock and Weir, op.cit., page 83.

2 Report of the Committee on the Law of Copyright (The Gregory Committee) 1952, H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 8662.

exercised by their assignees and the rights held by producers of the material forms of works of the mind (the copyright in sound recordings, films, broadcasts, published editions, etc.). It is vital that new legislation should begin with unequivocal statements of the moral and economic primacy of authorship and that the subordinate nature of 'neighbouring' or 'ancillary' rights should be made clear. Where a composer has little alternative but to assign some of his rights to an existing or new licensing organisation, it might be no bad thing for a minimum proportion (at least 50%) of the funds collected to be his as a legal right.

Like its predecessors, the 1956 Act has been rendered obsolete by technical and social change - the bright day of the photocopier, the tape and the cassette recorder, the computer and satellite transmission, and the pale dawn of the audio/videogram, microchip, fibre optics, laser and digital techniques; along with the rise of an affluent teenage music market, the discotheque, commercial radio, community radio and the effusion of background music. Change in international copyright has again played its part: it has become a matter of urgency that Britain should come into line with the text of the Berne Convention as amended at Paris in 1971, withdraw its exceptions to the Council of Europe Conventions on Television Broadcasts (1960 and 1965) and accede to that on Satellites (1974). This will involve changing the 1956 Act in respect of, among other things, diffusion by wire and satellite, protection of choreographic works and, above all else, the introduction to British copyright law of clear and adequate statements of the unassignable moral rights of authorship: namely the author's right to object to any distortion or modification of his work if it might reasonably be said to injure his reputation, and the rights to claim authorship of his work if it is not acknowledged or to disclaim authorship if it is improperly attributed.[1] As well as making these changes and others to be discussed later, the legislators would do well to absorb the historical lesson that an Act which deals in technological detail will be too long and obscure, and will rapidly be overtaken by innovations; they would do better to produce law that is easily comprehensible and which clearly states the principles and areas of copyright protection, leaving the courts to detail, if necessary, how and where new developments fit into them.

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[1] The 1956 Act is by no means clear or comprehensive on these points; in many cases action can be taken only through the separate laws of 'defamation' or 'passing off'.

Speaking in Parliament in 1841 against the extension of copyright, the historian Macaulay (who had a comfortable living as a lawyer and Government servant and could thus 'give his books to the world' with some generosity) described it brutally as a monopoly which made books expensive, and as such to be tolerated only up to that point which secured publication. He defined copyright as "a tax on readers for the purpose of giving a bounty to writers."[1] The question of copyright protection being so generous as to give its beneficiaries unwonted 'monopoly profits' cannot be baulked. During the debate in the early fifties that preceded the 1956 Act, Sir Arnold Plant argued that the protection given to composers and publishers was indeed too generous.[2] He contended that if the present flow of new works was deemed satisfactory, there was no evidence to suggest that a reduction in copyright protection would diminish that flow, arguing that a great deal of serious composition would probably continue without any financial reward whatsoever (presumably because of the 'psychic returns' of expressing, having performed and communicating one's musical thoughts, with the attendant publicity and status). He suspected that a reduction in the protection given to copyright holders might actually increase supply by obliging them to rely more on current production and by stimulating more competition between them. Plant's general view was that copyright privileges should be granted only up to that point which secures a desired output.[3] Professor Alan Peacock, an economist more sympathetic to composers, has pointed out that this amounts to a double discrimination against intellectual property compared with physical property.[4] First, physical property can be bequeathed or sold in perpetuity, whilst copyright ends 50 years after the composer's death. Second, the

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1 Quoted in R.F. Whale: 'Copyright - Evolution, theory and practice', Longman, London, 1971, page 13.

2 Sir Arnold Plant: 'The New Commerce in Intellectual Ideas and Property', Stamp Memorial Lecture, Athlone Press, 1953.

3 A view endorsed by the Economic Council of Canada's Report on Intellectual and Industrial Property, 1971: "We have found it more helpful and illuminating not to start with the grant by governments of legal protection to certain rights, but to commence at an earlier stage and focus more on the incentive purpose of the grant", page 142.

4 Alan Peacock: 'The Economic Value of Musical Composition', in Beitrage zu Einer Theorie der Sozialpolitik, Duncker and Humblot, Berlin, 1973.

distribution of physical property is not controlled by limitations on property rights designed to achieve some specific allocational effect and so such a principle should not be applied to intellectual property. In so far as copyright exercises an important influence on composers' income, the argument can be taken further. The pay of, say, power-station workers has little to do with giving them just so much income that sufficient numbers of people are willing to work to produce the right amount of electricity at the right price, but it has a great deal to do with the strength of their union's bargaining position - because of the operation of the 'closed shop' making it very difficult indeed for employers to find alternative labour, because it is impossible for consumers to switch from one form of energy to another overnight and because of the massive national investment in electricity, it would take a very long time for them effectively to 'price themselves out of a job'. To take an example from the professions, solicitors' income is assured by the way the legal profession jealously holds to itself certain areas of work ('do-it-yourself' conveyancing, divorce or representation in court are fraught with dangers created by the legal profession, not least in the unnecessarily obscure wording of much of the law), and by the fact that the lawyers themselves regulate scales of fees and entry into the profession. The 'clout' of composers' organisations is minimal in comparison: they are in permanent competition not just one with another, but with all the music of composers now dead (consumers could console themselves with the masterpieces of seven centuries during a composers' strike). A composing 'closed shop' would amount to censorship. There is, then, no reason why composers and authors should be singled out for the application of 'market forces' of a particularly severe kind, and many reasons why they should not be.

The idea that some desired output, an expression of the marginal preferences of consumers, could be observed, measured and acted upon is in any case impractical. Consider the case of a listener to Radio 3. He has paid for a radio receiver and pays for its running costs, but the only payment he makes to the B.B.C. is in the purchase of a television licence, a payment and an amount forced upon him by law if he wishes to have a television. He has no direct voice in the apportionment of money to Radio 3, nor in the money the B.B.C. pays to the P.R.S. for the use of copyright music (which has been fixed by the Performing Right Tribunal). Accurate audience figures for

each and every piece in each and every programme are not available, and the music is programmed by producers with only a notion of the size and tastes of the audience. If the listener tapes certain pieces for repeated future enjoyment, the situation is complicated further. Where in this process can a precise monetary value be placed on the listener's desire to hear particular pieces of contemporary music? How does a borrower of sheet music and records from a free library express their value to him? He too might photocopy or tape the music he borrows. In any public concert containing more than one item, only very close questioning of the entire audience could establish the utility to them of each piece in the programme, and even then they might have had many reasons for buying a ticket besides the pieces of music on offer. Public subsidy is so integral to the production of serious music that the prices paid are already 'unrealistic'. This applies even to the commissioning system: performers commission new works to play in(subsidised) concerts, but it is the Arts Council rather than commissioners which provides the funds and controls the fees. The music consumer cannot evaluate what he has not heard; he is separated from the composer by a network of decision-making into which his feedback is not always very strong and seldom very detailed; many of the financial decisions which affect composers are so remote from him that he could probably alter them only through political action.

Turning to the monopoly aspect of musical copyright: the law confers powers on composers, their assignees and inheritors through the negative mechanism of making it an infringement of their copyright to carry out certain acts in relation to a work without the permission of the copyright holder; although it is expressed as a right to prevent, it is in practice the basis on which bargains are struck for the use of music. A musical work (which is nowhere defined in the 1956 Act) becomes the copyright of its composer the moment it is put into some material form (i.e. on paper, record or tape - an extempore performance has no copyright unless it is fixed on tape, there being no copyright in 'ideas'). The only requirements of 'originality' are that it should be the product of labour, skill and judgement, and that it should not infringe an existing copyright by plagiarising a 'substantial part' of it.[1] An edition, arrangement or piano reduction of a pre-existing

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[1] A 'substantial part' is not defined in the Act. The courts have interpreted it qualitatively rather than quantitively - a few bars are enough if they are highly significant ones.

non-copyright work can thus itself become copyright provided it embodies sufficient skill and labour.[1] The P.R.S. itself adjudicates as to whether an arrangement has sufficient originality for the Society to collect royalties on it. The composer's copyright is assignable totally or in part. Theoretically, though seldom now in practice, he can choose to assign certain rights in the work but not others, or he can assign them for just particular countries rather than the whole world. Alternatively he or his assignee can licence others to do certain acts in relation to his work on an exclusive or non-exclusive basis, and for the whole of the period of copyright or for a specified number of years.[2] It can be seen that the wording of assignments and licences can limit monopoly powers. The acts that can be carried out in relation to a piece of music only with the permission of the copyright holder are listed in Section 2(5) of the Act:

(a) reproducing the work in any material form;
(b) publishing the work;
(c) performing the work in public;
(d) broadcasting the work;
(e) causing the work to be transmitted to subscribers to a diffusion service;
(f) making any adaptation of the work;
(g) doing, in relation to an adaptation of the work, any of the acts specified in relation to the work in paragraphs (a) to (e) of this subsection.

'Any material form' includes records, tapes and synchronized film as well as manuscript, print and photocopy. A 'public performance' can be given on record, tape or film and through a broadcast as well as by 'live' performers. The Act does not define 'public', but the courts have taken the view of the Gregory Committee that 'public' means anything other than within the domestic circle.

The law itself restricts these monopoly powers. They cease fifty years after the composer's death. The 'fair dealing' exceptions allow extracts from works to be copied for research and private study, to be published in criticisms and reviews (provided there is a suitable acknowledgment) and to be reported in newspapers, magazines, periodicals, on television, radio and film. Copies can be made (provided

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1 There will, in any case, be copyright in the typography of a printed new edition of a non-copyright work.

2 Under the West German law the composer's copyright is not completely assignable: publishers and other agents operate as licensees. Under French law, whilst the 'economic' rights are assignable, the 'moral' rights are not.

they do not amount to duplication of the work) and performances given for the purposes of instruction within the curricula of places of education.[1] Once a piece of music has, with permission, been recorded for sale, then anyone else must be allowed to do so on payment of the statutory royalty. If a broadcasting organisation wants to pre-record an item, it may do so freely so long as the tape is destroyed within 28 days of the first broadcast and is not used for any other purpose.

Composer's and publisher's individual monopolies are more severely limited, by competition from the works of other composers, living and dead. The most severe competition comes from works now out of copyright. An eighteenth century composer or any of his predecessors would be astonished at the extent to which the modern audience prizes the repetition of old favourites above the experience of new music; our musical culture is uniquely parasitic in that it lives on the works of the past, often the distant past, to a degree unprecedented in the history of Western art music. When old favourites are so readily available at home on disc, tape and radio, it is all the more astonishing that they also dominate concert life (as the statistics in Chapter Five demonstrate). This goes hand in hand with a cult of the performer: the London orchestras compete with each other less in interesting repertoire than in the soloists and conductors they can engage, their presumably realistic assumption being that the well-known can fill the hall and the little-known empty it; whole radio programmes are given over to comparing the minutiae of different recorded interpretations of the same work. Successful variations in our general musical diet have, during the past two decades, been provided by musicologists rather than living composers.

A special case of monopoly arises when composers and publishers have to band together to form royalty collecting agencies, such as the P.R.S., to which they assign certain of their rights. It is inevitable that they should do so: to trace, negotiate permission and payment for every use of their music throughout the world would be administratively impossible and extremely expensive, for copyright holder and music user alike; an organisation issuing mainly blanket licences and covering virtually all copyright music is the only realistic solution. This necessity is reinforced by the fact that composers and

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[1] The P.R.S., to which composers and publishers assign their rights in public performance and broadcasting, does not as a matter of policy claim fees for the performance of music within divine worship. Occasionally it also waives fees for performances in aid of charity in which the artists give their services free.

publishers face a few very powerful buyers in the market for broadcasting and recording music (the B.B.C. is the most obvious example) against whom they need to unite in order to give themselves some countervailing force. It would not be unusual for such a 'natural' monopoly to be nationalised to protect consumers' interests. Alan Peacock has given reasons for not doing so in this case[1]: such an organisation could easily become a tool of state censorship; there is no reason to suppose a nationalised agency would be a more effective collector, indeed it would be under less pressure to be efficient than a private agency formed by composers and publishers themselves; nationalisation would not necessarily result in cheaper administration for the consumer; nationalisation is not needed to achieve cultural objectives, which can be done better through the Arts Council, tax regulations etc. The course of leaving such organisations in private hands but regulating their activities through a Tribunal is probably the best one. In Britain, the examples of composers' income given in Chapter Seven suggest that the Performing Right Tribunal has been rather too effective in protecting the consumer at the expense of the composer. The P.R.S. is treated very much as a business monopolist rather than as a trade union. The closed shop, 'go-slow' and strike could have P.R.S. equivalents in highly restrictive entry to the Society and refusal to grant licences to music users on reasonable terms - the Tribunal prevents this. As well as competing with each other and the dead, composers have to compete with their foreign counterparts. When severe foreign competition or 'dumping' threatens union members with loss of earnings or jobs, they agitate (occasionally successfully) for import quotas or tariff barriers. For the P.R.S. to restrict the entry of foreign works would be an intolerable form of censorship, it would violate the reciprocal agreements the P.R.S. has with comparable organisations overseas and would be counter-productive financially, as things now are the P.R.S. recieves approximately twice as much from abroad as it distributes abroad (though this situation could easily deteriorate). The potential for the P.R.S. to abuse its monopoly powers in respect of consumers is carefully circumscribed - an example of the lack of 'clout' of composers' organisations when compared with those of other professions.

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[1] Alan Peacock: 'The Economic Value of Musical Composition', etc. pp.20,21.

In deciding to compose a work for the public the composer risks his time and talent; in presenting the finished work to the public the publisher risks his money. The sales of sheet music have fallen to such an extent that the publisher's interest in widening the scope of copyright protection and income parallels that of the composer, and the royalties from performances, broadcasts and mechanical reproduction are vital to his survival. His initial outlay on preparing scores and parts, promoting the work and perhaps making an advance to the composer, has to be rewarded by future income. He will carry out his function only if he is protected from cut-price competition and assured of a high enough income over a reasonable period. Denis Thomas has suggested that "whatever terms society may feel offer a fair return to the original creator of a work, and perhaps to his family, it would reasonably expect the publisher to manage on less." [1] Thomas, like Plant, believed that reducing the monopoly powers of publishers would result in a better service to the public. He claimed, and produced some evidence, that publishers sometimes neglect existing copyrights and that even when works fall into the public domain, publishers retain their monopolistic position by 'unfair' means such as copyrighting a 'new and improved edition' whilst keeping the original manuscript under lock and key, or by keeping works for hire only and not for sale. Both Thomas and Plant were attracted to the provision of U.S.A. copyright law as it then stood which specified a copyright term of 56 years from the date of publication or registration divided into two distinct 28-year periods. The second period had force only if copyright was formally renewed, moreover it was claimable by the creator rather than the first publisher. Thus, if a composer felt his present publisher was not exploiting his work properly, he could offer it to another; alternatively, publishers with good market sense night see under-exploited copyrights due for renewal and bid for them. Thomas suggested that during the second half of the copyright period anyone who wished to do so ought to be allowed to publish a work on payment of a fixed royalty to the creator (a provision comparable with the statutory recording licence).

Thomas's case could be made with some justice if there were evidence that publishers are growing fat on monopoly profits. In

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[1] Denis Thomas: 'Copyright and the Creative Artist', Institute of Economic Affairs, 1967.

fact, so far as serious music is concerned, it is openly admitted that the money invested in publishing new works would show a higher rate of return in almost any other form of investment. Even well-known works (especially chamber music) often do not begin to show a profit for the publisher until twenty or even thirty years after publication. Investment in the new has to be financed by the successful investments of the past. Failures too must be paid for by successes. The consistent, long-term profitability of an Elgar or Vaughan Williams is vital to publishers' ability to provide for the nation's musical future. If copyright were curtailed, these profits and the investments they fund would diminish and with them the supply of printed music for the public. The British Copyright Council argued in its submission to the Whitford Committee that, far from being curtailed, the period of copyright should be extended to seventy years, because of the increased life-expectancy of heirs and competition from publishers based in countries where the longer term already obtains. The Committee did not recommend such an extension.[1] The fifty year rule not only funds current investment, but, in that it sets an end, it also ensures that investment is made, for if publishers did not renew their catalogues there would come a time when they had no monopolies left. It is generally recognized that at some date after its creation, the public's claim on a work should be allowed free expression - the piece can become part of the nation's, indeed the world's heritage.

The Whitford Committee received a number of submissions recommending that after the normal period of copyright had expired, copyright should pass to the state to be held in trust for the nation, and ethically exploited, the funds accruing to be used to help subsidise the arts. "The idea of a fund to subsidise the arts derived from exploitation of the works of former authors, artists and composers is on the face of it attractive. This idea is supported by a number of authors of distinction. It is supported by some publishers. Although there is a degree of support from individuals and organisations whose views command attention, the submissions before us dealing with this topic were for the most part opposed to the idea."[2] The 1952 Gregory Committee was also urged to recommend

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1 See 'Report of the Committee to consider the Law on Copyright and Designs', (The Whitford Committee). H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 6732, 1977, pages 160 ff.

2 Whitford Report, page 164.

a 'domaine public payant'. It rejected the idea on the grounds that such a scheme would amount to a new indirect tax levied on those members of the public who buy the arts, that it would be too expensive to administer, and that it would introduce a restriction on artistic and intellectual dissemination foreign to British law. The Whitford Committee considered that there was no evidence one way or the other that such a scheme would be especially costly to administer or that it would raise substantial revenue to support the arts. It nevertheless rejected the idea on the grounds that most of the money for a 'domaine public payant' would effectively come from a small section of the community and that the good which could be achieved might be outweighed by the loss of free dissemination. In an article written before the Committee's deliberations Henry Cecil argued that, on the point of costly administration, "The Performing Right Society seems to have managed splendidly in administering the millions of pounds which pass through its hands," and on the point of worthwhile income available for distribution, "The revenue from the Gilbert and Sullivan operas alone would have been very substantial."[1] The point on administration is not entirely made, since blanket licensing on the P.R.S. model is seldom found in the other arts. The administering of grants might also be troublesome, although it could be done through the Arts Council. The income gathered would, of course, depend on how vigorously the available works were exploited. Cecil maintained that because no distinction is made between prices charged to the public for plays, films, concerts or broadcasts that are in or out of copyright, all that happens when a work falls into the public domain is that the impresario receives a windfall profit because he no longer has to pay copyright dues. Why should he think that the impresario will not compensate for his loss of profit through 'domaine public payant' fees by raising his prices to the public? Where serious music is concerned, any extra copyright payments for concerts would have to be funded from increased seat prices or increased subsidy. Extra payments for recording and broadcasting would be spread over the entire industries and could result in a marginally more expensive service to the public. The added cost for sheet music would be passed straight to the buyer. There would be a danger that in establishing a new fund for subsidising the arts (with added administrative cost), a greater need for subsidy would itself be created. As far as the

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[1] Henry Cecil: 'Extension of Copyright' in Performing Right, Number 60, October 1973, page 27 ff.

music publishers are concerned, any reduction in profits from selling standard works imposed by an extra copyright levy would in turn reduce their ability to take risks on contemporary composition. There are, nevertheless, parts of the arts industry that are commercially very successful, and the trustees of a 'domaine public payant' could make them subsidise the worthy but less successful by operating discriminatory levy charges. Such a scheme would undoubtedly amount to an indirect tax, though probably a small one, levied selectively on consumers of the arts; but perhaps the balance of arts subsidy provision between them and the general taxpayer should be slightly tilted. If a perpetual public copyright fund were to be instituted, it would be most important to establish that payments into it should in no way be allowed to diminish the level of normal copyright payments already made, nor should the Government use its existence as an excuse for reducing the Arts Council's grant.

Turning to Macaulay's 'tax on the reader', some reasonable estimates can be made of what proportion it now constitutes of the prices charged to consumers of serious music. In the case of sheet music, assuming the publisher is not making monopoly profits, it comprises that percentage of retail sale value passed from publisher to composer as a royalty: this depends to some extent on the bargaining power of the individual composer; at the beginning of the sixties it was generally in the range 10% to 15%, but now it is commonly 10% or less. Some small part of this 'tax' may in fact be transferred to non-copyright music, in as much as its price might possibly be a little lower if it did not have to play its part in financing present production of new music.[1] Many consumers are avoiding the 'tax' altogether by resorting to the library and the photocopier. The buyer of a gramophone record or cassette sees no difference in price between records embodying copyright music and those of non-copyright music, the copyright costs are spread over the whole of the industry's output. The same conditions obtain in broadcasting and concert-giving. Since a piece of copyright music once recorded may be recorded by anyone else on payment of a $6\frac{1}{4}\%$ royalty to the copyright holder, this figure must act as an upper limit because the original royalty negotiations have to take into account the possibility of

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[1] But there is some evidence that publishers are cutting the profit on non-copyright music to protect or increase their share of the market.

someone second in the field having to pay only $6\frac{1}{4}\%$.[1] Given that buyers of records of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven et al contribute to copyright costs, then the proportion per record drops to just one or two per cent.[2] Mechanical royalties are usually shared equally between composer and publisher. It should be remembered that the record industry can finance the copyright fees it has to pay to composers and publishers by charging copyright dues on the public 'performance' and broadcasting of the records it produces.

The B.B.C. pays 2% of its own income to the P.R.S. for the use of all copyright music, plus smaller amounts in mechanical royalties only some of which go to composers and publishers. Pop and light music take the lion's share of this money, but serious music, through the P.R.S. payments scheme, does receive greater amounts than its air-time and audience should dictate (see Chapter Seven). Commercial broadcasting, in which serious music scarcely figures at all, is paid for at the supermarket checkout in that part of the price of goods contributed by advertising. For most of the halls where public concerts of serious music are given, the P.R.S. licence comprises approximately 2% of their annual gross expenditure; when the licensee lets the hall to an outside promoter, 5% of the gross receipts is charged.[3]

Taking the serious music industry as a whole, it would seem that copyright payments amount to between 2% and 5% of the charges to the consumer. Allowing first for the publishers' share and then for the fact that most copyright payments are for the music of composers who died up to 50 years ago (because their works are a good deal more popular), this probably means that some small part of one per cent of consumer spending on serious music reaches the pockets of living composers. This is a reflection of the inadequacy of our copyright system, the neglect of the creator in our musical culture, and the fact that the composer is unfortunate in comparison with the novelist and

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1 If the projected record would have limited sales potential and would not be covered by a Mechanical Copyright Protection Society blanket licence, the percentage could well be somewhat smaller.

2 The bulk of serious music on record is non-copyright. In the 'pop' world the opposite is the case. Where a record company embraces both worlds, it is usual for the 'classical division' to have to be self-sufficient.

3 Since most concerts of serious music are subsidised, 5% of the box-office gross will represent a smaller proportion of total costs.

visual artist, because he can reach his audience only through a large number of intermediaries, most of whom are better paid than himself. The examples of composers' earnings given in Chapter Seven certainly do not give the impression of a profession over-coddled by the law.

Thus far copyright has been discussed almost exclusively in economic terms. It is a British failing to do so, but it is important that the economic impact of copyright protection should be assessed for its value to composers and publishers. The Report of the Canadian Royal Commission on Patents, Trade Marks and Industrial Designs, 1957, observed two different approaches to copyright: "The right is regarded by some as a 'natural right' on the ground that nothing is more certainly a man's property than the fruit of his brain. It is regarded by others as not a natural right but a right which the state should confer in order to promote and encourage the labours of authors. Generally speaking, those who appeared before us advocating long and strong protection held the first view; those who were in favour of weaker and shorter terms of protection held the second."[1] British copyright law has always placed itself in the second camp. But copyright should not be regarded merely as an incentive, it is a moral imperative stemming from the act of creation.

As long ago as 1977 the Whitford Committee recommended many overdue reforms, but still no Bill has been presented to Parliament. The Committee observed that "a majority of people find the law as it stands complex and confusing. There has also been disclosed a considerable ignorance of the present law relating to these subjects. There have been many requests for simplification, if this is possible."[2] "The Act of 1956 is a remarkable feat of draftsmanship but, even if it is a draftsman's dream, it has proved a nightmare to those who have to try to understand it."[3] The British Copyright Council has long advocated that our law should move nearer to West German law, not only in comprehensibility, but also in the particular matter of beginning the Act with a clear statement of the principles and primacy

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1 Quoted in R.F. Whale: 'Copyright - Evolution, Theory and Practice' Longman, London, 1971, page 25.

2 Whitford Report, page 2.

3 Whitford Report, page 4.

of the author's right.[1] This would not only be just, it would obviate the need to look to legal minutiae every time someone throws up a new means of reproducing, broadcasting, recording or in any other way infringing the spirit of copyright protection. Whitford recommended that the law be placed "on a plain and uniform basis ... Matters of principle applicable to all classes of protected matter should be set out first ... There should be one comprehensive Definition Section placed at the beginning of the Act ... The general words of description used in the Copyright Act should relate more closely to the way in which those words are commonly used."[2]

Illegal photocopying constitutes a severe threat to the continued publication of contemporary music. The Music Publishers' Association has carried out a few exemplary prosecutions, but they seem to have made little impact. The Committee recognised the scale of the problem: "The widespread availability of simple-to-operate and relatively cheap-to-use photocopiers has made the law unworkable ... Since detection is virtually impossible in many cases, there is no incentive to do so. It is pointless for the law to lay down prohibitions which are unenforceable ... On the other hand unless something is done there is a serious danger that, in some fields at least, publication will cease."[3] Persuasion has been tried: the British Copyright Council has posted notices near photocopiers explaining the law on photocopying and its own interpretation of 'fair dealing'; a large number of the serious music publishers, with the Composers' Guild and some significant users of music, have published a joint code of practice listing those few circumstances in which photocopying may be carried out freely and a number of others in which it will be permissible on payment of a fee.[4] The law does not need to be changed to make photocopying illegal - the Music Publishers' Association contemplates instituting its own licensing scheme in an attempt to enforce the law - but the law needs to be made practicable. Illegal photocopying has been most rife in educational institutions: Whitford was not

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1 "Professor W. R. Cornish of the London School of Economics has recently observed that a man of reasonable intelligence faced for the first time with the German Copyright Act would in the space of a few hours be able at least to understand it even if he did not agree with it. The same can scarcely be said of the 1956 Act. It is hoped that it may be said of any new Act" - Whitford Report, page 7.

2 Whitford Report, pages 12 and 13.

3 Whitford Report, page 69.

4 'Copying Music', The Music Publishers' Association, 1979.

prepared to make a special case of education - "We feel that the fact that 'education' is a good cause is not in itself a reason for depriving copyright owners of remuneration ... education is still in a large measure dependent upon the work of authors, artists and composers. Education is equally dependent upon the work of the publishers who first produced the material which the authorities want to copy for educational purposes."[1]

In Sweden, photocopying in schools is allowed within not too severe limits, but the Government makes payments to an authors' and publishers' association ('BONUS') in respect of this. Photocopying by libraries is sampled and paid for through the same fund as the public lending right. In West Germany, blanket licensing schemes are used under which limited photocopying may be carried out on payment of an annual fee; the income is divided (after administration costs) equally between authors' associations and publishers. The Netherlands too has blanket licensing schemes for photocopying. Whitford recognized that, "In fact many of the blanket schemes so far introduced seem to be experiencing some difficulty in practice. We do not interpret this as an indication that blanket licensing is unworkable, but rather that the details need careful consideration."[2]

The Committee recommended that reprography in all its forms should constitute an infringement of copyright and that the 'fair dealing' exclusions that presently allow non-profit-making libraries to provide single copies under certain circumstances and researchers to photocopy extracts for the purposes of private study should be abolished. Copyright owners should be given a limited period in which to set up blanket licensing schemes, after which reprography will be free in areas not covered. The number and nature of such schemes would be limited by a requirement for Ministerial recognition and their operation would be controllable by a Copyright Tribunal (the Performing Right Tribunal with suitably widened powers). "Negotiated blanket licences are seen as the only practicable solution by the majority of interested parties. Majority opinion is against, and we think rightly against, the idea of a levy ... on sales of photocopying machines since many of these may never, or only infrequently, be used to infringe copyright."[3] A blanket licensing system could be

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[1] Whitford Report, pages 68 and 69.

[2] Whitford Report, page 62.

[3] Whitford Report, page 70.

scrupulously fair and the licence for each institution could be regulated to take account of the volume of copyright material reproduced; if there were a scheme specific to music then composers and their publishers would not have to fight other copyright holders for a share of the proceeds (though they would still have to devise equitable ways of sharing the money between themselves, presumably through sampling). A licensing system would be open to abuse and evasion. A levy on the sale and rental of machines would be unavoidable, but would amount to 'rough justice' in that all non-copyright duplication would have to contribute, the intensity of use in duplicating copyright material could not be taken into account, and the funds raised by the levy would somehow have to be shared amongst all copyright holders in all published material.

For audio and video recording the Committee did, however, recommend the 'rough justice' of a levy on the selling price of machines manufactured in Britain or imported. The West German Copyright Act of 1965 provides for such a levy of up to 5% on sales of recording equipment suitable for private use (i.e. excluding office dictating equipment and large professional recording machines). The manufacturers and importers pay an annual lump sum to a collection agency (Z.P.U.) which then distributes the considerable revenue to composers, lyric writers, performers and record makers. The idea of a levy on blank tape, which would more accurately reflect usage, was rejected both in West Germany and by Whitford because it would involve a much larger administrative operation handling smaller monetary values, and because tapes can in any case be re-used. The scale of home-taping was evidenced to the Committee through two surveys: a sample of people with access to recording equipment taken in 1972 by the Consumers' Association showed that two thirds of them took recordings off the radio occasionally and over half of them copied borrowed records; a survey by the British Phonographic Industry in 1975 showed that "45% of homes have access to a recording facility and that 20% of persons over sixteen have used recording equipment at some time or other to record from commercial records or tapes."[1] The evidence to the Committee from the Council for Education Technology showed that in 1972, 97.5% of secondary schools had both radio receivers and audio recorders, whilst 99.4% of primary schools had radio receivers and 91.5% audio recorders.[2]. During the seventies

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[1] Whitford Report, page 75.

[2] 'Evidence to the Committee to consider the law on Copyright and Designs', Council for Educational Technology for the United Kingdom.

the spread of 'resource centres' within schools or serving groups of schools and the development of 'programmed learning' techniques have led to a great deal of duplication of copyright material on paper and tape for use in the classroom. Whitford recommended that for educational establishments the levy should be supplemented by blanket licensing. As with reprography the constitution of the collecting agency for the levy and licences would be subject to Ministerial approval and its operation would be governable by the Copyright Tribunal. The music industry sorely needs such a levy, but composers will have to compete with publishers, the record industry, broadcasting organisations, the film industry and performers for a share of the funds it creates.

Not only are some provisions of the 1956 Act unworkable, but the pursuit of infringers through the courts has proved difficult, costly and not always worthwhile. Whitford recommended that the damages available in proven civil actions for copyright infringement should be comparable with damages awarded in other fields and that the courts should have greater freedom to impose 'exemplary damages' in cases of flagrant infringement. In civil cases concerning music it is open to the courts to order that infringing copies and the means of making them be 'delivered up' and to grant injunctions ordering the cessation of infringing activities. Under the 1956 Act, infringing copyright for the purposes of trade can also be a criminal offence, although the penalties for those found guilty are only a maximum fine of £50 for a first offence and up to two months imprisonment for subsequent offences. These penalites are out of all proportion to the profits that can be made from such offences, and Whitford recommended that they should be increased.[1] Bringing a case to court is made difficult by the fact that to enter premises and seize infringing copies it is first necessary to obtain a permissive order from the High Court, by which time the search may in any case prove fruitless. Once in court, copyright cases are notoriously difficult to prove: in some cases it is necessary not just to establish that an infringement has taken place, but also that the defendant had 'guilty knowledge' of this. Whitford recommended that, in cases where the fact of an infringment is indisputable, the burden should pass to the defendant having to prove that "he believed, and had reasonable grounds for believing that he was not infringing copyright."[2]

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[1] Whitford Report, page 181.

[2] Whitford Report, page 191.

Even when a case is successfully prosecuted, the defendant in a civil action may be unable to pay appropriate damages within a reasonable time, or in a criminal case those convicted may be no more than the foot-soldiers of the generals reaping illegal profits (to this end a new Copyright Act ought to make it an offence to incite others to criminal offences in respect of copyright). The inadequacy of the copyright protection given by the 1956 Act has been compounded by the difficulty and fruitlessness of bringing actions to court. The implementation of Whitford's recommendations in this matter would be of value to all copyright holders and particularly to the record industry which urgently needs more effective measures against piracy and counterfeiting.

Whitford recommends clarification of the rights of the makers of computer software and the performers of extempore performances which are fixed by tape - both provisions have obvious relevance to contemporary composition. Certain other of its recommendations would bring extra income to composers if they were enacted: extending copyright to include British registered aircraft in international airspace, ships on the high seas and oil rigs on the U.K. sector of the Continental Shelf, and redefining 'diffusion' to bring into the net closed-circuit radio and T.V. (operated by education institutions, hotels, holiday camps, etc.) 'dial-a-disc' services and any expansion of cable T.V.

The enactment of the Whitford proposals would bring both justice and extra revenue to composers and those who publish and record their works. In the cases of publishing and recording serious new music, without suitable and speedy copyright law reform these activities could soon all but cease. But more needs to be done. A new Copyright Tribunal must be persuaded that payments to copyright holders in Britain are historically low and should be increased well beyond the rate of inflation; it must also be persuaded that composers receive too small a fraction of the wealth they help to create, and the Tribunal (or if necessary new law) should regulate existing and new licensing schemes to ensure that composers get their just reward.

Music is a highly internationalised business and composers have a significant interest in the copyright protection afforded by countries other than their own. There are still some countries which play no part in international copyright agreements - China and some of the

oil-rich Arab states are the most obvious examples - Russia did not join the Universal Copyright Convention until 1973, before that only a limited series of bilateral agreements secured any protection or remuneration for Russian use of foreign works. The Universal Copyright Convention requires minimal copyright provisions within its member states, the most important qualification is that adherents should afford the same protection to foreign copyright holders as they do to their own nationals. Membership of the Berne Convention requires more extensive and sophisticated copyright law. In neither case is there a mechanism for members collectively to operate sanctions against another member which is failing to carry out its obligations. On the other hand the time may come when other supra-national organisations seek to regulate the copyright practices of member countries - the West German collecting agency G.E.M.A. has already (in 1972) been ordered to change certain of its procedures by the E.E.C. Court. In truth, the 'harmonisation' of copyright law within the E.E.C. would probably help British composers and publishers, who already benefit from the superior protection and remuneration their works command in some other European countries when used there.[1] The countries of South America, Africa and Asia are mainly importers of books and the arts in all their forms and so have a greater interest in relatively free access to the intellectual products of the developed countries than in nurturing their own creative talents, consequently the copyright protection in those countries can be very limited indeed. Taiwan has turned this coin to become a notorious source of pirated and counterfeited copyright material drawn from the rest of the world, multiplied and returned at a profit. During the sixties, and particularly at the 1967 Stockholm Conference, the demands of the developed world for strong copyright protection and the counterclaim of the developing countries for greater freedom threatened to destroy international copyright co-operation. The 1971 Paris Conference provided a compromise, but at some cost to composers, authors and publishers. The spread and improvement of copyright protection throughout the world is primarily the job of U.N.E.S.C.O., W.I.P.O. and C.I.S.A.C., but the P.R.S. has recently formed its own subsidiary, Music Copyright Overseas Services Ltd.,

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[1] The E.E.C. Commission has recommended that harmonisation of the European laws on copyright, public lending right and arts taxation should begin - see 'Community Action in the Cultural Sector' issued by The Commission of the European Communities.

to administer performing rights in Commonwealth countries where no national society exists and to nurture the growth of young societies elsewhere.

The most important market in which British composers and publishers have been ill-rewarded by native copyright provisions is the United States of America. A campaign for the revision of the United States Copyright Act of 1909 began in the late fifties, but a new Act was not signed until 1976 and did not come into force until 1978. Before that no payment could be claimed for the use of copyright music by juke-boxes, cable television operators, the public service broadcasting companies and promoters of performances which were not for commercial profit. The not-for-profit provision now has a very limited scope. Juke-boxes, cable television and public broadcasting companies now pay copyright fees under a compulsory licence system, some of the charges being defined in the new Act, some by the newly-formed Copyright Royalty Tribunal; this will mean extra income for composers but will not leave them free to negotiate payment for or control the use of their music. Prior to the new Act, the term of U.S. copyright was 28 years from first publication plus 28 years more if claimed; copyright in the second period reverted to the composer who could then re-negotiate with his present publisher or seek a better agreement with another. This meant that copyrights inadvertently not renewed after 28 years fell into the public domain, that composers could lose the income from the work of their early years late in life and that publishers could be robbed of rewards from slow-moving copyrights just as they were coming into their profitable period. The copyright in works completed since 1st January 1978 lasts for the life of the composer plus fifty years, and the works already registered at that date have had their term extended to 75 years. Assignments of copyright will be renewable 35 years after they have been made, a provision which still poses a small threat to publishers' investments. The notorious 'manufacturing clauses' which required that the physical material embodying copyright works for sale had to be produced within the United States have been considerably diluted and may be phased out altogether in 1982 if Congress so decides. The dual system of the common law rights in unpublished works subsisting through individual state law and the federal copyright law applying only to published works has ended, clearing up some degree of confusion. The formalities of printing notices of copyright on the

material concerned, registering and depositing copies with the Copyright Office and notifying that Office of assignments of copyright are retained but are no longer compulsory; nevertheless it is impossible to bring a copyright case to court unless the formalities have been complied with. 'Fair dealing' provisions which were previously court-made law and rather generous are now embodied in the Act and rigorously defined. The revision of U.S. copyright law will help British composers and publishers, but one distinguished American copyright administrator has written: "Despite some significant changes, it seems clear that the new law will not result in substantial economic benefits for the majority of composers and music publishers. It is not likely that the changes in the Copyright Act will bring about more than a five per cent increase in total performing rights income."[1] Even if this proves a pessimistic assessment, there are other dangers to copyright collection in the U.S.A. The three American collecting agencies are highly susceptible to the U.S. anti-trust laws. Just as the copyright law was being changed the whole basis of blanket licence royalty collecting in the United States was threatened by the decision in the case of A.S.C.A.P. and B.M.I. versus C.B.S. which implied that certain of the collecting agencies' operations amounted to illegal price fixing. On appeal, with supporting representations from the P.R.S. and S.A.C.E.M., the decision was reversed in 1979. The anti-trust laws still prevent British composers from collecting royalties on the showing of films employing their music in the United States through B.M.I. or A.S.C.A.P. What ought to be a lucrative source of income is restricted to a licence charge levied by the P.R.S. on members of the British Film Producers' Association in respect of films exported for showing in the U.S.A.

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[1] Edward M. Cramer (President of Broadcast Music Inc.): 'Not everything is beautiful' in the Performing Right Yearbook 1978, P.R.S., London.

Libraries

It is possible for most people in this country to use composers' works in the form of scores, performing material and records borrowed from public and educational libraries, indeed the spread of music and record libraries within the public library system has been a particularly pleasing example of attempts to make serious music more widely and readily available. Britain is rightly proud of its long tradition of making no direct charge to the users of its libraries - learning and literacy are free at the point of use,[1] though paid for through the generality of taxation. Unfortunately there is an equally long tradition of not acknowledging that authors should be recompensed beyond the ordinary royalty they receive from publishers on the initial sale of a book, for the borrowing of their works by a multitude of users.[2] For a composer this means that a record of his music might be used by twenty or thirty borrowers on payment to him of the price of a cup of coffee on British Rail. Similarly the parts of a piece he has written for, say, cello and piano, can be bought by a library with an indirect payment to him of twenty or thirty pence and then used by more borrowers than he has received pence. It is likely that some borrowers will tape the record or photocopy the music and thus compound the injustice.

The battle to establish a 'public lending right' has been fought for many decades, of late most notably by Brigid Brophy and Maureen Duffy of the Writers' Action Group outside Parliament, and Lord Willis and Norman St. John Stevas inside Parliament. Composers have not joined authors in arms and, as will be seen, have been rewarded accordingly. In 1974, the Conservative Cabinet decided to introduce

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1 With small exceptions: nearly all record libraries make a small charge per record borrowed or demand an annual subscription; books borrowed beyond the allowed loan period attract a daily 'fine' until they are returned. It must be admitted that where public libraries are concerned 'learning' has an admixture of entertainment, since 70% of all loans are of fiction.

2 This is not so elsewhere in Europe: Denmark, Sweden and West Germany all recognise that the multiple use of material in libraries justifies extra payment to authors and publishers through some form of public lending right.

legislation,[1] but was out of Government before it could take a practical initiative. In 1975 Lord Willis introduced a Private Bill to establish a public lending right, but dropped it on the assurance of the then Labour Government that it would be introducing its own Bill. Lord Willis, when the Government Bill came in 1976, thought it a poor specimen. So far as composers were concerned he made an important amendment changing the qualifying articles from 'books' to 'works', but this was reversed by the Commons. The Bill encountered a good deal of opposition: librarians saw in it a troublesome and expensive administrative burden, others saw in it the beginning of the end of the free library system and an ill-judged extra tax on learning and leisure giving a benefit that would be better discharged directly by the Arts Council; some Noble Lords declared that the proposed right was not a 'right' at all, it being foreign to English law to dictate how a thing might be used once it has been sold (thereby conveniently ignoring a century's development of copyright law). The Bill died at the end of that Parliamentary Session for want of time, partly because of the delaying tactics of those opposed to it, partly because the Government made a procedural error in initiating a Bill that made a charge on the Exchequer in the Lords rather than the Commons. A Private Bill proposed by Norman St. John Stevas also died for lack of Parliamentary time in 1978, having been effectively filibustered.

In 1979 the Government finally succeeded in passing a Bill through all its stages[2]: the Public Lending Right Act received the Royal Assent on March 22nd, 1979.[3] It provides for a central fund of £2 million to be administered by a Registrar of Public Lending Right in accordance with a scheme to be laid before Parliament by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and subject to annual reports by the Registrar and Secretary of State to Parliament. Since the Government changed soon after the Act became law, a scheme has yet to be instituted. The figure of £2 million is small enough

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1 After a reasonably encouraging report: 'Public Lending Right: a report of the Working Party appointed by the Paymaster General', Department of Education and Science, H.M.S.O., 1972.

2 Due not least to the determination of the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Shirley Williams, who said, "I believe this Bill is an act of simple justice to a profession which has added lustre and grace to the country" - Hansard, 10th November, 1978.

3 Public Lending Right Act, 1979, Chapter 10.

when one considers that local authority public libraries alone make more than 600 million loans per year, but the administrative costs of the Registrar's Office and the libraries concerned have to be borne by the fund, leaving on current estimates £1,400,000 to be distributed. The ceiling of £2 million can be raised by a House of Commons Statutory Instrument, and should be. Like copyright, the lending right will run to fifty years after the author's death and will be assignable. Critics have attacked these provisions on the grounds that the payment to heirs is unnecessary and that making the right assignable will mean that authors will be obliged by publishing contracts to pass a good deal of the money accrued from the fund on to their publishers.[1] If P.L.R. is seen only as a small fund for the encouragement of authors then these criticisms hold, but if it is seen as a right in natural justice then it should, like other forms of copyright, be assignable and bequeathable. A section of the Act which has particularly angered librarians is that which stipulates fines of up to £1,000 for false statements made in relation to P.L.R.

There are more general and more serious criticisms. The Act covers only public libraries run by local authorities, though multiple use is also a feature of libraries within places of education. There is a case for excluding educational libraries from P.L.R., a case which composers (despite their poor economic returns) might uphold in the interest of the spread of knowledge of their works as well as that of scholarship in general. If, however, P.L.R. payments are to be made from a central fund with no prejudice to the money available for purchases by educational libraries, then there is less reason to exclude them. The Act refers only to 'books', which seems to preclude (for no good reason) scores, performing material and records; perhaps it is not too late for the Secretary of State to include them within the definition of 'book' for the purposes of the scheme, though such a definition might not be accepted by Parliament.

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1 Conversely it can be argued that if P.L.R. remains solely with authors, publishers will use its existence as an excuse for reducing normal royalty payments on sales. R.S. Thomson, in 'An economists's case against P.L.R.' in the Library Association Record, April 1979, argued that the steady increase in the number of new titles published each year suggested publishing did not need the benefit of P.L.R. (although for 'learned' material, only library purchases make publication possible at all). If P.L.R. aimed to help the struggling author, the proposals would fail because so much of the funds would go to administration and to popular authors who have no need of the extra income (and which in their case will be highly taxed) - help through the Arts Council and tax law would be more efficient and beneficial.

The classes, descriptions and categories of 'books' are left by the Act to the details of the scheme to be laid before Parliament. The Government's consultative document published earlier this year[1] indicates that books by more than three authors will be excluded, as will those by translators, editors and illustrators. So that the most successful authors will not 'scoop the pool' there is to be an upper limit of £1,000 receivable by one author in one year, per £1 million available for distribution. Payment, which will not begin until 1982, will be made according to samples of loans from approximately 70 public libraries. The use of reference books may yet be taken into account through stock censusing. In 1975 a working party reported that, provided the libraries where loans were sampled numbered only 72, the cost of administering a loan-sampling scheme was broadly similar to one which was based on the purchases of all public libraries.[2] Advances in library technology and computer invoicing have probably rendered these costings obsolete. A system which made payments from a P.L.R. fund on the basis of purchases by libraries (perhaps weighted by the varying 'shelf-lives' of different categories of material and the number of users registered with the library concerned) could more easily accommodate educational as well as public libraries, music in all its forms, and works of reference, joint authorship, compilation, etc. With such a system it would be less likely that the limited funds available would be largely taken by 'those that already have'. Two important provisos would have to accompany a purchase-based scheme: first it would have to be clear that the P.L.R. fund in no way prejudiced the amounts of money given to libraries for purchases in the normal way (which have, sadly, already fallen victim to the public expenditure axe), and second that sudden inflows from the fund should be averageable over several years for income tax purposes.

Since 1666 British law has ordered that copies of all books be given by their publishers to the 'libraries of legal deposit'. There

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1 'Public Lending Right', Department of Education and Science, 1980.

2 'Public Lending Right: an account of an investigation of technical and cost aspects', Department of Education and Science, H.M.S.O. 1975 (first report and final report).

were three of these in the first instance, now there are six.[1] They provide invaluable loci for research and scholarhsip where the seeker knows he will be able to find practically every book (and piece of music) printed or imported for sale in Britain. In music publishing, where initial costs are particularly high and long print runs are unusual, the cost of providing these deposit copies can be a minor financial irritant; the Whitford Committee suggested that the net manufacturing cost of producing deposit copies might be allowed as a credit against publishers' tax liability.[2] It would be useful to have the requirement for legal deposit extended to records and cassettes; with the publication of serious music in decline, archives for the preservation of music now being composed are especially welcome and a 'complete' aural one would be of considerable value. An aural archive of music could be started ab initio or built onto one of the partial stores already existing - the B.B.C. Record Library, The British Institute of Recorded Sound or the British Music Information Centre - provided that ease of public access were guaranteed. As well as receiving legal deposits, the archive should be entitled to call for copies of B.B.C. music broadcasts at tape replacement cost, thereby widening the scope of its collection considerably and 'bringing into the net' large quantities of fine contemporary music that does not find its way onto record.

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[1] The British Library receives deposits automatically. The Bodleian Library (Oxford), Cambridge University Library, the National Libraries of Scotland and Wales, and the Library of Trinity College Dublin all have the right to demand deposits (though in the case of the National Library of Wales the right applies only to material which involves, however indirectly, some aspect of Wales and Welsh culture). The position of the Library of Trinity College Dublin is now anomalous, but the library can be said to serve scholars in Northern Ireland.

[2] Whitford Report, page 210.

Tax and Social Security

Organisations promoting or providing the arts in Britain and persons or bodies wishing to sponsor or donate money to such organisations can qualify for various forms of tax relief, though none of the provisions which allow this were established with the good of the arts specifically in view. Most of these reliefs are bound up in the legal position conferred by a body having 'charitable status'. Special provisions for charities date back to an Act of 1601, and the four categories of aims now recognised as charitable were defined by Lord Macnaghten in 1891 from the preamble to the 1601 Act; they are the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion, and other purposes beneficial to the community. The image of a charity as a collection of 'do-gooders' holding out a begging bowl to the better-off in order to distribute its contents amongst the poor is an outdated one; over 1700 new charities are granted legal status each year and they range from independent schools through housing associations to street theatre groups. To achieve charitable status it is necessary to satisfy the Charity Commission (in England and Wales) or the Inland Revenue[1] (in Scotland and Northern Ireland) that the aims of the applicant trust or company are charitable and that all its activities are directed towards those aims. Most of the organisations involved with music that have gained charitable status - the governing bodies of orchestras, Regional Arts Associations, amateur choral societies, etc. - have done so within the meaning of the 'advancement of education', which is broadly interpreted as the advancement of aesthetic appreciation amongst the public. There are restrictions on the extent to which charities can carry on trade. Trading is allowed if it is not a very significant part of the activities, is not competitive and if it is generally recognised that the profits of trade will be devoted to a charitable purpose. Alternatively the charity may set up a separate trading company which then covenants all its profits to the charity, producing much the same effect as if the charity itself traded. In some cases trade is allowed if it is a direct and necessary implementation of the object of the charity (such as selling concert tickets).

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[1] The Inland Revenue also confers with the Charity Commission as to charitable status in England and Wales.

Once registered, the charity is exempt from income tax and corporation tax (under the Income and Corporation Taxes Act 1970) from capital gains tax (under the Finance Acts of 1965 and 1972) and from capital transfer tax (under the Finance Act of 1975). It pays a reduced rate of stamp duty on transfers of property. It does not have to pay the national insurance surcharge (under the Finance Act of 1977). The Finance Act 1980 has exempted it from development land tax. It has to pay only 50% of the rates due on its premises and the Local Authority may remit all or part of the rest.

This in itself amounts to a considerable package of benefits, but charitable status also means that musical organisations can be given money in a more 'tax-efficient' way. First of all it enables them to be given grants by other charities which otherwise could not do so without infringing their own charitable status. When an individual covenants to a charity a part of his taxable income for more than three consecutive years,[1] the charity is entitled to recover what would have been the income tax at the basic rate on that amount from the Inland Revenue, thereby increasing the amount by 30%.[2] Similarly, if a business covenants payments to a charity for a period of more than three consecutive years[3] it is allowed to make those payments out of profits before corporation tax is calculated, effectively making the payment 52% more than it could be without this provision. The recent reduction in the qualifying period for covenanted payments to charities should not only encourage more people and businesses to commit themselves in this way, but will also make the sums covenanted less susceptible to the ravages of inflation. Small gifts to charities in the locality of the business are also exempt. Gifts of assets other than money (property or shares for example) to charities are exempt from capital gains tax both when given and when the charity realises them in the form of cash.

It is clear that the laws of charitable status can confer considerable financial benefits on organisations promoting contemporary music; they also play an important part in encouraging business

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1 Until the Finance Act of 1980 the period was more than six consecutive years.

2 Under the Finance Act of 1980 a certain amount of higher rate income tax can also be recovered.

3 The qualifying period was more than six consecutive years between the Finance Acts of 1970 and 1980.

sponsorship of music. As well as the tax-efficient covenants already mentioned, firms are free to set up their own charitable trusts, covenant payments to them, and thus channel their gifts to the arts through them. If the firm uses arts sponsorship as a vehicle for advertising, then the money involved can be allowed as a business expense before tax is calculated on profits.[1] Some exemption can be claimed from capital transfer tax.

Value Added Tax was introduced in March 1973; it replaced purchase tax, an expenditure or 'sales' tax which operated at different rates on different categories of goods,[2] and also selective employment tax (S.E.T.) which was levied on employers according to the number of their employees and whether their business was a manufacturing or service one.[3] In essence, V.A.T. is applied to all goods imported to Britain and all goods and services supplied in Britain. It is levied at all stages of production or service. Persons or businesses liable for the tax have paid it on all their inputs and have to charge it on all their outputs. By subtracting the tax they paid on their inputs from the tax due on their outputs they arrive at the amount they must pay to the Customs and Excise. If this is a negative amount they are refunded by the Customs and Excise. V.A.T. is truly paid only by the final consumer, but a great deal of time and money is effectively spent by all the intermediaries in the process who have to administer it. When it began in 1973, the V.A.T. rate was 10% and businesses or persons with a turnover of £5,000 or more per year were liable to register for it and pay it. As far as individuals were concerned, it was applicable to those parts of their income which did not relate to a regular contract of employment: that is either wholly self-employed persons, or persons who gained income in excess of £5,000 per year from activities other than their usual employment. Many successful composer qualified. After several changes and rapid inflation, the V.A.T. rate now stands at 15% and the limit below which registration and payment is unnecessary at £13,500 per year.

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1 There are no hard and fast rules here and much depends on whether the local Inspector of Taxes sees the sponsorship as purely a business expense in that it attracts good public relations and advertising. Assistance to a good cause does not qualify. The sponsorship must be in the form of a revenue payment - capital grants are excluded.

2 Record players, for instance, were taxed at a higher rate than sheet music

3 This tax produced anomalies within single firms, where some workers engaged in 'manufacturing'were not charged for, whilst others in the same building who only gave a 'service' were. The object of slowing down the drift from manufacturing into service industries was not accomplished. S.E.T. did to a certain extent penalise the arts in comparison with manufacture.

The arts are generally liable for V.A.T.[1] and the 1979 increase in the rate to 15% may have marginally reduced audience figures in some areas.[2] This would be unexceptionable were it not for the facts that certain supplies such as insurance, education and medical services are wholly exempt, and that certain goods such as water, fuel, drugs and medicines, some foods and children's clothing are 'zero-rated' for V.A.T. Even within the arts there are anomalies: music (in printed, duplicated or manuscript form) and books are indeed zero-rated; thus you can look at a piece of music or play it yourself without V.A.T., but to hear it in any other circumstances you must pay V.A.T.; you can read a play without V.A.T. but you must pay V.A.T. to see it. There is a case for zero-rating the arts in a more general sense, though it is admitted that defining 'the arts' for this purpose would be difficult. If V.A.T. were not payable on, for instance, concert tickets, the concert-giving organisations could either reduce ticket prices (thus helping existing consumers and perhaps attracting more) or increase box-office receipts 'at a stroke' by retaining present prices. In a general sense, V.A.T. zero-rating, along with greater tax incentives for private sponsorship of the arts, might release some public funds from routine arts support and allow more to go towards contemporary and experimental creation.

As far as the composer is concerned, if his income as a free-lance individual is more than £13,500 per year including activities besides composing, he must charge the P.R.S. for V.A.T. in respect of the Society's distributions to him.[3] He must charge it to commissioners. He must also charge it in respect of any other assignments of copyright he makes within Britain (such as those to a publisher or mechanical rights society). There is, however, a general zero-rating provision for exports, therefore he needs make no charge for assignments to publishers or collecting agencies centred abroad. Clearly V.A.T. increases the prices paid by British consumers of his music without benefit to him, or indeed with penalty to him if those necessarily higher prices induce 'sales-resistance'. Composers whose

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1 Provided that the persons or organisations concerned have the requisite annual turnover.

2 It is impossible to disentangle the 'V.A.T. effect' from other inflationary pressures on ticket prices; audiences may also have been reduced through people's changed perception of their ability to spend money on the arts in a time of economic recession.

3 The P.R.S. how operates a scheme whereby it raises the member's V.A.T. invoice itself and combines its payment with his distribution.

income hovers around the qualifying limit can attempt to keep themselves from having to register by 'juggling' the dates on which they assign copyright in a piece or deliver it as a commission and thus balance fat and lean years.

For income tax purposes, composers' earnings are taxed under Case II of Schedule D.[1] This means that a great many expenses (writing materials, reproduction costs, upkeep of instruments and equipment, travel to rehearsals and performances, etc.) can be deducted from their 'profits' before tax is calculated. It also means that tax does not have to be paid until some considerable time after the income to which it relates was received: the tax arising for income gained between March 1978 and April 1979, for instance, will be payable in two instalments, the first on 1st January, 1980 and the second on 1st July 1980. A composer may thus have the use of money due in income tax for as long as two years before he has to pay it, during which time that money could itself earn income at the same time as decreasing as a tax payment in real terms as inflation advances. All this represents a considerable advantage over an ordinary employee , whose ability to claim expenses against tax is very limited indeed, and who pays tax every time he gets his wages or salary, under the Pay As You Earn system. The composer who is a full-time employee may lose some of the benefits of being taxed under Schedule D for his income from composition if his local Inspector of Taxes makes an estimate of his likely 'profits' from composition during the year and adjusts his P.A.Y.E. payments accordingly.

Royalties arising from the exploitation of a composer's works are treated as current income, as are commission fees (though a composer might be able slightly to reduce his tax liability with care over the precise dates on which all or part of commission fees are gained). Income arising overseas but paid through a British intermediary is subject to British income tax, although income paid abroad may qualify for tax relief of 25% if at least 30 days of the year have been spent overseas (in this particular instance, the self-employed are treated much less generously than employees whose work takes them abroad).

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[1] This is the general provision for all self-employed persons. Where a composer has regular paid employment, his earnings as an employee will be taxed under Schedule E, but his earnings as a composer under Schedule D.

Lump sums paid to a composer for the assignment of his copyright can be averaged for tax purposes over two years if the work concerned took more than one year to compose, or three years if the work took more than two years to compose. Lump sums received ten or more years after the initial date of a work's publication may be averaged for tax purposes over six years. Given the sporadic highs and lows of income from composition, some more general averaging provision would be valuable. Bursaries from the Arts Council are tax free, but not commission fees.

Whereas the income tax system favours the self-employed more than the employed, the reverse is true of the social security system.[1] If a composer is in full-time employment in, say, the education service, he and his employer pay normal national insurance contributions and he is entitled to the full range of social security benefits, many of them earnings-related, that are available. If he is self-employed, then he must pay much higher national insurance contributions (making up for the absence of the employers' contribution) and even then may not be eligible for the full scope of benefits. This results largely from the Social Security Act, 1975. Before that, as now, self-employed persons paid a flat-rate weekly national insurance contribution (known as a Class 2 contribution); since the Act an additional charge has been made (known as a Class 4 contribution) calculated, with upper and lower cash limits, as 5% of 'profits' for the purposes of income tax under Schedule D. Up to a certain total, these extra contributions have to be made on self-employed earnings even by people who already pay national insurance as employees in respect of other work. A proper contributions' record is vital to ensure the self-employed composer a state pension. He will, of course, have no occupational pension which the employed composer will receive in addition to his state pension. The P.R.S. does make some pension-like provisions (see Chapter Seven), but the self-employed composer might be wise to provide for his own 'social security' through the various tax-efficient insurances open to him.

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[1] Sweden and Norway now have special social security provisions for creative artists.

The provisions for copyright, tax and social security in Britain are a jungle of laws,rules, loopholes and anomalies created by decades of tinkering and policy shifts. To the layman they can be quite incomprehensible; for a composer without a publisher they can be a nightmare. They are clearly in need of root and branch reform, but until a Government summons the political will to begin again from first principles, the composer is well-advised to employ professional help in managing his affairs to best effect. In 1976 the Gulbenkian Foundation, Arts Council and Greater London Arts Association jointly funded a project to investigate the effects of the law on visual artists.[1] There is now a service - 'Artlaw' - which advises visual artists on legal matters and reviews changes in the law that affect them. It would be beneficial if the Composers' Guild were funded to provide such a service for composers.

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[1] The results were published as 'The Visual Artist and the Law' by Henry Lydiate, Artlaw Research Project, London, 1978.

CHAPTER TWO : PUBLISHING

The publishers' traditional role of issuing printed music for sale has become less and less important to them as the twentieth century has progressed. The days when a new Brahms Symphony could be arranged for piano or piano duet and sell by the thousands have long gone. Now only a few hundred scores of a new orchestral work will be prepared and nearly half of those may be given away in the attempt to stimulate performances. Orchestral performing material is hired out rather than sold. Only the standard instrumental repertoire, overtly educational music, certain kinds of choral music and study scores of well-known music of all kinds are likely to show worthwhile profits over a reasonable period when printed and issued for sale. The publishers' share of the royalties from broadcasts, performances and records have become central to their finances.

The radio and the gramophone record have made the enjoyment of music at home a much simpler and more passive occupation - the need and desire to recreate music for oneself has diminished. Music has become less and less amenable to 'arrangement' for performance at home as the medium of its expression has become more and more integral to its nature. Its technical demands have tended to move beyond the grasp of amateurs and young people, as has its aesthetic world. We live in an age when composers seem to write only for a small circle of colleagues and critics, indeed with the committees of subsidy-giving organisations and the B.B.C.'s score-reading panel constituting such large hurdles between the composer and the public, this becomes a sensible policy for him.[1] Hugo Cole has characterised the situation thus: "When a composer knows that his work will be selected by panels, committees of new-music societies, competition juries - all composed of knowledgeable musicians - he tends to write for his peers rather than the general public. The hypothetical listener recedes still further into the background, the composer aims high and hopes for the best. And often when his work comes to performance, the lay listener, standing hopefully in the line of fire,

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[1] In the case of competitions, it is quite common for a composer to enter or not according to who are to be the judges and, if he does submit a piece, to tailor his entry according to the known musical prejudices of the judges.

hears the whine of bullets passing overhead, and cannot display even a hole in his hatbrim when the battle is over."[1] It is a tragedy that so few modern composers have given serious attention to writing music that is just within the reach of good players amongst children, students and amateurs, especially when more children than ever before are learning to play orchestral instruments. There are twenty or more youth orchestras in this country that can make a reasonable attempt at playing 'The Firebird' or a Shostakovich symphony, yet when living composers write for these young players, all too often they over-compensate by 'writing down' too much, both technically and emotionally.

What happens to all these talented instrumentalists who do not enter the music profession? Are there enough orchestras and smaller ensembles to sustain their interest in playing? Is anyone composing and publishing music for them? With an era of increased leisure on the horizon there is much to be done by the adult education services in providing opportunities for people to play music of all kinds after they have left school, and by composers and publishers in providing new music for them to play that is neither beyond their reach nor patronising. It can be argued that those who re-create a composer's music for themselves get closest to it - they also form an important part of the listening audience. The present provisions for post-school music making are disparate, patchy and underfunded; they could be dramatically improved if the Local Authority Adult Education Services, University Extra-Mural Departments, the Workers' Education Association and Arts Centres collaborated in funding facilities, services and expert direction for amateur players and singers. If composers and amateurs then reached out to each other, publishers might find their sales of music reviving. The B.B.C. could act as a stimulus through programmes reviewing music printed for sale (it already has such programmes for records and books); the reviews could include discussion of technical and interpretive difficulties, with excerpts professionally played, as well as value judgements. The Arts Councils and Regional Arts Associations in conjunction with the National Federation of Music Societies could play their part by giving special help for commissioning, preparing parts for, rehearsing

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[1] Hugo Cole: 'The Changing Face of Music', Gollancz, London, 1978, page 56.

and performing new works.[1]

The generally low level of performance and broadcast royalties, the spread of photocopying (especially in education) and of public libraries issuing sheet music, scores and orchestral parts have, in combination, had a severe effect on publishers' finances. Some solutions to these problems have been outlined in Chapter 1. The fact that so many works are written, often to commission, played two or three times, perhaps broadcast and then forgotten,[2] also has a debilitating effect on the economics of publishing. The large initial capital outlay on preparing scores and performing material will only be repaid by the royalties from many hires and performances, but very few works find a permanent place in the repertoire. It can take decades for some publishers' investments to begin to show a profit. One way in which grant-giving bodies could ameliorate the financial plight of publishers would be to shift the emphasis of their support for composers away from providing immediate livelihood and a flow of new works through subsidised commissions and towards stimulating and funding repeated performances of recent pieces that seem to have a potentially meaningful future. The Welsh Arts Council has been the most diligent in its provision for disseminating as well as creating new music. As well as funding commissions it gives grants for promotion and distribution through the Guild for the promotion of Welsh Music, for permanence to the Welsh Music Archive, for discussion of new music to a magazine ('Soundings') based at University College Cardiff and for books about Welsh composers produced by the University of Wales Press. When it engages an orchestra to give concerts in

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[1] The Arts Councils and R.A.A.'s already sometimes subsidise commission fees and copying costs for pieces composed for amateur bodies. The Arts Council of Great Britain helps amateur music-making through its grant to the National Federation of Music Societies, which in turn helps its members pay professional fees and P.R.S. licences. Last year a certain amount of this money was 'ear-marked' for special application to performances of contemporary music. The Welsh Arts Council makes a grant to the Welsh Amateur Music Federation, which most usefully operates a lending library of performing material for contemporary music. These provisions could be fruitfully extended.

[2] An internal paper prepared by Richard Lawrence for the Arts Council's Music Panel in 1975 showed that approximately one third of commissions funded by the Arts Council 'died' after their first performance.

Wales it almost always successfully applies pressure for a contemporary Welsh work to be in the programme. It has been subsidising gramophone records of Welsh composers' music for more than ten years. When it has commissioned an opera to be written for the Welsh National Opera it has also helped fund the televising of a performance by Harlech Television. All this is, of course, made easier by the relatively small number of Welsh composers. The Arts Council of Great Britain and the Scottish Arts Council give special subsidies for performances of contemporary music, but have not been quite as successful as the Welsh at injecting new music into the mainstream of professional concert-giving. They have followed the Welsh in subsidising records and magazines, and anticipated the Welsh in subsidising archives. Their Contemporary Music Networks which tour concerts of contemporary music give special help because so many repeat performances are involved.

Publishers have also suffered financially from non-musical developments. The 1970's have seen inflation in certain of their costs - paper, printing and the rental of storage space - far out-strip even the very high levels of general wage and price inflation. Old material in their catalogues and hire libraries has been sold at knock-down prices or even pulped because it was no longer possible to pay for its storage.

Composers argue that publishers compound their own problems by missing many opportunities for promoting works and selling scores when a particular composer or work has some good publicity or a run of performances. Buyers of sheet music complain that the service offered by publishers is often slow and inefficient and that pieces go rapidly out of print, even when there is considerable potential demand for them (such as when a piece goes onto the list for instrumental examinations); they also argue that publishers might be agreeably surprised by how many more sales and hires they would make if only they dropped their prices (hand in hand with this goes the argument that the British musician is naturally law-abiding and would prefer not to be forced by financial considerations into photocopying). Publishers reply that their cash-flow problems are such that the money available for promotion is very limited, as is the number of staff they can retain in order to keep up-to-date on sales and promotion possibilities and to give quick service.

The problems of the serious music publisher were well defined by Basil Ramsey, himself a publisher first with Novello, now with his own business: "He is called upon to equate the artistic demands of music, the state of the market, and the financial resources of his company. No stranger equation could be devised, and the solution is rarely to everybody's satisfaction."[1] For all that publishers of the day shamelessly 'pirated' Haydn's works and 'passed off' the music of minor composers as that of Haydn, Beethoven cheerfully sold some of his works 'exclusively' to several publishers at once. For every nineteenth century example of a work that made a fortune for a publisher after it was bought from the composer outright for a small sum, one can point to relationships, such as that of Verdi and Ricordi, which gave mutual benefit to all concerned. For all that members of the music-buying public complain of the poor service and high prices offered by many publishers, they contribute to those problems themselves by wilfully photocopying copyright music. The composer demands that his publisher understands and admires his music[2] and that he spends a great deal of money on producing beautiful copies of it, advertising it and promoting it. The publisher, though he may wish to do all these things, is accountable to his own financiers and ultimately to impatient shareholders.[3] The contracts between them sometimes have a vague phrase to the effect that the publisher will use his 'best efforts' on the composer's behalf[4], but the nub of the agreement is the royalty sharing arrangements which constitute the main identity of their interests. Whereas during the

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1 Basil Ramsey: 'Composer and Publisher' in Composer, Summer 1979, page 9.

2 Though Ernst Roth has written of Emil Hertzka, who built up the Universal Edition catalogue of Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Bartok, Kodaly, Weill, Krenek, Milhaud, etc. "I never discovered whether he could even read music, nor did I ever hear him talk about it with enthusiasm or even sympathy." - 'The Business of Music', Page 58.

3 The music department of Oxford University Press is in the happy position of not having to satisfy shareholders; the last two decades have seen the growth of myriad small publishing firms with just one or two shareholders.

4 In the case of A. Schroeder Music Publishing Co. Ltd. v. Macaulay (1974, 3 All ER 616), the House of Lords decided that a long-term contract binding a composer exclusively to one publisher is not enforceable if the publisher chooses not to exploit the composer's works, thus leaving him with little or no remuneration.

latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century composers did not always assign all their rights in a work to a publisher, it is now quite rare for this to happen, so much has the importance of sheet sales declined in relation to most new music. The share of the money a work makes that the publisher passes on to the composer depends to a certain extent on how strong the composer's bargaining position is, but they are commonly as follows: sheet sales - 10% of retail value; performing, broadcasting and mechanical rights - 50%, opera and ballet rights - 25% or 33%; fees for the hire of performing material 20% or 25% or 50%. Where exploitation overseas is licensed to sub-publishers it is usual for the British publisher and composer to share royalties passed on by sub-publishers equally; but if the sub-publishers are subsidiaries or associates of the British firm this can effectively result in the royalties being split 75% to the publisher, 25% to the composer. The low proportion sometimes passed to the composer from hire fees is perhaps surprising, but it should be noted that when the Music Publishers' Association carried out a survey of its members' hire-libraries in 1972, it appeared that overall they were making a loss. The system which tended to operate before 1960 in which a publisher paid a composer a 'retainer' and/or advances on royalties in return for the right of 'first refusal' on any future works is slowly falling into disuse.[1] It still happens, but the depressing forces already discussed have made it difficult for any publishers other than the largest ones with highly profitable parts of the catalogue on which to draw for cross-subsidy (such as O.U.P.'s educational music) to do this, and then only for a small number of composers.[2] The 'one-off' contracts affecting only the pieces to which they refer are now common forms of business between composers and publishers.

Both Ernst Roth and Alan Frank, for many years in charge of serious music publishing for Boosey and Hawkes and O.U.P. respectively, have recorded that only once in their experience has a significant

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1 In extreme examples of exclusive contracts it is possible for a composer to assign copyrights not yet in existence to a publisher, the assignments being effective the moment new works come into being. This is rare, but is sometimes found when a composer, for tax reasons, has set up a 'company' which then 'employs' him to compose.

2 Another reason for this is that since the expansion of the universities during the sixties the number of active composers has grown considerably: the opportunities available for performing, broadcasting, recording and selling new music are having to be shared amongst a much larger number of people.

piece been found amongst the unsolicited manuscripts sent by 'unknowns'.[1] First performances, and to a lesser extent first broadcasts, are not so difficult to obtain (though second performances and broadcasts are a rarer commodity) that talents can languish utterly unheard by vigilant publishers. Most composers have been taught by one or more of their peers, and a teacher might recommend a publisher's interest. Alan Frank has described the principles he used in selecting his 'house composers' from the multitude of young (and not so young) hopefuls: "It is difficult, because the most obviously saleable composer, is quite likely to be not the one that's going in the long term to bring you in money. One is really looking for composers who are not just efficient craftsmen, but who really have 'something' - music that really says 'something', and I'm more interested myself in a work from an unknown composer that has quite obviously a lot of things wrong with it, but has got some things that are very exciting and right with it."[2] The publisher backs his hunch with money and hopes his faith is justified. Ernst Roth has written: "I, like many other serious publishers, have not only printed immature works in order to encourage a young man but also paid fixed salaries or guaranteed incomes to real or presumed talents; like many other publishers, too, I have often been disappointed. Some only half fulfilled their promise, others not at all. One, of whom I was not alone in expecting great things and for whom I procured a ballet commission, absconded on that occasion with a girl from the corps de ballet and was never heard of again. But the few who fulfil or exceed expectations compensate for all the failures and mistakes, for the wasted labour and money. One feels oneself confirmed in one's task and, rightly or wrongly, believes one has rendered a service to the art, perhaps even to mankind."[3]

If a composer is 'taken on' by a publisher, besides publication, the services of lawyers, accountants, tax experts and administrators, the most important thing he gets is promotion. "As to promotion, one of course gets to know the conductors, the heads of radio-

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1 Ernst Roth, op.cit., page 54 and
Alan Frank: 'The Publisher's Role' in Composer, Summer 1979, page 12.

2 Alan Frank, op.cit., page 12.

3 Ernst Roth, op.cit., page 129.

departments, the heads of gramophone-departments, one gets to know their tastes, one gets to know the chinks in their armour, and in my opinion you will only get on in promoting new music by slowly beginning to build up in these people's minds some sense of confidence in your judgment."[1] What the composer has to measure is whether these benefits and the extra dissemination of his work that is actually achieved is worth the loss of the proportion of royalties he signs away. Some would now answer 'no'.

The shape of the music publishing industry has changed dramatically since 1960. Amongst publishers dealing in a broad range of music, high capitalisation but low cash flow has induced both mergers and takeovers; some firms have become part of larger groups with many interests besides music publishing.[2] Pop music publishing has been the scene of splintering and lateral integration, as artists and songwriters have sought to maximise their personal profits by setting up their own publishing and record companies. The development of the marketing possibilities of television, film and background music have brought new firms into the industry, although some of the 'publishing' firms set up have amounted to little more than royalty collectors.

In a splendidly irreverent article, the American publisher Robert King, who has built up a world-wide reputation for publishing and supplying brass music through what is virtually a 'cottage industry', made the following barbed observations: "I am completely convinced that the advantages of a sole-proprietorship are overwhelming! The herd decisions of a corporate board are certain to be flawed, however jovially arrived at. For example, at the moment I can report that most publishers, having gone to computers to save on labour, are now in the position of rarely filling an order with a correct invoice. They have not found the proper people to feed the computer, so that any saving they may have wanted has been wiped out by the expense of correcting the errors ... Thus my advice to a composer in search of a publisher would be to find out just how well their computers function. Also computers have a habit of telling management of those titles which are not selling and as a result,

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[1] Alan Frank (former head of O.U.P. music): op.cit., page 11.

[2] British subsidiaries or divisions of foreign music publishers, which account for a great deal of the serious music publishing in this country, have been to some extent immune from these processes.

they are dropped."[1] Everyone has their own computer horror story, but there are important grains in what King says: there has been considerable growth in sole- and dual-proprietor publishing over the past decade, partly because reprographic technology has improved very quickly and become much cheaper than traditional engraving and printing, partly because the service offered by the large firms has become so impersonal, partly because the 'giants' have left obvious gaps to be filled by specialists in certain areas of repertoire, and partly because of the development of mail-order selling techniques. In 1975 Peacock reported that, "The publisher finds that he cannot pay sufficiently high salaries to attract the necessary skilled staff."[2] King goes on: "So, to whom do you turn as a composer for the promoting of your works? Any firm that is free of committee psychology and tendencies to run with the crowd. Ma and Pa outfits are not to be passed over. They are referred to by the giants as 'bedroom' publishers (the stock is under the bed), but they are efficient and can make their own decisions. They have enthusiasm for what they are doing and because they must make their way in the world, honesty prevails. The only other bit of advice I have for composers is this: do not write for your peers because they rarely buy music."[3] 'Ma and Pa' publishers have prospered in this country by offering a fast personal service in a specialist repertoire, thus we have small publishers dealing exclusively in double-bass music, brass band music, wind music for children and amateurs, church music, etc.

A number of serious composers have followed their pop counterparts and become self-publishers.[4] The motive of maximising personal profit is shared between them, witness Patric Standford, Chairman of the Composers' Guild 1977-79: "The Guild's advisory service on publishing matters has clearly shown the disadvantages under which many composers eventually find themselves with the more usual commercial channels - the lack of promotion, the inadequate contracts, the unsatisfactory divisions of royalties. Above all it is the acquis-

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1 Robert King: 'Some Thoughts on Music Publishing', in Composer, Summer 1979, page 22.

2 Peacock and Weir: 'The Composer in the Market Place', Faber, London, 1975, page 160.

3 Robert King, op.cit., page 23.

4 'Self-publishing' has a considerable history: Wagner, for instance, published all his early operas himself; Mahler bore the printing costs of his symphonies.

ition of the composer's copyright by the publisher that is the greatest evil. His copyright is the composer's most valued possession, and this he often sells for a shilling and will never see again."[1] Whereas the pop composers have looked after themselves through jazzy London offices which arrange contracts, promote their wares and collect royalties, the serious composer-publisher has more the appearance of a cottage industry. Though he has no wish to share his royalties with anyone, he does try to present good quality sheet music for sale and hire (the hire fees, especially for B.B.C. broadcasts and professional orchestras, amount to some significant income). A composer with a good hand and eye for presentation will find it easy and cheap to get good quality material through Dyeline, Xerox or offset Litho. He can then encourage the dissemination of his own music by offering that material for hire or sale at rather lower rates than those of 'mainstream' publishers. It would be sensible for many composers to 'publish' orchestral, large-scale choral, light and chamber music themselves, whilst offering other suitable works to the small-scale specialist firms; such a decision does, however, imply a good deal of non-creative administration and the need of sound business sense and legal knowledge. A further step to begin to relieve some of these burdens would be for two or more composers to form a publishing co-operative, and this is indeed already happening.[2]

These small scale publishing activities provide an important extra service to both public and composers, they enrich our musical life, but they do not amount to a complete substitute for printed music or for promotion by a firm with regular contacts at high level in this country and overseas, nor have they been fully accepted into the public and educational library system.[3] The publishing function is a vital one. It gives a composer's music status and durability, ensuring that it will be permanently available for study by potential

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1 Patric Standford: 'Composer-Publishers' in Composer, Summer 1979, page 25.

2 'Anglian Edition' is a co-operative of 14 East Anglian composers; 'Lopes Edition' is run by 4 members of the Composers' Guild; 'Redcliffe Edition' is the joint enterprise of Francis Routh and Patric Standford.

3 Although there is surely a case for public libraries stocking 'unpublished' works by their local composers and libraries of educational establishments stocking those of the composers on their own staff.

performers and by students of music. The burdens of copying, reproducing scores and parts and 'running himself as a business' are taken away from the composer, who may be temperamentally quite unsuited to selling his music and negotiating his way through the undergrowth of contracts, copyrights, royalties, tax and the like. The task of stimulating the performance of his music (especially abroad) is taken in hand by a firm with appropriate resources, contacts and expertise. Serious music publishing in Britain should not be allowed to fail for want of some of the measures outlined in this and the first chapter. If it does, the Arts Council may find it difficult to make a straight subsidy to firms operating for profit, particularly if they are subsidiaries of large conglomerates or foreign publishers.[1]

The stimulation of amateur activity and repeat performances already mentioned would help indirectly. Other forms of assistance could also be considered. When Arts Councils fund a commission for a composer contracted to a publisher, a grant could be made for the preparation of a score and performance material - such grants are already available for composers themselves. If hire fees from the performing material and sales of the scores reached break-even point, a system of percentage repayments could begin thereafter. Scores of a large number of important contemporary works by living composers are not available for study because they can be found only in publishers' hire libraries. For five years from 1972 to 1976 inclusive the Central Music Library offered annual sets of such scores to other libraries on a subscription/limited edition basis. The charges were small (£15 for 13 scores in 1972 rising to £37.75 for 12 scores in 1976) because they were bound photocopies of the composers' own manuscripts. Fifty-eight works by 46 different living British composers were covered. If there is still a demand from libraries for such scores, the scheme ought to be revived with an injection of subsidy if necessary. Some relief of both the publishing and library problems can be sought by expanding the activities of three archives of British music already established.

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[1] The Arts Council does, however, already make grants for the publication of poetry and art books. The Australia Council Music Board in certain circumstances makes grants of up to two-thirds of the costs of publication of new music.

Archives

The British Music Information Centre (B.M.I.C.) was set up by the Composers' Guild in 1967 - it has been the Guild's single most important initiative. The B.M.I.C. offers a place where performers, concert promoters, radio and record producers, publishers, teachers and students can study scores of twentieth century British music, try them out at a piano, and listen to records or tapes of them if they are available.[1] The collection currently comprises 14,000 scores and 10,000 recordings and is growing at a rate of about 4% per year; what makes it unique is that it contains a host of unpublished scores and tapes not available for study anywhere else. It houses biographical details and cuttings relating to most of the active British composers. During 1979 the Centre had 3,233 visitors and innumerable enquiries by letter and telephone. It also afforded space to exhibitions concerning new music, to meetings of new music societies and to 57 chamber concerts (the 'hall' can hold only 40 people).

All this is achieved on a financial shoe string. The B.M.I.C. is a charitable trust, now formally separated from the Composers' Guild, though it occupies the same premises as the Guild and 'borrows' a good deal of the Guild's Secretary's time; the magazine 'Composer' has also been taken over from the Guild, but is still written and edited by Guild members. In 1979 the B.M.I.C. received £7,500 from the Arts Council, approximately £3,000 under covenant from the P.R.S. and £450 from the members of the Guild (£1 from each of their annual subscriptions). Less regular grants have been given by the Vaughan Williams Trust (to purchase material too expensive to be donated),

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[1] The tapes are taken mainly from B.B.C. broadcasts, with permission from the composer, the B.B.C. and the Musicians' Union - the composer pays for the tape. For a public first performance to be taped, it is necessary to have the permission of all the performers or to have been assured of this by their representative (shop steward). The Musicians' Union could help composers by negotiating a special agreement for the taping of first performances for non-commercial purposes on payment of a small fee, but there are problems in this: the tape might do justice to neither the music nor the performers and it would be impossible totally to 'police' its future use to make sure it was not duplicated for profit. A tape is, however, an invaluable aid in promoting further performances.

the Hinrichsen Foundation (for equipment), Capital Radio, the Dr. Radcliffe Trust and private donors. The money stretches to the rent for the premises, the pay of a full-time librarian and part-time clerk/typist, and almost nothing else. This forces the B.M.I.C. to adopt an almost entirely passive stance: its printed catalogues are now hopelessly out of date but there is no money to renew them for distribution, neither is there any money for issuing bulletins or information sheets; as with any archive, its continued existence and growth creates a space problem, and the B.M.I.C. is close to the limits imposed by its present premises; in fire or flood, the whole collection would be lost forever - there is no duplicate 'safe' store; all the material in the archive has to be donated at the expense of publishers, record companies and composers. Luckily a good many publishers and record companies see it as a form of enlightened self-interest to deposit material at the centre. So do composers, but for them the costs of providing tapes and photocopied scores can be prohibitively high.[1] To enable the B.M.I.C. to offer services comparable with those found elsewhere in the world,[2] it needs to be funded to bear the cost of taping and photocopying composers' material itself, to have a complete duplicate store on microfiche and cassette (preferably in a regional sub-centre in the north of England), to have more storage, reading and listening space in London, and to offer composers who wish to take advantage of it, a centralised system for hiring out performing material and selling other material for non-commercial purposes.

The Scottish Music Archive was founded in 1968 and offers services similar to the B.M.I.C. in relation to twentieth century Scottish music.[3] It is housed in the University of Glasgow and, in this academic environment, it has extended its collection backwards beyond 1900 to include Scottish music from earlier centuries, a good deal of it in the form of microfilms of unpublished manuscripts. The Archive arranges exhibitions (including scores and records) during the Edinburgh Festival and Glasgow Promenade Concerts, arranges lecture series and issues catalogues. It offers cheap (cost price

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1 Published material and that given by Guild members is accepted automatically; in cases of doubt about the worthwhile nature of other submitted material, a panel of Guild members needs to be assured only of legibility and some kind of musical sense.

2 For examples see 'Composer', Winter 1977/78 and 'Fontes Artis Musicae' 1979 No.2

3 Its collection of music by living Scottish composers comprises some 3,000 scores and 800 recordings.

only) reprographic services to composers and a part-hire service, regularly used by the Scottish orchestras, in which 90% of the fees (the rates charged are those recommended by the Association of British Orchestras) are passed on to the composer. The Archive also loans scores free of charge for a limited period to researchers, and performing/broadcasting institutions that wish to examine them. Its most recent development has been to make outright sales of copies of unpublished material, passing the profit straight to the composer. The Archive has thus become library, publisher and music shop in one, though the composers themselves retain full copyright in all the material it handles. The Welsh Music Archive was founded in 1976 and is housed in the Music Department of University College, Cardiff. It is modelled on its Scottish counterpart, but has yet to develop a hire or sales service.

CHAPTER THREE : RECORDING

The Composer and the Record Industry

The most obvious and immediate benefits to a composer that accrue from having his music for sale on gramophone records - reaching out to the record-buying public and gaining income from sales royalties - are probably the least important ones; sales figures for records of new music are very low and the royalty per record paid to the composer is astonishingly small. The disseminatory potential of some of the records sold can, however, be very great indeed. Those bought by record libraries (and there is one in nearly every town) can be borrowed and perhaps taped (albeit illegally)by members of the public, who are then able to give the work repeated hearings that lead to its better comprehension and perhaps in turn to a desire to hear more works by the same composer and those of others whose music inhabits the same aesthetic world. The records bought by the B.B.C. give access to the air-time devoted to programmes on gramophone records and an audience measured in tens of thousands, some of whom may tape the work (the royalties paid to the composer for broadcasts of a record are likely to produce more significant income than those gained from sales). The records bought by educational institutions may in the long run be the most potent of all: those owned by conservatoires give the performers of the future the chance to study good performances of works they might otherwise seldom hear, to absorb unfamiliar languages and hear how their technical problems are overcome; those bought by universities enable lecturers to illustrate their teaching on new music properly (and indeed to begin lecturing for the first time on important composers whose works have been inadequately represented on record); their students can then follow up lectures with repeated listening. Many of the students from both kinds of institution might then take their knowledge of and sympathy for contemporary music out into the schools.

The records held by the composer, his publisher, the British Council, the British Music Information Centre and other archives can prove to be valuable promotional material. It is much easier to interest foreign performers in recent British music if they can be given records of it, a fact long recognised by the British Council in its recording subsidies and presentations of records to influential

artists and promoters abroad. The hectic life of a performer in this country makes it difficult to persuade him to take the time and trouble to study new scores with a view to performing them - records can stimulate his interest much more easily and quickly. Several composers have found that works of theirs which have made their way onto record have subsequently received many more public performances than unrecorded works that they themselves feel are superior.

Given the sparse publication of scores of new works and given that few can be 'heard' through study alone (some may have passages of deliberately imprecise notation), the need for a larger programme of recording the best of the contemporary repertoire and for an aural archive of British music is urgent. A great deal of fine music is in danger of passing into almost total obscurity because it is unpublished and unrecorded. Even those works that have been recorded are endangered: commercially unsuccessful records are quickly deleted from the catalogue and companies are not always efficient or careful in preserving matrices and master tapes, indeed it is thought that some are destroyed. There should be a legal requirement that all new recordings be deposited in an archive in the same way that copies of all books published must be placed in the libraries of legal deposit.[1]

To measure the importance of gramophone records to contemporary music simply in terms of sales is seriously to underestimate their role, yet for the record companies themselves the sales figures matter most of all and, save for royalties due when a record is broadcast, the other considerations discussed above are largely irrelevant. This is the gap which must be bridged by subsidy. Producing records of modern music involves a very high risk of loss. Peter Andry, General Manager of Group Classical Recordings, E.M.I., put the position squarely: "We have attempted as much as we dare with contemporary avant garde music. We do what we can, though we are always told we are not doing enough; but ... an avant garde piece takes much more time to prepare; the orchestra has to learn it, it is put on once and this is a very costly business. Therefore when we finally put it on record and the public does not support us in buying it, we are a little reluctant to do it again. I would say that it is the public's failure

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[1] At least twenty countries already have such a requirement for copyright purposes and four for cultural purposes; see Gillian Davies: 'Compulsory Deposit of Sound Recordings' in Recorded Sound, April, 1976.

to respond to the recording of contemporary music that is the key to the problem."[1] Serious music accounts for approximately 12% of the total value of record sales in Britain and contemporary serious music only a tiny proportion of that 12%. When the industry as a whole is doing well, lower profit levels and even a number of losses within the classical division are acceptable; but when times are hard, classical records must be entirely self-financing and losses eliminated, fewer risks are taken with contemporary music and some records already in the catalogue deleted, their promotion being seen as throwing good money after bad.

The world-wide success of British popular music in the late 1960's created a highly buoyant record industry. The break-up of the Beatles in 1970 and the slower demise of the Rolling Stones and other artists clouded the horizon, but during the early 1970's London was still the recording capital of the world because of its cheap facilities and technical expertise, combined with a pool of first-rate orchestras and freelance musicians who required minimal rehearsal and studio time. The output of British L.P.'s grew from 76 million in 1972 to 105 million in 1974.[2]

The second half of the decade saw the industry's fortunes wane. There was a brief but damagingly expensive shortage of vinyl. It is thought that the attack on record piracy in the U.S.A. that began in 1974 led the pirates to turn their attention to the European market - professional piracy is estimated to absorb 5% of the British market.[3] The growth of 'home piracy' has probably been more significant. The cassette recorder has made taping music from the radio or borrowed records easier and cheaper than ever before - sales of blank cassettes rose from 36 million in 1975 to 60 million in 1977. With the rapid spread of record libraries and with B.B.C. Radio broadcasting more than eight

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1 'The influence of the record industry on musical life today'; a symposium held at the British Institute of Recorded Sound, reported in Recorded Sound, January 1978.

2 Figures from 'The Music Yearbook', editor Arthur Jacobs, Bowker, London, 1975, page 172 - 1976, page 155.

3 J.A.L.Sterling, writing in 1970, estimated that as many as 100 million discs per year sold in the U.S.A. were pirated, of which 70 million came from the Far East - see 'Piracy of Recordings' in 'The Music Industry: Markets and Methods for the Seventies', New York, 1970, page 216/17. The estimate of British piracy is taken from James Poole; 'Piracy: T.V. treasure, record gold' in the Sunday Times, 1st October, 1978.

thousand hours per year of light/pop music and nearly five thousand hours per year of serious music, it is hardly surprising that the industry feels that it needs better protection from home-taping. This cheap substitute has hardened consumer resistance to increases in record prices. Inflation in the price of L.P.'s has lagged behind the general inflation rate; consumers have been spending a smaller proportion of their income on records: they took 0.40% of all consumer spending in 1974 but only 0.33% in 1976; the Retail Price Index based on 1962 = 100 had reached 320 by 1976, but an index made from the selling-price of L.P.'s moved from 100 to only 175 over the same period.[1] Sales of L.P.'s fell from 91.6 million in 1975 to 82 million (of which 16 million were low-price 'budget' records) in 1977.[1] The slump continues: interviewed by Robert Parker for 'The Observer' - 26th August 1979, John Fruin of Transatlantic Records reported, "Figures overall for the industry are 15% to 18% down and for albums nearly 30% down." The two 'giants' of the British record industry have changed hands during the past year, partly because of their depressed state. The record division of Decca was sold to the Philips/ Polygram group; amongst Decca's own labels are 'Argo', which has carried a great deal of music by living British composers, and 'Headline', which is a contemporary music label of a more international nature. They are now in the hands of a large international group which controls a considerable proportion of the British 'classical' record market and which has no paternal feelings for the character and achievements of those labels. E.M.I. has been taken over by Thorn Electrical Industries, which leaves its 'classical' record division at the mercy of the remote board of a large conglomerate dealing largely in the manufacture of electrical appliances. Over the past two years nearly all the record companies have pruned their catalogues and shed staff; many high-street record shops have closed down.

The shape of the record industry has changed in much the same way as that of the music publishing industry. Pop composers and artists have set up their own labels, and the serious side of the business has seen the development of a number of small-scale companies, most of them specialising in particular areas of music with small but identifiable markets. Just as in publishing, many of these companies are run by refugees from the bigger concerns and have been

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[1] See 'The Music Yearbook 1977/78', page 148.

aided by increasingly compact, readily available and reasonably priced technology as well as market conditions. Thus there are a number of small labels serving contemporary music of various kinds, such as 'Abbey' for sacred and organ music, 'Obscure' for experimental music, 'Mosaic' for jazz and improvised music, 'Lyrita' for mainstream English serious music, etc.

An upturn in the industry could come about by real increases in income and a shift in its disposal pattern back to buying records:[1] the prospect of slow growth or even recession in the Western economies makes this unlikely. A rejuvenation of the world-wide sales of British pop seems equally unlikely - the recent fashions of 'new wave', 'reggae' and 'punk' almost by intention lie outside the realms of large global sales of records produced by major manufacturers. A higher rate of successful prosecutions against illegal producers and dealers with penalties that were real deterrents would flow from measures outlined in Chapter One. Income from home-taping and narrowing of the price differential between it and buying records could also be made possible by new legal provisions (the British Phonographic Industry estimates, optimistically, that if home-taping were to cease, record sales might increase by as much as 25%).[2] Records should be brought within the ambit of the Public Lending Right.

Unless at least some of these changes occur, the outlook for serious contemporary music being put onto disc by major companies on their own initiative is very gloomy. For works requiring only a few performers, small specialist labels that minimise overheads and production costs and channel their promotion into only the most likely outlets will provide a trickle of records. For large-scale works, subsidy will almost inevitably be needed unless a work is clearly destined to be popular enough to at least cover its costs, which means achieving sales of tens of thousands. Because the value of records to our musical culture extends far beyond that registered by the record companies' tills, the subsidy of recordings should be seen as a particularly important and worthwhile investment. Some music publishers recognise this by subsidising recordings of music by their 'house composers'; O.U.P. has gone further and established its own record label.

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[1] Teenage unemployment is said to be having a particularly depressing effect on sales of pop records.

[2] Poole, op.cit.

Subsidised Records

In the early 1940's the British Council found that its work in making the achievements of British music known abroad was hampered by the paucity of commercial recordings of works by British composers. In 1943 it therefore instituted a scheme for subsidising recordings of important British works, primarily for distribution overseas. Between 1943 and 1976 more than 100 records were sponsored at a total cost to the Council of over £150,000, of which £25,000 was recovered from royalties. The Council paid the artists' recording fees (approximately 50% of the cost of producing an orchestral record) and charged a 5% royalty on sales. The records were distributed in the normal way by the company concerned, although the Council itself made a bulk order for distribution to its own overseas libraries and for presentation to influential foreign artists and institutions. The Council demanded that the company kept the sponsored record in the catalogue for a minimum of five years.

In 1959/60 expenditure on the scheme was £4,267; eight years of inflation later it was still only £4,554. During that period 25 records were sponsored at an average cost of £1,142. From 1967 onwards the scheme was supplemented by funds from the Arts Council and the P.R.S. Expenditure in 1967/68 amounted to £11,466, but again eight years of inflation later it had risen to only £12,500. During those eight years 30 discs were sponsored at an average cost of £3,386. Though spiralling costs accounted for nearly all the extra money available a change in emphasis in genres recorded was made in favour of more expensive orchestral works. Costs increased much faster than sales in terms of both volume and money.[1]

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[1] The statistical information on the British Council's recording scheme has been kindly supplied by the Council's Music Director.

British Council Record Sponsorship, 1959/60 to 1974/75

Type of Project	1959/60 to 1966/67 Number of Projects	Total Subsidy	Average Subsidy	1967/68 to 1974/75 Number of Projects	Total Subsidy	Average Subsidy
		£	£		£	£
Grand Opera	-	-	-	1	10,000	10,000
Choral & Orchestral	2	5,718	2,859	1	6,729	6,729
Symphonies & Concertos	3	6,294	2,098	13	60,241	4,634
Chamber Opera	1	1,736	1,736	1	3,075	3,075
Music for Chamber Orchestra and/or Chamber Choir	3	3,609	1,203	6	12,950	2,158
Chamber Music	8	5,888	736	7	8,246	1,178
Solo Recitals	8	5,308	664	1	350	350
	25	28,553	1,142	30	101,591	3,386

Between 1959/60 and 1966/67 overall sales of records subsidised by the British Council averaged 12,955 annually, between 1967/68 and 1974/75 16,925 annually.

It must be remembered that the aim of the scheme was to provide a 'showcase' for abroad - the subsidies were made to stimulate the supply of those pieces suitable for such a purpose which were not already available for purchase; the intention was not the patronage of a broad spectrum of British composition or the encouragement of worthy composers not yet on record, thus only well-proven works of well-established composers were chosen and the discs comprised, almost without exception, linguistically conservative music. To a certain extent, however, this conservatism may have been a reflection of the membership of the Council's Music Advisory Committee. The Committee comprises 15 to 17 people - a mix of performers, academics, critics, administrators and composers - its membership has changed very slowly and the number of composer members has varied from two to five. Of the five composers who have served longest on the Committee during the past two decades, one's approach to music has been from a 'socialist-realist' standpoint, three have been composers of music in an expanded tonal language and one has been particularly sympathetic to building on the achievements of the Second Viennese School.

Recordings subsidised by the British Council, 1966-1977

1966/67	Ronald Stevenson	Passacaglia Vols. I and II
	Malcolm Williamson	'Julius Caesar Jones'
1967/68	Michael Tippett	Symphony No.2
		'The Weeping Babe'
		Sonata for four horns
1968/69	Roberto Gerhard	Concerto for Orchestra
	William Lawes (seventeenth century)	Consort Music
	Nicholas Maw	Chamber Music
		String Quartet
	Alan Rawsthorne	Symphony No.3
		Quintet
	Hugh Wood	String Quartet
	The Eton Choirbook (sixteenth century)	Volumes I and II
1969/70	Elisabeth Lutyens	'Quincunx'
	Nicholas Maw	Scenes and Arias
	Anthology of Modern British Piano Music (3 records)	

* Michael Tippett's opera 'The Midsummer Marriage' was produced with special subsidy from the Arts Council.

1970/71	David Bedford	Music for Albion Moonlight
	David Blake	Variations for Piano
	Gordon Crosse	Changes
	Roberto Gerhard	Symphony No.4
		Violin Concerto
	Christopher Headington	Toccata
	Elisabeth Lutyens	'And suddenly it's evening'
	Nicholas Maw	Sinfonia
		Sonata
	Priaulx Rainier	'Quanta'
		String Trio
	Alan Rawsthorne	Ballade
		Clarinet Quartet
	Robert Sherlaw Johnson	Piano Sonata No.2
1971/72	Richard Rodney Bennett	Piano Concerto
	Lennox Berkeley	Violin Concerto
	Malcolm Williamson	Violin Concerto
1972/73	Richard Rodney Bennett	Capriccio
		Five Studies
	Frank Bridge	String Quartets 3 and 4
	Thea Musgrave	Excursions
		Monologue
	Malcolm Williamson	Piano Sonata No.2
		Sonata for Two Pianos
1973/74	Justin Connolly	'Cinquepaces'
		Poems of Wallace Stevens I
		Triad III
		Verses for 8 Solo Voices

1973/74	Alexander Goehr	Piano Trio
		String Quartet No.2
		Violin Concerto
	Iain Hamilton	Violin Concerto
1974/75	Don Banks	Violin Concerto
	Lennox Berkeley	Sextet
		Sonatina for Violin and Piano
	Harrison Birtwistle	'The Fields of Sorrow'
		'Nenia - the Death of Orpheus'
		Verses for Ensembles
	Alan Bush	Concert Studies
		'The Cruel Sea Captain'
		Galliard and Air
		'Corentyne Kwe-Kwe'
	Peter Racine Fricker	Violin Concerto
	Anthony Milner	'Roman Spring'
		'Salutatio Angelica'
	Hugh Wood	'The Horses'
		'The Rider Victory'
		String Quartets 1 and 2
	Anthology of Modern British Brass Music (1 record)	
1975/76	Don Banks	Horn Concerto
	Lennox Berkeley	First Symphony
		Concerto for 2 Pianos and Orchestra
	Thea Musgrave	Clarinet Concerto
		Horn Concerto
		Concerto for Orchestra
	Iain Hamilton	Aubade for horn and strings
	Humphrey Searle	Symphony No.2
	Malcolm Williamson	Organ Concerto
		Third Piano Concerto
1976/77	Lennox Berkeley	Duo for cello and piano
	Gordon Crosse	'Ariadne'
		'Purgatory'
	Martin Dalby	Variations for cello and piano
	Peter Racine Fricker	Sonata for cello and piano
	John McCabe	Partita for solo cello
	John Tavener	Requiem for Father Malachy
		Canciones Espanoles
1977	Frank Bridge	Miniatures for Piano Trio
		Phantasy for Piano Quartet
		Piano Trio No.2
	Alan Rawsthorne	Symphonic Studies
		First Symphony
	William Walton	'Troilus and Cressida'
	Malcolm Williamson	Symphonies
	Constant Lambert	Pomona
		Romeo and Juliet
	Lennox Berkeley	Sinfonietta
	Benjamin Britten	Sinfonietta
	Alan Rawsthorne	Divertimento
	Michael Tippett	Sellinger's Round

The scheme was handed over to the Arts Council in 1977. The British Council felt that its own aim in sponsoring records - to equip itself better for its work abroad - was in danger of being submerged under the misapprehension that the scheme should encourage deserving composers. The financial participation of the Arts Council and P.R.S. since 1967 had clouded the issue in that their aims could reasonably have been discerned as just such a form of patronage. The British Council wished to be free to spend all its record allocation on purchasing pre-existing discs for distribution abroad; the subsidy for one orchestral record could buy as many as 4,000 other records. There was also Treasury pressure for the function of record subsidy to be switched from the British to the Arts Council.

As well as contributing £5,000 per year to the British Council scheme, the Arts Council had for some time been spending a similar amount subsidising records of improvised music through the Jazz Sub-Committee of the Music Panel. Once the Council took on full responsibility for record subsidy, it was hoped that a substantial amount of money would be spent on sponsoring recordings of a wide range of contemporary music, but so far only a handful of records has been issued.

Arts Council Subsidised Recordings

Record Company	Works	Amount of Subsidy
B.B.C. Records	Anthony Payne: Phoenix Mass World's Winter Paean	£ 2,574
Decca	Peter Maxwell Davies: Symphony	£11,000
Argo	Nicholas Maw: Life Studies	£ 4,000
Unicorn	Hugh Wood: Violin Concerto Cello Concerto	£12,500

Four more records are in preparation (July, 1980) but not issued.

Many points of principle took a long time to thrash out, in particular whether the Council could or should trade on its own account with its own record label.

Should there be any restrictions on the kind of composers chosen?

Should any records be given away?

Given that the B.B.C. chooses, rehearses and records many new works for broadcasting and that the British Section of the I.S.C.M. chooses works that are toured on the Contemporary Music Network with all the attendant possibilities of rehearsal and promotion, should there be formalised, close contact between the B.B.C., I.S.C.M. and Recording Sub-Committee and should repertoires be tailored to each other?

Should the Arts Council contribute more than the artists' fees to the cost of a record?

Should the Council reap a royalty on records sold?

Should the Council deal in mail order?

Should there be an Arts Council Record Series, marketed under the Council's own label?

It has been decided that, for the moment, the scheme will be restricted to the works of living English composers, the Welsh already being well served and the Scots soon likely to be. The works of foreign and Commonwealth composers and British composers of the recent past might be considered when the scheme is well-established and more generously funded. No records are to be distributed free. This is unfortunate in that it is more important that these records reach the hands of people to whom they matter than that some small part of their cost be recouped - sales returns relate to only one part of their purpose. It is, however, admitted that substantial free distributions may deter record companies from taking part in the scheme. Links with the B.B.C. were maintained informally by the presence on the Recording Sub-Committee of the B.B.C.'s Chief Assistant for New Music and an executive of the B.B.C.'s Transcription Service, (the first record to be subsidised was issued by B.B.C. Records from the B.B.C.'s own tapes of Anthony Payne's music). Ties with the British Section of the I.S.C.M. were preserved by some common committee members and the exchange of minutes. The questions as to whether the Council should have its own record label, should market records (possibly through mail order) and bear the total cost of producing some records seem still unresolved. Some of the difficulties involve the Council's V.A.T. position and the terms of its Charter and Grant-in-Aid. One possible solution would be for the Council to set up a linked but technically separate exploitation company, comparable to that of the National Gallery.

Repertoire lists have been drawn up from suggestions made by committee members and applications from or on behalf of composers and record companies. These have been divided into two:

> Category A - works likely to be of international appeal to which the Council should contribute only the artists' fees and which should be marketed in the normal way by the record company concerned, at full price and with proper packaging and promotion.
>
> Category B - thoroughly worthwhile works that might not have the international appeal of Category A, for which the Council might bear the whole cost.

'Category A' can be seen as an attempt to 'oil the wheels' of the machinery that eventually makes a work well known, whilst 'Category B' can be seen as more akin to patronising the worthy, in the hope that they will become better known. In addition, a list of deserving 'debutants' has been drawn up, of composers not yet on record at all or who have not yet had a whole record devoted to their music. This list is a very long one and contains some highly respected composers; it heavily emphasises the need for a properly funded and wide ranging scheme of record subsidy.[1]

The detailed decision-making on how the recording allocation should be spent was until this year made by the Recording Sub-Committee of the Council's Music Panel. It was a small committee of nine people including some composers and some administrators with great experience of the record industry. In the streamlining of the Arts Council's organisation (see Chapter Six) the Committee has been abolished and the Music Panel will now be advised on recording matters by the British Section of the I.S.C.M. The amount of money spent on subsidising records has so far been erratic: £14,000 in 1976/77, £1,550 in 1977/78 and £44,682 in 1978/79 (when more than 14 million pounds were spent on music and dance overall).

The Welsh Arts Council began to sponsor recordings of music by Welsh composers in 1968: since then 23 discs have been subsidised. Overall music expenditure has varied little from one third of the

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[1] The author is grateful to the Arts Council for giving him access to the minutes of the Recordings Sub-Committee.

Welsh Arts Council's total expenditure but record subsidy has fallen as a proportion of music expenditure from 3.5% in 1972/73 to 1.8% in 1978/79, when £22,336 was spent. The works chosen by the Recordings Panel of the Music Committee have shown a very great preponderance of those by William Mathias, Alun Hoddinott, Daniel Jones and Grace Williams. The Welsh Arts Council has for many years awarded bursaries for advanced study in composition and it is hoped that soon a younger generation of Welsh composers will begin to be recorded.

Welsh Arts Council Sponsored Records, 1968 to 1979

	Company	Composer	Works
1	Pye	Alun Hoddinott	Symphony No.2 Variants for Orchestra
2	Pye	William Mathias Daniel Jones	Symphony No.1 Symphony No.6
3	Decca	Gareth Walters Grace Williams William Mathias	Divertimento for Strings Sea Sketches Divertimento for String Orchestra Prelude, Aria and Finale
4	Lyrita	David Harries Ian Parrott David Wynne	Piano Quintet String Quartet No.4 Sonata No.2 String Quartet No.3
5	Decca	William Mathias Alun Hoddinott	Piano Concerto No.3 Harp Concerto Clarinet Concerto
6	Oriel	Daniel Jones Alun Hoddinott Grace Williams	The Country beyond the Stars Welsh Dances Penillion
7	Argo	Alun Hoddinott Phyllis Tate	Roman Dream Apparitions Gaelic Ballads
8	Oriel	Daniel Jones	Symphony No.4 Symphony No.7
9	Decca	Alun Hoddinott	Music for Orchestra: 'the sun, the great luminary of the universe Sinfonietta 3 Symphony No.3
10	Decca	Alun Hoddinott	Symphony No.5 Horn Concerto Piano Concerto No.2
11	Decca	William Mathias	Harp Concerto Dance Overture Invocation and Dance Ave Rex

12	E.M.I.	Grace Williams	Fantasia on Welsh Nursery Tunes Trumpet Concerto Carillons for oboe and orchestra Fairest of Stars
13	Argo	Morfydd Owen Mansel Thomas David Wynne David Vaughan Thomas Meirion Williams Dilys Elwyn-Edwards	Two Madonna Songs Four Prayers Evening Shadows Saith o Ganevon Cwm Pennant Y Blodau Ger Y Drws Canevon Y Tri Aderyn
14	Argo	Alun Hoddinott	Septet Sonata No.1 for violin and piano Divertimento
15	Argo	William Mathias	Quintet Divertimento Sonata for violin and piano String Quartet
16	Argo	Daniel Jones	String Quartet String Trio Kettle Drum Sonata
17	Argo	Alun Hoddinott	Sinfonietta 1 Dives and Lazarus Concertino for viola and small orchestra Night Music
18	B.B.C.	Alun Hoddinott William Mathias	Welsh Dances (II) Investiture Dances Concerto Grosso Sinfonietta Celtic Dances
19	E.M.I.	William Mathias	'This Worlde's Joie'
20	R.C.A.	Alun Hoddinott	Landscapes for Orchestra Sinfonietta 2 Piano Concerto No.3
21	Argo	William Mathias	Laudi Clarinet Concerto Elegy for a Prince Vistas
22	B.B.C.	Daniel Jones	Symphony No.8 Symphony No.9
23	B.B.C.	Grace Williams	Symphony No.2 Ballads for Orchestra

Leading London orchestras were engaged for most of the records, for which the Welsh Arts Council paid all artists' fees; the record companies met all other costs and distributed the records in the normal way (with no royalty to the Welsh Arts Council). It is estimated that the records have sold between 1,500 and 2,500 each. As the Music Director of the Council observed, the subsidy for each record was no more than it would have cost to bring the same artists and orchestras to Wales to give two concerts.[1] In the same article he wrote: "It is difficult to make any accurate assessment of the value of the nineteen recordings of contemporary Welsh music which have been issued. Letters of appreciation have been received from many countries, and radio stations outside Britain are known to have broadcast a number of them. Fortunately, every effort has been made both by the recording companies and the Welsh Arts Council to achieve high standards and not one of the works has suffered from an indifferent performance, and the discs will make it easier in future to assess the true achievements of an active school of Welsh composers whose works receive the attention and respect of publishers and performances far outside their own country."[2]

A number of recordings have been subsidised by charitable trusts, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Koussevitsky Foundation sponsored one or two records during the sixties, and the Vaughan Williams Trust has given occasional funds to enable recordings to be made. Soon after the United Kingdom and Commonwealth branch of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation was established in 1956, it initiated an enquiry into the arts chaired by Lord Bridges[3], which identified a need for more recordings of contemporary music; the Foundation therefore sponsored its 'Music Today' series of records which were produced through the sixties and early seventies.

Records subsidised by the Gulbenkian Foundation

E.M.I. - Music Today

1	Roberto Gerhard	First Symphony Don Quixote Suite

1 Roy Bohana: 'The Welsh Arts Council's Sponsorship of Recordings of Contemporary Welsh Music' in Welsh Music, Winter 1976.

2 Roy Bohana, op.cit., page 28.

3 'Help for the Arts', Gulbenkian Foundation, 1959.

2	Schoenberg	String Suite in G
	Britten	Prelude & Fugue for 18 Strings
	Lutyens	"Saisons"
3	Goehr	Two Choruses
	Maxwell-Davies	Leopardi Fragments
	Bennett	Calendar
	Williamson	Symphony for Voices
4	Koechlin	Les Bandar-Log
	Boulez	Le Soleil des Eaux
	Messiaen	Chronochromie
5	Skalkottas	Octet
		String Quartet No.4
6	Crosse	Sonata de Camera
	Birtwistle	The World is Discovered
	Newsom	Wind Quintet
	Maw	Nocturne
7	Weill	Symphony No.1
		Symphony No.2
8	Dallapiccola	Sex Carmina Alcaei
		Piccola Musica Notturna
		Preghiere
	Busoni	Berceuse Elegiaque
	Wolpe	Piece in Two Parts

ARGO - Music Today

1	Tippett	Songs for Dov
	Messiaen	Poemes pour Mi
2	Sessions	Rhapsody
		Symphony No.8
	Riegger	Dichotomy
	Musgrave	Night Music
3	Maxwell-Davies	Second Taverner Fantasia
		Dances from "Taverner"

PHONOGRAM Ltd.

	Tippett	The Knot Garden

The Foundation's subsidies amounted to £22,320 for the eight H.M.V. records made in the sixties and £22,487 for the three Argo records plus £6,000 for the Phonogram record made during the seventies. Sales have been as follows:

Record	Total sales in the U.K. and abroad	U.K. Sales
E.M.I. series		
1	9,986	2,517
2	2,726	2,186
3	3,431	1,629
4	17,011	5,177
5	1,539	1,539
6	832	832
7	6,596	1,420
8	1,275	1,051
Argo series		
1	4,129	1,464
2	3,190	617
3	262	262
Phonogram	2,715 (up to March 1976 only) [1]	

None of the records have covered their costs. Those devoted to music by British composers now in their middle years have sold disappointingly poorly, in gross terms and in comparison with some of the other records in the series.

There has been surprisingly little use of credits on record sleeves as a vehicle for advertising and public relations by firms which sponsor the arts in other ways. W.D. and H.O. Wills (Imperial Group) have sponsored records, but mainly of standard repertoire works on less than full-price records - clearly an attempt to reach a large market. John Harvey & Sons Ltd., the Bristol wine shippers, subsidise an 'English Series', so far contributing £42,000 to the production of 14 records. The company sees this as a natural facet of their overall arts sponsorship programme, which recently won an award for its direction and generosity. In particular it complements their financial aid to the Bournemouth Orchestras that have been used for the recordings. The repertoire has been chosen by the orchestras and record companies: it has tended to concentrate on works written in the first three decades of this century, the most recent music recorded being by Britten, Tippett, Rubbra and Arnold. The latest record issued, of Rubbra's Tenth Symphony, has so far sold 2,183 copies.[2]

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[1] Statistics kindly supplied by the Foundation.

[2] Statistics kindly supplied by the firm's Public Relations Director.

Conclusion

Properly to represent and disseminate contemporary composition on record needs much larger injections of subsidy and much greater distributive effort than has so far been expended. If the resources of the Arts Council, the B.B.C., the British Council, the I.S.C.M., the P.R.S. and the Composers' Guild were harnessed, a generous and effective scheme could be sustained. All have some means of supplementing the usual promotional and distributive efforts of the record companies with more specialised outlets. The P.R.S., I.S.C.M., and Composers' Guild have a particular interest in sustaining the works of living composers. The Arts Council and B.B.C. already invest considerable sums in the commissioning and performance of new works - filtering out those worthy of preserving on record could be a sensible and productive following through of that investment. All the participants in the scheme could make a financial contribution to the subsidy fund, though those other than the Arts Council's might tend to be nominal; but, more importantly, all could guarantee to buy from the record company a certain number of each record produced, thus ensuring that they will use their own best efforts in distributing them.

The Arts Council could promote and, where possible, sell records through:

1) Regional Arts Associations
2) Arts Centres
3) The Arts Council Shop and Wigmore Hall
4) Contemporary Music Network concerts and venues
5) A mailing list consolidated from subscribers to 'Tempo', 'Contact', 'Soundings' and 'Composer'

and possibly give records free to all places of higher education where music is taught.

The Composers' Guild could promote and, where possible, sell records to all other composers' guilds and unions around the world. It could give copies free to the British Music Information Centre, the British Institute of Recorded Sound and other music archives.

The B.B.C. could buy copies for itself and all other broadcasting organisations likely to be interested.

The British Council could buy copies for its normal distribution to its overseas libraries and influential foreign artists and promoters.

The British Section of the I.S.C.M. could promote and, where possible, sell records through the specialist contacts and mailing lists of all other sections of the I.S.C.M. (Mailing lists and gifts would have to be cross-checked to avoid duplication.)

The 'deal' offered to record companies could be the payment of artists' fees as well as a certain guaranteed sale to participating organisations. No royalty need be charged on other sales. The advice of record company executives suggests that records of contemporary music should not be sold at less than full price, since this can actually reduce sales by appearing to admit inferiority; they also feel that such records should have packaging and promotion that is in no way apologetic (though it seems a moot point as to whether mentioning the use of subsidy on the record sleeve would encourage or discourage sales). The British Council's stipulation of a minimum catalogue life of five years seems eminently reasonable. In order not to deter companies from recording contemporary works on their own initiative, it would have to be made clear that works with a very good chance of commercial success would not be considered for subsidy. The guiding committee, under the Arts Council's aegis, could have representatives of all the participating organisations and consider applications from record companies, performers and composers. In addition a single person might be appointed every year (or two years) to suggest specific repertoire initiatives: this would lend vitality to a repertoire choice that might otherwise reflect the compromises that are almost inevitable when a committee is made up of representatives.

It goes against the grain of much of the rest of this study to argue for a high concentration of power in any area of decision-making that affects the fates of composers and their works, but the level of subsidy and especially the distributive effort required for an effective recording scheme seems to leave no alternative.

CHAPTER FOUR : BROADCASTING

Broadcasting in Britain

Regular broadcasting was begun in Britain in 1922 by the B.B.C., then a private company formed by a consortium of wireless manufacturers. The nature of the B.B.C. as it first came into being and the views and personality of its head, John (later Lord) Reith, to some extent moulded the constitutional arrangements which turned the B.B.C. into a public corporation in 1927. Reith later called these arrangements "an odd sort of muddle up ... the system was introduced into this country more or less while the watchmen slept."[1] He plainly saw the system as one devised to allow him the utmost administrative and editorial freedom, "unencumbered, unembarassed and unconditional efficiency ... normally untrammelled by any political interference, by any delegacy, by any Civil Service procedures, by any party political expectations and claims, by any demands, by any impatient shareholders."[1] Though Reith has long gone, the idea that the B.B.C. is well able to establish its own aims and standards and should be left entirely free to pursue them is not dead within the Corporation.

Reith's view of the constitution of the B.B.C. as a public corporation was a one-sided one. During the pioneering years of broadcasting, technical possibilities advanced much faster than thought about the social implications they involved, but as early as 1923 tales of profiteering and wavelength chaos in the U.S.A. provoked the British Government into ordering a Committee of Enquiry into broadcasting (there have since been five more, the last reporting in 1977). The Sykes Committee reported that, "The wavebands available in any country must be regarded as a valuable form of public property ... we consider that the control of such a potential power over public opinion and the life of the nation ought to remain with the State."[2] Nevertheless the Committee recognised the dangers of having the service actually operated by a Government Department: "A Minister might well shrink from the prospect of having to defend in Parliament the various

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1 Lord Reith: 'The Facade of Public Corporations' in The Times, 28th March, 1966.

2 Quoted in Report of the Committee on the Future of Broadcasting (Chairman: Lord Annan) 1977, H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 6753, page 9.

items in Government concerts. If a Government Department had to select the news, speeches, lectures, etc., to be broadcast, it would be constantly open to suspicion that it was using its unique opportunities to advance the interests of the political party in power; and, in the endeavour to avoid anything in the slightest degree controversial, it would probably succeed in making its service intolerably dull."[1] A second Committee of Enquiry reporting just three years later (The Crawford Committee, 1926) recommended that, "The broadcasting service should be conducted by a public corporation acting as a trustee for the national interest and that its status and duties should correspond with those of a public service."[1] Even so, the Corporation should not be "subject to the continuing Ministerial guidance and direction which apply to Government Offices. The progress of science and the harmonies of art will be hampered by too rigid rules and too constant a supervision by the State ... (the Corporation) should therefore be invested with the maximum of freedom which Parliament is prepared to concede."[1] The principle that broadcasters should be finally accountable to Government, Parliament and the public, yet as independent as possible in their day-to-day affairs, was laid down very early in the history of British broadcasting and has become ingrained in our thinking. The nature of broadcasting and its governance is laid down for the B.B.C. in its Charter and Licence and Agreement, for commercial broadcasting in the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act. The powers and rights they grant, the responsibilities they entail, are not given in perpetuity - the statutory instruments deliberately call for periodic renewal (the next date when renewal is necessary falls in 1981). We have two bodies, the Governors of the B.B.C. and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the members of which are appointed by the Government to be responsible to Parliament for the conduct of broadcasting. They represent the public interest to the broadcasters and at the same time stand between the programme-makers and any political parties or other kinds of pressure groups that may seek undue influence over them. Similar constitutional devices have been established to protect academic and artistic freedom: the University Grants Committee and the Arts Council are both government-appointed and government-funded, but are left theoretically as free as possible from ministerial or outside interference in their decision-making. In fact the freedoms of the U.G.C., Arts Council and B.B.C. have suffered varying degrees

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1 Annan Report, page 9.

of erosion as the tentacles of Government have entwined more and more parts of public and private life; increasing governmental control has manifested itself partly through the power of appointment, but most importantly through the power of the purse. All three institutions have been attacked from both the political left and right for being fundamentally undemocratic.

Reith ran the B.B.C. as something of a personal fiefdom. He sought to limit the role of the Governors: in 1931 he wrote that "their functions are not executive ... with the Director-General they discuss and then decide upon major matters of policy and finance, but they leave the execution of that policy and the general administration of the service in all its branches to the Director-General and his competent officers."[1] The war period demonstrated the immense potential of broadcasting for national and political propaganda, for influencing a nation's culture, its view of the world and indeed its view of itself. The war and its aftermath also took Reith into other jobs in which he was seen to be less successful and, in retrospect, his dominion over the B.B.C. appeared a cause for concern. The Beveridge Committee on broadcasting in its 1949 report intimated as much: "The problem as it presents itself is that of devising internal as well as public and external safeguards against misuse of broadcasting power." The Committee recommended the provision of regional production centres, of detailed audience research, a proper mechanism for dealing with complaints and greater analytical depth in the reports of the B.B.C. to Parliament. All this has since happened (though the B.B.C. did not set up its Complaints Commission until 1971). Beveridge also recommended that the Governors assume more power and be given their own private secretariat, but in 1977 the Annan Committee found it necessary to make these recommendations yet again: "It is for the Governors, not the senior staff, to make final judgement in the public interest. It would do worlds for the reputation of the B.B.C. with the public if the Governors were seen to govern ... the Governors would be more effective if they had their own secretariat."[2] The most powerful motor for change in broadcasting in the Beveridge Report was Selwyn Lloyd's minority recommendation that the B.B.C.'s monopoly be broken by the licensing of alternative commercial services, not only for their own sake but also in order to make the B.B.C. sensitive to the 'democracy' of the

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1 Reith's so-called 'Whitley Document', quoted in Lord Simon of Wythenshawe: 'The B.B.C. from Within', Gollancz, 1953, pp.46-47.

2 Annan Report, page 120.

television and radio switch.

Independent Television went on the air in 1955. In 1971 the Conservative Government announced its intention to grant licences to independent local radio stations, 19 of which came into being in the mid-70's. Independent broadcasting is financed by advertising revenue - it aims to please buyers and potential buyers of advertising time by demonstrably pleasing the audiences which the advertisers wish to reach. That is not to say that this motive is perpetually at the forefront of the minds of all those engaged in its operation; like all people whose aim is to communicate, they have an interest in the quality of the material they propagate beyond the evidence of the 'ratings' which tell them the crude numbers of those watching or listening. Because it is organised on a regional basis, commercial broadcasting also seeks some degree of local identity. The 15 commercial television companies and 19 commercial radio stations are all independent trading companies operating for profit; their operations are supervised by a body comparable with the Governors of the B.B.C. - the Independent Broadcasting Authority. The I.B.A. constructs and operates the transmitter system for commercial broadcasting, for which it charges the companies an annual rent. It also controls the quantity and nature of advertising and, to a lesser extent, programmes and their scheduling. Perhaps its most important power, though it exercises it only rarely, is the granting of the regional franchises under which the companies operate. Periodically (last in 1968, next in 1981, though the Annan Committee recommended the normal time-lapse should be seven years) the I.B.A. considers 'bids' and prospecti from competing consortia for the right to hold franchises. In 1968 this power was used to restructure the network system and introduce four new companies; the possibility of such action stands behind all the influence the I.B.A. exercises over individual companies.

The Crawford Committee in 1926 set general guidelines for the B.B.C.'s service: it was to inform, educate and entertain through programmes of a high standard covering a wide range of subject matter and available to the great majority of the population. Controversy, especially political controversy, was to be treated impartially. The Corporation and its employees should not broadcast their own political views. These injunctions are now written into the B.B.C.'s

Charter. Under Reith, the B.B.C. saw itself as having an obligation to uphold the highest intellectual, moral and cultural standards (as interpreted by the upper echelons of the organisation, largely recruited from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge). Writing in 1947, the then Director-General saw one of the B.B.C.'s objects as "to raise public taste."[1] In the preface to his 'The Shadow in the Cave', Professor A. C. Smith observed that "Broadcasting, in the process of rapid growth over half a century, has acquired a role of such magnitude that it (and its controllers) can steer the course of entire cultures ... a culture can be oriented in certain directions by a tiny group of broadcasting impresarios whose main motive is the preservation of their own institutions intact rather than the actual "good" of the culture concerned."[2] The Pilkington Committee's Report on broadcasting in 1960 likened the power of broadcasting to effect cultural change to that of water dripping on stone. Rather than seeking to curb the individual cultural convictions of those who produced and controlled its output, the B.B.C. (especially after Reith's departure) built a tradition of trusting the talent of creative individuals, be they artists, writers, directors or producers. Sir Hugh Wheldon, just after retiring as Managing Director of B.B.C. Television, put it thus: "No real programme was ever made by a committee. You insure against a failure by having one, but you also ensure against a triumph."[3] The idea that it is the duty of broadcasters to programme the truth as they find it and to promote with conviction what they see as the best our culture has to offer and to which to aspire, is now generally enshrined in the epithet 'public service broadcasting'. These ideals ran deep in the B.B.C. and are still important to its understanding, but competition from commercial television (since 1955), from commercial radio (first the 'pop pirates' in the mid-60's and, since the mid-70's, independent local radio) and the more general cultural, industrial and financial upheavals of the 60's and 70's,have given these values a different overlay. By 1973, the Director-General (then Charles Curran) could write, "To present broadcasting as a means to raise public taste is to adopt a somewhat paternalistic attitude which may seem out of tune with our times."[4]

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1 Sir William Haley in the B.B.C. Handbook of that year.

2 A.C.Smith: 'The Shadow in the Cave', Allen and Unwin, 1973, preface.

3 The Richard Dimbleby Lecture, 1973, B.B.C.

4 In the B.B.C. Handbook of that year.

Competition from the commercial sector has made the B.B.C. more 'ratings' conscious: the gross figures of people watching or listening to particular programmes are carefully compared with commercial competitors; B.B.C.1 in particular is seen as a battle-ground over which to 'win' viewers away from I.T.V. Quantitive judgements have risen in importance vis-a-vis qualitative ones. In his book 'The B.B.C.: public institution and private world', Professor T. Burns analyses his impressions of change gained from series of interviews conducted in 1963 and 1973. He found "a shift from treating broadcasting as a means to treating broadcasting as an end."[1] The only judgements that mattered were those of the crude statistics of the 'ratings' and those of fellow broadcasters. One 1973 interviewee said, "We've been broadcasting to the people along the corridor not to the people who are listening."[2] He found that the division of broadcasting into smaller and smaller units of 'professional' specialism had increased rapidly during the decade: "This perpetual process of fission inevitably requires the complementary development of an apparatus for co-ordinating, integrating and eventually planning and monitoring the work of an increasingly diverse number of specialisms. Thus the 'new managerialism' emerges as the necessary and natural complement of the new professionalism."[3] As managerial structures and powers have proliferated, so has trade union influence. Professor Burns delineates the changes between 1963 and 1973 and selects that which he thinks most powerful: "The biggest change within the B.B.C. between 1963 and 1973 was not, I believe, the reconstruction of top management, the institution of stricter financial budgeting and surveillance, the increase of the powers of the Managing Directors and the Controllers under them, nor the depletion of the 'baronial' powers of heads of group and heads of department; nor was it increase in size or increased union militancy or the appearance of a 'radical underground'. What did make the difference was the breakdown of the ordinary institutions of social interaction between the variety of people engaged in programme production."[4] Between 1963 and 1973 all but two of the top 37 B.B.C. personnel changed. If the ethos of public service broadcasting is to be

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1 T. Burns: 'The B.B.C.: public institution and private world', MacMillan, 1977, page 125.

2 Burns, op.cit., page 200.

3 Burns, op.cit., page 126.

4 Burns, op.cit., page 27.

sustained there must be some strong sense of common endeavour and at least the basis of a common system of value judgements within the B.B.C. - Professor Burns' observations indicate that this has all but vanished. According to the Annan Report, it does still linger within the Radio section: "Many of those whom we met working in B.B.C. Radio gave us the impression of retaining the old B.B.C. spirit of public service broadcasting."[1]

The time of greatest flux was the turn of the decade, after the Prime Minister (then Sir Harold Wilson, whose relationship with the B.B.C. has always been, to say the least, uneasy) had appointed Lord Hill, ex of the I.B.A., to the Chairmanship of the B.B.C.'s Governors. Lord Hill interfered with the running of the B.B.C. to a degree unprecedented for a Chairman; his 'crowding' eventually led the Director-General Sir Hugh Greene to resign. In 1969 the B.B.C. called in the management consultants McKinseys to analyse their present structures and recommend changes. In the same year the Corporation published its plans for the 1970's ('Broadcasting in the Seventies') which led to a splendid public row in the newspapers and Parliament. Some B.B.C. staff themselves wrote to 'The Times' deploring elements of the plans and the parliamentary debate encouraged some modification of them. The Music Division was not immune from the turmoil: several important jobs changed hands, two of the senior personnel resigned and eventually the Controller of Music (Sir William Glock) himself left.

Sir William's vision had been very much that of 'public service broadcasting'. He saw his task as programming what seemed most vital in our musical culture; he wanted to avoid concerts that "make faint reading in the Radio Times."[2] "Music", he wrote, "is an adventure not an amenity."[2] He did not hesitate to try and lead public taste. He pronounced his policy one of "creative unbalance" and sought "to sense the things that at any given moment need perhaps a little more than their share of programme time."[2] He strove to rid Britain of its apparent musical insularity; in particular he tried to bring to public notice the achievements of the Second Viennese School, of Bartok, of the composers who had peopled Darmstadt for many weeks of each year during the 1950's, and of those British composers who acknowledged

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1 Annan Report, page 87.

2 William Glock: 'The B.B.C.'s Music Policy', B.B.C., 1963.

the changes evident in continental Europe and the U.S.A. His replacement, Robert Ponsonby, is certainly a more 'managerial' figure and was, on arrival, to some degree a broadcasting 'professional'. Whereas Glock's background had been that of pianist, music critic and director of a famous, forward-looking summer music school (at Dartington), Ponsonby came from a career as an administrator at Glyndebourne, the Edinburgh Festival and the Scottish National Orchestra and spells in broadcasting with the Independent Television Authority and in America. He has taken a less personal interest in programming than Glock. Where Glock had convictions about contemporary music and put them into practice, Ponsonby has been a good deal less definite. Glock: "If you are prepared to put a foot anywhere, then you must be prepared to put it wrong ... plan programmes not in despair but with conviction and enthusiasm."[1] Ponsonby: "I am puzzled by a lot of contemporary music ... (It) is not at a cross-roads, it's at a spaghetti junction. Nobody can possibly tell which is the most important main road to go down."[2]

Glock's admirers feel that since his departure the B.B.C.'s music has lost some of its missionary zeal, its sense of excitement and direction. His critics welcome greater open-mindedness. To them, the 1960's were a period when British composers working in less radical languages and forms than the avant-garde, those working within a more specifically 'British' tradition, were given little and begrudging access to the air-waves; a period when the mass of ordinary music lovers were presented with only the sternest, most difficult and least readily enjoyable faces of modern music, to the extent that a wedge was driven between them and any recently written music. Throughout the 60's and 70's the B.B.C.'s music division was berated both for its conservatism and its adventure. Changes within the music management can be seen as part of the changing general ethos of the B.B.C. The attitudes of and reactions against the 'Glock era' can also be seen as part of a wider context of cultural change. The notion that it is the B.B.C.'s duty to offer the best of our musical culture may persist, but perceptions of what is the best and of the correct breadth and proportions of programming can no longer be securely held. Lord Annan characterised this general cultural change

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[1] William Glock: 'The B.B.C.'s Music Policy', B.B.C., 1963.

[2] Robert Ponsonby writing in 'The Listener', 12th October, 1972.

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2 Robert Ponsonby writing in 'The Listener', 12th October, 1972.

thus: "The ideals of middle class culture ... which had created a continuum of taste and opinion, always susceptible to change and able to absorb the avant-garde within its own urban, liberal, flexible principles, found it ever more difficult to accommodate the new expressions of life in the sixties. The new vision of life reflected divisions within society ... the new mood expressed itself in a rhetoric of self-conscious unrest, in exploration rather than explanation ... in innovation rather than adjustment."[1]

Is there a 'correct' B.B.C. ethos, a 'correct' general stance for its programmers? Professor Burns has no doubt: "The conception of broadcasting as a public service, of a B.B.C. imbued with a sense of mission, of the people who worked in it as a community dedicated to the public good was, I believe, wholly appropriate. It is the only conception which makes political and economic sense ... Potentially, the B.B.C. still represents an enormously effective agency of political, cultural and social enlightenment ... The radical reform which will deliver the B.B.C. from incorporation in the world of industry and business can only come from within the B.B.C."[2] Joining battle with commercial broadcasting in a crude numbers game creates a wasteful duplication of effort, and expression of what is 'safe' - generally bland mediocrity. It is a recipe for the ossification of broadcasting and leads to a situation where an audience which can either like what it gets or switch off, is given only that which it seems to have liked again (or in a mildly varied format). Often the audience does learn to like what it gets, but slowly: some programmes that grew from an urge to communicate something new and to break new ground have become highly popular; conversely the attempt to recycle ingredients from past successes and to give the audience what it apparently wants has often resulted in a resounding flop. The philosophy and techniques of mass audience measurement quite possibly fail to recognise just how fragmented the audience already is; more important, clinging to them may lead to a failure to recognise the audience's changing nature and needs. Future changes in demography, work and leisure patterns, education, technology and real income may well lead to a complete break-up of the mass audience.

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[1] Annan Report, page 14.

[2] Burns, op.cit., page 296.

The Annan Report says as much: "It looks as if the demand will be to meet people's varying needs rather than more programmes to hold the biggest possible audience."[1] The recognition that the 'majority' is made up of a number of 'minorities' is important to lovers of serious music and contemporary music in particular. Increasing financial constraints (in terms of stringency and complexity of operation), the growth of trade union power, the new 'managerialism' and 'professionalism' have to some extent sapped the B.B.C.'s creative vitality. Creative enthusiasm and excellence might be raised if producers were given more artistic freedom and had some of the daunting administrative undergrowth that threatens to engulf them hacked away and redistributed. A reduction in the degree of specialisation might lead to fruitful cross-fertilisation between different areas of broadcasting. Within the music division, greater freedom for producers (including regional ones) coupled with a blurring of specialist divisions of genres and musical periods would be of particular structural significance - it would reduce the likelihood of the choice of repertoire and performers within certain areas of music being left in too few hands. It might also allow individual producers to pursue enthusiasms outside their normal specialism and to structure programmes or series that follow lines of thought through many periods and genres. Most living composers dislike the 'ghetto' concert in which their work appears alongside only that of their contemporaries; they prefer their music to be programmed in a context of older (though generally twentieth century) music that has some relevance to their own. Too often the audience is confronted with a new piece without adequate preparation and explanation, either through sensitive sequential programming or through illustrated talks and discussions that promote understanding of the genesis of various kinds of new music and their deeper comprehension and appreciation. To take an example: it might be interesting to programme Harrison Birtwistle's 'Verses for Ensembles' with one of Mozart's more heavyweight Serenades, but the juxtaposition would be very hard for most of the audience to accept. If, on the other hand, they had recently experienced, in the same concert, one earlier in the week or one in the same series, certain pieces of Stravinsky and Varèse - say Stravinsky's 'Symphonies of Winds' and Varèse's 'Octandre' and

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[1] Annan Report, page 23.

'Intégrales' - they could make a good deal more sense of the Birtwistle. (The Varèse pieces themselves could prove 'hard nuts to crack', but they might be sought out by someone who had first come across his 'Offrandes' in the context of a concert embracing pieces by Debussy, Ravel or Stravinsky which related to them). Similarly a work of Tavener's in which a sense of ritual and of particular ways of handling musical time and space are important, could be interestingly juxtaposed with music from St. Marks of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (or some pieces by Schutz), but it would probably be much more helpful to the audience to have recent memories of Messiaen or particular pieces of Stravinsky (the late religious works or even 'Oedipus Rex'). In the programmes for young listeners presented by David Munrow and Christopher Hogwood in which the audience has been more consciously 'led by the hand', the following through of selected themes, ideas and developments has sometimes resulted in very interesting programming. A B.B.C. which felt a strong responsibility to broaden and deepen its audience's musical experience could lead that audience to new music through more explanatory programmes and through much more sensitive programming within concerts, over a week's music, and over multi-week series; it could do so without 'talking down' or being patronising in the pejorative sense of the word.

The general content of commercial broadcasting is overseen by the I.B.A. The Pilkington Committee in 1960 severely criticised the quality of programmes shown during the early years of independent television. In 1972 the Parliamentary Select Committee on Nationalised Industries again criticised independent television for its neglect of serious programmes, especially at peak viewing times. Since then, the proportion of programmes shown on I.T.V. that might be called 'serious' has increased from 25% to 34%, with more shown during prime viewing hours. The I.B.A. requires the companies to give approximately one third of their time to serious non-fictional material and to provide some programmes for children, some educational programmes and some religious ones. It also requires the companies to schedule in every year six 'special events' of exceptional length (in the past these have included operas from Glyndebourne and plays from the Royal Shakespeare Company). These controls and injunctions have done little or nothing to further the cause of serious music on television. Southern Television, with one of the richest franchises, has televised

opera from Glyndebourne and some orchestral concerts by the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra. Its period of greatest musical activity was associated with the time in the early 1970's when Humphrey Burton (now of B.B.C.2) worked there. He resigned (partly) because of repeated delays in the programming of a Monteverdi opera already recorded. H.T.V. (Wales) has carried a good deal of serious music (including an opera by a living Welsh composer) as a reflection of Welsh national pride in its successful singers, conductors, players and opera company. There are in Britain many opera companies, orchestras and smaller ensembles that have strong regional identities; some composers have also established links with particular areas of the country: why, if part of independent television's remit is to produce some programmes with a regional 'accent', are these musical features of local life so persistently ignored? Serious music of any kind gets so little attention from commercial television that it is hardly surprising that contemporary music gets practically none; it sometimes finds its way into arts magazine programmes such as L.W.T.'s 'South Bank Show' and may occasionally obtain publicity and discussion in a locally biased arts preview programme like H.T.V.'s 'Gallery'.

There is a body of opinion in the country which holds that the I.B.A. has signally failed to ensure that the commercial radio companies uphold any decent programme standards at all and that they have become simply 'pop and prattle' purveyors. Some members of the Annan Committee felt that the prospecti submitted by local radio companies to the I.B.A. "cynically set out the bare minimum of public service broadcasting consonant with their being allocated the franchise; and then, having got it, the stations flagrantly failed to provide what little they had promised."[1] Views to this effect were given to the Committee by the National Union of Journalists, Equity (the actors' association), the Musicians' Union, the Liberal Party and others. 'Piccadilly Radio' (Manchester) and 'Capital Radio' (London) both broadcast small but regular amounts of serious music. The Manchester company sponsors and broadcasts concerts by the Radio Manchester Chorale, Piccadilly Radio's Concert Orchestra, the Manchester Camerata and the Hallé Orchestra. 'Capital Radio' broadcasts recordings of Royal Festival Hall concerts and relays from the Royal Opera House Covent Garden as well as concerts by its own

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[1] Annan Report, page 157.

sponsored orchestra, the Wren Orchestra. The works programmed are seldom adventurous. A look at the North American experience, where commercial stations have survived on a diet of almost entirely serious music, shows that the I.B.A. and the radio companies should not be as frightened as they seem to be about raising the quality of music they broadcast.

In many parts of the country there are now six radio channels available to the listener: of these, four rely very heavily on 'pop' and 'light' music, one on serious music and one on news, current affairs, drama and light entertainment; the output of each channel is (perhaps unfortunately) deliberately and heavily weighted towards one kind of programme, but the overall pattern of provision is also unbalanced - if the frequency spectrum and finance available for broadcasting are both quite limited, why should a good deal of both be taken up by the duplication of mindless dross?

The broadcasters' accountability to Government, Parliament and public

British Governments have abjured control over the content of broadcasting. This tradition was affirmed by a Home Office spokesman in Parliament in 1974 (when the Home Office assumed responsibility for broadcasting): "It has never been the policy of successive Governments that we should intervene in the content of broadcasting programmes and it is not the intention of this Government - and I hope not of any other Government - to do so."[1] If questions are raised in Parliament about programme content, they are referred to the I.B.A. or the Governors of the B.B.C. Free editorial control of broadcasting is presented as comparable to the freedom of the press in a democratic society. The broadcasters themselves cherish this freedom and see it as essential to their authority; the Chairman of the B.B.C. has written that "Broadcasters will never be believed and trusted if they are beholden to anyone."[2] In one sense this freedom is guaranteed by parliamentary democracy with regular elections and

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[1] Hansard, 1st April, 1974.

[2] Sir Michael Swann: 'The autonomy of the broadcasters: constitution and convention', B.B.C. 1974, page 5.

changes of government; the possibility of retaliation by a future Government of a different political persuasion makes the present incumbents shy away from politicising broadcasting to their own ends. But just as the 'freedom' of the press allows other influences to operate (the powers of ownership, of trade unions, of advertisers, etc.) the vacuum left by Government in the control of the content of broadcasting is filled by the powers of the purse and persons or groups of people holding influential positions within the broadcasting institutions; the ethos of the institutions themselves both moulds and is moulded by those who have power within them.

Parliament has in the past expressed its desire to control certain press activities through the laws of obscenity, defamation and copyright. Broadcasting too is subject to a number of controls. Broadcasting can be carried on only under licence from the Home Secretary, who controls the number of services, their technical specifications and the siting of transmitters. These powers are designed to protect international wavelength agreements and to minimise transmission costs and damage to the environment. They were flouted in the 1960's by 'pirate' radio stations operating from ships in international waters; their popularity eventually induced the B.B.C. to establish its own pop music channel, Radio One. In 1978 the B.B.C. rearranged the wavelengths of its radio broadcasting after a conference of the International Telecommunications Union. Listeners to serious music, which surely needs and deserves the best possible technical quality,suffered in consequence: reception on medium wave greatly deteriorated, leaving only those with V.H.F. equipment living in a good reception area with the guarantee of a first class service (and that not throughout the day, because Radio 3 is available only on medium wave during the early part of the evening). The number of listeners adversely affected is still in dispute.

The Home Secretary also has power to regulate the hours of broadcasting. Until 1955 the Government did indeed prescribe the hours during which the B.B.C. filled the ether, but from 1955 to 1972 they were fixed by mutual agreement of the B.B.C. and I.B.A. In 1972 the Government announced the end of restriction (though it briefly reimposed time limits during the winter of 1973/74 for fuel economy). The desire of the broadcasting organisations to spread programmes over more and more hours of the day must threaten the

quality of what is presently produced and the proportion of the available resources given to minority interests such as serious music; this is well illustrated by the B.B.C.'s concurrent decisions to disband six orchestras whilst extending its aural wallpapering activities throughout the night on Radio 2.

Broadcasting serious music, particularly new music, is relatively expensive yet caters for a small part of the overall audience, it is thus especially sensitive to the financial state of broadcasting. This will be examined in some detail later, but here it is relevant to point out that finance is an area of considerable governmental influence. The Home Secretary's control over B.B.C. finance is absolute: he controls the level of the licence fee which comprises almost all the Corporation's income; he also sets the upper limits of the Corporation's borrowing for capital expenditure. The present Conservative Government and the last Labour Government both failed to sustain the B.B.C.'s real income through appropriate rises in the licence fee. The consequence is that the B.B.C. has to seek savings of £130 million over the next two years and proposed to accomplish some of those savings by putting musicians out of work. The Home Secretary's influence on the finances of commercial broadcasting is less direct but still potent: he sets the levy which the individual companies must pay to the Exchequer and has powers over advertising (its frequency, nature and price), commercial broadcasting's main source of revenue.

The Home Secretary has an ultimate power to veto by written notice the broadcasting of any matter or class of matter. It is a power which has never been used. It is known, however, that Government departments (along with non-governmental pressure groups) do from time to time bring informal pressure to bear on the broadcasters over programme content. The broadcasting authorities act as their own censors; reference upwards through their management structures of controversial programme matter is common and has produced a body of internal case law amounting to a considerable code of practice. Individual producers feel that 'timidity at the top' - the fear of outcry from some sectors of the public - seriously inhibits adventure in broadcasting.

It is in the appointment of the pinnacles of the structures, the Governors of the B.B.C. and the members of the I.B.A., that the

last of the Government's powers lays. A Government can affect the tone and overall direction of broadcasting through the people it appoints. If few of them have a strong commitment to high culture and innovation, then serious music and its contemporary composition will be without armour or weapons when the disposition of broadcasting resources is decided. Whilst this might not have been the case in the early 1960's, it seems to be so now. The appointments are made by Order in Council after informal discussions with the B.B.C., the Chief Whip, and the Treasury (which keeps a list of the "great and the good" who might be called upon for high public service). By tradition at least one person is drawn from each of the fields of education, trade unionism and high finance. The Annan Committee rejected proposals that half the members of the broadcasting authorities should be elected by the trade unions working within broadcasting, rightly taking the view that the role of the authorities is to protect the public interest and that this might clash with the sectional interests of those working in the industry, thus negating the very function for which the authorities were established. The Committee also saw such an arrangement as a threat to editorial independence. It also rejected the idea that the authorities be made up from a kind of 'electoral college' of 'interest' and 'socially-relevant' groups, because of the impossibility of adjudicating their competing claims. The Committee did, however, recommend that members of the authorities should be chosen from a broader cross-section of society, and (to aid this) that their remuneration be increased so that membership need not imply any financial sacrifice.

Through the Government the broadcasters are answerable to Parliament. They are required to prepare annual reports and accounts for Parliament. The Home Secretary must answer M.P.'s questions on broadcasting (though they are referred to the B.B.C. and I.B.A. if programme content is involved). Both the B.B.C. and I.B.A. have considerable correspondence with M.P.'s and occasionally meet informal committees of back-benchers. Legislation affecting broadcasting is of course fully debated in Parliament and there are also, from time to time, non-legislative debates. The most notable in recent years was that on the B.B.C.'s plans set out in 'Broadcasting in the Seventies'. The debate induced the B.B.C. not to go through with its

plans to reduce its employment of musicians,[1] a result of direct benefit to composers, since any increase in the proportion of records to 'live' broadcasts would reduce the available repertoire of new music on the air; a broadcast by one of the B.B.C.'s own orchestras is almost the living composer's only hope of reaching a wide audience with an orchestral work.

Beyond Parliament the broadcasting authorities have devised their own mechanisms for acknowledging their accountability to the public at large - they are, indeed, legally obliged to seek the public's opinion of their products. The most obvious means of doing so lies in audience research. Each day the B.B.C.'s Audience Research Department interviews a new, representative sample of 2,000 people about the programmes they watched or heard the previous day. In 1974/75 these interviews, simply to estimate audience sizes, accounted for 62% of the research budget; a further 19% was spent on testing audience reactions through weekly questionnaires put to a volunteer panel of 6,000 people (changed annually). Special detailed studies took only 16% of the budget.[2] For commercial broadcasting the research is supervised by the Joint Industry Committee for Television Advertising Research (JICTAR), which in turn sub-contracts work to independent research firms. Audience figures are collected by monitoring the T.V. sets of a long-standing panel of households reckoned to be a representative cross-section of society. In 1974/75 one million pounds was spent in collecting two separate sets of 'ratings' figures which were in almost perpetual disagreement, whilst one tenth as much was spent on work that might give us a usefully detailed knowledge of the public's response to particular broadcasts and kinds of broadcasting. The 'ratings' are not statistically reliable. If they are used too religiously in policy formation, they reinforce the status quo and tend to stultify broadcasting. The Annan Committee sensibly recommended that crude audience measurement should be jointly funded by the B.B.C. and I.B.A. with a single methodology, and that the large amounts of money thus released should be used for more sophisticated studies. It emphasised the need for research into programmes with too small an audience to figure in

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[1] History has this year repeated itself: a similar House of Commons debate in July showed almost total unanimity against the B.B.C.'s proposals to disband six orchestras - the plans have again been modified, but this time after a two-month musicians' strike against the B.B.C.

[2] These and the following statistics are taken from the Annan Report, page 450 ff.

mainstream research and for closer contact between researchers and programme-makers. Sweeping generalisations have been made about the élitist nature of the audience for serious music and the esoteric nature of the audience for contemporary serious music, but there is little detailed, hard evidence about either - more detailed work by broadcasting organisations would be most welcome.

Both the B.B.C. and I.B.A. have established their own Advisory Councils. The B.B.C. has a General Advisory Council (established in 1934, required by the terms of the Charter since 1952), Regional Councils and specialist subject Advisory Committees, including one for music. The members of the Councils are appointed by the broadcasters themselves and it has been suggested that they appoint only people with whom they can live comfortably, and that the whole Council structure is little more than a public relations exercise. The Councils have been described as "middle-class, middle-aged and middle-brow".[1] The B.B.C.'s Music Advisory Committee usually has three composers amongst its nineteen or twenty members. It meets for only two full days during the year. The Annan Committee said this of it: "We hope that the B.B.C.'s Central Music Advisory Committee, which the Performing Right Society considered acted too much as a rubber stamp for B.B.C. decisions, will re-examine its criteria for encouraging new music at all levels so that creative musicians are not judged by too narrow assumptions."[2]

The B.B.C. receives as many as 1,000 letters each day; they are answered, reviewed, and a digest of them is circulated weekly and monthly to senior staff; particular comments are sent to individual producers. Newspaper comments on the B.B.C.'s activities are similarly collected, reviewed and circulated. For those with personal grievances against the B.B.C., it set up its own Complaints Commission in 1971. Periodically the B.B.C. holds a public forum on a particular part of its activity - there has recently been one about Radio 3. As well as reviewing the criticism and correspondence about itself in the newspapers and periodicals, the B.B.C. (to its credit) publishes criticism of its efforts in its own publications - 'The Radio Times' and 'The Listener'; moreover, Radio 3 now broadcasts criticism of itself by inviting a different person each week to review the week's musical offerings.

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[1] Annan Report, page 55.

[2] Annan Report, page 335.

The whole apparatus of public criticism, from the Governors to Audience Research to the press and advisory committees, could easily make those working within the B.B.C. feel hounded. If they are to retain any creative self-belief they must to some extent grow a protective shell, but how impervious should that shell be? All the various means by which the broadcasters are presently examined in public carry a problem of weight: to whom (if anyone) should the broadcasters listen and how closely? The Annan Committee recognised the value of its own ephemeral nature - a unique group of people collecting evidence over a particular period and producing a set of recommendations for the Government, broadcasters and public to act on as they wish - but it nevertheless saw that broadcasting needed a means of public inquiry that was on-going and that carried considerable weight. The Committee was particularly impressed by the public hearings on broadcasting conducted in Canada and recommended the establishment of a Public Enquiry Board for Broadcasting in this country. Such a Board would create a focus for criticism of broadcasting and develop a voice to which the broadcasters would have to listen; as well as holding periodic general reviews of the performance of the broadcasters, it could conduct public hearings before new commercial broadcasting franchises were awarded and in advance of major policy changes promulgated by the B.B.C.; it could also hold hearings on particular subjects. The B.B.C. so bestrides our musical world that a public forum in which its music policies could be meaningfully discussed and criticised would undoubtedly be welcomed by the country's musicians.

Broadcasting in Britain is constitutionally arranged so that the broadcasters are saved from political interference (except in the matter of money) and are given editorial and artistic freedom; there are also mechanisms for making them accountable to the public. The late Sir Hugh Curran in his book 'The Seamless Robe', an examination of British broadcasting from the vantage point of one who worked in it for many years and ended as Director-General of the B.B.C., took the view that these arrangements and mechanisms, although they might look structurally unsound on paper, have stood the practical test of functioning satisfactorily over a long period. Yet these institutional structures can work well only if the people who work within them are conscious of and sensitive to the needs and desires of those who create their raw material and those who consume their products,

only if the ethos of the institutions themselves is conducive to such sensitivity. The Annan Committee received a good deal of evidence that this is not the case:

> "No institution in Western society is less accountable than our television services, partly because choice is so limited and partly because broadcasting is so contrived that the consumer is the least important participant ... The sense of frustration and powerlessness which many people feel in relation to broadcasting must, in our view, be taken into account and remedied."[1]
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> - The National Viewers' and Listeners' Association.
>
> "Although it is conducted within a broad framework of public accountability, broadcasting in Britain today is controlled by closed and almost autocratic institutions." 1
>
> - The Labour Party.
>
> "There is a widely shared feeling that British broadcasting is run like a highly restricted club - managed exclusively by broadcasters according to their own criteria of what counts as good television and radio."[2]
>
> - The Standing Conference on Broadcasting.
>
> "The Incorporated Society of Musicians suggested that the B.B.C. was in a position to exert too great a control over the careers and reputations of British musicians. Similar concern was expressed by the Musicians' Union and Music Now. We considered a number of letters from individual playwrights, composers and poets on the same theme. One pointed out that in radio there was in effect only one outlet for serious work, the B.B.C., and a number of people complained that the selection of work was made by too small a cadre of people who drew from too restricted a range of creative contributors."[3]

Finance

All users of television sets have to pay an annual licence fee, the income from which accrues to the B.B.C. (less the cost of collection and enforcement carried out by the Post Office - £25 million of the £272 million collected in 1977/78). The charge to the public

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[1] Annan Report, page 32.

[2] Ibid, page 61.

[3] Ibid, page 335.

is small, and, given the general inflation rate and the tremendous increase in the hours of broadcasting since the 1950's, it has risen surprisingly slowly:

	Combined Radio/T.V. Licence	
1957	£4	(radio only, £1)
1965	£5	(radio only, £1 5s 0d)
1968	£5 black & white, £10 colour	
1969	£6 black & white, £11 colour	
1971	£7 black & white, £12 colour	(radio only licence abolished)
1975	£8 black & white, £18 colour	
1977	£9 black & white, £21 colour	
1978	£10 black & white, £25 colour	
1979	£12 black & white, £34 colour	

In July 1977 the fee of £21 for a colour television in Britain compared favourably with £65 in Denmark, £51 in Norway, £49 in Belgium, £42 in Sweden and £32 in West Germany.[1] If the real value of the licence fee had been sustained through the 1970's it would now be £40.

Several factors made the slow rise in the licence fee less damaging than it might otherwise have been. In 1963 the Government began to hand over all and not just part of the licence income to the B.B.C. In 1964 the B.B.C. established that it did not have to pay tax on surpluses carried forward from one year to the next. Licence evasion was reduced in the mid-60's by the requirement that all sales and rentals of television sets had to be notified to the Post Office by the retailers. Ownership of television sets increased from 10 million in 1960 to 18 million in 1978 and the proportion of those paying the colour fee rose from less than 2% in 1970 to 62% in 1978. The abolition of the radio only licence did little harm: the number of people holding such licences fell from 4.5 million in 1960 to 2.3 million in 1970; evasion was difficult to detect and the licence ate nearly all its own revenue in the cost of its collection.

During these years the B.B C.'s output increased prodigiously: between 1962 and 1974 the transmission hours of television trebled and those of radio doubled; the second T.V. channel opened as did the colour service and twenty B.B.C. local radio stations. The

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[1] B.B.C. Handbook for 1978.

increase in transmission time inevitably brought with it greater use of music and opportunities for composers. The most important innovation for serious composers was the introduction of the daytime Music Programme in 1964: in 1960 B.B.C. Radio had broadcast 2,300 hours of serious music, but by 1970 this had grown to 5,000 hours.

All this was not accomplished without financial strain. Between 1965 and 1967 Sir Hugh Greene, then Director-General, instituted an internal economy campaign aimed at saving £1½ million per year. This did not forestall a serious financial crisis in 1969 during which the future of serious music output and of some B.B.C. orchestras hung by a slender thread. Before the 1975 licence fee increase the B.B.C. had just turned in an operating deficit of £17½ million for one year, Radios 1 and 2 had to merge every evening and Radios 3 and 4 had to programme some concerts simultaneously. Radio 3, with only 2% of total radio listening time, was very fortunate to suffer least from the cuts. The inflation rates of the late 70's have imposed great strain on the B.B.C.'s finances and its ability to plan more than a year (or at best two) in advance, an experience shared by other public bodies such as the Arts Council and its clients and the Universities. The time is nearly upon us when all those who are going to own colour television sets will already have them. Unless the B.B.C.'s services are to deteriorate, from now on the licence fee must at least keep pace with wage inflation, and it must do so from a more realistic base than the present £34. Despite having just had the biggest ever increase in the licence fee, the B.B.C. is presently seeking economies on a considerable scale.

Increases in the licence fee are unpopular both with those who pay the fee and the politicans who impose the increases. It is a regressive tax, taking no account of people's ability to pay. Nevertheless, when one considers that less than 10p per day buys for a whole household two T.V. channels, four network radio channels and local radio plus the legal right to receive commercial T.V. and radio, and when one compares the British fee with those of other European countries, the failure of recent Governments to give the B.B.C. the licence fee it needs to sustain its standards looks like cowardice. The licence fee gives a direct economic link between the B.B.C. and its consumers of which both are conscious. Direct funding by Government grant from the generality of taxation would sever this link and further reduce the B.B.C.'s independence.

Funding wholly from the V.A.T. yield on televisions and radios would not give reliably calculable income each year - changes in technology, spending patterns or fiscal policy could all cause adverse and violent fluctuations. Seeking income from advertising and sponsorship might carry dangers of changing the B.B.C.'s motivation and duplicating the aims and products of commercial broadcasting. It would be helpful if the I.B.A. contributed to the cost of licence collection and enforcement and if the B.B.C. were allowed to build up considerably greater reserves in order not to stagger from one licence increase to the next; but if the licence fee is to be retained as the best means of financing the B.B.C., it demands that the Government has the political nerve to keep the fee at an appropriate level.

Composers have a direct interest in the continuing growth of the licence fee in that the B.B.C. annually pays 2% of its licence income for the use of all copyright music (and this in turn accounts for one quarter of all P.R.S. income). They also have a general interest in the buoyancy of the B.B.C.'s finances in as much as, in times of financial stress, the adventurous music of least proven popularity and the music not already on record will be most at risk. The apportionment of money to radio and to Radio 3 in particular is vital to the well-being of composition.

Financial policy is a major feature of the B.B.C. Governors' fortnightly meetings. They make the final decisions on financial procedures, the budgets of the channels and departments, large items of capital expenditure and financial negotiations with the Government. The Governors rely very much on the advice of the Director-General and his Board of Management. All expenditure above a certain sum has to be approved by the Board of Management, and it is probably in the Board that the battle for money is effectively fought. The Annan Committee reported that, "In 1975/76 the expenditure on B.B.C. Radio was over £52 million of the B.B.C.'s income of £212 million from licence fees. The senior Managers of B.B.C. Radio have no doubt that they are treated generously."[1] Nevertheless, radio's share of total operating expenditure fell from 41% in 1960/61 to 26% in 1970/71; in 1977/78 it was 28%.[2]

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[1] Annan Report, page 87.

[2] Figures deduced from the B.B.C. Handbooks.

Given the renaissance of daytime radio during the 1970's; given that 95% of all households own one radio and 42% own two or more;[1] given that the average radio listening time per head of the population per week is just under nine hours (remembering that most people work or attend schools and colleges during the day and tend to watch television at night), perhaps the funding of radio does not seem so generous. Need local radio be run on a shoestring? Need the B.B.C.'s orchestras' pay and conditions be as poor as they are? Need the payments for copyright of all kinds and to guest artists and speakers be so miserly? Copyright and guest artist payments formed 29.8% of all radio expenditure in 1966/67 - by 1976/77 this had fallen to 22.4%. In 1966/67 the B.B.C.'s orchestras accounted for 6.72% of all radio expenditure - by 1976/77 this had fallen to 5.6%.[2]

Though radio as a whole might be more generously funded, it would be difficult to argue that Radio 3 should have more than its 20% share of all radio expenditure when it claims the loyalty of only 5% of the listenership and only 2% of total listening time. The Annan Committee recognised the justification for some imbalance: "The least popular channels, Radios 3 and 4, are of course the most expensive. Yet the excellence of many programmes on these channels represents what is best in British broadcasting. Success on these channels cannot be measured solely in terms of the audiences they command, but Radio 3 in particular can be justified only if it acts as an explorer of new ideas and new broadcasting territory."[3] Contemporary music is part of that new territory. The public pronouncements of those in charge of Radio 3 encouragingly reflect that view.

Managing Director of B.B.C. Radio:

> "I don't think the aim of Radio 3 is audience gathering. I would certainly like to enlarge the audience, but quality must be paramount. Radio 3 listeners are at the top end of the intelligence spectrum; they are the opinion formers of the country. We try to serve them as best we can without lowering our standards."[4]

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1 Annual Review of B.B.C. Audience Research Findings, No.3, 1975/76, page 16

2 Figures deduced from the B.B.C. Handbooks.

3 Annan Report, page 87.

4 Radio Times, 30th September - 6th October, 1978.

Controller of Radio 3:

> "There's no point in saying that it is the business of Radio 3 to experiment and to offer people a place to develop new ideas if musicians are excluded from that facility."[1]

Controller of Music:

> "Because of its size and because of its resources, the B.B.C., not without a struggle and not without difficulty, can put on unusual performances, commission new works, dig up old works and do things which other people can't do ... We are not a museum. We have a commitment to the living composer."[2]

These ideals can be carried through if and only if the Board of Management and the Governors are sympathetic to them and are sufficiently aware of and committed to their financial implications.

The fifteen I.T.V. companies are each independent trading companies in their own right. They have been awarded franchises for particular areas of the country by the I.B.A. Five of the companies are network companies, producing most of the material shown nationwide. The franchises must be periodically renewed; when this happens different consortia may bid for the franchises available. At the last renewal date, in 1968, the I.B.A. took the opportunity to increase the number of network companies from four to five (involving the merger of two existing companies and the introduction of two new ones) and to take one regional franchise away from the existing company and award it to a new group. Between them, the I.T.V. companies produce 10,000 hours of different programmes each year; they buy programmes from each other, but each company's daily schedule differs in some way from the others. Their income derives almost entirely from selling advertising time and they have devised various ways of ensuring that the more homes an advertisement reaches the higher the price paid. The quantity, nature and pricing of advertising is overseen by the I.B.A.

After meeting their own costs, the companies have three further payments to make. The first is a rental to the I.B.A. for use of the transmission network; the rentals are discriminatory, ensuring that the richest companies pay most. The second is the 'levy' paid to the

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[1] Interview published in 'The Observer', 1st July, 1979.

[2] Radio Times, 30th September - 6th October, 1978.

Exchequer. This payment has been imposed since 1963 because, after a shaky start, I.T.V. became what Lord Thomson (one of its pioneers) called 'a licence to print money.' At first the levy was a flat-rate charge on advertising revenue. This penalised the smaller companies and so in 1964 a sliding percentage scale was introduced (the first slice of advertising revenue being free, the next charged at x%, the next at x + y% and so on; the rates were periodically changed). This method was abandoned in 1974 because it paid no attention to profit and loss, nor did it appreciably close the gap between the rich pickings of some franchises and the lower profitability of others. Since 1974 the levy has been charged on profits at the rate of 66.7% after an initial free slice. Given that business seems to be prepared to pay for T. V. advertising at almost any price, this levy system can act as a disincentive to control costs. Lack of tight cost control, excessive wage and manning agreements in the independent sector inevitably creates inflationary pressure on the B.B.C., especially now that so many public sector workers are claiming that their pay and conditions should be comparable with those of people doing similar jobs in private industry. During 1979 the I.T.V. network was closed down by a technicians' strike. The strikers pointed to the profits of the I.T.V. companies and effectively claimed their right to a larger share of them. Industries such as the press and broadcasting, in which a day's output once lost is gone forever, are particularly susceptible to the use of 'industrial muscle'. This has produced a situation in which a studio electrician in I.T.V. or a shop-floor worker for 'The Times' newspaper can earn considerably more than a university professor. High wage settlements in the private sector threaten enterprises such as the arts and the B.B.C., which rely on funds from the public purse, with a double-edged sword: on one side they produce expectations of wage increases which are difficult to meet; on the other, if a government such as the present British Government determines to curb public expenditure as part of its anti-inflation programme, the very livelihoods of those engaged in the arts or in the B.B.C. come under threat. The arts are similar to the press and television, in that lost production can sometimes never be regained, but this weapon has not been successfully wielded by those working in the industry (with the possible exception of stage-hands and technicians, who have used their ability to disrupt the work of others in the arts to considerable effect - thus a stage-hand in an opera house might earn, with overtime and shift allowances,

a good deal more than one of the players in the orchestra). Perhaps musicians, composers, actors, writers and dancers are too uncomfortably aware that most of their performances lose money which is made up by the state, and that if they went on strike to improve their (often miserable) pay, the majority of the population would not weep overmuch; perhaps, too, their attitude to their work is of a different order.

The I.T.V. technicians could justifiably point to the high profitability of their companies: pre-tax profits expressed as profits on assets employed have averaged about 50%. Nevertheless, profitability in real terms has declined since the mid-60's. The real value of advertising revenue has moved only a few percentage points since then, and levy payments have decreased in real value - it is costs that have increased in real terms.[1] Independent Local Radio is organised similarly to I.T.V. by the I.B.A., except that the stations, still in their infancy, pay no network rental and no levy. The third payment that all commercial broadcasting companies have to make is the normal profits tax of 52%.

I.T.V. moves in and out of the market for creative work at will. It makes large profits, but because of the nature of the market needs to pay rates for creation at or only just above those paid by the B.B.C. It helps sustain creative talent by paying fees for specific pieces of work, but it makes little or no contribution to the infrastructure that provides the pool of talent from which it draws. A mechanism already exists through which I.T.V. could express its unpaid debt - the Television Fund. The companies contribute to this fund which, under the direction of the I.B.A., makes occasional grants to bodies such as the Royal College of Arts and the Regional Theatre Trainee Director Scheme. They could easily afford to increase the money available from the fund for nurturing the arts on which they themselves in the end rely. The Government could facilitate this by making such payments deductible before the levy is calculated; if this does not encourage a suitable flow of money, then compulsion could be used.

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[1] See the Annan Report, page 180.

The management of music

The amount of serious music broadcast for its own sake by commercial companies is negligible, the amount of serious contemporary music almost nil. But I.T.V. is still a considerable user of music and a serious composer, if he has the temperament and technique for such work, can gain considerable income by writing theme and incidental music for I.T.V. programmes. The I.T.V. companies employ very few full-time musicians on permanent contract. In some of the smaller companies it may be just one person, the Director of Music, who selects music for some programmes, suggests composers for others, perhaps composes some incidental music himself, and arranges (and perhaps conducts) the recording sessions. More often than not the producer of a programme will choose a composer himself; his choice will probably be someone with whom he has worked happily in the past or someone with an established reputation. Thus the same names appear again and again on the 'credits' at the end of programmes for having written the incidental music. Unfortunately, it is reinforced by a factor other than the personal choice of producers or musical directors, and this stems from the diversification of T.V. companies into the music business.

Most of the I.T.V. companies were formed by consortia of existing companies with interests in newspapers and various leisure industries. They have been so successful that they themselves have parented other companies dealing in music, films, costumes and other T.V.-related areas. The companies maintain that diversification safeguards them and their shareholders against the volatility of the T.V. business itself; their staff and outside critics see diversification as a loss of money to the industry that could have been used to improve equipment, wages, salaries and payments to the creators of the raw materials of television - composers, authors, actors and musicians. Diversification in to the music business has had a special effect on the choice of composers for incidental music and their remuneration. A.T.V. and London Weekend Television both have music publishing subsidiaries; Thames Television has a strong financial link with E.M.I. which in turn has many music publishing companies; Granada Television is part of a larger group which includes music publishing elements. A composer already exclusively contracted to an associated music publisher is more likely to get television work than one who is not.

A composer who is not exclusively contracted to any one publisher will be asked to assign the copyright of the music he composes for a particular programme to one of the T.V. company's subsidiaries. The music will very seldom actually be published, the 'publishing' subsidiary will simply reap 50% of the royalties the music attracts from the P.R.S. whenever it is broadcast. So in 1976/77 a composer might have received two, perhaps three hundred pounds as a commission fee for writing 10 minutes of incidental music for a programme on the I.T.V. network, but is likely to have gained only half of the £300 payable as the broadcasting royalty. The company with one of the worst records in this respect is A.T.V. According to the I.B.A., 61% of all the music used by A.T.V. is 'published' by its own subsidiaries.[1] If the I.B.A. does not control this abuse, then the Government should.

The producer of a B.B.C. drama or documentary can call on internal resources for incidental music: a vast record library, recordings of past transmissions, a large library of taped music composed to evoke scenes or moods, and the Radiophonic Workshop, the staff of which compose electronic incidental music as well as sound effects. For musical direction and performance he might call on musicians already employed by the B.B.C. He may still decide to use some of his budget to commission special music, in which case he has a free hand in his choice of composer (though he may consult members of the music staff as to the best choice). Like his I.T.V. counterpart, he will tend to choose well-tried composers, especially those with whom he has worked comfortably in the past.

Whereas I.T.V.'s action in the music market is largely that of an impresario, the B.B.C.'s is also that of patron. It is the largest single employer of musicians in the country and the largest single user and purveyor of music. It has more than 600 musicians on full-time contract. It relays public performances of choirs, non-B.B.C. orchestras, festivals and opera houses as well as booking a large number of solo and chamber musicians for its own concerts; a measure of the extent of this 'buying in' is that approximatley 10,000 individual contracts are issued by the Music Department each year. As

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[1] Annan Report, page 184.

well as providing permanent employment for 600 players and singers, the B.B.C. runs competitions to encourage aspiring ones. Its use of young conductors is essential to the art in Britain. Many of its own broadcast concerts are given before invited or paying audiences. The B.B.C. assumed responsibility for the 'Proms' as long ago as 1927 and has more recently taken over the Sir Robert Mayer Concerts for young people. Each year it commissions about a dozen new works. It televises more than 100 hours of musical events each year and uses still more music for incidental purposes. Its radio network broadcasts nearly 14,000 hours of music annually, of which about 5,000 might be termed 'serious'. Without the B.B.C., Britain would be musically impoverished and composers would scarcely get a hearing, let alone earn much money from composition.

Music is so important in the B.B.C.'s programmes that its management must be seen within the context of the management of the Corporation as a whole. The tremendous growth of the B.B.C.'s output between 1962 and 1976 was matched by the growth of its permanent staff from 17,646 to 25,847.[1] By 1969 the managerial system was under enough stress for the Board of Management, under pressure from the Governors, to call in the management consultants McKinseys to analyse and advise. McKinseys were surprised to find a very large number of people (some 1,400) with real decision-making power. This was in line with the B.B.C. philosophy of relying on individual talents and allowing them the freedom to express themselves. After 1969 the three Managing Directorships of T.V., Radio and External Services were created and there was a shift of power away from Department Heads towards Channel Controllers; in music's case this meant influence moved out of the hands of musicians and into those of polymath broadcasters. An apparently more systematic hierarchy of accountability was introduced, though it entailed a good many overlapping responsibilities. Tighter managerial controls have not pleased the programme-makers. A group of them submitted to the Annan Committee that, "We do not dispute the necessity for vigorous financial stringency, but we submit we have now not only unrealistically elaborate financial procedures but that these have led to an even more Byzantine system of planning and control over programmes themselves."[2] The less

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[1] Annan Report, page 98.

[2] Annan Report, page 102.

buoyant the B.B.C.'s finances the more constricted by the managerial strait-jacket the creative staff will feel, especially if they sense they are being denied the decentralisation and devolution of power, the 'industrial democracy' that is being claimed and sometimes won elsewhere. A paradox of the situation is that in its effort to eke out its scarce resources, the B.B.C. has sprouted a bureaucracy that is itself expensive. The Association of Directors and Producers considers the time has come for radical change: "We believe that the B.B.C. is too large, too unwieldy and far too top-heavy with non-creative and non-productive staff. The creative excellence which was the hallmark of the B.B.C. for so many years, right up to the sixties when creative vigour in television was at its peak, has now been submerged under the weight of a vast bureaucracy. We believe, sadly, that the time has now come for this great monolithic sacred cow to be dismembered."[1] They proposed the division of the B.B.C. into autonomous regional units. A minority of the Annan Committee proposed the lesser step of dividing the B.B.C. into two separate corporations, one each for radio and T.V. Neither proposal has gained wide support, the commonest arguments against them being that they would lead to expensive duplication of resources, effort and manpower, and that the B.B.C.'s size and unity gives it the strength to be free.

Confusion of roles begins at the very top of the structure with the Governors. They are appointed to safeguard the public interest and to protect the broadcasters from undue pressure. If they do not stand far enough apart from the day-to-day management of the B.B.C. they cannot properly carry out this function - they become judge and jury in their own case. In the 1950's the Governors formed something of an advisory committee to the management, giving a view on broad policy (especially finance) and on specific points of public complaint. Since then, however, they have sought a more executive role, making decisions themselves more often and at a more detailed level. Writing in 1965, Lord Normanbrook (then Chairman of the Governors) saw their task as a more positive one: to promote efficiency and high standards of technical engineering and production; to lay down financial policies and procedures; to appoint senior staff and to maintain "the moral and social values which should characterise good public-service broadcasting." They exercised editorial control by precedent,

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[1] Annan Report, page 99.

retrospective review and (very rarely) preview. "The Board (of Governors) is in fact an integral part of the B.B.C.: it is the final source of decision, not only on general policy, but on specific issues which are of sufficient importance to call for decisions at the highest level within the Corporation."[1] When he took over as Chairman in the late sixties, Lord Hill put Lord Normanbrook's generalised analysis very much into action: he often lived 'on the premises' and took a close and very detailed interest in all that went on, so much so that Sir Hugh Greene, the Director-General, eventually left, cramped for his own space.

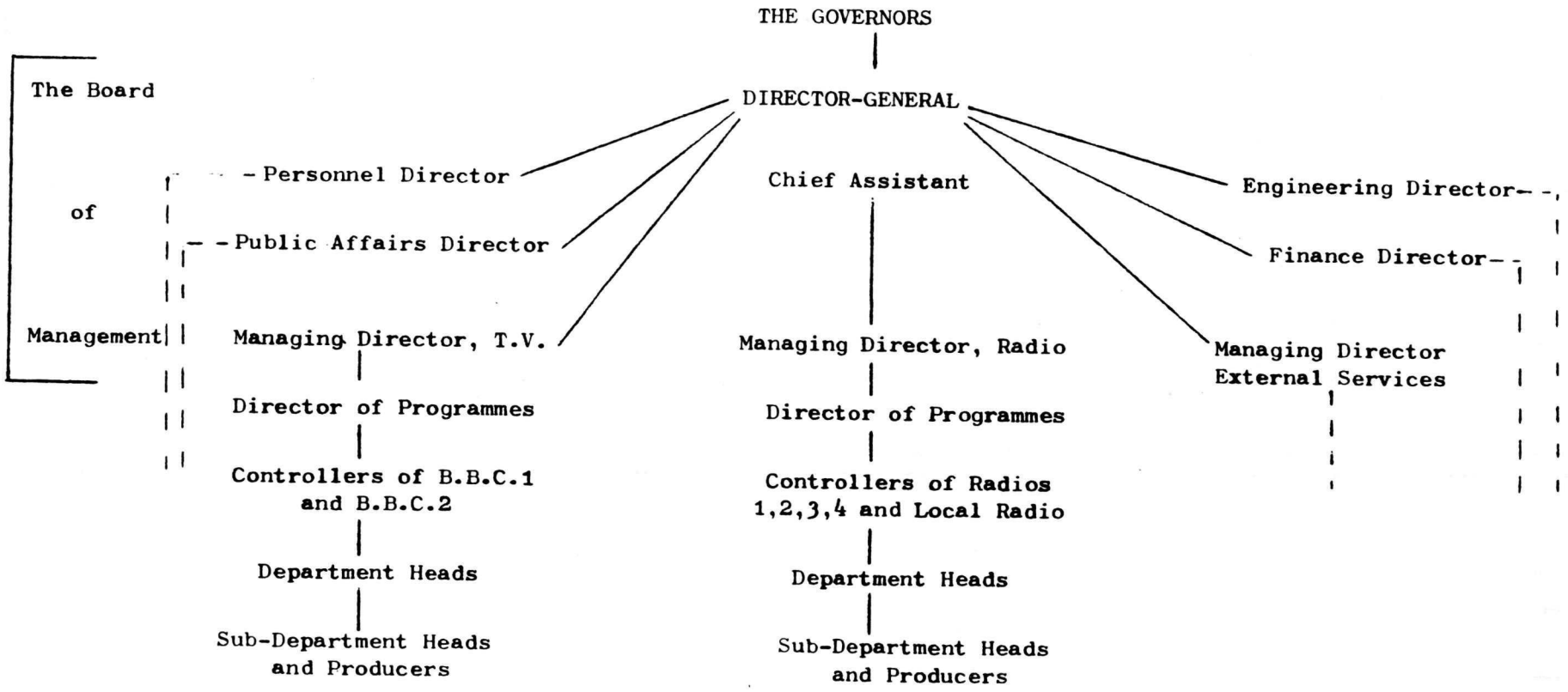
There is a residue of friction between the Governors and the Board of Management. Both Lord Hill and his successor, Sir Michael Swann, reported to Annan, "How hard it is to get B.B.C. top management to accept proposals put to them by the Governors. Months of defensive action ensue, and all too often efforts are made to blind these interfering amateurs with the science of the profession."[2] Clearly if the Governors are to fulfil their role properly they must withdraw to a more strategic level of decision-making, otherwise they will be creatures of the organisation itself rather than public guardians. At that strategic level they must ultimately govern rather than engage in fencing matches with the top management. Their independence would be enhanced if they had their own secretariat and information/research facilities.

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1 Lord Normanbrook: 'The Functions of the B.B.C. Governors', B.B.C., 1965.

2 Annan Report, page 120.

B.B.C. HIGHER MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE



The structure has been here simplified by the omission of assistants at most levels.

If the position of the Governors as ultimate managers of the B.B.C. is equivocal, so is that of the Board of Management. It is not a voting, decision-making body in the normal sense; it is rather an information exchange, a place where the various 'limited tyrannies' within the Corporation might seek some harmony. It is the Director-General's job to carry the sense of its meetings to the Governors. It might be better for the Board to reach its own decisions and then become collectively responsible for them, presenting them to the Governors for approval, disapproval or amendment as a Cabinet does to Parliament. Within the Board itself there are overlapping responsibilities: whilst there are individual directors for Engineering, Finance, Public Affairs and Personnel, the Managing Directors of Radio and T.V. also deal with these functions within their own domains. This duplication seems symptomatic of a system overburdened with administration. The older B.B.C. system in which administrators sought only to remove obstacles from the path of those who created the programmes and to relieve them of their paper burdens was probably more productive.

The top two tiers of management have been dealt with at some length because it is here that vital decisions affecting music are taken, such as the split of money between T.V. and Radio, the apportionments to each of the channels and the appointment of senior staff. Within the last year this set of decision-makers has opted for less music and more verbal material on Radio 3, especially at the prime evening listening time; they have also given sentence of death on six B.B.C. orchestras (later rescinded for three of them). Despite the importance of music in the B.B.C.'s output, within the ranks of the Governors and Board of Management there are no ex-musicians, nor anyone with very strong musical sympathies or expertise of any kind. Nor are there any to be found within the next two tiers down - Directors of Programmes and Channel Controllers.

Lower down the structure there are many departments, music is one, which cut across the boundaries of the separate channels and even across the divide of Radio and T.V. Each department in turn has its own idiosyncratic system of sub-departments. The complaints of programme-makers about a 'Byzantine' system of control become clearer when it can be seen how many different paths of accountability they have to follow, how many different departments and sub-departments

with which they may have to negotiate. Each transaction between departments has to be costed and charged to appropriate budgets (departmental, sub-departmental, or individual programme); a producer might have to do this for as many as 125 separate services.

This leads to tension between managers and creators, between departments and sub-departments; for the individual it can lead to the splitting or negation of loyalty. The number of different unions operating within the B.B.C. and a pay grading system based on job evaluation further aggravate the situation. The evidence given to the Annan Committee and the resignations from the B.B.C. of some of its best-known producers and executives suggest that many of the people in the Corporation are unhappy with its managerial structure, and that those who create programmes are least happy of all.

During the Musicians' Union strike against the B.B.C. Dr. Robert Simpson, a composer and scholar as well as one of Radio 3's senior producers, resigned from the Corporation. He wrote to 'The Times' explaining his decision: "I have resigned from the B.B.C. for reasons wider and deeper than the current argument over the orchestras, which is only the symptom of a larger problem. Not long ago I confirmed to a newspaper reporter what was widely known, that a letter asking the B.B.C. to reconsider its position (in the matter of the orchestras) had been sent to the Director-General by a number of senior members of the music staff, including myself. Although this was not really a 'leak' it broke the rules, but the B B.C. did not request or suggest my resignation; on the contrary, efforts were made to persuade me otherwise. The determination to resign was the logical end of a long period of growing disquiet at the drift of the B.B.C. under a management for which I could find only dwindling respect. When I first joined the Corporation nearly thirty years ago it was a wonderful and promising place to be at, with the Third Programme at the height of its achievement, the envy of the whole civilised world. Since the B.B.C.'s capitulation to the urge to compete on the lowest level with commercial broadcasting, values have degenerated; one can regard only with dismay the multiplying factors that impede the search for the best in the scramble for ratings. Mr. Christopher Bishop, managing director of the Philharmonia Orchestra, has recently asked how long it will be before the inscription on Broadcasting House is changed from 'this temple of the arts and muses' to 'this temple of

news and current affairs'. I would further ask how long before 'temple' becomes 'market', finding it difficult to believe that this government's refusal to increase the licence fee by a tiny 2p per day is without ulterior motive (an increase from 9p to 11p per day would solve a great many of the B.B.C.'s financial problems) ... I can no longer work for the B.B.C. without a profound sense of betrayal of most of the values I and many others believe in, and its management includes elements whose authority I cannot accept without shame." ('The Times', 18th July, 1980).

The Music Department is not itself the final arbiter of the programme shape of the schedules in which its products are used - even Radio 3, on which nearly 70% of the air-time is filled with serious music, has a non-musician as Controller. It is, however, a large and powerful department in its own right, with its own quite complex structure. At its head stand the Controller of Music and his Assistant Controller; then there are Heads of Music for radio and television respectively; there are also five regional Heads of Music (though two Senior Assistants control the Midlands region). In London there are some dozen Chief Assistants who head sub-departments. Some of these are formed according to kinds of music, such as Opera or New Music; some according to function, such as Artists or Library; some according to the source of broadcast, such as Public Concerts, 'Proms' or Gramophone Music; others include Talks, Presentation, External Services and Transcription (the export service). Some people have to lead dual lives: the Head of T. V. Music also has to function within the department of T.V. Arts and Music; gramophone record broadcasts also come under a completely separate department devoted to discs and their broadcasting; external services also have another chain of command to follow.[1] Clearly the divisions between sub-departments can only have paper walls. 'New Music', for instance, might be an opera, a public concert, a gramophone record, a foreign tape or a studio broadcast for which artists must be hired. Whole departments compete for air-time and within them are competing sub-departments; at all levels there are competing personal tastes and enthusiasms. The overall balancing of genres, sources and tastes and their placing in the schedules are the prime jobs of the Controller of Music and the Channel Controllers.

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[1] The structure of the Music Department has been gleaned from a talk on Radio 3 by Robert Ponsonby (29th November 1974), and Lionel Salter (Assistant Controller of Music): 'The B.B.C. and the Musician' in 'The Music Yearbook' 1973/74, Ed. Arthur Jacobs, Macmillan.

If a contemporary British work has already been broadcast, or if it is by a very well-established and well-respected composer indeed, producers, artists and conductors are free to include it in their programme plans. Otherwise it must first be submitted for examination in score and/or on tape. The B.B.C. retains a 'reservoir' of four composers, four performers, and one composer/performer whose membership is secret, and changes periodically, for reading new works. Scores are sent to three readers. If they disagree, another opinion is sought and then another until some reasonable consensus is formed. The readers recommend to the B.B.C.'s internal New Music Committee that works fall into one of three categories: in the first they are circulated to producers and performers with a request that they be programmed if possible; in the second they are labelled 'accepted if offered', i.e. if an artist or producer wishes to programme them, there will be no objection from 'head office'; in the third category they are rejected, although a re-reading can be requested. One composer claims to have sent a rejected work back to the B.B.C. unchanged but for a different title and had it accepted[1] - presumably by a different reading panel. According to the Assistant Controller of Music, "On average, some 35% of scores by British composers are accepted for performance as opportunity offers."[2] Even allowing for submissions by cranks and people of absolutely no talent, this proportion of acceptance is quite low. Obviously the B.B.C. must retain control over the quality of the new music it broadcasts, but the possibility of a few people being able effectively to exclude certain works and certain composers from the air carries dangers, especially when Radio 3 is such an important component of a composer's communication and income.[3] If a trusted artist or producer wants to programme a particular new work, is that not recommendation enough? Perhaps the best function of the reading panel is to draw attention to works which by their interest and quality demand to be broadcast; the B.B.C. might then use their best efforts to programme them within months rather than years. At present there is a backlog of more than 120 works that have been recommended since the mid-sixties but which have yet to be broadcast.

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[1] See E. Mason: 'What's in a name?' - Music and Musicians, May 1963.

[2] Lionel Salter, op.cit.

[3] It has, for instance, been suggested by a number of composers that the person who controls the programmes of the 'Proms' should be changed every three years, so that this very important 'festival' should not be a reflection of just one person's vision for too long: since 1960 the 'Proms' have been the preserve of the Controller of Music - which has meant just one change of the 'hand at the tiller' in two decades.

Music on the Air

The quantity of music broadcast on television for its own sake (i.e. not as signature or incidental music) is very small. During the year 1958/59 when the B.B.C. had only one T.V. channel it was 85 hours, 2.7% of total output.[1] By 1963/64 it had fallen to 52 hours, 1.5% of total output. With the introduction of B.B.C.2 in 1964/65 it climbed to 152 hours, 2.8% of total output; the pattern was established that most of the music broadcasts were on B.B.C.2, the minority channel (generally claiming around 10% of the television audience). The amount of music broadcast then fell to a low of 78 hours in 1968/69, 1.2% of total output. In 1977/78 the 108 hours broadcast still represented only 1.2% of total output. The fraction of this music that has been written by living native composers varies either side of one-twentieth.

Contemporary music may occasionally get the benefit of publicity and discussion in one of T.V.'s arts magazine programmes, but the music itself is more likely to be given in short excerpts than in complete performances. Some of our most famous composers - Walton, Tippett, Maxwell-Davies, Lutyens, Williamson - have had complete documentary programmes devoted to them. Much of the music by living composers on television sneaks in almost 'by the back door', comprising relatively undemanding pieces in well-liked programmes such as 'André Previn's Music Night' (audience 2½ to 3 million), 'Best of Brass', or as the shorter of two pieces in a televised 'Prom'.

Opera and dance make more natural television fare than instrumental and vocal music. They receive such large sums in public subsidy that it is very disappointing there are so few television relays of them to maximise the return on that public investment. As long ago as 1969 an Arts Council Report on Opera and Ballet argued for a joint Arts Council/I.B.A./B.B.C. committee to this end, but the idea has still not come to fruition. (One of the problems involved is the frankly exorbitant pay demands made by the unions involved in relaying a television broadcast from an opera house.) The two 'grand old men' of British opera, Britten and Tippett, have had operas televised

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[1] These, and the statistics which follow, have been deduced from the B.B.C. Handbooks.

from time to time, though not even at the rate of one per year. Over the past two decades half a dozen operas have been specially written for television, of which Britten's 'Owen Wingrave' is the most famous, though partly because it has since been adapted for opera house performance. There is a considerable twentieth century tradition of works written for small ensembles involving limited theatrical elements. Many composers have added to the genre since 1945, either through artistic disillusion with full-scale opera and the large symphony orchestra, or because their access to both has been so very restricted. These small-scale 'limited theatre' works would make good, not very expensive television, yet they have been almost totally ignored. It is part of B.B.C.2's philosophy to cater for minority interests - it gives regular and in some cases quite considerable airtime to small audiences, such as those for programmes in the Welsh and Pakistani languages, Test Match cricket, Open University broadcasts (though these are paid for by the Open University) - but it has never nerved itself to serve consistently that minority which would welcome regular performance and discussion of contemporary music.

B.B.C. Radio's output of music of all kinds in the year 1960/61 was 5,693 hours (39% of total output) on national networks, with a further 1,513 hours added by the old regional system. Serious music accounted for 2,300 of those hours. During the 1960's the advent of the daytime Music Programme and the splitting of the old Light Programme into Radios 1 and 2 increased the amount of music broadcast dramatically. From 1968 to 1972 music of all kinds accounted for more than 60% of all radio output, the total music hours hovering around 14,000 per year. Since then music has declined as a proportion of all radio broadcasting (down to 54.5% in 1976/77) and the hours of music broadcast have fallen from the peak of 15,636 in 1973/74 to 13, 162 in 1976/77.

Whilst the output of serious music grew considerably during the sixties and early seventies, it did not do so as fast as the output of pop and light music; whilst serious putput grew from just under two and a half thousand hours to five thousand, pop and light output climbed from three and a third thousand hours to ten thousand. Seen as a proportion of total radio output, serious music stood at 16% in 1960/61, increased to 26% by 1966/67 and then declined to hover around 20%. In 1976/77 the 4,800 hours of serious music broadcast represented 19.2% of total radio output.

Nearly all the serious music is to be found on Radio 3, where it takes up just over two thirds of the air-time. Some 300 hours of not-too-adventurous serious music is broadcast on Radio 4, which is mainly a news, current affairs, drama and light entertainment channel. Some light music by serious composers is broadcast on Radio 2, though it is difficult to detect since it is seldom specified in the 'Radio Times'. Radio 2 light music staff do in fact contribute some of the lighter programmes to be found on Radio 3. By broad genres, the serious output divides approximately thus:

orchestral (including voices with orchestra but not opera)	chamber, solo, choral	opera
50	40	10

On Radio 3 just under one tenth of the serious music air-time is given to works by living composers and this in turn is divided more or less equally between native and foreign composers.[1]

During the calendar year 1961 the B.B.C.'s national radio networks broadcast 955 different works by living composers. Of these, 550 were by 136 British composers and 405 by 104 foreign composers. The various B.B.C. regions also broadcast within their own areas 409 works by British and 43 works by foreign living composers. Many of these pieces were also broadcast at some other time on the national networks, but the regions did send out a good deal of music, especially vocal music, by lesser-known composers who seldom got a hearing on the national networks.[2]

During the calendar year 1975 (the last for which complete, detailed statistics are available) Radio 3 alone broadcast 1,523 different works by living composers: of these 966 were by 256 British composers and 557 by 210 foreign composers. (They included 36 world premières, a further 21 first British performances and 183 first British broadcasts). If the 'big three' of British composition (Britten, Walton and Tippett) are taken out of those figures, they reduce to 757

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[1] Figures kindly supplied by Frank Stiles of the Composers' Guild.

[2] Figures abstracted from 'Catalogue of Music Broadcast in Serious Music Programmes on Sound and Television, 1961' - B.B.C. Music Division, 1962.

different works by 253 living British composers.[1] When one remembers that many of the works were short songs or choral pieces, the figures do not seem quite so generous. Perhaps the least generous facet of the statistics is that out of 1,523 works by living composers, only 21 used electronic means or mixed taped sound with conventional instruments; this despite radio being a natural 'home' for electronic music, especially now that so many people have stereo receivers.

Provisional figures for 1979 indicate that Radio 3 broadcast 866 different works by 251 living British composers. Of these, 75 were world premières, six first performances in Britain and 152 first broadcasts (i.e. 233 works were broadcast for the first time).[2] The fall of the number of works by 100 compared with 1975 can be accounted for entirely by the absence of those of Benjamin Britten from the 1979 calculations.

Two institutional rigidities operate within Radio 3's output. The first is dictated by agreements with the Musicians' Union and Phonographic Performance Ltd. which mean that the amount of air-time given to gramophone records should not exceed one third of the total. The Musicians' Union's interest is obviously in maintaining the employment of its members for providing 'live' broadcasts. Phonographic Performance Ltd. is a royalty collecting agency for copyright holders in gramophone records (manufacturers' rights rather than composers' rights or publishers' rights: composers' and publishers' rights in the making and selling of recordings are negotiated by the Mechanical Rights Society and collected by the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society; when royalties are payable to composers and publishers for the public 'performance' or broadcasting of records, they are collected through the Performing Right Society). The record manufacturers' interest in controlling 'needle time' involves balancing the copyright payments they receive for the broadcasts of records against damage to sales caused by the ease or otherwise of 'home-taping' from the radio. It is noticeable that living composers whose works are on record get far more broadcasts than others; partly, no doubt, simply because the records are available and it would be absurd to fill all needle time with the works of the dead, partly because it is in the nature of things that if they are established enough to have a number of records to

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1 Figures abstracted from the 'Catalogue of Music Broadcast on Radio Three, 1975', compiled by Mary Wiegold and Caroline Wilkinson, edited by Stephen Plaistow.

2 Figures compiled by the author from the 'Radio Times'.

their name, then they are likely to get more broadcasts anyway. It is better for the majority of serious composers that needle time is restricted - the more air-time the B.B.C. fills with records the less will their works have a chance of being broadcast.

The second institutional rigidity lies in the fact that the B.B.C. employs 11 full-time orchestras, one full-time and two part-time choirs, and their full use inevitably takes up a good deal of the schedules. Of the orchestras, six are less than symphony orchestra size. Four symphony orchestras and the three choirs are used almost entirely on Radio 3 (sometimes on Radio 4). Three orchestras are used primarily for light music on Radios 2 and 3, and four orchestras are essentially pop/light units for use on Radio 2.

Since this large patronage base was built up, a number of factors have persuaded the B.B.C. that parts of it are now obsolete. The technical quality of gramophone records has improved dramatically over the past two decades, as has the breadth of repertoire available on them. Interest in mediaeval and renaissance music has grown enormously as has the popularity of chamber music of all kinds. Recently there has been a growing demand for more so-called 'authentic' performances of baroque and classical music than can be achieved by ordinary repertoire orchestras. To some extent twentieth century composers have turned away from the standard symphony orchestra towards more varied and unorthodox instrumental groupings.

In its 1969 document 'Broadcasting in the Seventies', the B.B.C. proposed to reduce its orchestral patronage by half. The ensuing public and parliamentary furore persuaded the B.B.C. to drop its plan. The Director-General, Sir Charles Curran, wrote an explanatory article in 'The Listener' of June, 1970: "For the B.B.C.'s part we have had to reconsider our patronage function very seriously in the last year or so. There is no doubt that we must continue to discharge that large element of patronage that is basic to our broadcasting responsibilities ... we began to think that matters had got a little out of control .... the B.B.C. was not able to make full use of its orchestras ... we therefore proposed a quite substantial reduction in our employment of musicians and we entered into discussions with the Arts Council about ways in which the burden of sustaining some of our orchestras could be shared." All that was achieved was that the B.B.C. Training

Orchestra was first reduced from symphonic to chamber size (and renamed 'The Academy of the B.B.C.') then entirely disbanded. The Welsh Arts Council provided (and continues to provide) extra money for the B.B.C. Welsh Orchestra to have a decent complement of strings and to give a wider geographical spread of public concerts in Wales.

The argument resurfaced in the Report of the Annan Committee: "We have strong doubts about whether the B.B.C.'s role should be interpreted as requiring its commitment to the employment of all the existing 13 musical bodies which it supports at a cost of £3 million each year. Our doubts are both financial and artistic."[1] The Report argued that the present position makes certain expenditure inviolable in terms of the employment of musicians rather than the need of programmes, that it gives musicians privileges that other artists do not enjoy and that it ties the B.B.C. to too rigid an orchestral structure. Without being specific, the Report recommended that the demarcation between B.B.C. and non-B.B.C. orchestras should become more flexible and that a more rational country-wide provision of orchestras be made jointly by the B.B.C. and the Arts Council: "If the Government wishes to maintain ... all the existing B.B.C. orchestras, we believe it should be prepared to provide sufficient extra finance to the Arts Council to enable the Council to provide money towards the upkeep and improvement of these orchestras."[2] Given the present Government's determination to limit public expenditure severely, this last suggestion is unlikely to come to fruition - The Arts Council's funds are already over-stretched. The orchestras could be improved, by enlarging their standard strengths, by raising their pay and conditions, by getting them out of the studio and into the concert hall more often. The placing of orchestras in the provinces could be rationalised. Over the whole of the eastern part of the country there is only a full-time chamber orchestra in the North-East, a new opera orchestra in Yorkshire and a part-time chamber orchestra in Nottingham. The Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra and Sinfonietta presently try to serve an enormous tract of the South and South-West. There appears to be no need for the B.B.C. to establish its own more specialised ensembles, since these can be 'bought in' quite satisfactorily.

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1 Annan Report, page 333.

2 Annan Report, page 334.

Unless and until changes can be financed, there are important arguments for the B.B.C. maintaining the status quo. Their orchestras give a broad base to the orchestral profession without which excellence at the top would be more difficult to achieve. They spread professional music-making through the provinces (which has a particular 'spin-off' in the availability of instrumental teaching from practicing professionals). They are an important training ground for young conductors. More of the 'perfect' gramophone record product is not necessarily preferable to the excitement and endlessly variable interpretation offered by live performance. The repertoire of the B.B.C. orchestras can step outside the bounds of the gramophone catalogue and the well-worn paths of independent orchestras - a facility not used nearly enough at present. Expenditure on orchestras has formed a declining proportion of overall radio expenditure. Once the record companies know that the B.B.C. has reduced its ability to substitute live performance for records, they might seek to raise their copyright payments for broadcasts substantially. The B.B.C. could ease its financial situation marginally by adopting a reasonable scale of charges to the public for attending concerts by its orchestras and other ensembles that it promotes for broadcasting purposes.

The B.B.C. orchestras are vital to the country's composers. Very few contemporary orchestral works are available on disc and the independent orchestras are extremely reluctant to programme recent works. The conductors of B.B.C. orchestras are generally much more willing than others to learn new scores. A radio broadcast gives the composer his largest audience and highly significant royalty income.

As well as programmes on record and by its own ensembles, the B.B.C. relays concerts containing contemporary music from festivals, from universities and from the Arts Council's Contemporary Music Network; it also 'buys in' chamber ensembles for studio and public concert broadcasts. Music on Radio 3 is programmed within a regular daily and weekly framework interspersed with special relays. Approximately 120 operas are broadcast each year, sometimes simultaneously with B.B.C.2 so that viewers may use their superior stereo radio equipment for listening whilst watching television. An opera on radio alone is obviously a 'second best', yet radio can explore neglected operas much more cheaply than opera companies or television.

Some current box-office 'hits' such as Tippett's 'The Midsummer Marriage' and Britten's 'Billy Budd' were kept alive during the sixties by radio broadcasts.

The most generous representation of living British composers is found in the lighter programmes by the B.B.C. Concert and Northern Ireland orchestras, in 'Bandstand' (brass band concerts) and in the early evening 'easy listening' slot (the old 'Homeward Bound', now expanded and renamed 'Mainly for Pleasure').[1] Contemporary choral and organ music are reasonably well served, as are songs. The most adventurous music is all too often found only in the 'ghetto' of 'Music in Our Time', or in occasional relays from universities and the Contemporary Music Network. The amount of avant-garde orchestral music broadcast has diminished since Boulez relinquished the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra, an illustration of the influence of particular people on the content of music broadcasts. Serious new jazz and experimental pop each have weekly programmes on Radio 3.

The air-time given to the avant-garde, to jazz and less commercial areas of pop is small, but is at least readily identifiable - the afficionado knows he can make a date with his radio once a week. The composer who stands at neither the light nor the experimental end of the spectrum takes his chance in the generality of the schedules. During Sir William Glock's reign the apparently more conservative composers found little exposure on the national network, though they did have time on the old regional system. Sir William was more intent on bringing Britain musically 'up to date'. Recently the conservatism or otherwise of a composer's language has come to matter much less than how well he speaks in that language. The B.B.C. has expressed this revaluation by launching series which take a broad view of British twentieth century composition: 'Sacred and Profane', 'Fifty Years of British Music' and the B.B.C. Singers' programmes of the part-song repertoire. For many years there have been occasional programmes in which a composer introduces his own music.

Regular, identifiable programming of music of specialist interest is welcomed by some because it is a measure, if only a small one, of the B.B.C.'s commitment to serving certain composers and their audience, and provides a flag around which to rally should the B.B.C. try to lower it. Others feel that new music should be spread generously and

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[1] 'Mainly for Pleasure' seems to have a lesser amount of music by living composers than did 'Homeward Bound'.

liberally throughout the schedules, making it a more normal part of our musical life and gradually attuning the public ear, rather than giving apologetic slabs of time during which most of the audience feels it can safely and preferably switch off. The 'Proms' give an indication that such a policy might work. Stephen Hearst, until recently Controller of Radio 3: "The Proms, which have a popular image, although often very demanding, gain a listenership generally twice to three times as large as that same concert if it were not in the Proms."[1] Large numbers of people are drawn to the Proms, not only to their radios but also to the Royal Albert Hall itself (so many that, according to the Publicity Officer for Radio 3, "The Proms approximately break even in terms of the cost to the B.B.C.")[2]; this is emphatically not because of 'safe' programming. In 1979 the 56 concerts contained 22 works by living British composers, in 1978 there were 17, in 1977 there were 16. The 1976 season included 30 works by living British composers and 12 by living foreign composers - together they made up one sixth of the total playing time. If the audience will respond to adventurous programming under the right label and in the right circumstances, then the B.B.C. should make sure that it does not devise labels and circumstances which have the opposite effect.

The Audience

Radio 3 accounts for only 2% of total listening time, but if the audience is divided by channel loyalty its share is 5%. Between 650,000 and 750,000 people listen to Radio 3 each day and $7\frac{1}{2}$ million make occasional use of it.[3] Audiences for individual programmes vary from 50,000 to 150,000, though for a 'Prom' the audience can reach 600,000. These figures represent an increase since the early sixties, when the audience for a Third Programme concert was usually in the range 20,000 to 50,000.[4]

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1 'Radio Times', 30th September - 6th October, 1978.

2 Barrie Hall, Publicity Officer for Radio 3, in The Music Yearbook, 1977/78, page 220.

3 Annan Report, page 87.

4 'Radio Times', 30th September - 6th October, 1978.

The Radio 3 audience tends to be middle-class and middle-aged. Using income, occupation and perceived class to denote socio-economic status descending from 'A', the Radio 3 audience sampled in 1975 showed the following distribution:[1]

A	23
B	42
C	35

Average listening time to Radio 3 per head of the population per week in hours/minutes in 1975:

1.	By socio-economic group	A	1.03
		B	0.28
		C	0.07
2.	By age	5 - 14	0.00
		15 - 19	0.07
		20 - 29	0.07
		30 - 49	0.14
		50 and over	0.14

These average figures are, of course, influenced by the relative sizes of the groups; it nevertheless holds that consistent listening to Radio 3 is associated with higher socio-economic status and older age.

This is reinforced by people's own perceptions of their class and its apparently associated tastes, along with the failure of the school and adult education systems to break down such barriers. Perhaps it also reflects inadequate 'packaging' and 'selling' of the arts. These divisions are further reinforced by 'generic' broadcasting, which keeps Radio 1 90% pop music, Radio 2 75% light music, Radio 3 70% serious music and Radio 4 95% news, current affairs, light comedy and drama. The fear of the generic broadcaster is that if he disturbs the comfortably familiar pattern and nature of output, some of his audience will switch off and then not switch on again that day. Part of the justification for generic broadcasting is that most people seem to want a known amenity to which they pay scant or sporadic attention. Once this superficially justified policy is put into effect it begins to feed on itself, making the naturally

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[1] This and the following information has been taken from the Annual Reviews of B.B.C. Audience Research Findings.

unadventurous want only what they are given. By wilting before such tendencies the B.B.C. can be accused of neglecting its duties to inform and educate in favour of giving various groups the forms of entertainment they seem to prefer. Greater variety of programme matter within each channel might do some good to the 'cultural health' of the nation. In musical terms the quantities of good jazz, pop and light music on Radio 3 could be slightly increased; more, and less conservative, music could be put onto Radio 4; and Radio 1 could have some serious contemporary music that shares, even if only on the surface, certain features with modern pop. More could be done in the way of explanatory programmes to both broaden musical perspectives and deepen musical perception and enjoyment.

Although Radio 3 has produced some appealing programmes for younger listeners, the audience figures show that disappointingly few children listen to the channel. There are many reasons why this should be so: children are heavily influenced by the commercial 'hard sell' of the pop music business (against which serious music offers no counterforce) and by the prevailing tastes of their own age group; they may be the prisoners of the channel their elder brothers and sisters or their parents prefer; schoolchildren cannot listen during the day, and homework, television and going out in the evening provide stiff competition for Radio 3. In the long run, only an enlightened education system (not just in schools and colleges but also after and out of school, from broadcasters and other arts people) that succeeds in expanding people's cultural outlook to embrace that which is not immediately and easily assimilated, to seek adventure rather than safety and to search for quality wherever it may be found, will break down the fences of age and class that still seem to surround serious music.

The existing Radio 3 audience is broadly conservative. Consider some reactions to three anniversaries and three modern operas reported by the B.B.C.'s Audience Research Department;

(Ligeti's fiftieth birthday) "The composer's works were said to be complex, obscure and far from enjoyable, and though some listeners regretted their inability to understand 'difficult' contemporary music, others condemned his 'so-called music' in no uncertain terms ... the overall reaction was unfavourable."

(Britten's birthday) "met with a more favourable but none the less mixed response."

"Even the fact that it was the Tenth Anniversary Concert of the London Sinfonietta did not soften the general dislike with which listeners greeted the contemporary works that they performed."

" 'The Story of Vasco' (was found to be) a worthwhile but sometimes disappointing experience, the music being described as harsh and discordant and the story rather obscure."

"The great majority of listeners to 'Arden Must Die' could make little of it ... some found the story interesting and the music more accessible than expected, but all too often it was considered an unattractive hullaballoo."

" 'The Catiline Conspiracy' had a mixed but largely favourable response. Although some listeners declared it 'more easily appreciated on a first hearing than many modern operas', others found the libretto uninteresting and the music difficult or quite impossible to enjoy. Nevertheless, the work both musically and dramatically appealed greatly to another group."

On the surface this seems to be a record of dislike of modern music, but beneath the surface runs an undercurrent of puzzlement, shown through the use of words such as 'difficult', 'complex' and 'obscure'. They reveal a fundamental weakness of the B.B.C.'s handling of modern music - its poor presentation and lack of explanation. When a work is broadcast its introduction is all too often simply circumstantial: when the composer was born, snippets of his career, when the work was written and for whom, perhaps with some simple adjectives describing each movement. All too seldom is the listener positively stimulated to keep his radio on and pay it close attention, or given really useful pointers as to how he might get the most out of the music. Neither does Radio 3 have programmes in which modern music is regularly analysed, explained and discussed in a helpful way (although this sometimes happens in 'Music Weekly' as a preview for a broadcast later in the week). It is noticeable that the much more powerful propaganda of the 'authentic' performance of early music lobby has won a weekly, hour-long programme of analysis and discussion as well as performance.

The most detailed research the B.B.C. has published on attitudes to the programming of modern music related to the 1974 Prom season. A sample of listeners was tested at the end of the season for their reactions to the inclusion of modern music within a generally rather more conservative programme:

	% of all listeners
Much prefer mixed programmes	15
Quite happy to hear mixed programmes	32
Like to hear mixed programmes now and then	20
Much prefer concerts where the music is all of one kind	21
No preference/no reply	12
	100

Too much music outside usual repertoire	20
About right	40
Too little music outside usual repertoire	4
No opinion/no reply	36
	100

Only one fifth of listeners were positively antagonistic to meeting new works in an otherwise known context, though there may have been more amongst those who expressed no opinion or made no reply. The audience was also tested for its attitude to certain pieces before they were played:

	%			
	Would listen if possible	Might try it	Would avoid it	Don't know/ no answer
Britten: 'Spring Symphony'	37	36	18	9
Walton: 'Scapino'	20	44	15	21
Maxwell Davies: 'Hymn to St. Magnus'	7	35	30	38
Messiaen: 'Poèmes pour Mi'	8	29	29	34
Holloway: 'Domination of Black'	6	25	36	33
Berio: 'Recital 1'	4	21	36	39
Stockhausen: 'Gruppen'	5	22	48	25
Smalley: 'Monody'	5	20	57	18

More exciting presentation and discussion of new music might eventually increase the figures in the first column. Again the positive antagonism is not of as high an order as one perhaps expected. Modern music does not have to skulk in dark, apologetic

corners - with sensitive programming and help from the broadcasters for the audience, it can take its rightful place in the daylight of our musical culture.

CHAPTER FIVE : PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

Opera and Dance Companies

Opera and dance together account for approximately 70% of all public subsidies for music which, it might be argued, is quite out of proportion to their importance in our musical culture. What inflates the amount of subsidy taken by them is their admixture of other arts and artists - dancers, choreographers, designers, producers, directors, stagehands, technicians, and costumes, scenery, lighting, etc. In 1978/79, 13 professional opera companies and 30 professional dance companies were supported from public funds, though by no means all of them received large amounts of money, nor do all of them operate for a full year. Audience figures do not suggest we are over-supplied with opera and dance. The amount of the available subsidy for music that they annex is an argument for increasing the global subsidies rather than reducing the activities of the opera and dance companies. The composer who questions whether people should pay only a quarter of the real cost of watching an overpaid prima donna (waved at by an overpaid conductor) sing one of Donizetti's mediocre operas, must remember that the much smaller audience for his own music probably pays no larger, indeed often a smaller proportion of the costs of a concert. Yet he is entitled to wonder which, given scarce resources, is more important to the nation's long term cultural health, and to ponder on how much good might be done for him and his like with the five and a half million pounds of subsidy consumed by Covent Garden.[1] Perhaps the most gloriously impractical of all the 'cris de coeur' made by creative artists was that of David Catillejo: "If Covent Garden was closed down for one year only ... and the money redirected to the creation of new art, I calculate that this one year could produce, in a random list, about fifty new symphonies, commissioned and performed (one a week); plus a hundred new plays commissioned and performed (two a week); plus the year's work of fifty painters; plus about three or four full-scale operas commissioned and performed; plus ten large-scale poetry anthologies; plus fifty novels commissioned and published (one a week)."[2]

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[1] In 1978/79 The Royal Opera House, Covent Garden was given £5,475,000 in subsidy by the Arts Council.

[2] David Castillejo: 'Counter Report on Art Patronage', (privately printed) 1968.

The Royal Opera, Covent Garden is very much part of the international opera circuit, with all that implies in paying huge fees (further exaggerated by the declining value of the pound during the seventies) for 'international' singers, conductors, designers, directors and producers. At the rate of one or two per year it stages an opera by Tippett, Britten or Walton. Very rarely does it acknowledge the existence of younger composers, though Maxwell Davies and Tavener both had works staged at Covent Garden during the seventies. When the Royal Opera does put on a new opera, however, it spares no effort of production or publicity, and thus creates a tremendous sense of occasion.

English National Opera employs many fewer expensive foreign artists and plays in a slightly bigger theatre with lower seat prices. The 'National' in its title is not lip service: it uses British casts, conductors and other staff, it gives its operas in the English language, it tours the provinces and, with help from the Arts Council and Local Authorities, has established a second company in Leeds (English National Opera North). E.N.O. has itself staged a number of contemporary British operas, but it has also given its facilities to the New Opera Company to produce operas in London, a mechanism which has helped a number of British operas onto the stage. Opera Nova, a smaller organisation working short seasons in the north of England, has given birth to several small to medium scale British operas.

Among the major companies, it has been the Welsh National Opera and Scottish Opera that have flown the flag of British-composed opera most consistently during the seventies. The Welsh company, which in the sixties was still a partly amateur enterprise, has won golden opinions in this country and abroad, not least on account of its pronounced company spirit and style. Apart from the quality of its productions, its publicity and public relations seem to have been astute; it has active 'friends' groups in most of its regular venues, and its artists and staff frequently give public 'workshops' and illustrated lectures on its current repertoire in advance of the performances. Despite having toplay in some quite small theatres and despite having the lowest gross subsidy of all the major companies, its repertoire has not been 'safe', nor haveits audience figures suffered as a result of this adventure.

Before its demise, the English Opera Group performed many British chamber operas, notably those of Britten, with whom the company had a very close relationship. When the company re-formed as the English Music Theatre, the intention was to establish a group that would explore new kinds of operatic experience both by commissioning new works and by finding new theatrical approaches to the existing repertoire. At the same time, however, the company faced a provincial touring requirement that made experiment a very dangerous box-office proposition. The resultant repertoire was a mix of not too adventurous recent works and some standard operas produced with greater emphasis on acting and dramatic values than most companies give; on the whole this did not please the audiences, which were generally small, nor the Arts Council's Music Panel (some of whom hoped for something more revolutionary, some of whom hoped for better houses, some of whom hoped for higher quality, fairly conventional productions), nor the critics who complained, amongst other things, of indifferent singing. The Arts Council decided not to provide grants for the original, ambitious prospectus and put the company into what might be described as a state of suspended animation. The misadventure occurred partly because the English Music Theatre attempted to be too many things to too many people.[1] It leaves a major gap. There is in Britain no small, flexible, open-minded music-theatre company capable of exploring new ways of mixing music and the theatrical arts. Isolated attempts have been made to fill this gap within festivals and the Contemporary Music Network, but what is really needed is a small company, probably based on one of the London venues where exploration rather than convention is expected (such as the Riverside Studios, Hammersmith or the Round House, Chalk Farm) and with a touring responsibility limited to comparable venues elsewhere in the country, along with some university theatres (analogous to the Contemporary Dance Trust's brief periods of residence in a variety of further education establishments) and some festivals.

There are a multitude of amateur operatic societies in Britain, helped by a mixture of funds from Regional Arts Associations, Local Authorities, local firms and individual benefactors. For the most part they perform popular opera and operetta to keep their chorus and the box-office happy. University operatic societies have a

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[1] The company could argue, with some justice, that too many people demanded that it should try to be too many things.

tradition of playing neglected operas from the past rather than the present. Amongst amateur and 'semi-professional' companies, it is the intimate opera groups that are more likely to perform the works of living composers, especially one-acters that require a handful of principals, no chorus and small instrumental forces. There is a considerable and healthy British tradition of writing quasi-operatic pieces for schoolchildren, for which the Arts Council sometimes provides commission fees.

The following table[1] shows the part played by British operas composed since 1940 in the repertoires of the major companies during 1977 and 1978: without those of Britten and Tippett, that part would have been very small. An asterisk (*) denotes a première.

	No. of operas presented	Including these British operas composed since 1940
Royal Opera, Covent Garden		
1977	24	Britten: Peter Grimes Tippett: The Ice Break*
1978	23	Britten: Death in Venice Peter Grimes
English National Opera, Coliseum		
1977	25	Blake: Toussaint* Hamilton: The Royal Hunt of the Sun*
1978	27	Hamilton: The Royal Hunt of the Sun
Welsh National Opera		
1977	16	Britten: Albert Herring Billy Budd A Midsummer Night's Dream Tippett: The Midsummer Marriage
1978	13	Britten: Billy Budd Let's Make an Opera A Midsummer Night's Dream Peter Grimes Tippett: The Midsummer Marriage

[1] Constructed from 'The British Music Yearbook 1980' editor Arthur Jacobs, Black, London.

	No. of operas presented	Including these British operas composed since 1940	
Scottish Opera			
1977	15	Britten:	The Rape of Lucretia
			The Turn of the Screw
		Musgrave:	Mary, Queen of Scots*
1978	22	Britten:	A Midsummer Night's Dream
			The Rape of Lucretia
			The Turn of the Screw
		Hamilton:	The Catiline Conspiracy
		Harper:	Fanny Robin
		Musgrave:	Mary, Queen of Scots
Glyndebourne Festival Opera			
1977	6	None	
1978	5	None	
Glyndebourne Touring Opera			
1977	4	None	
1978	3	None	
Kent Opera			
1977	5	None	
1978	6	None	
English Music Theatre			
1977	6	Britten:	Albert Herring
			The Burning Fiery Furnace
			Curlew River
1978	8	Britten:	Curlew River
			Death in Venice
			Paul Bunyan
			The Prodigal Son

During the same years a number of operas and music-theatre pieces were premiered by professionals, students, or a mixture of the two.

1977	Maxwell Davies:	'The Martyrdom of St. Magnus' - Fires of London
	Gardner:	'Tobermory' - Royal Academy of Music
	Hughes:	'Stars and Shadows' - Royal Northern College of Music
	LeFanu:	'Dawnpath' - New Opera Company
	Tavener:	'A Gentle Spirit' - Nash Ensemble
	Cox:	'The Time-Killing' - Royal Northern College of Music

	Hedges:	'Shadows in the Sun' - University of Hull
	Hoddinott:	'What the old man does is always right' - Fishguard Festival
	Porter:	'Deirdre and the Sons of Usna' - Green Branch Opera Group
1978	Belchere:	'The Shulamite Woman' - Nottingham Music Theatre
	Blackford:	'Sir Gawain & the Green Knight' - Blewbury Players
	Blyton:	'The Girl from Nogami' - Guildhall School of Music
	Maxwell Davies	'The Two Fiddlers' - St. Magnus Festival
		'Le Jongleur de Notre Dame' - Fires of London
	Johnson:	'The Lambton Worm' - Oxford University
	Joseph:	'The Trial of Joan of Arc' - University College, Cardiff
	Josephs:	'Through the Looking Glass' - Leeds Youth Opera
	Parnell:	'Dream of Prospero' - Nottingham Music Theatre

The 1970's saw a considerable increase in the availability of opera in Britain through the expanded touring activities of the Welsh National Opera, Scottish Opera, Glyndebourne Touring Opera and Kent Opera. Towards the end of the decade a new company, English National Opera North was born in Leeds and Scottish Opera formed its own orchestra (having previously used the other Scottish orchestras). At the very end of the decade the Arts Council abandoned its own 'Opera for All' company, which gave opera to piano accompaniment in otherwise unserved towns, and set up 'Opera 80' to perform a similar function but with a small orchestra rather than piano accompaniment. The total annual audience for opera in Britain soared above one million.

Opera has none the less suffered form 'Baumol's disease': its costs have generally risen in line with inflation, but its highly labour-intensive nature has precluded compensating rises in productivity; seat prices have not kept pace with inflation, consequently the proportion of costs covered from the box-office has tended to fall from between 40% and 50% in the late sixties to around 30% at the end of the seventies. Once the investment has been made to bring an opera to the point of performance, productivity in terms of audience spread is increased by touring it as widely as possible;[1] this kind of 'productivity' could be enhanced by more frequent tele-

[1] Though touring does, of course, bring added costs.

vision relays from opera houses.[1] Some increases in productivity have recently been achieved by the sharing of contract staff and other resources between English National Opera at the Coliseum and English National Opera North at Leeds. Welsh National Opera and Scottish Opera have also experimented with a number of joint productions as a means of maximising the audience return on the initial investment. Although opera is a very costly business, a microscope is needed to find the sums involved that represent payments to composers. Opera performances are not covered by the Performing Right Society and so they require individual negotiation between composers, publishers and the opera companies. Publishers also earn money from opera as best they can from the hire of performing material. The composer, unless he is very distinguished, is apparently expected to feel so grateful for his work being performed at all, that he needs less financial reward per performance than one of the singers. It seems that the most any opera house ever pays in copyright fees is 10% of box-office receipts. But the box-office generally covers only about 30% of total costs. Of the copyright fees (approximately 3% of total costs) the publisher usually takes two-thirds, leaving the remainder to be shared between the librettist and composer. Thus the composer, on whose work the whole edifice rests, once again receives only a part of one per cent of the payments made.

Like opera, dance has been an area of substantial development during the sixties and seventies. The contemporary aspects of this expansion are traceable to two events in the second half of the sixties: first, in 1966, Norman Morrice turned the Ballet Rambert from a nomadic, medium-scale classical company into a modern dance ensemble; second, a few months later, Robert Cohan created for the Contemporary Dance Trust both an experimental company (London Contemporary Dance Theatre) and the first training school for contemporary dance in Britain. Dancers and choreographers from these breeding grounds proliferated several small contemporary dance companies during the seventies. By the middle of the decade, the Arts Council was commissioning the choreography of more than thirty new pieces a year,

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[1] It must be admitted that pointing cameras at stage productions and reducing them to the small screen is not always artistically satisfactory. Televising an opera means giving almost a whole evening's viewing to what (perhaps initially) will be a minority audience. A considerable increase in the number of operas on television would be unlikely to reduce the 'live' audience, indeed the opposite might be the case.

but only one or two composers were being commissioned to provide new music for dance, most of the new ballets being created used, or re-arranged, existing music.

Using new music for new dance means extra money - for paying the composer, preparing the parts and probably for extra rehearsal time. The choreographer's tendency to work empirically, trying things out, amending and discarding, and his need for some accumulation of meaningful gestures, perhaps for narrative and for 'coups de theatre', can easily militate against a composer's desire for musical self-sufficiency, for musical argument and for roundness of form. In the sixties and early seventies very few British composers showed interest or expertise in the dance, compared, say, with those in North America, where conceptions of the open ended art work and of co-operation and cross-fertilisation between the arts were more common. That the situation has begun to change in Britain is due to an initiative taken by the Gulbenkian Foundation in 1975, when it started a summer school during which eight choreographers and eight composers worked together intensely under the guidance of a distinguished modern choreographer, with dancers and musicians demonstrating examples and trying out the first fruits of collaboration. The Arts Council helped people attend the first summer school by giving bursaries; now it funds the venture itself, with the aid of E.E.C. money. The summer school has had a beneficial qualitative effect on the mutual understanding of composers and choreographers. It has also had a quantitive effect in that by 1978/79 the Arts Council was commissioning music for more than twenty new ballets per year. A greater demand for and flow of specially composed music for dance can be serviced by funding commissions. The development of composer/choreographer co-operation, understanding and creativity beyond that which can be achieved at a summer school could be encouraged by funding the dance companies to take composers 'on attachment' for longer periods of work.

Symphony Orchestras

The prestigious centre-piece of London's concert life is the concerts given in the Royal Festival Hall by the four self-governing London orchestras, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Philharmonia, the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. During the 1978/79 season, the four orchestras played 417 works in the Royal Festival Hall; of these, seven were written by living British composers. Over the whole of the seventies, the annual average number of works by living British composers played by the four orchestras in the Royal Festival Hall was twenty-one. When challenged with these figures the orchestras respond, truthfully, that they flow from the fact that they have to operate on the lowest proportion of subsidy of any of the major European orchestras: only 17% of their total costs are covered by subsidies from public funds; only 30% of their work involves public subsidy.[1] The remainder of their work is made up by engagements from other promoters, and record or film companies.[2]

Powerful forces for conservatism affect their programming. Heavy reliance on box-office money leads to the adoption of 'safe' repertoire. The managements know that 'star' conductors and soloists fill the hall whilst a contemporary work will probably empty it. Conductors and soloists with international reputations have hair-raising schedules which give them little time for appraising, let alone learning, new scores by living composers; nor do they wish to be associated with failure. One of the sponsoring partners, the Greater London Council (G.L.C.) , is particularly anxious to keep a consistently high proportion of seats sold (the G.L.C. makes no special funds available for contemporary music - the Arts Council bears all of that burden). Commercial sponsors now contribute more than £$\frac{1}{4}$ million per year to the four orchestras (a little more than one sixth of all subsidies and donations), and these sponsors also exert pressure for popular programmes played to a full hall. The

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1 See the Annual Reports of the London Orchestral Concert Board for these and the other statistics given in relation to the orchestras.

2 Some of the 'spice' in Festival Hall orchestral concerts is provided by the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra, for which the box-office is nothing like so important: of the 46 works it gave in the Festival Hall during the 1978/79 season, four were by living British composers and as many again by living foreign composers.

record companies influence the personnel and repertoire programmed in the Royal Festival Hall because a public concert and its associated rehearsal can save studio time for a planned recording or provide advertisement for an existing one.

Apart from special arrangements for holidays, sickness and concerts when not everyone is needed, the players are paid fees for sessions worked rather than a salary. The more often they play big nineteenth century and early twentieth century works, the more often will all the orchestra receive full fees. To earn decent incomes for their players, the orchestras have to work an enormous number of sessions per year: a 'session' is a rehearsal or concert that may last up to three hours; the London orchestras regularly work between 500 and 600 sessions per year. Because of the orchestras' precarious finances, not too many of these sessions can be rehearsals rather than concerts, thus they average less than three rehearsals per concert. These working conditions mean that a player in one of the London orchestras works twice as long for half as much pay as one of his colleagues in Berlin or Vienna; they also mean that a contemporary piece involving a non-standard orchestra is almost impossible to rehearse and programme. All these conservative pressures are considerably reinforced by the fact that the four orchestras are in a permanent state of competition with each other, for players, soloists, conductors, audiences, engagements, record contracts, film contracts and so on.

Since 1968 the Arts Council has passed special funds to the London Orchestral Concert Board (L.O.C.B.) for subsidising performances of contemporary music. At first these had to be applied to British works less than twenty years old. In 1973/74 the rules were changed to include foreign works. In 1975/76 the rules were again changed to embrace any post-1945 work. In 1976/77 yet another change allowed the Board to use the money for any contemporary piece that seemed 'eminently worth doing'.[1] The results are shown overleaf:

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[1] These changes were suggested by Sir William Glock.

Year	Cost £	Works by living British composers covered	Other contemporary works covered
1972/73	15,625	15	0
1973/74	27,130	16	10
1974/75	18,455	15	9
1975/76	25,815	11	11
1976/77	37,605	12	14
1977/78	45,500	8	12
1978/79	40,000	7	10

Increasing expenditure has shown a diminishing return to the British composer. The orchestras' take-up of the funds available has been erratic and the spirit of the provision has sometimes been taken in vain by claiming subsidy for works by Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Khatchaturian and Britten.

Other means of involving the four orchestras in contemporary music have been tried. From 1972 to 1975 the Arts Council sponsored public rehearsals and play-throughs of recent British works. Each of the orchestras gave one such session every year for three years, dealing with two pieces in each session. They took place first at the Round House and then at the Collegiate Theatre. The annual cost was £6,000 - 8,000 and of the 24 works tried out, only three were subsequently performed at the Royal Festival Hall. The scheme on the whole did less than justice to either the works or the orchestras. In 1976 it was abandoned in favour of two special concerts in the Round House during the Camden Festival. Again eight works were covered, at a cost of £9,139. Special subsidy of £2,000 was subsequently given to record one of them (Rubbra's Second Symphony). The experiment was not repeated.

In the 1978/79 season extra subsidy was given for four concerts in the Royal Festival Hall on the Fridays during March. The programmes, chosen by Sir William Glock, juxtaposed contemporary and nineteenth century music. Each concert was prefaced in the early evening by a talk from one of the composers or conductors. The talks attracted no less than one third of the subsequent audience, but that audience was very small, averaging only 754 (26% of the hall's capacity). The four concerts cost £52,750 in subsidy and saw the performance of two works by living British composers and three works

by living foreign composers.

The Arts Council has spent more and more on trying to persuade the London orchestras to programme contemporary music, yet has achieved less and less for the British composer. One policy option might be to leave the orchestras to their own programming devices and use the £92,000 saved to benefit composers in other, more fruitful ways, such as more performances by the regional symphony orchestras, chamber orchestras, and sponsored recordings. Alternatively the Council could steadily increase that proportion of its subsidy for the orchestras which relates to contemporary music, and demand that all programmes for which the special funds are claimed should be approved in advance by its Music Panel.[1]

More radical solutions have been proposed but not implemented. In 1970 the Peacock Report[2] suggested the phasing out of subsidy to one or two of the orchestras in order to treat the remainder better. The Arts Council baulked at selecting a victim. Fears were expressed that too great an unevenness of standards, pay, repertoire and popularity might result; or that London would end up with similar concerts but simply fewer of them; the Musicians' Union resisted the proposal because it might have threatened some of its members' livelihoods. One of Professor Peacock's contentions was that there was probably enough commercial work available to sustain one, perhaps two symphony orchestras without subsidy. Since he reported, two part-time entirely commercial symphony orchestras have in fact been formed. More recently it has been suggested that the Arts Council should fund one symphony orchestra at a very much higher level of subsidy, with players paid a regular salary rather than fees per session, with a more generous number of rehearsals per concert and a more adventurous repertoire. The idea met with similar objections to those raised against Peacock; the era of public spending cuts now upon us will almost certainly consign it to limbo.

The five regional symphony orchestras are not so obviously in competition one with another; they are not quite so sensitive to recording fees and box-office, operating on a higher proportion of

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[1] This year the British Section of the I.S.C.M. (constituted as a sub-committee of the Arts Council's Music Panel) is, for the first time, examining the programmes in advance.

[2] Professor Alan Peacock: 'Orchestral Resources in Great Britain', Arts Council, 1970.

subsidy. They usually repeat programmes in different towns; many seats at their concerts are bought in advance by season-ticket holders. Their record of service to British composers ought, under these circumstances, to be better than it is.

Concert Season 1978/79 (figures in brackets give averages over the past 11 years)[1]

Orchestra	Number of concerts given	Number of different works by living British composers performed	Total number of performances of works by living British composers
Bournemouth Symphony	101 (111)	3 (9)	3
City of Birmingham Symphony	96 (123)	10 (13)	15
Hallé	158 (151)	8 (14)	21
Royal Liverpool Philharmonic	70 (61)	3 (8)	3
Scottish National	112	8	20

The amount of contemporary music in their programmes has fallen through the seventies as inflation and financial stringencies have bitten harder. The box-office has covered a steadily smaller proportion of their costs and the subsidy burden borne by the Arts Council has increased. Financial stringency itself leads to safe programming. Lack of sufficient financial foreknowledge leads to expedient programming, which tends to make concert schedules both unadventurous and amorphous. The regional orchestras, like nearly all the Arts Council's clients and indeed the Arts Council itself, know the extent of their financial resources for a given year only a matter of weeks before embarking on it. The inflation of the seventies has all but destroyed the ability to rely on three or even five year financial planning cycles that were common in the fifties and sixties, but the level of public subsidies to the arts is now known so late in the day that it is almost impossible for recipient organisations to plan responsibly. Financial insecurity makes it very difficult for orchestras to take a long view of programme planning, instead it encourages them to take as few box-office risks as possible and arrange schedules according to the exigencies of what conductors and soloists they feel they will be able to afford.

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[1] Source: Bernard Barrell's analysis of concert programmes for the Composers' Guild.

These ills could be ameliorated to some extent by the adoption of aggressive subscription selling of the kind developed in the U.S.A. A high proportion of seats for each concert bought well in advance on a series basis gives greater medium-term financial certainty, it can give larger audiences and, above all in the present context, it can give scope for planning programmes in sequential series, for leading audiences skilfully and carefully to unfamiliar music and placing more works by living composers in a programme context chosen with sensitivity to the needs of composer and audience alike. The Scottish National Orchestra has embarked on a subscription selling drive with some success and is now being followed by the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra and the Philharmonia.

The involvement of Local Authorities in funding the regional orchestras and the tendency for the orchestras' governing bodies to be dominated by local councillors creates a considerable force for conservatism in programming. The local politician is already aware that the gift of money to a symphony orchestra appears to pander to a predominantly middle-class minority. Playing popular works to full houses is more readily defensible in the local newspapers than risking poor audiences in the early stages of an attempt to expand musical horizons. It is, however, clear that the audiences in some towns want more than programmes built around the popular classics. One of the difficulties now facing the orchestras is the preparation of a programme to be played in four different towns in the same week, where the audience in those towns have reached markedly differing degrees of musical sophistication. In the present round of public spending cuts, the Local Authorities are having to economise even more severely than the Arts Council. Their support for the performing arts, which has always been niggardly, is likely to diminish in real terms to a considerable degree. This means that the already poor incomes of the players (a basic £90 per week for 'rank and file' instrumentalists) are likely to decline still more in real terms. Alternatively, the orchestras might have to reduce their permanent strengths and their booking of extra players for certain concerts, which would further limit their available repertoire.[1] As the

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[1] The Bournemouth Orchestras, facing a large financial deficit, have left three vacancies unfilled and served redundancy notices on ten players. The Sinfonietta is to lose its clarinets, trumpets, percussion and one of its flutes as well as a member from each of its string sections: its available repertoire will be drastically curtailed.

preponderance of Arts Council money over Local Authority money in the funding of the regional orchestras increases, it seems right that the Arts Council should combat the local councillors' musical conservatism by exerting greater influence on programming through its assessors and nominees on the orchestras' boards of management.

The equation of Local Authority influence with unimaginative programming is not universally true. The Borough of Guildford has sponsored its own Philharmonic Orchestra since the end of the last war. The orchestra, largely comprised of freelance players from London, gives an average of sixteen concerts each year. Throughout the seventies these sixteen concerts always contained at least four pieces by living British composers, and certainly not at the cost of poor houses. The major reason for this success is that the orchestra's principal conductor, Vernon Handley, has a very real commitment to the living composer and a great willingness to learn new works and programme them. Two younger conductors, David Atherton and Simon Rattle, have recently been appointed to the Liverpool and Birmingham Orchestras respectively; both have reputations for conducting contemporary music and it can reasonably be hoped that their presence will help in getting more works by living British composers played by the provincial orchestras.

The paucity of contemporary music in the programmes of non-B.B.C. orchestras points to the importance of the B.B.C.'s own orchestras to composers and concert-goers alike. Besides their studio performances, the B.B.C. orchestras gave the following number of public concerts in the year 1978/79:[1]

	No. of public concerts	No. of works by living British composers
B.B.C. Northern S.O.	37	14
B.B.C. Scottish S.O.	23	7
B.B.C. Welsh S.O.	26	7
B.B.C. S.O. (Royal Festival Hall and Royal Albert Hall)	69	26

[1] Source: Bernard Barrell's analysis for the Composers' Guild.

During the year 1978/79, the four London and five provincial symphony orchestras gave just 69 performances of works by living British composers in 691 public concerts. During the same year the four B.B.C. symphony orchestras, in their 155 public concerts alone, gave 54 performances of works by living British composers.

Chamber Orchestras and Ensembles

The conventional chamber orchestras serve the living composer no better than the symphony orchestras. During the 1978/79 season the London Mozart Players performed 45 works in the South Bank Halls, none of which were by living British composers; the English Chamber Orchestra performed 39 works of which only one was by a living British composer. Throughout the seventies these two orchestras averaged only three and four (respectively) performances of contemporary British works per season. The Bournemouth Sinfonietta gave 80 concerts during the year 1978/79 which included just three performances of works by living British composers (average for the seventies - seven per year). Authoritative figures are not available for the other full-time regional chamber orchestras (the Northern Sinfonia, Scottish Chamber Orchestra and Ulster Orchestra) but their prospecti suggest they are more conscientious in their service to the living composer than their London counterparts.

The provinces also have two part-time, professional chamber orchestras - the English Sinfonia and the Bristol Sinfonia - that occasionally include new music in their programmes. London has a large number of chamber orchestras that are not permanent ensembles - Thames Chamber Orchestra, Wren Orchestra, Chanticleer Orchestra, Orchestra of St. John's Smith Square, Contrapuncti, London Bach Orchestra, Richard Hickox Orchestra, Steinitz Bach Players, John Bate Orchestra, etc. - and these groups, given their few concerts, are sometimes generous to the living composer. There are also a great many flexible, non-standard ensembles. Some, such as the Melos Ensemble, cover a broad spectrum of repertoire, some are devoted to the 'authentic' performance of early music, some have an extensive commitment to contemporary music. The London Sinfonietta, formed towards the end of the 1960's by the conductor David Atherton, gave

12 concerts on the South Bank in 1978/79, which contained 12 works by living British composers - its seventies average was eight works in eight concerts. The Nash Ensemble since its formation in the mid-sixties has given over one hundred first performances. The Fires of London (formerly the Pierrot Players) have given many of the works of their director Peter Maxwell Davies as well as those of other living composers. The Philip Jones Brass Ensemble, founded in the 1950's by the distinguished trumpet player whose name it bears, has commissioned a host of new works over the past two decades to expand the available repertoire for brass. A number of trusts - the Park Lane Group, the New Macnaghten Concerts, the Society for the Promotion of New Music, the Redcliffe Concerts of British Music - financed variously by bequests, the Arts Council, the P.R.S. and London Orchestral Concert Board, promote London concerts including a great deal of contemporary ensemble music.

The list is only a selective one. It is the plethora of non-contract chamber orchestras, flexible chamber ensembles and smaller chamber groups that gives the musical life of London, and indeed the provinces, its rich diversity. The proliferation of these ensembles has been a feature of the late sixties and the seventies. At a crude statistical level it can be seen as a product of the expansion of instrumental teaching and music-making in schools followed by the conservatoires turning out many more highly-skilled players than the permanent orchestras need. At the same time players began to come into the playing profession via an increased number of University Music Departments in which making music was becoming a more common adjunct to its study within the music degree structure. There has also been a steady stream of players from universities who did not actually study music at University. A great many of these players simply find the routine orchestral life inimical and prefer to make their living in a more varied way by playing in a number of semi-permanent but not full-time ensembles. The fees-per-session payment of the London Orchestras, the dual principal players of the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra and the age-old British tradition of players engaging 'deputies' for some of their concerts, also mean that instrumentalists who are attached to the permanent orchestras can often 'escape' and play in smaller ensembles. That many of the players entering the profession from the mid-sixties onwards should

have shown greater open-mindedness towards contemporary music than established players is simply, perhaps, a reflection of the 'generation gap'. Their awareness of modern trends was possibly also due to Sir William Glock's pioneering work at the B.B.C. The study of modern music and the encouragement of original composition has also gained a great deal of ground in the universities since the early sixties. That composers have shown such interest in writing for ensemble is partly due to the problem of access - orchestras will not programme their works but smaller ensembles will. Partly it is, no doubt, due to an aesthetic stance - the continuation of a history of writing for non-standard ensembles initiated by the Second Viennese School, Stravinsky, Ravel and others during and just before the 1914-18 War.

Analysis of the concerts given in the South Bank Halls by chamber orchestras and ensembles shows a proportion of the repertoire given to contemporary music in excess of that achieved even by B.B.C. Radio 3.[1]

Concert Season	Total works given	Works by living composers	Works by living British composers (and % of the total repertoire they constituted)
72/73	529	118	88 (16.6%)
73/74	547	99	79 (14.4%)
74/75	544	67	59 (10.8%)
75/76	403	56	36 (9.9%)
76/77	568	77	63 (11.1%)
77/78	499	74	56 (11.2%)
78/79	490	56	37 (7.7%)

Good though these figures are, some deterioration is evident through the decade. The L.O.C.B. support for concert-giving groups other than the four symphony orchestras grew from £60,894 in 1972/73 to £160,352 in 1978/79. In the middle of the decade the Arts Council and L.O.C.B. recognised the importance of these groups to the living composer by providing special money for programmes with modern works in them: £4,700 in 1976/77, £11,050 in 1977/78 and £15,300 in 1978/79.

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[1] The statistics are abstracted from the Annual Reports of the London Orchestral Concert Board. There are many other chamber concert venues in London, of which these statistics are not necessarily representative.

The following table shows the scope of subsidy given to contemporary music generally in London:

Public subsidies to organisations giving concerts of contemporary music in London, 1978/79

Arts Council of Great Britain

	£
London Music Digest	10,100
New MacNaghten Concerts	9,497
New Music Formation	200
Park Lane Group	10,175
London Voices	450
Contemporary Concerts Co-ordination	2,000
(Electronic)	
West Square	700
Electro-acoustic Music Association	14,720
Electric Phoenix	800
(Jazz and improvised music)	
London Musicians' Collective	5,167
Redbrass	5,000
Cusack's Improvisation Group	620
Albion Music	4,213
Group Projeks	500

A considerable proportion of the Jazz Centre Society's grant of £56,500 was spent in London. In addition, a number of concerts including contemporary music were given at the Wigmore Hall, run by the Arts Council at a cost of £57,583.

A small proportion of the Arts Council's grants to the following organisations will also have been used to sponsor contemporary music in London:

	Total Grant
Greater London Arts Association	£558,571
Institute of Contemporary Arts	£239,034
Round House Trust	£ 77,500

London Orchestral Concert Board *

	£
London Sinfonietta	42,000
Redcliffe Concerts	5,000
New Music Formation	150
Nash Concerts	8,500
Fires of London	5,200
Contrapuncti	4,500

Additional funds to the four symphony orchestras and other ensembles specifically for contemporary music amounted to a further £94,050.

* with money from the Arts Council.

	Total Grant
Camden Festival	£10,500
Greenwich Festival	£ 2,500
English Bach Festival	£42,000
Action Space	£23,500

Groups such as the London Sinfonietta, the Nash Ensemble and the Fires of London promote their own concerts in London with assistance from the L.O.C.B. Their work outside London relies on their being engaged by the Arts Council for its Contemporary Music Network, by Festivals or by educational institutions, all of which are, of course, subsidised bodies. The groups themselves are not, however, given an operating subsidy for a year's work. A good deal of their work is found outside Britain: the London Sinfonietta, for instance, spends rather more than half its working life abroad; in 1978/79 it visited Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden. Foreign visits are usually subsidised not only by recipient countries but also by the British Council. The following table gives an idea of the work of certain contemporary music groups. Recording sessions, engagements by festivals and educational institutions, and foreign engagements for which no British Council aid is given, are excluded. The subsidy figures for Contemporary Music Network Concerts do not include expenditure on publicity and subsistence met by local promoters.

	London concerts subsidised by L.O.C.B.		Contemporary Music Network concerts subsidised by the Arts Council		Foreign tours subsidised by the British Council
	No. of concerts	Subsidy	No. of concerts	Subsidy	
Nash Ensemble					
75/76	3	£ 1,850	-	-	Netherlands
76/77	5	2,500	9	£13,297	
77/78	6	5,000	-	-	
78/79	7	8,500	11	20,665	France
Fires of London					
75/76	2	2,500	12	?	
76/77	3	4,000	-	-	Hungary, Austria, Eire,
77/78	3	4,500	5	12,170	Brazil, Argentina,
78/79	3	5,200	-	-	Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico.

	London concerts subsidised by L.O.C.B.		Contemporary Music Network concerts subsidised by the Arts Council		Foreign tours subsidised by the British Council
	No. of concerts	Subsidy	No. of concerts	Subsidy	
London Sinfonietta					
75/76	6	£17,500	6	£ 9,365	Germany
76/77	6	24,000	11	21,327	Italy
77/78	7	30,400	4	21,412	Czechoslovakia, Denmark
78/79	11	42,000	6	22,506	France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden.

There is a case for subsidising the most important ensembles for full-time operation throughout the year after the manner of orchestras and opera companies. Whilst this would give them greater security, more rehearsal time and the opportunity to expand their British concert-giving, it could lead to a loss of fluidity of playing personnel and perhaps a loss of vitality through institutionalisation. The London Sinfonietta apart, what the ensembles and organisations promoting contemporary music need most is financial recognition of their administrative and publicity needs, which all too often have to be attended to in somebody's spare time. Poor promotion may be a part of the reason why concerts which are acclaimed in the press the following day have too often been ill-attended on the night.

Selected organisations giving concerts of contemporary music in the South Bank Halls with financial support from the London Orchestral Concert Board:

Concert Season	No. of concerts	Average attendance in Queen Elizabeth Hall - capacity 1100 (Purcell Room- capacity 372)	L.O.C.B. subsidy
London Sinfonietta			
75/76	6	566	£17,500
76/77	6	600	24,000
77/78	7	627	30,400
78/79	11	674 (333)	42,000
Fires of London			
75/76	2	438	2,500
76/77	3	391	4,000
77/78	3	350	4,500
78/79	3	613	5,200

Concert Season	No. of concerts	Average attendance in Queen Elizabeth Hall - capacity 1100 (Purcell Room - capacity 372)	L.O.C.B. subsidy
Nash Concert Society			
75/76	3	434	£1,850
76/77	5	420 (223)	2,500
77/78	6	280	5,000
78/79	7	230	8,500
Redcliffe Concerts of British Music			
75/76	9	291 (82)	2,300
76/77	7	299 (159)	4,000
77/78	11	237 (122)	5,000
78/79	6	243 (174)	5,000

All over the country there are music clubs and associations that promote small-scale recitals. They function on a financial mixture of box-office, members' subscriptions and Local Authority money (sometimes routed through the Public Library). The Regional Arts Associations frequently arrange and subsidise tours of these venues. Financial help may come from the R.A.A.'s or the Arts Council itself for improving the physical facilities of the buildings or providing first-class pianos. The pianists, organists, singers and duos that give recitals on this large circuit, because their programmes often contain several short pieces, are quite frequently able to include a work by a living composer (generally not too adventurous in nature). The string quartets, wind quintets and slightly bigger ensembles that used to be part of this circuit have become too expensive for the slender financial resources of the clubs; to fill this gap, the Regional Arts Associations are co-operating this year in providing their own 'Contemporary Music Network' of some 70 concerts by ensembles such as string quartets.

The Arts Council's Contemporary Music Network was set up in 1972 to provide a wide geographical spread of performances of contemporary works and important twentieth century pieces. The performers involved range from duos through string quartets to chamber orchestras, from electronic music groups to jazz ensembles and other improvising groups. The Network is administered by the Arts Council and the choice of artists and programmes is made by the committee of the British Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music

acting as a sub-committee of the Arts Council's Music Advisory Panel.[1] Between its inception, in 1972, and 1976 its original allocation of £20,000 multiplied by five. During that time the Network produced performances of 189 twentieth century works of which 66 were by living British composers. The performances were all repeated in a number of different centres. Its activities since 1976 are outlined below.

Season	No. of ensembles used	No. of concerts given	Different pieces by living British composers (excluding jazz and partly improvised works)	Total no. of performances of those pieces
76/77	13	96	12	95
77/78	11	85	10	87
78/79	13	103	6	51
79/80	10	95	7	43

The reduction in the performances of British music is a reflection of the increasing use of improvising and jazz ensembles, which often generate the largest audiences. The audiences for Network concerts can be disappointingly small and are generally in the range 50 - 250. The Arts Council pays the performers' fees and travel costs, the local promoter pays for publicity and the performers' overnight stay.[2] Despite the fact that the promoter keeps the box-office receipts, the publicity effort has been so patchy and sometimes inadequate that the Arts Council has recently employed a publicity officer for the Network. Although it began as an effort to take contemporary music to the provinces, the Network is soon to establish a London venue at the Round House, with tickets sold by subscription as well as at the door.

For ensembles specialising in contemporary music, the Network provides an important source of employment and gives them the chance to work in a concentrated way to achieve authoritative performances. For the composer, it provides an outlet for his work and, because of repeated performances, hard cash in P.R.S. royalties. If he travels

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[1] In some instances the committee has commissioned a work specifically for a Network tour.

[2] In some cases with financial aid from a Regional Arts Association.

with his work, giving pre-concert talks and seminars, interchange with different audiences and hearing several different performances of his music can be an instructive and rewarding experience. For devotees of new music, or for the merely curious, the opportunity to hear a composer talk about his music and perhaps to question him can be as important as the concert itself. The educational work of the Network is expanding rapidly; during the coming winter's tours, forty or more seminars and workshops have been arranged around Network concerts.

The B.B.C. broadcasts a number of Network concerts, and the first record of serious contemporary music brought out by the Arts Council was made from a B.B.C. tape of a Network concert. Clearly savings can be made on record rehearsal time if successful Network items are scheduled for recording; sales might be more readily made if recordings of such works are quickly available at the venues where they were well-received.

Those who doubt the efficacy of the Network in making contemporary music more central to our musical culture suspect that its small audiences are made up primarily of people who take little or no interest in the generality of concert life. The Network has, however, spawned imitations. The Regional Arts Associations are not only to begin their own Contemporary Network, but have already formed an Early Music Network modelled on the Contemporary Music original. The Scottish Arts Council has established its own Contemporary Music Network; beginning in 1972/73 with a subsidy of £4,368 covering five university centres, by 1978/79 it had grown to cover sixteen centres with a subsidy totalling £14,617.

Although Britain has a great tradition of singing in choral societies and cathedrals, it boasts few professional choirs outside the B.B.C. There are a number in London which work regularly, though none work all the year round and there is a tendency for the same singers to work for several of them. Outside London, the John Currie Singers have been consistently subsidised by the Scottish Arts Council (£8,500 in 1978/79) but all the other choirs, and there are hundreds of them, are amateur.[1] In London, the John Alldis Choir,

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[1] In 1978/79, of the commissions for choral works funded by the Arts Council, those for amateurs outnumbered those for professionals by 15 to 4.

the Schütz Choir of London, the Monteverdi Choir and the Ambrosian Singers sometimes receive L.O.C.B. subsidy. The London Sinfonietta has recently formed its own occasional choir. During the past four years choirs have been used twice on the Contemporary Music Network. For the most part, choirs rely on engagements for their work. Like pianists and solo singers, their programmes usually include many quite short pieces and they are thus able to include a fair number of recent works. A number of professionals (and a great many more amateurs) keep the madrigal tradition alive, a tradition to which living composers add. Amongst the small vocal groups, it is the very popular Kings Singers who have most consistently commissioned, performed, broadcast and recorded the work of the living composer. Interest in extended vocal techniques is limited almost entirely to a handful of solo singers; only Singcircle, who have received small amounts of Arts Council subsidy, explore them in ensemble.

Electronic Music

Whereas continental radio stations have long provided composers with the means of making electronic music and the opportunity to broadcast it, the B.B.C. has been comparatively unhelpful in this field, keeping its Radiophonic Workshop very much to itself and using it almost entirely for incidental music. During the fifties and sixties few studio facilities existed and they were almost all privately owned. By the end of the seventies there were fourteen well-equipped studios in universities and other places of higher education, with about as many again in private hands. Studio time is very scarce, it has to be begged, borrowed and sometimes taken in the dead of night. The Arts Council has long fought shy of making grants to individuals for purchasing equipment. Since the formation last year of the Electro-Acoustic Music Association of Great Britain, a suitable recipient has at last been found for an Arts Council grant with which to begin building a bank of equipment (£14,720 was given in 1978/79, considerably more is planned for this year).

Once his tape is prepared, the composer faces the problem of 'performing' it in an auditorium that has, or can be fitted with, appropriate and sufficient reproduction facilities, distributed as he wants them.[1] This can sometimes be achieved in the Round House, Queen Elizabeth Hall and Purcell Room, but the best circumstances are usually found at events promoted by the Institute for Contemporary Arts (which receives a large blanket subsidy from the Arts Council) and the West Square Electronic Music Association, (founded in 1971 by Barry Anderson) which receives a small yearly grant - £700 in 1978/79 - from the Arts Council, but gets most of its funds from the Inner London Education Authority's community education budget. Outside London there are a few venues, such as Birmingham Arts Lab, which welcome electronic music; but here again the Contemporary Music Network provides a significant disseminatory element: over the past four seasons, five ensembles have made Network tours giving concerts involving electronic music. In Scotland, the Edinburgh Experimental Arts Society has promoted concerts of electronic music with subsidies from the Scottish Arts Council, and in 1978/79, jointly with Edinburgh University, created the Edinburgh Festival of Electronic Music (with a grant of £1,200 from the Scottish Arts Council). The modern dance companies, partly to minimise their own performing costs but often through preference, provide another outlet for electronically produced music. Apart from the possibilities of new sounds and new ways of moving them and mixing them, one of the things that most excited composers in the early days of electronic music was their new ability to dispense with intermediaries - notation, instruments, performers. But the public has yet to accept a 'concert' given by loudspeakers, perhaps because of its lack of an aural and visual focus, and perhaps because of its lack of obvious 'humanity'. Performances involving electronic means have, partly as a consequence of this, moved towards the intermingling of instrumentalists and taped sounds, the use of electronic instruments and the instant electronic 'processing' of sounds produced by live instrumentalists. A number of groups have 'humanised' performances further by introducing considerable elements of improvisation. It is, however, in the worlds of popular music and background music for films, radio and television that music made wholly or partially by electronic means has most

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[1] This problem is slowly being overcome by the increasing availability of compact, portable equipment, often designed in the first instance with pop performers in mind.

rapidly gained ground - in those worlds it already earns its daily bread. It may be that regular exposure to electronically produced sounds in those contexts will slowly make them more commonly acceptable in serious music.

Jazz and Improvisatory Groups

In the late fifties and early sixties a good deal of jazz was a commercially viable proposition. But as the sixties progressed its popularity waned and its most earnest practitioners, who saw it as an art form removed from entertainment and dancing, began to stake their claim for help from public funds; by the end of the decade the Arts Council acknowledged jazz as a suitable recipient of subsidy. Group improvisation outside what would normally be recognised as jazz owed its spread in Britain during the sixties and seventies to Cornelius Cardew and his followers. Its most extreme prononents have claimed for it an artistic manifestation (in its freedom of interchange between players themselves and between players and audience) of the politics of the far left. Its less politically motivated practitioners feel that it gives them the fullest and most rewarding expression of their own creativity, and a directly responsive relationship with their fellows and the audience. Despite the fact that many of them openly denigrate the structure of our musical life and its subsidy (often in political terms), they have nevertheless claimed and been given subsidy from public funds; thus groups such as the London Musicians' Collective and the Bristol Musicians' Co-operative are funded by the Arts Council and Regional Arts Associations for their work.

The problems facing jazz and improvisatory groups are those of funding the time and place for rehearsal. A number of improvising groups receive bursaries from the Arts Council and Regional Arts Associations to enable them to rehearse and create new material but for the most part, their preparation for performances has to be paid for out of the fees for the performances themselves. The bulk of the Arts Council's subsidy for jazz is channelled through the Jazz Centre Society, which received £56,500 in 1978/79 for disseminating jazz throughout Britain. Jazz and improvisatory groups are frequently used on the Contemporary Music Network: over the past four seasons,

21 tours have been made by such groups. As is the case with other contemporary groups, one finds the same deeply committed players involved in several different groups.

The control of the Arts Council's subsidy to jazz and improvised music has been largely in the hands of the Jazz Sub-Committee of the Music Panel, but this has now fallen victim to the axe of the same internal reforms that saw the end of the Recordings Sub-Committee. The lot of the improvising musician is presently the subject of a special study, funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation.

Festivals

During 1978/79, the Arts Council of Great Britain (including Scotland and Wales) subsidised 51 festivals with a total of £654,985. The Regional Arts Associations funded a good many more on an essentially local scale. Nearly all these festivals provide musical events and many of them are purely musical. Festivals provide a considerable flow of commissions for new pieces (they are almost the only source of commissions for pieces involving large choral and orchestral forces). Premières in a festival atmosphere can often attract very good audiences, but many of the works turn out to be brilliant fireworks that briefly blaze and then vanish.[1] It has become almost a part of the festival mentality that commissioning a reasonably well-known composer ('small fry' will not do) somehow confers a modicum of prestige to the event - at least enough to quell the anxiety of Local Authority and business grant-givers over having any contemporary music in the programmes at all. In a sense the festival organisers are opting out of making a real choice: if they commission a piece which turns out to be second-rate it is the composer's fault not theirs; but if they choose from amongst the contemporary works already in existence and the audience is displeased, the fault is very much more with their choice. Offers from the Arts Council to subsidise special events from the Contemporary Music Network within festivals, and thereby insert more non-commissioned modern music into festival programmes, have met with little or no response.

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[1] In truth, prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, composers would have expected little more than this from a great deal of their work.

Universities

The 35 university departments of music in the country and the still larger number of colleges of further education and polytechnics that teach music are important promoters of public concerts. The music department at Bristol University, for instance, puts on more than fifty public concerts a year by visiting ensembles and its own students. A number of universities take concerts on the Contemporary Music Network. Because of their very nature as places of musical exploration, the programmes promoted by the universities tend to be less hackneyed than those found elsewhere; they embrace contemporary music of all kinds, sometimes with a special place for the works of the composers on their staff and occasionally exhibiting the works of their student composers.[1] University College Cardiff has promoted a festival of twentieth century music with financial help from the Welsh Arts Council. Glasgow University, in conjunction with the Scottish National Orchestra, every third year promotes a week of concerts of and seminars about contemporary music ('Musica Nova'). On a smaller scale, Bristol University promotes a week of special concerts with each programme containing a recent work - one year concentrating on works by its own staff or other composers with West Country connections, the next concentrating on pieces by students. The universities have done particular service to chamber music by funding ensembles (usually string quartets) for periods of 'residency'.[2] This has given the younger quartets in particular the basis around which the year's work might be framed. The term 'residency' usually implies a dozen or more periods each year when the ensemble gives a public concert, assists at chamber music seminars, coaches groups and individual players and plays through students' works. This system not only gives sufficient financial security to the ensemble to stay in existence, but also gives them the opportunity to rehearse and programme new works. The music students are able to gain an intimate knowledge of some twentieth century works and perhaps can hear their own works rehearsed by first-class players. The universities are suffering cuts in their real income on a larger scale than almost any other publicly-funded bodies: their era of musical generosity may well be over.

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1 During the four years 1972 to 1976 the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, for instance, promoted works by 58 and 39 different living composers respectively - see Margaret Lucy Wilkins: 'The Role of the Living British Composer in Scottish Universities' in Composer, Summer 1976, page 31.

2 This funding has in some instances been helped by grants from charitable foundations.

Amateurs

The brass band movement has within it some of the country's most dedicated and skilled amateur instrumentalists. As well as public concerts and radio and television broadcasts, competitions are a very important element in their world. They have a tradition, dating back to the days of Elgar and Holst, of commissioning competition 'test pieces' from well-known British composers; in recent years, these commissions have been funded by the Arts Council. A good deal of the brass band repertoire is made up from the works of living composers, but, until the seventies, it was practically all light music. The decisive event that changed this was the appointment of Elgar Howarth to the conductorship of the Grimethorpe Colliery Band. Elgar Howarth was a student in Manchester at the same time as Peter Maxwell Davies and Alexander Goehr and is also a composer, though his output is small. First as a member of the Philip Jones Brass Ensemble and then as a conductor he performed a great many contemporary works, and he persuaded the Grimethorpe Band to join him in his commitment to contemporary music. Pieces were commissioned from leading British (and a few foreign) composers. These were then taken into the repertoires of other bands besides Grimethorpe and these other bands themselves began to commission more adventurous works. Performances and broadcasts of brass band pieces by major composers have awakened the musical world to the virtuosity and colouristic potential within the British brass band movement, yet, after the initial excitement of exploration, the band world now seems on the brink of a return to its former musical conservatism.

Amateurs of all kinds probably give more public concerts in Britain than professionals. At school level, concerts quite often include short pieces by living composers; whilst few leading composers have taken the task of writing music for children seriously, there are some composers who write little else and have developed specialised knowledge of children's capabilities and likely musical responses. Most Education Authorities pay an annual sum to the P.R.S. in respect of public concerts given by schoolchildren, though the amounts of money are small and accurate programme returns are seldom made. In educational music, sheet sales are still the most important source

of income.[1] The choral tradition continues to be strong in this country and, although it is a broadly conservative one, choirs do from time to time commission new works and perform existing works by living composers.[2] The most expert amateur choirs are usually attached to professional orchestras, cathedrals or universities. The commissioning and performance of large works for choir and orchestra is an important aspect of British music festivals. The Church still creates a demand for new choral pieces of a sacred nature, but on a lesser scale than earlier this century. Hugo Cole has observed that, "In looking at church music, we are always subject to double vision: good is bad if it causes the congregation to fall apart in consternation - or possibly if it is so good that (as in King's Chapel) it draws in an audience of connoisseurs and musical agnostics. Bad music is good if it fosters community spirit in the congregation and raises it collectively to higher spiritual levels."[3] Without entering more precisely into what constitutes 'good' and 'bad' in church music, it is clear that a congregation will accept more challenging music sung by the choir (or played by the organist) than it will when it is itself expected to sing; moreover, as Charles Ives observed when resigning his post as a church organist[4],

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1 Youth and adult amateur orchestras are a different case and were discussed in Chapter Two.

2 Most amateur music organisations belong to the National Federation of Music Societies, which makes a blanket payment to the P.R.S. on behalf of its membership. The P.R.S. distributes to its own members in respect of performances given predominantly by amateurs only half the royalties that would have accrued from a professional performance.

3 Hugo Cole: 'The Changing Face of Music', Gollancz, London, 1978, page 91.

4 "When a body of people comes together to worship, how far has a man a right to do what he wants if he knows by so doing he is interfering with the state of mind of the listeners? I seem to have worked in composition with more natural freedom when I knew that the music was not going to be played, at least publicly, or rather before people who could not get out from under, as is the case with a church congregation." - letter from Charles Ives to his friend Ralph D. Griggs (who, incidentally, did not wholly agree, and replied, "God must get awfully tired of hearing the same thing over and over again, and His all-embracing wisdom could certainly embrace a dissonance - might even positively enjoy one now and again.")

it could be wrong for music to offend the congregation and severely disturb the tenor of its devotions. Hugo Cole goes on, "For in the church as in the world without, there is a rift between the amateurs - who want to advance deliberately, or not to advance at all - and the professionals, who are sensitive to a greater or lesser extent to winds of change. Professional church musicians are regarded as conservatives by fellow-musicians outside the church. But to congregations, and often to clergy, they can appear as dangerous avant-gardists, or as antiquarians perversely trying to put back the clock and return to plainsong or outmoded sixteenth-century motets."[1] Generally speaking, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Cathedrals and the Oxbridge College Chapels which still have choral services on most days of the week wish to have music by living serious composers, provided it is not too startlingly adventurous. At parish level, however, musical sophistication seems to be waning, and the new music in demand is that to which the congregation responds easily because it has some kinship with popular and folk music.[2] For the composer interested in sacred music, it can provide a steady (if unspectacular)flow of sheet sales, recordings, broadcasts and occasional public performances.[3] The choir schools are a very important training ground for young musicians. The directors of church music are useful members of the musical community: besides their duties in church they teach, conduct local choral societies and provide organ recitals all over the country, including performances and broadcasts of works by living composers.

Public concerts by amateur bodies may receive financial support from Local Authorities and Regional Arts Associations; small amounts of money may also come from local businesses. Centrally directed funds come from the National Federation of Music Societies (N.F.M.S.),

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1 Hugo Cole, op.cit., page 92.

2 This change may have been accelerated by the introduction of 'Series Three' services into the Church of England and the increasingly vernacular services given in Roman Catholic churches. As well as these changes, the growth of the 'charismatic' movement within both churches in recent years, has aimed (amongst many other things) to involve congregations more closely and vocally in services which are quite different from the more 'old-fashioned' kind, in which calm contemplation and restrained hymn-singing are more usually found. The other denominations have always held closer to robust singing of the popular hymns of this and the nineteenth century.

3 The P.R.S. makes no charges for music used during worship.

which in turn gets the majority of its money from the Arts Council - £218,000 in 1976/77, £237,000 in 1977/78, £270,000 in 1978/79. As a general guideline, the N.F.M.S. funds 20% of the professional fees and expenses that its members have to pay when giving concerts (i.e. payments to soloists, professional or 'semi-professional' instrumentalists and perhaps a small conductor's fee). The principle is operated flexibly according to the quality of performing groups, their programming and the circumstances of their concerts. The N.F.M.S. now provides special subsidies for performances of contemporary music, an encouraging development. Finance does create a barrier between amateur organisations and composers. The high cost of buying or hiring copies of contemporary pieces from publishers is becoming more than their slender funds will bear, consequently they are increasingly being driven back to performing works they already have in their own libraries or that are readily borrowed from public libraries. The Welsh Amateur Music Federation softens this problem by running its own lending library of the performing materials for contemporary works. It must also be admitted that there is a barrier of taste, not only between new music and the audience for amateur concerts, but between new music and the amateur performers themselves.

The Audience

The audience for serious contemporary music is still disappointingly small: audiences for concerts comprising mainly contemporary music usually number only a few hundred, whilst the inclusion of a contemporary work in an otherwise conventional programme still keeps some regular concert-goers at home rather than in the hall. This must mean that, rightly or wrongly, few music-lovers believe they want to hear the music living composers are writing, a situation almost unique to the twentieth century. Today's composer must read with envy accounts of public rehearsals of new music by Handel drawing crowds of thousands and causing 'traffic jams' on London Bridge. The gulf between popular music and serious composition has steadily

widened since the last decades of the nineteenth century.[1] Even popular music itself has become musically less subtle as the century has progressed. With few exceptions - notably the songs of Lennon and MacCartney, Bacharach and David, Simon and Garfunkel - the pop music of the sixties and seventies has been a good deal more crude than the songs of George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Cole Porter and Richard Rodgers. Can this be wholly explained in terms of greedy commercialism, exploiting a gullible adolescent market with a cheap product that demands almost no effort from the listener? The primary harmonic colours and simple melodic contours, the pounding rhythms and repetitions of our popular music appear to give some release from inhibition and repression, a lapse into a world of simpler instincts and emotions; however professionally it is exploited, sometimes its very amateurism seems to be part of its appeal.

Music is astonishingly ubiquitous, requiring of its consumer no more than the flick of a switch; sometimes it is inescapable. A housewife can have music wherever she goes without even having to sing, hum or whistle - from her transistor as she works and washes up, on her car radio if she shops or goes to work by car, and in the supermarket or factory when she gets there. It has invaded the railway station and airport, the pub, the restaurant and hotel foyer. It surrounds (and sometimes gets in the way of) nearly every film, television and radio programme. In all these contexts it has a purpose: subliminal encouragement, a signal or a comfort (sometimes noticed only when absent). But that purpose must not be overstepped: the worker must not find the music so arresting as to stop work and listen more intently, the driver must not become so entranced that he crashes. There are students who actually claim to be able to work better at their maths or physics to the accompaniment of the radio or cassette-player.

The music of the East has become increasingly available in the West, through easier travel and transportability, immigration and cultural exchange. It too has many purposeful contexts, but of a much more intense kind, being intimately bound up with and necessary

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[1] Although Malcolm Arnold made the 'Top Ten' with a film theme and, quite extraordinarily, Britten's 'War Requiem' was among the top-selling albums for a few weeks. The snippets of Ligeti's music used in the film '2001' also gained wide popularity.

to religious and social ritual, the dance and theatre. There are Indian ragas for every season, time of day, festival and state of mind. The techniques and sounds of Eastern music have intermittently fascinated composers since the late nineteenth century, but more recently (and in the United States to a greater extent than in Britain) the idea that music should make a unique and vital contribution and be inextricably entwined with a particular ritual, environment, place and time, has led some composers out of the conventional concert room and its associated attitudes. For them music is made simultaneously with and inseparably from dance, theatre, light shows, visual projections, large scale sculptures, even certain periods of time within a particular house or park; the players, the audience and the environment can all contribute significantly to its creation (as opposed it its re-creation).

Within the confines of the traditional concert, record and broadcast, where music is to be attended to for its own sake, the rejection of a great deal of contemporary music by the majority of the audience is seen by some as a linguistic problem - the musical languages the general audience will accept are historically far behind the languages adopted by living compsoers. This argument is usually supported by pointing to works that shocked audiences earlier this century which are now part of the standard repertoire; another adjunct of this argument is to point out that the pace of change in the twentieth century has so accelerated in many fields besides music that the common man is falling further and further behind in its wake. Bernstein and Ansermet have both argued that the linguistic problem hinges on tonality; broadly their case is that man must perceive music in some kind of tonal way and the presence of some sense of tonality, some ability to identify a 'home' or polarity, is essential to the enjoyment of music, no matter how that polarity is achieved nor how attenuated or expanded the tonality is in comparison with models from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Composers, they say, ignore this at their own peril of creating musical experiences which are in an important sense unsatisfactory. Another linguistic argument centres on the idea that most music-lovers approach modern music with a set of expectations - melodies, themes and their development, harmonic and tonal argument, etc. - which the composer himself is in many cases not in the least concerned with fulfilling. It is up to composers and those engaged in their promotion better to

explain the nature of their language and their expressive aims, so that their music will not be approached with an inappropriate set of expectations. On an expressive level, it can be argued that the composer is inescapably a man of his own time and place and, whatever his musical language, his music cannot help but express the conditions of his time and place. The music-lover, on the other hand, may cleave to music to seek escape from his contemporary world, to re-discover the values and emotions of a past age. A cornucopia of music from the past is available to him on record, on the radio and in the concert hall, and it seems we may be entering an age in which each listener selects for himself just a few of the myriad stores of past music on which to draw for the comfort or exhilaration that music gives him.

A number of composers argue, however, that the gulf between the general audience and new music in Britain was created by the grant-givers and the B.B.C. in the sixties and early seventies, when they obliged the audience to make a 'quantum jump' from the naturally developing British musical language to the 'extravagances' of the European avant-garde and their followers. The audience refused to make that jump and developed a deprecating attitude to almost any new serious music; at the same time the decision-makers denied them the possibility of regularly experiencing the work of those composers whose music could have moved their linguistic threshold forward by gentler degrees, and given a great deal of pleasure in the process. There is no doubt that steadily increasing subsidy for contemporary music means a loss of direct economic contact between the composer and the general musical audience. This does not mean that the composer wilfully disrespects the audience - most composers write music in order to communicate; and yet a composer cannot deny his own musical personality. The problem facing the promoters of contemporary music is to choose between concentrating subsidy on events primarily of contemporary music that serve a small, specialist audience, and trying to develop new policies that bring contemporary music more into the main stream of our musical life.

CHAPTER SIX : THE GRANT GIVERS

The economic returns to spending time on composition depend on each and every use of a composer's music being paid for at a reasonable rate; the British copyright provisions presently fail to ensure this. Failure here means that public subsidy to aid composers has tended to be seen in terms of direct payments to them rather than as an effort to stimulate the dissemination of their works, and, by this indirect but more difficult method, to help composers both economically and spiritually - increasing their royalty income as well as the 'psychic returns' of communicating with a larger audience more often.

Even in a system that does reward a composer properly for the use of his music, it is important that the composer's income is not so heavily dependent on just one or two sources of money that changes in the financial circumstances or policies of those sources might spell ruin. Here again conditions in Britain give cause for concern. The publishing and recording industries are failing for want of adequate copyright protection and because of changing tastes and expenditure patterns; they can offer significant income only to a very limited number of composers. The independent broadcasting companies are almost totally uninterested in high culture, and work composing television incidental music is concentrated in only a few hands. For the serious composer this leaves just two ultimate sources of income[1] - the B.B.C. and the Arts Council - both of which depend on governmental decisions for their finances and neither of which have been granted enough funds to sustain their present levels of operation.

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[1] For most of the serious composers, income from composition is only an addition (often a small one) to money earned in other forms of employment. (Historically, this is not unusual - the full-time composer is a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - but in earlier times composers were expected to produce new music as a natural adjunct to their jobs as performers or musical directors; the expectation of compositional activity in return for a salary is now confined to composer-in-residence schemes and, more loosely, some university appointments.) For the man determined to live by composition alone, the arguments given above apply in full force. For the man who composes in the interstices of another job, they are a major determinant of how much time he can give to composition. The present pattern of payments for composition can make it very difficult for a composer to change the distribution of his time - see Chapter Seven.

The little that serious composers gain from mechanical royalties is distributed by the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society (M.C.P.S.), Britico or publishers. Royalties on sheet sales tend to be significant only in educational music. Publishers are handing on a decreasing proportion of both these and hire fees for performing material. The royalties from broadcasts (including broadcasts of records) and public performances flow through a single intermediary, the Performing Right Society (P.R.S.). More than one quarter of the P.R.S.'s total income derives from the B.B.C., the cash figure itself being tied to the television licence fee set by the Government. Nearly all professional public performances of contemporary music are directly or indirectly subsidised by the Arts Council and its devolved authorities (the Welsh and Scottish Arts Councils and the Regional Arts Associations), as are the vast majority of commission fees. Until new law on photocopying, taping and public lending creates new agencies with new funds, until new attitudes bring significant increases in Local Authority arts spending, until the publishing and record industries revive and until the independent broadcasters recognise the existence of the serious composer, he is economically dependent on the finances and policies of the B.B.C., the Arts Council and the P.R.S. to a dangerous degree. His own organisation, the hopelessly under-funded Composers' Guild, offers too little counterweight to these giant institutions. Within the P.R.S. he is financially and vocally swamped by the popular section of the music industry and by the publishers.

The economics of composition rest on frequency of use as well as payment per use. In the very long run this will be established by the public. In the short and medium term, however, the general density of use to which living composers' work is put depends on the existence of a network of decision-makers between composer and public that has a real commitment to injecting new music into the blood-stream of our musical life and to finding ways of doing so to which the public responds favourably; the earlier chapters of this study do not suggest that such a strong commitment now exists. At whatever general level serious contemporary music is used, these same decision-makers will, again in the short to medium term, establish which composers and which pieces should be most intensively used. Just as there is financial danger in over-reliance on one or two sources of income, there is aesthetic and indeed moral danger in these

decision-makers being too few in number. For reasons already given, the publishers, record companies, independent broadcasters and Local Authorities play a smaller part in this decision-making than perhaps they should, whilst the B.B.C. carries an institutional danger of choice being restricted to too small a cadre of people. At least the number of grant-givers considered in this chapter implies a plurality of sources of decision, but this to some extent belies the financial and political reality.

The Arts Councils of Scotland and Wales are funded entirely by the Arts Council of Great Britain. Approximately 70% of the funds of the Regional Arts Associations (R.A.A.'S) come from the same source. The balance of R.A.A. funds is contributed by Local Authorities, but these in turn derive two thirds of their income from central Governemnt. These arrangements carry with them two costs. The first is confusion of roles, responsibilities and policies. To what extent should the Scottish and Welsh "plough their own furrows" irrespective of the wishes and policies of their paymaster? Are there some areas in which separation of provision and decision between England, Scotland and Wales is nonsensical? Where lies the divide of responsibility between the Arts Council and the R.A.A.'s? To what extent should the R.A.A.'s harmonise their policies amongst themselves and with the centre? Which of their paymasters should have the more significant voice in their policy-making? How should a Local Authority choose between "going it alone" in arts sponsorship, giving money to its R.A.A., or contributing to a body of combined Authorities such as the South and West Concerts Boards or the Eastern Authorities Orchestral Association? No 'de jure' answers exist. What obtains is a set of compromises that give variety but not necessarily the best use of available resources. In a sense this reflects a deeper political uncertainty about the good government of Britain that neither the reorganisation of local government nor the debate on the 'devolution' of Scotland and Wales have settled. At one extreme there is a vision of Britain divided into Scotland, Wales and a handful of English regions, each raising their own income through local taxes (including income taxes) and themselves governing all but the largest issues of defence, foreign and economic policy. At the other extreme is the view that Britain is too small a country to be governed efficiently or fairly other than from the centre. The administration of the arts, like government in all its forms, lies

somewhere in a shifting middle ground.[1] The second cost of the present arrangements might be termed their vulnerability. Whatever gross view the Government takes of the Arts Council's grant-in-aid has immediate repercussions on all the grant-giving agencies that rely on the Arts Council for their own funds. If a Government believes, as the present British Government does, that cutting public expenditure is an essential weapon in the fight against inflation, then the real spending power of the Local Authorities and the British Council will decrease along with that of the Arts Council and its grant-giving customers - exactly the situation that exists today. Financial vulnerability leads to political vulnerability. The tighter its grasp on the purse-strings, the further the hand of central government reaches out to control the manner in which the contents of the purse are used. The University Grants Committee has felt the power of this hand increasingly over the last decade, as has the B.B.C. The British Council is feeling it now. The freedom of action of Local Authorities will be curtailed by legislation currently going through Parliament. There is no reason to suppose the arts are immune.

Since 1965 Central Government expenditure on the arts, crafts, libraries and museums has been made from the budget of a sub-department of the Department of Education and Science. Previously support for the arts had come directly from the Treasury. The first Minister for the Arts, Miss Jennie Lee (now Lady Lee of Asheridge), was appointed in 1964. The rank of the Minister for the Arts has varied from Under-Secretary of State to full cabinet rank. The job has sometimes been combined with others: Lord Eccles was both Minister for the Arts and Paymaster-General between 1970 and 1973; the present Minister, Mr. Norman St. John-Stevas, is also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Leader of the House of Commons. It appears to be unlikely that someone whose sole ministerial job is the arts will be a member of the Cabinet. On balance, it probably serves the arts better to have a part-time Minister who can fight for them in the very highest council than to have a full-time Minister who is

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[1] West Germany and France offer examples of the two extremes: in West Germany, which has a federal constitution, the local and regional authorities are the most important sources of grant-aid and decision-making for the arts (though there is a small number of semi-autonomous national bodies that deal with such things as 'cultural diplomacy' and arts education); in France the arts are funded and directed by a department of the central government itself, the Ministry of Culture.

outside the Cabinet.[1]

The Arts Council of Great Britain

Rather less than half of the sub-Department's budget is set aside for the creative and performing arts in the form of the Arts Council's grant-in-aid; the remainder is spent on grants to the British Film Institute, the Crafts Council and a multitude of museums, galleries and libraries. It should be noted that Local Authority expenditure on museums, galleries and libraries is much greater than that on the arts. During the decade after the first Minister for the Arts was appointed, the Government's expenditure on the arts grew steadily in real terms. At constant prices, the grant grew from £6.9 million in 1967/68 to £11.46 million in 1974/75. During the seventies the growth slowed down to a standstill. The turn of the decade has seen, for the first time, a decrease in the Arts Council's real income. The Government's investment in the arts (the Arts Council's grant in 1978/79 amounted to less than £1 per head of the population) is, by European standards, niggardly in the extreme.[2] The word 'investment' is used

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1 For an interesting insight into the problems faced by a Minister for the Arts outside the Cabinet, see Hugh Jenkins: 'The Culture Gap', Marion Boyars, 1979.

2 "In Holland, with a quarter of Britain's population, the amount spent on public subsidy for the arts is twice that in Britain. In Germany three cities together spend as much as the total subsidy to the arts in Britain" - Annual Report and Accounts of the Arts Council, 1976/77, page 7. "We spend less on arts subsidy than any other comparable Western country. For example, in 1976/77 central and local government together were spending less than 50p per head of the population on subsidising theatre. Sweden was spending the equivalent of nearly £4 per head, and West Germany £7. No wonder the Economist Intelligence Unit recently described government spending on the arts in this country as 'fairly miserly'". - Annual Report and Accounts of the Arts Council, 1977/78, page 8.

advisedly and not only to denote care for the nation's cultural and spiritual welfare. The Arts Council's grant shows a considerable financial return: in the V.A.T. income from gramophone records, theatre, opera and concert tickets, in the taxes paid by all those individuals and firms involved in the arts, in the foreign exchange earned by artists, in the foreign exchange, taxes and employment offered by the tourist industry (for which Britain's cultural heritage and performing arts are an important magnet), in the taxes, employment and foreign earnings of commercial arts (such as independent television) which could not exist in their present form without the pool of talent and training provided by the subsidised arts.

The Arts Council's progenitor was born at a time of national stress. The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (C.E.M.A.), eventually the first vehicle for governmental arts subsidy, was formed in 1940 with a grant from the Pilgrim Trust. Its slogan 'the best for the most' encapsulates its existence as a morale-boosting organisation and as an expression of the existence of a national cultural and artistic life which was worth fighting for. The Arts Council succeeded C.E.M.A. in 1946. It was constituted as an independent body with its own Royal Charter, run by a Council of twenty members appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer(who also funded its work) with a chief executive officer (the Secretary-General) and supporting staff. Its Charter expressed the purpose of the Council as the development of 'a greater knowledge, understanding and practice of the fine arts exclusively, and in particular to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public, to improve the standard of execution of the fine arts and to advise and co-operate with Our Government Departments, Local Authorities and other bodies'. The Council had advisory committees for each of Art, Music, Drama, Poetry, Scotland and Wales. In its early years it also had a network of offices in the English regions inherited from C.E.M.A. and largely devoted to promotional activities, but these were closed down during the early 1950's. They were seen as expensive outposts of a body that had become a grant-giver rather than a promoter; their closure was an important stimulus to the formation of the Regional Arts Associations.

During the first two decades of its existence, the Arts Council concentrated on building or rebuilding national centres of artistic excellence - the leading opera, drama and ballet companies based in London. Aid was gradually extended to the principal orchestras, repertory theatres and festivals outside London. This concentration is apparent in the following analysis of the Council's financial distributions in the year 1961/62:

Arts Council Disbursements, 1961/62[1]	%
National companies (opera, dance and theatre, based in London)	54.5
Music	11.0
Drama	8.2
Scotland	7.0
Administration	5.8
Wales	4.5
Art	3.8
Opera and Dance (outside London)	3.6
Arts Associations, Arts Centres, Festivals, Literature	1.6
	100.0

Jennie Lee's appointment in 1964 was a watershed. Responsibility for appointing and funding the Council moved from the Treasury to a more appropriate home within the Department of Education. For the first time the arts had a specific active champion within the Government. A Government White Paper was published in 1965, 'A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps'. Its main message was the need for greatly increased resources from central and local government to make the arts more generally accessible to the public at large, especially outside London, and the need for more support for the creative artist. The new Charter of 1967 admitted some of these nuances by referring to 'the arts' rather than 'the fine arts' and by strengthening the provisions for Scotland and Wales, as well as confirming the shift of arts responsibility from the Treasury to the Department of Education and Science. During the latter half of the sixties and

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[1] Taken from the Annual Report and Accounts of the Arts Council, 1976/77.

in the early seventies, with a significantly increasing grant-in-aid, the Arts Council spread its wings. It began to accumulate new areas of interest: housing for the arts, jazz, photography, arts films, community arts, research, information, marketing and the training of arts administrators. It created new departments for the regions and touring. It began to administer many more arts provisions itself: small-scale opera and drama tours, the Contemporary Music Network, the Wigmore Hall, the Hayward and Serpentine galleries and an art exhibition circuit, the Arts Council Shop. Within the existing disciplines new schemes and new clients flowered. In line with one of the White Paper's recommendations, grants began to be made systematically to individual creative artists (those for composers started in 1965). An analysis of the Council's financial distributions in the year 1976/77 shows how much had changed since 1961/62:

Arts Council Disbursements, 1976/77[1]	%
National companies	26.8
Drama	15.2
Arts Associations, Arts Centres, Festivals, Literature	12.6
Scotland	11.9
Wales	7.4
Music	6.2
Opera and Dance	4.6
Art	4.5
Touring	4.3
Administration	3.4
Housing the Arts	3.1
	100.0

Avowedly regional expenditure (Scotland, Wales, Arts Associations, Arts Centres, Festivals) accounted for only 13.1% of the total in 1961/62; by 1976/77 it (Scotland, Wales, Touring, Arts Associations, Arts Centres, Festivals, Housing) had grown to 39.3%. In both years an additional proportion of the general expenditure on Music, Opera and Dance, Drama and Art would have been spent in the English regions.

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[1] Annual Report and Accounts of the Arts Council, 1976/77.

The proportion of expenditure accounted for by the national drama, opera and dance companies shrank dramatically. The only other 'slices of the cake' to diminish were those for music and administration. That music other than opera and dance should have so suffered is especially disappointing to the present writer. That administration should have taken a smaller proportion of expenditure is superficially laudable - the less spent on administration, the more is available for distribution - but the Council itself is now beginning to acknowledge that the administration is creaking under the weight of its added responsibilities, that it is underpaid, undermanned, and, consequently, neither as expert nor as efficient as it might be.

It is clear that the old policy of raising and maintaining centres of excellence has been overlaid by a new dimension embracing expanded areas in both the artistic and geographical senses. Most recently two new thrusts have become apparent: one of devolving certain responsibilities to the Regional Arts Associations and another of becoming increasingly concerned with education in the arts; both can be seen as responses to Lord Redcliffe-Maud's 1976 report for the Gulbenkian Foundation, 'Support for the Arts in England and Wales'. For a long time the Council saw itself as a grant-giver rather than as a body involved directly in arts provision, this too has changed. Similarly, the Council's old stance of responding to need, to requests for help, to other people's initiatives, has been compromised by new ventures such as the Contemporary Music Network and the English National Opera's new 'second house' in Leeds.

A vastly wider range of activities, interests and clients, along with an increase in its direct provisions and initiatives has clearly demanded a larger and well-paid permanent staff. Its provision has been frustrated by the Department of Education and Science's tendency to attempt to equate the Arts Council's staff with its own pay grades and manning levels. The battle for an adequate permanent establishment earning salaries that reflect the expertise, responsibility and imagination involved, must be fought and won.

Expansion has also created greater need for clearly thought out strategies - policies for this year, next year, for three, five and even ten years' time. In the past, policies seem to have been created by an accretion of small decisions rather than by definite

attempts at an overview. Every cheque signed is ipso facto an expression of policy, yet large-scale and long-term thinking have not been particularly noticeable Arts Council activities. This can be seen as an asset: nobody's 'master plan' is being imprinted on a whole area of artistic endeavour; there is flexibility to cope with change and the unforeseen; support can be given to creative initiative where it arises rather than imposed by a bureaucratic pattern. A common and sometimes useful device has been for the Council to commission a report on a specific area of activity and to absorb such recommendations as it endorses into its long-term thinking. Yet although the extension of the Arts Council tentacles has more than ever created a need for medium and long-term policy-making, it has, paradoxically, also made it much more difficult to attain for two reasons - one financial and the other resulting from the very structure of decision-making within the Arts Council.

While the grant-in-aid was increasing in real terms, new directions could be taken, shifts of emphasis made and new clients taken on without too much stress. Now the grant-in-aid has stopped growing these have become a strait-jacket. Changes can be accomplished only by reducing or jettisoning existing commitments. This is further aggravated by the fact that the Arts Council knows only weeks before the beginning of a financial year what its grant for that year will be, yet its clients have to make decisions and sign contracts two, three or more years in advance. The financial problem can be solved if the Government assures the Arts Council of a certain level of real growth in its grant for each of three years ahead, thus giving the Council 'index-linked' financial guarantees so that it can make sensible forward plans. There is also a case for the Council beginning each year with a larger proportion of its money unallocated so that it can more easily respond to unforeseen initiatives or crises. Although constitutionally the Council itself is the only body with real decision-making power, the volume of business has grown far too large for twenty unpaid people meeting once a month to rule effectively. The Council is often reduced to rubber-stamping the decisions of its advisory panels. But these too have spawned their own specialist advisory sub-committees and have themselves lost their grip on effective policy-making to some degree. The four advisory committees which existed at the beginning of the sixties have now been multiplied by ten and embrace approximately 350 unpaid participants. To some

extent the most important decisions concerning financial distributions have been made by the small finance committees of the main panels (reporting directly to the Council), sometimes to the disgruntlement of the panels themselves. Servicing and attending the meetings of a multitude of committees has placed a severe burden on the time of the permanent staff, making it more difficult for them to attend to administration, to visit clients, to sample artistic offerings and to write papers giving policy options. The Council recognised these problems in 1978 and set up a small working party to recommend changes in organisation and procedures. As a result the number of advisory panels and committees has been reduced this year from 43 to 21, and their normal size has been cut from 20 - 24 to 12 - 16. It is envisaged that the permanent officers will be delegated more decisions, working within guidelines established by the relevant panel. There are dangers in this course. However conscientious and imaginative the permanent staff may be, they may make decisions influenced by administrative neatness rather than artistic creativity. Too few advisers can mean too narrow a range of vision, expertise and taste - this with whole areas of artistic activity and whole careers at stake. As has already been pointed out, decisions made in Piccadilly can have a crucial influence on the fortunes of a composer and his music. From this year, music will have a main advisory panel of sixteen members, combining performers, administrators, critics and educators with two composers. There will be one sub-committee for making commission and bursary awards, its membership being seven of the main panel, including the two composers. The International Society for Contemporary Music (British Section) also meets as a sub-committee of the Arts Council's Music Panel and is responsible for supervising the Contemporary Music Network and recordings of contemporary music as well as other contemporary music matters. This year it will have eleven members including six composers. The sub-committees for finance, opera, jazz and recordings have been abolished.

Members of the Arts Council and its panels are unpaid; they receive only out-of-pocket expenses whilst on Council business; for many of them this means financial sacrifice is involved in their serving the arts in this way. Members of the Council itself are appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science in consultation with the Minister for the Arts and the Secretaries of State for Scotland and Wales. They are appointed for three years

extendable to five; only the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Council and its panels may be re-appointed for a consecutive second term. The members of panels are appointed by the Council on similar terms, after consultation with permanent staff, existing panel members, Local Authorities, R.A.A.'s and (more recently) public invitations for nominations of suitable people. The aim in appointments is to achieve a suitable variety of background, experience, expertise and enthusiasm. One of the intentions of the system is that the absence of any representative delegacy or financial enmeshment should secure expert but disinterested advice from a wide variety of individuals. The requirement for membership to change sees to it that no particular points of view can become too entrenched and that there can be regular transfusions of new thought. Meetings of the Council and its panels are open to neither the public nor the press, and members are required to keep papers and deliberations confidential. The Government does not seek to interfere with the artistic decisions of the Council and, though to a lesser extent, the Council keeps a similar stance in relation to its clients. The commonest charges laid against these constitutional arrangements are that they are undemocratic, secretive and allow the Arts Council more independence than might be good for it.

The Arts Council is accountable to the democratically elected Government, by which it is funded. Its accounts are audited by the Treasury. Its financial practices can be questioned by the Public Accounts Committee in Parliament. It is required to lay before Parliament annual reports and accounts. The Minister for the Arts will not, however, answer questions on the details of Arts Council decision-making in the House of Commons, a situation comparable to the Home Secretary's non-interference in the content of B.B.C. and I.B.A. programmes. Like the Governors of the B.B.C., members of the Arts Council are guardians of the public interest with their aims and duties prescribed by a Royal Charter. The Council is publicly accountable through the distribution of its annual reports and accounts, through its information bulletin and through criticism in the press and other media. Recently it has also held a number of public forums on different areas of its decision-making. That decision-making is secret because it involves confidences with clients and frank evaluations of artists and artistic organisations; but its results are examinable by sampling the products of Arts

Council subsidy in the theatre, opera house, concert hall and gallery, and by close analysis of the Council's annual reports and accounts.

An alternative to the present system would be to subsidise the arts directly by a department of Government. To do so would invite a further incursion of bureaucracy into the arts, would risk even less adventure than we now have and would place the arts firmly in the sphere of political decision. It can be argued that when the Arts Council decides to fund opera and ballet at Covent Garden more richly than street theatre, experimental rock groups and murals on blocks of flats, it effectively makes political decisions because of the different audiences involved. The Council's own stance is determinedly apolitical: it acknowledges no overtly political thought in its deliberations; rather it tries to focus on artistic merit as it perceives it and the apparent needs of the arts as evidenced by the artistic community and its audience. It attempts to broaden that audience without debasing its own coinage of artistic quality.

Some proponents of the 'democratisation' of the Arts Council would turn it into an assembly of delegates. It is difficult to see how such an assembly could be equitably formed: how could the 'constituencies' be formed from amongst the R.A.A.'s, the Local Authorities, the Council's clients, performers' unions, writers' and composers' unions etc., and how would the various constituencies be comparatively weighted? Were such an assembly formed, would it gather less rather than more expertise, enthusiasm and imagination than the present system embraces? Would its decisions be shaped by 'horse trading' between the organisations represented and tend to preserve the status quo rather than initiate and welcome change?

The Arts Council does not function flawlessly, as has already been suggested and will be suggested again, but its radical constitutional revision would probably bring many more losses than gains. Its most signal failure since the early seventies has been an inability to persuade both central and local government to fund the arts at even a reasonable level, let alone a steadily increasing level or a generous one. Neither has it done enough to combat the neglect of the creator in our artistic life. Its concentration on the performing arts has clouded its concern for the men and women

composing, writing, painting, designing or sculpting now. This may be a reflection of the fact that few active creators have been members of the Council itself, the apex of the Arts Council's structure. Through the sixties and seventies there has, for instance, only ever been one member of the Council who was a composer; and even in that instance, composition was very much in the margin of his career. This lack within the Council could be remedied by the Minister. Despite many criticisms, the Arts Council is a mechanism for arts subsidy much admired abroad, and its achievement in enriching the life of the nation has been immeasurable.

The Council began making direct payments to composers in the form of commission fees and bursaries in 1965 when an initial fourteen awards were made. The following table compares the growth of the Awards to Artists (Music and Dance) allocation with other Arts Council expenditure during the years 1965/66 to 1975/76:

Taken from, Alan Rump: 'Money for Composers', The Arts Council, 1977.

Year	65/66	66/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76
Arts Council's Grant in Aid in £000's	3,910	5,700	7,200	7,750	8,200	9,300	11,900	13,725	17,138	21,335	28,850
Total Music expenditure in £000's	2,189	2,861	3,254	3,342	3,489	3,661	4,451	4,866	6,031	7,526	9,554
Awards to Artists allocation from music budget in £'s	7,057	7,244	15,594	17,106	15,369	17,508	20,356	49,452	39,387	34,754	48,702
Number of bursaries and commissions awarded to composers	14	14	22	37	54	55	70	132	118	88	161

The figures for 'total music expenditure' include opera and dance (including the national companies) and the music expenditure on touring, festivals, education and housing the arts as well as general music expenditure. (No attempt has been made to estimate and include that proportion of Arts Council's grants to Regional Arts Associations that might have been spent on music.) The 'Awards to Artists' allocation has always been largely spent on composers, although choreographers and a handful of other artists do draw on it.

Over the whole period, music's share of total expenditure diminished considerably, from 56% in 1965/66 to 33% in 1975/76. Between 1965 and 1972 the growth in the Awards to Artists allocation approximated to that of the grant-in-aid, but the number of awards was growing at a much faster rate - the 'jam' was being spread more and more thinly. The increase in the 72/73 allocation recognised this, but the number of awards then increased by almost the same factor. Between 1972 and 1976 the allocation fell for two years and then rose nearly to regain its 1972 level, yet during those years the grant-in-aid doubled and the total music expenditure all but doubled. In 1975/76 payments made directly to composers accounted for approximately one half of one per cent of the Council's total music expenditure.

To some extent this lamentable position and the two long periods of comparative neglect can be accounted for by simple lack of awareness. Nobody seemed to be analysing expenditure in this way and, to their credit, the Council's advisers were shocked when the analysis was presented to them.[1] Another problem is that the funding of commissions is not obviously the subject of on-going need, unlike the yearly clamouring estimates submitted by the major companies and orchestras. It is money that is gradually distributed through the year to people who at the beginning of the year have neither asked for it nor have any idea that it is coming their way. This lack of obvious and early commitment makes it an easy fund in which to make a quick though small saving, indeed in one year half of it was 'frozen'. It is a pity that the Composers' Guild does not present to the Council its own properly documented case for extra support for its members each year, after the manner of the performing organisations. The distribution of money within the music budget has been, until this year, the work of the Music Finance Committee, comprising eight members of the Music Panel (including one from each of the Panel's spending sub-committees - Jazz, Dance, Opera, I.S.C.M., and General), reporting to the Music Panel and to the Council's Finance and Policy Committee. From now onwards the job of the Music Finance Committee will be taken into the Music Panel itself. The strategic distribution of money over all the arts is worked out by the Estimates and the Finance and Policy sub-committees of the Council itself.

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[1] See Alan Rump, op.cit., page 7.

The award of commission fees and bursaries is made by the General Sub-Committee of the Music Panel (and rubber-stamped by the Panel and the Council). Until the recent reorganisation it usually comprised six composers, two of whose work was primarily electronic, three publishers, a B.B.C. executive, a college principal, a conductor and a university lecturer. Composer and publisher members withdraw when commissions involving themselves are discussed, thus appropriate expertise is gathered without vested interest being allowed to operate. If the constitution of the committee was acceptable, its functioning was often less so. The problem with assembling unpaid experts is the infrequency with which several busy people can all spare the same afternoon. This leads to a situation in which an application might be in the pipeline for two or even three months before it reaches a meeting. In the meantime the composer either risks starting work (which usually forces the committee's hand into granting the commission) or waits until the performance date is dangerously close before he is given the go-ahead. Sometimes meetings have been seriously under-attended, with as few as four members present with the Arts Council officers. The agendas used to run to forty or fifty items and so decisions had to be made quickly. The sheer pressure of business precluded sufficient discussion of larger policy issues.

The committee only responds to applications from performers, ensembles, orchestras, opera companies, festivals or other promoters for commission fees, though composers may apply themselves for bursaries; it never takes an initiative.[1] The commissioner may, of course, add to the Arts Council's fee, though this seldom happens. Half the fee is paid when the commission is awarded, the other half when the work is completed. Until a recent increase in the number of bursaries awarded, nearly all the committee's allocation has been spent on commission fees. The gift of the copying costs associated with the work was unsystematic in the early years but now is almost automatic unless a publisher is involved. Ideally the composer should be funded for the provision of a complete set of performing parts that are his own - he can gain useful income from hiring them out. He should also be funded to produce three scores: one for his own

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[1] Though the I.S.C.M. sub-committee of the Music Panel has on four occasions itself commissioned a work for a Contemporary Music Network tour.

library, one for circulating to conductors and promoters, one for deposit in the British Music Information Centre (or the archives for Scottish and Welsh music). These costs should be payable on production of receipts for copying and reproduction; if the composer acts as his own copyist he should be paid at the current Musicians' Union rate for copying. If the work is an electronic one, then tape costs and studio time should also be paid for. Where the work involves a considerable degree of improvisation there is a case, though a debatable one, for funds being provided for rehearsal time - though here a good deal must depend on the amount of pre-rehearsal/performance composition involved as to whether a commission fee should be paid at all.[1] When the composer carrying out a commission has a standing arrangement with a publisher, considerable copying costs can be imposed on the publisher by the commission, with only a doubtful prospect of reasonable returns from them. Thus, even when a publisher prepares and owns the scores and performing material for an Arts Council commission, there is a strong case for the publisher being granted all or part of the copying and reproduction costs, provided these will be repaid if and when income from hires and sales of the work exceeds the original outlay (possibly with suitable adjustment for inflation). Much good would accrue from all commissioning bodies - the Arts Council, the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils, the Regional Arts Associations and independent organisations - accepting the responsibility of all the costs listed above whenever a commission is granted; at present this is sometimes the case, sometimes not.

When the abilities of a composer (and sometimes the commissioner) are not well known to the members of the General Sub-Committee, scores and tapes are examined. The rejection rate is in the range 10 - 20%. The great majority of applications come with a suggested fee, but the committee often revises this upwards or downwards. The scale of fees is loosely determined by a background 'feel' for what is 'about right' in view of the scope of the work and the standing of the composer.

Between 1968/69 (the first year in which sufficient awards were made for meaningful averages to be calculated) and 1975/76 the following average fees were paid:

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[1] The Jazz Sub-Committee for many years gave bursaries to fund the periods of rehearsal during which new material could 'emerge'.

Taken from Alan Rump, op.cit.

Category of work	Average fee over the year in £'s							
	68/69	69/70	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76
1 or 2 performers, or 1 performer + tape	75	39.4	50	47.5	103.5	83.1	117.2	133.8
3, 4 or 5 players	92.8	88	96.7	100.6	134	115	175	238
A capella	32.5	35.8	40	59.4	60.5	107.7	104.2	106.2
Large chamber ensemble	250	100	141.7	162.5	193.5	190	401.9	266.7
Chamber Orchestra (+ soloist)	78.3	150	118.8	183.3	270	244.4	270	238.9
Brass Band	-	-	216.7	175	200	162.5	243.8	206.3
Chamber Choir + Orchestra (+ soloists)	100	100	106	162.5	138.3	171.4	220	221.4
Short piece for large orchestra (or longer piece for Youth Orchestra)	110.2	112.5	101.7	183.3	166.6	192.5	240	300
Extended piece for large orchestra (+ soloist)	262.5	150	-	325	450	533.3	383.3	500
Extended piece for large choir, orchestra and soloists	205.8	125	220	366.6	325	200	400	690
1-act opera or children's opera	333.3	300	310	-	550	-	535	600

The statistics were compiled from the Minute Book of the General Sub-Committee of the Arts Council's Music Panel.

Short term variations are accounted for by the changing length of works and standing of composers commissioned in each category from year to year. The strangeness of the 'large chamber ensemble' column is largely due to the inclusion of the London Sinfonietta, which tends to ask for relatively high fees (though some would say more realistic ones) and to vary them considerably according to the composer's reputation.

By weighting according to the number of works in each category, a rough guide to the movement in the general level of fees can be established. For the purposes of comparison, the yearly average is assumed to have been operative in December:

	1968	1975
General level of commission fees	100	225
Median earnings of all non-manual workers	100	222
Median earnings of all manual workers	100	237
Minimum salary of a principal player in a regional symphony orchestra	100	230

As a 'rate for the job', the commission fee was not unduly laggard in comparison with other rates of increase, but this begs the question of whether the historical base figure of the commission fee is far too low.

One can react instinctively to the figure of £500 for a symphony in 1975/76 and say it represents a miserable monetary valuation of the talent, training, skill, imagination and effort involved. This raises two further problems. The first is, 'miserable' in comparison with what? The second is that £500 was not necessarily the only income the composer would have gained or may yet gain from writing the symphony: if he had prepared his own parts and charged hire fees for them and if the symphony had another public performance and a Radio 3 broadcast in addition to its first performance, he would have doubled that fee, though in fact approximately one third of Arts Council commissions 'die' after their first performance.

Comparisons with other rates of pay can be only rough and ready. A sample of orchestral scores suggested that in 1976 a composer receiving an average Arts Council commission fee was paid just three times more for composing a work than a copyist was paid for writing it out at the minimum Musicians' Union rate.[1] Moving out of the musical world, the rate one generally had to pay for labour when having a car repaired in 1976 was £3 an hour; if a composer saw only an average Arts Council commission fee for his efforts, to be paid £3 an hour he would have had to have composed a sonata for one or two instruments in 48 hours, a piece for brass band in 74 hours, or a cantata in 80 hours. Foreign comparisons can be only approximate because of the vagaries of exchange rates and variations in the cost of living from country to country. Using the Arts Council average figures for 1975/76 and exchange rates operative in March, 1976, the following Commonwealth comparisons showed the British commission fee in an unfavourable light:

Comparative rates of commission fees in 1975/76[2]

£

	G.B.	Canada	Australia	New Zealand
10 minute piece for 1 or 2 performers	134	698	312	169
10 minute piece for choir	106	949	312	169
20 minute piece for chamber orchestra	239	2,458	812	282
20 minute piece for choir and chamber orchestra	221	3,016	812	282
40 minute piece for large choir, orchestra and soloists	690	6,926	2,000	681

The Commonwealth figures are not only strikingly higher than the British ones, they are also arrived at by a different method. All three work on a per minute basis, with banding according to musical forces employed. The New Zealand and Australia figures are minima detailed by the respective composers' associations which are apparently adhered to by all composers and commissioners. The Canadian figures are agreed through negotiation between the Canadian Composers' Association, C.B.C. and the various national and regional arts councils

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[1] A rate which is itself hardly generous.

[2] The Commonwealth figures were kindly supplied by the relevant organisations in those countries.

of Canada. This is all very different from the British 'feel' for the combination of forces employed, the proposed length, the standing of the composer and inflation. The Composers' Guild of Great Britain advises its members on reasonable minimum rates for commission fees, but enters into no negotiations with commissioning bodies. When a British composer rejects a commission fee as too low, he is uncomfortably aware that another composer may happily accept that figure.

Perhaps it is time that commission fees became the subject of annual negotiations between the Composers' Guild, the Arts Council, the B.B.C., the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils and the Regional Arts Associations. The aim should be the establishment of a scale of minimum fees based on formulae using the musical forces employed and duration. Half the commission fee could then be paid according to the proposed length of the work and the balance on the actual length when completed. The figures should be recognised as minima to be revised upwards according to the standing of the composer concerned; it is not enough that the more able composers and those more often in demand should be rewarded only by receiving the standard commission fees more frequently than others. The annual negotiations should take account of inflation and the need to increase steadily the real value of commission fees. The Arts Council is rightly fond of pointing out that its own grant-in-aid is a tiny proportion of the education budget and an almost invisible part of the general public expenditure, thus the few million pounds that would make a crucial difference to the arts would be a mere drop in the ocean of the Government's overall spending. Its own position in relation to composers' commission fees can be argued in the same way: it could double the general level of commission fees overnight and only alter its overall budget by the tiniest fraction. In 1978/79, the Arts Council spent £125,857 on commissions and bursaries for composers, which amounted to a little more than one quarter of one per cent of its total expenditure.[1]

Subsidising commission fees as a means of aiding composers has many attractions. It means composers are being paid for being useful. It means they are creating with an almost guaranteed performance in view rather than the pious hope of one. It provides them with a useful discipline. If a fee is paid only when a performing or promoting

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[1] Annual Report and Accounts of the Arts Council, 1978/79.

body requests one, it means that a considerable number of free agents are contributing through their choices of composer to a pattern of market demand, rather than a mere handful of people sitting in London deciding who is or is not a worthwhile composer.

Using subsidised commissions as the prime means of supporting composers does, however, carry dangers; moreover it is, in a sense, only the easiest of a number of different ways of acknowledging the needs of contemporary creators. If commissions become too important a component of composers' income and given the difficulty of obtaining repeat performances, the knowledge that more often than not he is writing a 'one-off' piece might damage a composer's attitude to his work, leading to music written quickly for financial rather than inspirational reasons. Deadlines and the preordination of the scale and scope of a work might stimulate some composers, but may be totally inimical to the temperaments of others. Over-emphasis on commissions may prevent a composer, especially one who works slowly, from writing the work he really wants to write and that in the long run would turn out to be the greater music. It is a recipe for brief fireworks rather than lasting illumination - but perhaps that is all our society wants. Commissions tend to tie composers to the pre-existing structure of performing groups. The desire to find new sonorities and new combinations, allied to the difficulty of getting performed at all by the traditional institutions, has led to the formation of a considerable number of small, flexible ensembles, directed by composers. Because work for tape alone is seldom accepted as a concert event, the commission system tends to penalise the electronic composer. Faced with poor equipment at most halls, and an uninterested B.B.C., he is left with a mere handful of venues and promoters that might commission work from him and put it into a concert. The comparatively easy funding of commissions and first performances and the meagre funds available for second or further performances and dissemination in score and on record, has contributed to lack of understanding of living composers' work: the members of the audience who are interested by a first performance may not have the opportunity to turn that interest into deeper knowledge and understanding, perhaps love. At the same time the publishers' finances are being punished by the poor return on their initial investments in the performing materials for premières. Although some semblance of a free market in the choice of composers by a multitude of commissioners is desirable, the individual

choices that make up that market may not always be shaped by the best of motives. The young or little-known performer or ensemble might commission a work so that a première draws the newspaper and magazine critics to a concert they otherwise would not attend. The festival organiser commissions a work because a première lends weight to his brochure and because it is part of the festival ethos so to do. Since the Arts Council rather than the commissioner pays the composer, some commissions may come about simply through the friendship or acquaintance of performers and composers. The commissioner, whether a guitarist, a festival committee, an orchestral management committee or an amateur choir, will not always have a good knowledge of the composers now active nor their particular aptitudes and talents. The choice will often fall on a composer already quite well known, even if that small fame has been ill-earned and the choice is far from apt for the kind of piece and occasion envisaged. The young or unjustly neglected composer is unlikely to be given encouragement or recognition by a system dependent on commissions, at least not without many lean years before the feast.

Subsidising commissions should be seen as the surface of a more deep-reaching policy. The Arts Council should lend its weight to the argument for copyright and tax reform, and for the inclusion of musical materials in a fully-fledged Public Lending Right. The subsidy of dissemination through scores and records should have a higher priority than it now has. The public performance of contemporary music within the generality of our opera, dance and concert life needs to be stimulated with extra funds and by the Arts Council becoming a more critical patron in terms of programming. If the P.R.S. cannot, or will not, achieve large increases in the royalties from public performances, then the Arts Council might consider a royalty supplement scheme for making extra payments to composers when their music is performed by Arts Council clients; in 1978/79 the Council paid £87,049 in royalty supplements to playwrights whose works were produced in subsidised theatres.[1] There is still great scope for getting composers working within particular communities - part or full-time 'composer-in-residence' posts attached to universities, colleges, schools, R.A.A.'s, arts centres, adult education centres, etc.

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[1] Annual Report and Accounts, 1978/79.

Properly constituted, such posts can enhance the development and understanding of the audience for contemporary music; they can give the composer a better appreciation of the performers and audiences with whom he is communicating; for the established composer, a few years as a 'composer-in-residence' can give respite from the commission treadmill to write a long piece or pieces irrespective of a commission; for the composer in his late twenties and early thirties, no longer in full-time higher education but not yet established enough to have reasonable royalty and commission income, a job as a 'composer-in-residence' can be both educative and financially opportune. The Australia Council offers to cover half the costs of composer-in-residence schemes run by educational musical institutions (including a teaching component of five hours per week), an example the British Arts Council could well follow. For the composer who needs to get a big work out of his system, to experiment with or re-evaluate his musical language or perhaps to study electronic techniques, a bursary to 'buy time' away from other commitments is the only answer.

The working of the General Sub-Committee of the Arts Council's Music Panel has been reformed over the past three years. To release time from routine discussion, the officers draw up a list of commissions that are probably non-controversial and which go forward unless questioned by a member of the committee. Small commissions are now more often directed to a Regional Arts Association where appropriate. Whereas previously the grant of a bursary (to travel, to study electronic means, to finish a major work or to 'buy time') was a rare event, a scheme of bursaries was introduced in 1977/78, giving two major awards of £4,500 and fifteen minor awards of £1,000 - £2,500. In 1978/79 there were two major awards of £5,000 and ten minor awards of £1,000 - £3,000. It is important that these bursaries should not become an institutionalisation of what happened rarely and erratically before; they should be to 'buy time', to give freedom, and not be tied to specific projects. There ought still to be a place for occasional bursaries outside the scheme for electronic or acoustic study, for travel or study abroad, for completing an opera, for travelling with performances of a work in order to give talks and workshops in the localities where it is performed. The Jazz Sub-Committee too has been giving bursaries (of less than £1,000) to jazz and other improvising musicians, for devising and rehearsing new material. It is, perhaps, too early to evaluate the effects of these

changes, though their general thrust should be beneficial.

As can be seen from the following table:[1]

Year	76/77	77/78	78/79
Arts Council's Grant in Aid in £000's	37,150	41,715	51,800
(i) Total music and dance expenditure in £000's	12,092	13,691	16,448
(ii)Awards to Artists allocation in £'s	74,081	137,775	143,119
Number of bursaries and commissions awarded to composers	163	207	194

notes

(i) 'Total music and dance expenditure' embraces the English National Opera, the Royal Opera House, Opera for All, the Wigmore Hall, Opera and Dance touring, Festivals, Education and Housing the Arts Expenditure, as well as general music and dance expenditure. No attempt has been made to include music expenditure within the grants to Scotland, Wales, Regional Arts Associations or Arts Centres.

(ii) Performers and choreographers also draw on the Awards to Artists allocation, but they account for approximately 15% of it, the balance going to composers.

the allocation for Awards to Artists within the music budget was increased considerably along with the rethinking of methods and policies in 1977. The figure for 1978/79 represents a three-fold increase over 1975/76; neither inflation nor the larger number of awards made can entirely cancel out this increase - the awards themselves have become more generous. The increase in the allocation has out-paced the growth in the grant-in-aid and general music and dance expenditure since 1975/76. Nevertheless, the fund from which composers were directly subsidised still represented less than one hundredth of the total music and dance expenditure and only slightly more than one quarter of one per cent of the Arts Council's overall expenditure in 1978/79.

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[1] Abstracted from the Annual Reports and Accounts of the Arts Council.

The next table gives a breakdown of the Arts Council's music and dance expenditure in 1978/79; opera and dance together account for no less than 77% of it.

Arts Council Music and Dance Expenditure in England 1978/79

	£
English National Opera	3,665,000
Royal Opera House (opera and dance)	5,475,000
Opera for All	54,877
Other opera companies	513,550
Other dance companies	1,469,154
Touring opera and dance	1,446,000
Orchestras, ensembles, jazz, concert promoters, Contemporary Music Network	2,770,265
Festivals	302,288
Education	237,750
Housing for music and dance	157,450
Awards to Artists	125,857
Records of contemporary music	45,682
Electro-Acoustic Music Association	14,720
British Music Information Centre	7,000
London Musicians' Collective	5,167
Contact (new music magazine)	2,400
Other activities	153,692

NOT included: music and dance expenditure within the grants to the Scottish and Welsh Arts Councils, the Regional Arts Associations and Arts Centres.

Some of the grants for opera and dance, for orchestras and ensembles, for festivals, for Regional Arts Associations and for Arts Centres will have had a spin-off for contemporary music, but the earlier chapter on public performance suggests that this spin-off was very small indeed. The grants made specifically for contemporary music in England are analysed overleaf:

		£
Jazz and improvised music[(i)]		77,801
Contemporary Music Network, for touring concerts of contemporary music in the provinces		147,719
Contemporary Music in London,		
Promoters of non-orchestral ensembles	£42,871	
New Opera Company	30,000	
Routed through the L.O.C.B.		
1. Orchestras	92,750	
2. Other ensembles	15,300	
		180,921
Electro-Acoustic music[(ii)]		16,220
Music in a multi-media context		3,600
Awards (commissions and bursaries)		125,857
Recordings of contemporary music		45,682
Contemporary music archive and magazine		9,535
		607,335

notes:

(i) The bulk (£56,500) of this was channelled through the Jazz Centre Society. To obtain a global figure for jazz and improvised music the following should be added:

Contemporary Music Network	£42,402
Records	2,808
Bursaries (approx.)	10,000
giving a total of	133,011

(ii) The bulk (£14,720) of this was routed through the Electro-Acoustic Music Association.

A similar calculation in 1975/76 gave a total of only £173,627, then less than 2% of total music and dance expenditure. Like the Awards to Artists allocation alone, the growth of expenditure on contemporary music since then has outstripped inflation, the growth of the grant-in-aid and the increase in the music and dance budget; as a proportion of that budget it has grown from just under 2% to just under 4%. This does not make the present situation satisfactory. The audience figures for the Contemporary Music Network must be improved, not by the easy option of increasing the number of jazz tours, but by more attractive programming and publicity (the latter especially at local level) and perhaps by experimenting with new venues. These last two points are dependent on the instigation of more research than hitherto into the audience for contemporary music. In anticipation of that research, it might be profitable to think in

terms of some tour programmes, venues and publicity 'shots' being aimed at the general musical audience, and others being aimed at expanding the section of the audience for contemporary music that comes from the other arts (theatre, painting, sculpture, architecture) and the sciences (electronics, engineering, computing, etc.) and which is often uninterested in older music. To do so would not be an admission of defeat, but an acknowledgement of the diffuse and disparate nature of modern musical developments as well as the blurring of the boundaries between the arts and between the arts and sciences. Where Regional Arts Associations have begun their own contemporary music networks, they should be encouraged by specially 'ear-marked' funds. Ways must be found of making the funds expended in London more productive for composers and in terms of audiences. A Music Panel more forcefully critical of the programmes and concert situations in which the funds are used is required. The funding of studio and concert facilities for the electronic composer is an obviously necessary point of growth.

The largest effort is needed in dissemination and education. It means subsidising more records and seeking their fruitful distribution. It means subsidising the availability of scores and performing material. It means encouraging the production and distribution of magazines, periodicals and books about the living composer and his music. It means encouraging the spread of composer-in-residence schemes into secondary, tertiary and adult education as well as Regional Arts Associations and Arts Centres. It means funding day-schools and workshops around evening concerts of contemporary music (on the Contemporary Music Network[1] and other occasions). It means organising conferences, seminars, and courses on the use of contemporary music in education.[2] It means drawing together all the agencies involved into the provision of music-making facilities for adults. It means bringing the work of the living composer more often into the programmes of the generality of the Arts Council's clients - by persuasion, exhortation and, if necessary, by diktat allied to the granting of special funds. A culture that lives in a museum is itself dying.

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[1] The educational events coupled to Network concerts are already increasing considerably.

[2] The report of the Schools Music Project on contemporary music in education should provide pointers as to how new music might be brought into the classroom.

The Welsh Arts Council

There are two Welsh members of the Arts Council, one of them being Chairman of the Welsh Arts Council. The members of the Welsh Arts Council other than those two are appointed by the Arts Council after consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales, usually for a three-year term with the possibility of re-appointment. The Welsh Arts Council receives its funds from the Arts Council (with small additions from the British Film Institute and the Crafts Advisory Council) and the Secretary-General of the Arts Council is its accounting officer. Assessors from the Department of Education and Science and Welsh Office attend its meetings.

The Welsh Arts Council's structure is much like that of its parent, though on a smaller scale. At its head stands a Council of 26 members, which has grown from 17 at the beginning of the seventies; there has always been at least one composer member. The Council has its own Finance and General Purposes Committee. There are advisory committees for music, art, craft, drama, film and literature. Film apart, these in turn each have two sub-committees, those for music being a recordings panel and an awards for advanced study panel. The membership of the Music Committee has varied between 13 and 16, the number of composers present varying from three to six.

Wales has some areas of dense population on its north and south coasts, but the rest is sparsely populated in comparison with England. Its physical facilities for the arts - theatres, concert halls, etc. - were poor at the beginning of the sixties, and, though they have been improved considerably over the past two decades, most concert-giving in Wales still has to be done in buildings not designed for the purpose. Wales has its own language and Celtic culture, for which the Welsh Arts Council makes spécial provision. Outside Cardiff, where the B.B.C. Welsh Symphony Orchestra and Welsh National Opera are centred, professional music-making is to be found on a permanent basis only in the various colleges of the University of Wales. There is a strong tradition of amateur music-making, primarily in choirs, secondarily in brass bands. Three Regional Arts Associations covering Wales were formed in 1967, 1969 and 1973, but their growth has been rather inhibited by a poor response from the Local Authorities. Because of all these special considerations, the Welsh Arts

Council has worked more closely with the B.B.C., the University and Local Authorities, and has concerned itself more with direct provisions and with amateur activities, than has the Arts Council itself.

In 1978/79 the Welsh Arts Council spent £4,002,598, of which £1,231,539 went on music. Music expenditure varied between 30% and 36% of the total during the seventies. Of the 1978/79 music budget, the Welsh National Opera took 70%, a proportion that was fairly constant during the decade. As has already been pointed out, the Welsh National Opera has been the most active of all the major British companies in staging the works of living composers; moreover, the Welsh Arts Council has been influential in securing televised performances of those operas. During the sixties, when the Welsh National Opera was gradually transforming itself from an amateur to a professional company and the B.B.C. Welsh Orchestra seldom ventured out of the studio (and then to only a few places in South Wales), the Welsh Arts Council 'imported' London and English regional orchestras to give concert tours. More often than not the engagements were conditional on the performance of at least one work by a Welsh composer during the tour: this policy meant that between 1962 and 1972, visiting professional orchestras gave 220 performances of pieces by living Welsh composers. In 1972 the decision was made to give an annual grant to the B.B.C. so that the strength of the B.B.C. Welsh Orchestra could be augmented from 44 to 60 and to enable the orchestra to give more public concerts throughout Wales. This grant now constitutes the second largest item of music expenditure (10.9% in 1978/79). Soon afterwards the Welsh National Opera formed its own permanent, professional orchestra. These two orchestras now provide the bulk of the public orchestral concerts sponsored by the Welsh Arts Council.[1] The policy of ensuring the inclusion of contemporary Welsh works in the programmes continues: in the 37 concerts given in 1977/78 there were 20 performances of such works, in the 36 concerts given in 1978/79 there were 15.[2] The third largest single item of music expenditure is the grant to the Welsh Amateur Music Federation (3.9% in 1978/79). The Federation has more than 200 affiliated societies. It encourages the extension of its members' repertoire into the twentieth century by providing special funds for performances of modern works and through running a lending library of the performing materials for such works.

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[1] The Opera orchestra is, however, reducing its concert commitments.

[2] Bernard Barrell's analysis for the Composers' Guild.

In 1968 a programme began of sponsoring records of contemporary Welsh music; to date 23 records have been issued (see Chapter Three). The provision of commission fees was begun in 1969. In addition to the commissioning fund, a comparable amount of money is made available for bursaries to enable young performers and composers to undertake advanced studies. Subsidies are also provided for the availability of scores, tapes and records of Welsh music through the Welsh Music Archive (since 1976), for the distribution of publicity and catalogues through the Guild for the Promotion of Welsh Music, for a magazine about new music ('Soundings', subsidised since 1975) and for books on Welsh composers produced by the University of Wales (since 1975). The following table gives examples of expenditure directly on contemporary music since 1972/73. The 'total music expenditure' listed does not include dance, which has been supported since 1976/77: dance expenditure in 1978/79 amounted to £85,068, almost all of which went to contemporary dance rather than traditional ballet, thus providing an outlet for some modern music. 'Total music expenditure' does, however, include grants to festivals, since music is the key element in the festivals supported. No attempt has been made to add that proportion of the grants to Regional Arts Associations and Special Projects (£247,00 and £25,150 respectively in 1978/79) which might have been spent on music.

WELSH ARTS COUNCIL - examples of expenditure, 1972/73 to 1978/79

Year	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76	76/77	77/78	78/79
Total Expenditure	1,005,944	1,598,595	2,010,775	2,388,511	2,896,428	3,324,804	4,002,598
Total Music Expenditure	367,633	498,502	798,544	900,956	929,100	1,068,600	1,231,539
Records of contemporary Welsh Music	12,000	6,228	7,926	15,764	8,725	10,100	22,336
Commissions (number awarded)	5,615 (19)	6,865 (24)	4,990 (21)	6,780 (12)	10,595 (16)	15,195 (26)	8,755 (33)
New Music Publications, Promotion and Archive	1,175	1,525	1,500	7,600	10,925	11,475	8,680
Cardiff Festival of Twentieth Century Music	3,400	9,000	5,450	5,450	8,125	8,500	-

In many ways the Welsh Arts Council's treatment of the living composer has been exemplary. The table does not show what has been perhaps its greatest success - the performances of so many orchestral works and operas by living composers achieved within the generality of its music subsidy. Nevertheless, the table does show that funds specific to contemporary music constituted 6% of total music expenditure in 1972/73 but only 3.2% by 1978/79. A broad view of the money spent on commissions and the number of commissions made each year suggests that commission fees have not risen sufficiently to take account of inflation. It is only very recently that the Welsh Arts Council have shown any interest in jazz and improvised music. Generosity to the living composer has, perhaps, been too concentrated on the older established composers, especially in terms of orchestral performances and records. Although opera, choral and orchestral music are well-served, there appears to be need of a touring circuit for chamber ensembles of various shapes and sizes (including chamber orchestras). Connections with the University Colleges are good and an annual grant is made to 'Youth and Music', but there may be scope for developing a programme to introduce contemporary music in schools. The Council might also consider de-emphasising the commission fee to a certain extent by funding bursaries to 'buy time' for composition and offering assistance for composer-in-residence schemes, though, with relatively few native composers, such bursaries and schemes need be very small in number.

The Scottish Arts Council

In matters of constitution and finance, the Scottish Arts Council parallels its Welsh brother. Its Council has 20, 21 or 22 members, one of them being a composer. The council began the seventies with four main advisory committees which between them also added four sub-committees to the Council's own Finance and Policy sub-committee . As with the Arts Council itself, the committees proliferated during the decade, so by 1978/79 there were five main advisory committees which had seven sub-committees, as well as three sub-committees of the Council. The Scots, however, keep the membership of each committee small. Membership of the Music Committee has

varied from only five to eight, with one and sometimes two composer members. Like Wales, Scotland receives from the Arts Council a bigger 'slice of the national cake' than it would have on a basis of distribution by population; also like Wales, its share of the cake has slowly increased during the seventies.

Scotland's population is largely concentrated into one area of the country, outside which not only people but also suitable buildings for the arts become sparse. North Sea oil has brought added wealth to the north of the country, but no great change in population densities. On the advice of its own working party report 'The Arts in the Scottish Regions' written in 1976, the Scottish Arts Council has decided not to set up Regional Arts Associations but rather to develop its own co-operation with Local Authorities. This means that it still funds directly a host of small arts and music clubs or societies. Conversely, a few big clients have a much greater call on the funds of the Scottish Arts Council than is the case in Wales. Within the music and dance expenditure, Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, the Scottish National Orchestra and the Scottish Philharmonic Society (which embraces three chamber orchestras) together account for 90% of the budget. Although these four organisations tour Scotland assiduously, often splintering into small sub-units to do so, they leave little money for new developments or changes of emphasis, unless total funds are increasing much faster than inflation. Taking the Scottish Arts Council's expenditure as a whole, opera accounts for 22%, dance 10%, and other music 14%. These end-of-decade proportions represent a gain for opera at the expense of other music since the beginning of the seventies, when the shares were opera 17%, dance 10%, and other music 17%. The 'big four' companies in Scotland have a better record of presenting the work of living composers than comparable English organisations, but not quite as good as those in Wales. On the other hand, the Scottish Arts Council does subsidise a Contemporary Music Network and the New Music Group of Scotland.

In the table of examples of Scottish Arts Council expenditure which follows, 'total music and dance expenditure' includes expenditure on 'buying in' English touring companies and on 'Housing the Arts' attributable to music and dance; it does not include

expenditure on festivals, because Scottish festivals are more usually multi-media in nature than Welsh ones. Nevertheless, the Edinburgh Festival (which received £275,000 from the Scottish Arts Council in 1978/79) does embrace a great many music and dance events, including some world premières. The Edinburgh Festival of Electronic Music is also an important contemporary music event which received £1,200 from the Scottish Arts Council's festivals budget in 1978/79. Since Peter Maxwell Davies made his home in the Orkneys, the St. Magnus Festival there (which was granted £3,985 in 1978/79) carries an important modern music element. Every third year, the Scottish National Orchestra collaborates with Glasgow University in presenting 'Musica Nova', a short festival of performances, lectures and seminars focused on leading living composers, both native and foreign. No attempt has been made to include any element of the grants to arts centres which might have been spent on music.

SCOTTISH ARTS COUNCIL - examples of expenditure, 1972/73 to 1978/79

Year	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76	76/77	77/78	78/79
Total Expenditure	1,436,714	2,217,291	2,557,643	3,190,819	4,614,970	5,111,559	6,263,070
Total Music and Dance Expenditure	605,264	823,853	1,069,651	1,495,816	2,232,381	2,383,525	2,980,546
Awards to Artists (Number made to composers)	14,527 (26)	8,244 (26)	9,950 (23)	14,139 (30)	17,531)24)	18,326 (38)	21,037 (33)
'Platform'	-	2,900	3,520	4,500	5,950	10,100	19,645
Contemporary Music Network	4,368	4,135	4,759	4,600	8,000	13,921	14,617
New Music Group of Scotland	-	1,600	1,646	1,500	5,150	6,500	7,000
Scottish Music Archive	2,500	4,000	5,000	6,000	8,250	11,600	13,000
Records (R) and Electronic music equipment (E)	-	(E) 15,000	(R) 850	-	-	-	(R) 8,200

'Platform' is a promoting organisation which originated in Edinburgh and Glasgow and has now spread to Aberdeen, Inverness and the Borders; of the plethora of promoters outside the universities and the Contemporary Music Network, 'Platform' is most likely to programme jazz, improvisation and the work of the living composer. 'Awards to Artists' embraces special grants for copying and reproduction costs, travel, commission fees and bursaries for advanced study. The number of commissions and awards of various kinds given each year to composers is listed, but it should be noted that performers and choreographers also draw on the same monetary allocation, though payments to composers outnumber them by three or four to one.

The Awards to Artists allocation in 1972/73 represents a substantial increase over previous sums, in response to a policy paper from the composer Thomas Wilson emphasising composers' need of assistance through grants for copying and reproduction costs as well as commissions. The retreat from that figure in 1973/74 may be seen as a balancing item against the once-and-for-all grant of £15,000 to the University of Glasgow to assist in equipping an electronic music studio. Since 1975/76 the awards allocation has made steady if unspectacular progress. The rapid expansion of grants to 'Platform' indicates one of the strengths of the British system of arts support - initiative can be encouraged in early stages and helped to flower if the idea proves successful and worthy of expansion (in this case geographically). The sudden increase in the grant to the Contemporary Music Network in 1977/78 similarly reflects the addition of eleven new, non-university concert venues to the five university centres that previously constituted the Network. The subsidy to the Scottish Music Archive has increased well beyond the rate of inflation; it is, of course, in the very nature of an archive to require more space and staff as the years go by, but the Scots have taken a more positive view of what the archive can achieve for the composer than has the Arts Council of Great Britain in respect of the British Music Information Centre (see Chapter Two). The inclusion of £8,200 for sponsoring records in 1978/79 was a response to the urging of an internal working party on recording, and marks the beginning of a continuing programme.

Although expenditure with a contemporary music bias increased four-fold in terms of pounds between 1972/73 and 1978/79, its share of total music and dance expenditure actually fell from 3.5% to 2.8%.

Regional Arts Associations

After the Arts Council closed down its regional offices in the early fifties, a group of arts centres, clubs and societies in the South West which had been provided with region-wide tours by the Arts Council's Bristol Office, launched their own co-operative venture, the South West Arts Association (now South West Arts), which was born in 1956 with the help of a small grant for administration from the Arts Council. In 1958 a similar grouping formed the Midlands Arts Association (now split into East and West Midlands Arts). In 1960 a number of Local Authorities in the North East created the North Eastern Association for the Arts (now Northern Arts) as an expert vehicle for their arts support, in particular their sponsorship of the Northern Sinfonia. Many R.A.A.'s were helped in their early days by grants from the Gulbenkian Foundation, indeed the Gulbenkian Report 'Help for the Arts', written by Lord Bridges in 1959, was an important stimulus to others to follow the initiatives in the South West and Midlands. The 1965 Government White Paper 'A Policy for the Arts' recommended that "a network of this kind should be developed to cover the whole country": by 1973 England and Wales were indeed covered by a patch-work of fifteen R.A.A.'s.[1]

Because they grew from local initiatives of various kinds, and because of the differing cultural history and geography from region to region, the R.A.A.'s do not have identical constitutions, nor do they operate with similar balances of effort between the different arts and crafts, between supporting professional and amateur arts, or between grant-giving and direct provision. It is right that this should be so: were regional differences not worth observing there would be little need of R.A.A.'s; they are 'closer to the ground' than the Arts Council can ever be and are thus better able to serve the particular needs of their localities and to raise the level of artistic consciousness in the regions. It has been argued that even the R.A.A.'s are too big to do this really effectively, but as economic units they are probably as small as they can be for the efficient organisation of region-wide tours and other provisions, for the support of large clients within the regions and for the sustenance of a staff

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[1] Only Buckinghamshire does not belong to a Regional Arts Association.

sufficiently expert in the various arts and their administration. Within the region of North West Arts there are two, smaller Area Arts Associations; one of these, the Mid-Pennine Association for the Arts, certainly has a useful and successful role in animation and promotion (it does not give grants) which might be copied elsewhere.

The rise of the R.A.A.'s has not been smooth. Though their origins lie in local initiatives and though in the early years most of their funding came from local sources, income from the Arts Council has risen much faster than that from Local Authorities, to the extent that the Arts Council now provides 70% or more of their funds, the rest coming mainly from Local Authorities, the British Film Institute and the Craft Advisory Council, with marginal additions from local industry and individuals. Councillors from the Local Authorities, despite their poor record of financial support, still have a major voice on the executive councils of the R.A.A.'s; this tends to make the councils both politically vulnerable and artistically inexpert. It has been suggested that the Arts Council should redress the balance by demanding the right to have more of its own nominees on the councils, who would have special ties with the region concerned and also genuine knowledge of and enthusiasm for the arts. At the moment, real expertise is to be found in the subject advisory panels of the R.A.A.'s rather than in the councils themselves. Even the quality of that advice has been openly doubted by some clients or potential clients of the R.A.A.'s, as the Arts Council's policy of devolution has passed more and more responsibility to the R.A.A.'s. Lord Redcliffe-Maud also pointed out that devolution required a higher quality of staff amongst the permanent officers in the R.A.A.'s than he observed in 1976:[1] the growth of full-time and in-service training for arts administrators has undoubtedly softened this criticism, but the salaries offered by R.A.A.'s are still not attractive enough to the best talents. The devolution of responsibility for commission fees of up to £500[2] from the Arts Council to the R.A.A.'s in which the first performances of the works are to take place - a change made in July 1978 - has met with a mixed response from composers precisely

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1 Lord Redcliffe-Maud: 'Support for the Arts in England and Wales', Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976, page 38.

2 The limit was raised to £800 in 1979; this year it is to be £1,000. During 1978/79 the R.A.A.'s awarded 112 commissions with funds from the Arts Council which, with their associated copying costs, totalled £33,658.

because of doubts about the quality of judgement available within the R.A.A.'s.

Relationships between the R.A.A.'s and the Local Authorities have been bedevilled not only by the disporportion between Local Authority finance and representation, but also by the inclination of some Local Authorities to 'go it alone' in significant areas of arts support without reference to their R.A.A.'s, or to prefer to communicate directly with the Arts Council rather than through their R.A.A.'s. Clients too, especially recently devolved ones, have become confused and irritated by apparent differences of policy between the Arts Council and the R.A.A.'s. Although the Arts Council has given an increasing share of its money and responsibility to the R.A.A.'s during the seventies, it has had difficulty in reconciling its position as paymaster with the R.A.A.'s need of a high degree of independence and autonomy - in determining the degree of 'interference' that should be involved in assessing how much money each R.A.A. needs and whether that money is being well spent (especially in the case of funds 'ear-marked' for newly devolved activities). This difficulty has been reflected in the shifts in its own means of overseeing the regions: between 1968 and 1973 there was only a Chief Regional Adviser; in 1973 a considerable Regional Department was formed (embracing research, information and community arts as well as R.A.A. policy) with its own director, advisory panel and sub-committees; these were then slimmed down and the directorship abolished, 'regionalisation' becoming the particular concern of the Deputy Secretary-General and the general concern of all the 'subject' departments. Now the R.A.A.'s are to come under a new department called Regions and Touring, with a director and advisory panel, but shorn of the 'extras' of research, community arts etc. For their part, the R.A.A.'s have sought to share their experiences and problems and to strengthen their position vis-a-vis the Arts Council and the Local Authorities through a joint body set up in 1967, the Standing Conference of Regional Arts Associations, re-named the Council of Regional Arts Associations.[1]

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[1] Conversations with R.A.A. officers suggest that they are frequently frustrated by their lack of 'clout' with the Arts Council and Local Authorities.

That the Arts Council and R.A.A.'s should seek better communication and greater harmony in partnership was stressed by Professor Baldry (first Chairman of the Regional Committee) in an Arts Council paper written in 1976. More recently the relationship has been studied by a working party of four Arts Council and five R.A.A. directors chaired by the Deputy Secretary-General. The report, 'The Arts Council of Great Britain and the Regional Arts Associations: Towards a New Relationship', finds confusion about the respective roles of the various arts funding agencies and their constitutional separation, along with a lack of clear policy statements and effective communication between the Arts Council and R.A.A.'s. The report recommends that a larger number of Arts Council nominees should have seats on the governing bodies of the R.A.A.'s and that Local Authorities be pressed to justify their constitutional voice in the R.A.A.'s with larger financial contributions, as well as encouraged to increase their direct funding of the arts. It also recommends that there should be more joint policy discussions between the Arts Council and the R.A.A.'s, with more frequent meetings at officer level, and that Arts Council assessors should more often attend meetings of R.A.A. councils and panels. All this is unexceptional, but the Report's suggestions as to how devolution should proceed are more radical. It proposes that the funding and assessing of clients should be divided into three: those of national significance to be funded and assessed by the Arts Council, those of most significance at a regional level to be funded and assessed there, and those which as a group but not individually have national strategic significance to be jointly assessed and to be funded by 'ear-marked' grants channelled from the Arts Council through the R.A.A.'s. If the arts in this country are to continue to be underfunded it is important that what funds there are should be deployed as efficiently as possible both strategically and economically; the sum of what every region wants for itself is not necessarily what the country as a whole needs, and large-scale devolution to autonomous regional units might have to be paid for in resources with low marginal returns. This is not to say that devolution is not desirable, but that it should be pursued only when it can be afforded and carried out with great confidence in the devolved authority. The heavy Local Authority representation on R.A.A. councils tends to make for artistic conservatism, and for long windedness, delay and discontinuity in decision-making as political fortunes wax and wane. In many regions it is very difficult to appoint advisory panels for the various arts without peopling those panels with some of the panels' regular customers.

Despite many criticisms of them, the R.A.A.'s have had a very great impact on the country's artistic life by raising the level of arts provision and arts awareness outside London. They have inspired the Arts Council's confidence enough for it to increase the proportion of its grant given to them from 5.7% in 1972/73 to 10% in 1978/79 (which amounted to £5,202,381). They have taken initiatives of value to the composer. All of them except those in Wales subsidise commission fees. Some of their money is used to promote and publicise performances of contemporary music by local performers and by visiting ensembles on the Contemporary Music Network. Their funds are important in securing the presence of contemporary music in many of the smaller festivals. Southern Arts took an important lead (now imitated elsewhere) in appointing a composer-in-residence who works both independently and to produce works for performing groups in the region, as well as undertaking some school and adult educational work. Yorkshire Arts has sponsored an annual young composers' competition since 1975; in 1976 it opened a sound recording studio for individuals and ensembles to gain studio experience and make good quality tapes and records for themselves, a facility that composers have used; in the winter of 1976/77 it originated the Northern Contemporary Music Circuit with 47 subsidised concerts. The R.A.A.'s are now to join in creating their own contemporary music network for small ensembles, beginning with 74 concerts in the autumn/winter of 1980/81.

There is no typical history of a R.A.A., that of South West Arts is chosen for examination simply because it is the longest.[1] The South Western Arts Association was formed after the closure of the Arts Council's Bristol Office by a resolution of a conference of arts centres, clubs and societies. Its aims were, and remain, to ensure the provision of a regular artistic service to the South West, to bring together those interested and active in its provision and to encourage the formation of new arts centres and societies, to provide opportunities for young artists and to serve as a channel of communication and grant aid from the Arts Council. The conference elected a delegation to negotiate a grant from the Arts Council. This accomplished, the delegation became, again by election, the first Management Committee of nine people; a part-time salaried Director was appointed and the Arts Council appointed its own assessor

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[1] Statistics are taken from Association's annual reports and accounts.

to attend Management Committee meetings. During its early months the Association set about organising tours of the West Country and producing an anthology of West Country poetry, which, rather remarkably, sold out and covered its costs. In 1957/58 S.W.A.A. received £3,442 from the Arts Council, £186 in subscriptions from member societies and individuals with a further £78 from donations. £2,092 was given in grants to member societies and the balance spent on administration and promotion (principally tours). By 1960/61 income had grown to £4,851 from the Arts Council, £2,000 from the Gulbenkian Foundation and £441 in subscriptions from 54 society and 217 individual members. In that year the Directorship became a full-time appointment, a new Deputy Director was added, with two secretaries making an administrative team of four. At this stage and for many years to come, S.W.A.A. depended on a great deal of unpaid effort from enthusiasts. In 1960/61 thirteen concert tours were arranged: for one tour of nine concerts a new piece for string trio was commissioned. The following year a chamber opera was commissioned. In 1963/64 the Management Committee was enlarged by co-opting three new members. In 1964/65 the S.W.A.A. magazine was started. By 1967/68 expenditure had grown to £10,207 of which 50% was granted to clubs, societies, arts centres and festivals, 10% spent on transport subsidy and special projects, 40% on administration, the magazine and tour subsidy. The administration figure seems very high, but S.W.A.A.'s main function at that time was the provision of expert advice and the promotion and administration of tours (29 tours were arranged in 1967/68) rather than grant-giving.

1969/70 marked the beginning of radical changes in the nature and scope of the Association, with the appearance of £1,350 in grants from Local Authorities. As a 'carrot' to tempt more Local Authorities to make grants, the Arts Council funding, which had been only £10,005 in 1967/68, grew to £40,675 in 1970/71. The sources of South West Arts' funds during the seventies are shown in the following table.

THE FUNDING OF SOUTH WEST ARTS

£

Year	Local Authorities	Arts Council	British Film Institute & Craft Advisory Council	Donations & subscriptions
69/70	1,350	Main grant 18,000 Channelled funds 7,440	-	683
70/71	3,050	40,000 675	-	798
71/72	12,431	38,000 8,550	-	2,679
72/73	16,541	64,500 10,050	-	3,335
73/74	27,072	96,000 12,050	-	3,118
74/75	31,318	118,000 29,900	-	1,291
75/76	33,513	150,000 57,088	4,000	1,814
76/77	35,690	215,000 41,134	9,000	3,704
77/78	38,849	290,000 54,315	15,225	3,557
78/79	45,792	320,000 92,868	21,520	9,541

Local Authority contributions grew rapidly up to the middle of the decade as more and more Authorities decided to give grants, no matter how small, to the Association. Since then, their contributions have been overtaken by inflation and the search for economies in Local Government. In 1974/75 Local Authorities supplied 17% of S.W.A. funds, but by 1978/79 the proportion had fallen to 9%. Their record of supporting S.W.A. and indeed their regional orchestras (the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra and Sinfonietta) compares ill with the rest of the country. There are historical and geographical reasons why this should be so. Authorities which did not begin making significant grants to the arts in the years of expansion during the late sixties and early seventies have quite naturally not been able to begin to make such grants or greatly increase them during the years of economic difficulty since the middle

of the decade. Too many of the Authorities in the South West came to the arts slowly and late. The South West generally lacks the large cities with areas of high rateable value found in other regions, this means the Authorities are relatively poor in their income from the local property tax; large tracts of thinly populated rural areas also make their provision of the normal Local Government services such as education, roads, water, sanitation etc., more expensive to operate per head of population. These features are exaggerated by the importance of tourism in the general economy of the South West, which means services have to be available to cope with armies of summer visitors yet lie under-used outside the holiday season. Despite these mitigating circumstances, both South West Arts and the Bournemouth Orchestras have in recent years made it clear that the distribution of their activities will take note of the pattern of contribution from the various Local Authorities in the region.

The Arts Council's act of faith in devolution is shown by the quite staggering increases in its grant during the seventies. The 'channelled funds' referred to in the table are routed through S.W.A. which also has a voice in the assessment of the results of their use, but they come from the Arts Council already 'ear-marked' for specific clients.

In the early seventies S.W.A. became a registered charity in order that gifts from firms and individuals might be made with greater tax advantage. The final column of the table nevertheless shows the folly of thinking that commercial sponsorshop can have a dramatic impact on arts funding - it is helpful, but only in the margin. The figures are not only small (and would have been a good deal smaller but for the Gulbenkian Foundation grants from 1971 to 1974) but they are also highly erratic. The figure for 1978/79 was achieved by a special Fund Raising and Sponsorship Committee persuading fifteen businesses to contribute. Its main achievement was to help purchase a grand piano for hiring out at a small fee to music clubs and other promoters; for the rest, some firms were rewarded with impressive publicity at prestigious arts events for quite a small outlay.

Local Authority contributions brought about constitutional change. The small management Committee of enthusiasts in 1968 grew steadily less manageable and more representative of Local Authority Councillors

until by 1979 it had fifty-five members, of whom twenty-seven were Local Authority representatives. Early in the seventies S.W.A. had the good sense to dilute Local Authority representation by inviting representatives from higher education (two members), the Trades Union Congress, the Confederation of British Industry, the B.B.C. and the I.B.A. (one member each) along with one representative of S.W.A.'s individual subscribers, one Arts Council nominee and six co-opted individuals. Assessors from the Arts Council, Department of Education and Science, British Film Institute and Craft Advisory Council attend meetings of the Committee. A representative of each of the specialist subject panels also sits on the Management Committee.

If genuine expertise in and enthusiasm for the arts has become less concentrated in the Management Committee, it has been supplied by the formation of specialist advisory panels, four during the early seventies, now seven. The Music Panel was inaugurated in 1971/72: its membership has varied between nine and eleven, with one, sometimes two active (though not full-time) composers; presently it has a good blend of experience ranging through school and higher education, amateur, professional and church music, broadcasting and arts centre management, as well as composition. The money available for distribution by the Music Panel has slowly decreased as a proportion of S.W.A.'s overall expenditure, from 8.5% in 1972/73 to only 4.8% in 1978/79. Pin-pointing music expenditure under other heads (arts centres, festivals, touring and money channelled from the Arts Council) and then adding a reasonable proportion of expenditure on combined arts, administration, transport subsidies and information, it seems that approximately £45,000 went towards music in addition to the Music Panel's expenditure of £27,339 in 1978/79, giving music approximately one-eighth of S.W.A.'s overall expenditure in that year. Theatre takes a much larger proportion of expenditure because when S.W.A.A. came into existence the South West was virtually theatre-less except for the Bristol Old Vic, and the promotion of peripatetic or small-scale resident theatre companies elsewhere in the region was seen as a high priority. Arts centres, clubs, societies and festivals also figure highly in S.W.A. expenditure because the Association was originally formed from an 'electoral college' of them and because increasing their number was seen as an important priority; given the geography of the South West, the small multi-art centre is probably the best economic and social unit for arts provision in the region.

After combined arts and the theatre, administration takes the third largest share of S.W.A. expenditure. It is high because publicity, co-ordination and professional advice have always been an important part of the S.W.A. service to its clients and the region as a whole. The provision of a multitude of tours, for instance, does not show as a large element in grant-giving, but in fact creates a major administrative burden.

Within the Music Panel's expenditure, the grants for orchestral concerts (the Bournemouth Orchestras) and chamber music (the Dartington String Quartet and tour subsidies) are the largest recurrent items, together accounting for 44% of the money the Panel distributed in 1978/79. Small grants are given to festivals, to music students, to amateur choirs and opera companies and to concert promoters. In 1978/79, £2,150 (fractionally less than 8% of the Panel's expenditure) was given to activities involving jazz, folk and contemporary music. Since it came into being in 1971/72, the Music Panel has given active consideration to the needs of contemporary music, and not only through a trickle of subsidised commission fees. The composers' competition associated with the Stroud Festival has been almost its longest-standing client. It made special annual grants in excess of £1,000 to the Arnolfini Gallery in Bristol for its contemporary music activities, until responsibility for the Arnolfini was taken over entirely by the Combined Arts Panel. It has subsidised tours embracing contemporary music since 1973 with grants varying from £500 to £900. It began to support local jazz and folk enterprises in 1974/75 and in 1976/77 began its annual support of the Bristol Musicians' Co-operative improvisation group. It also gave money to help the Bristol University Summer Music Festival in which every concert included a work by a living composer.

To the Music Panel's £2,150 can be added grants made under the heading of Combined Arts and money channelled through S.W.A. by the Arts Council for contemporary music. These comprise £6,000 for the Arnolfini Gallery, £6,750 for South West Music Theatre, £1,000 for Bristol Musicians' Co-operative and a number of smaller grants and commission fees: during 1978/79 S.W.A. assisted eight commissions with funds from the Arts Council which, with allied copying costs, totalled approximately £3,000. This gives a total of £18,900 that passed through the hands of S.W.A. in the cause of the direct stimul-

ation of contemporary music in 1978/79. It was a minute amount for an area so large and well illustrates the importance of the Arts Council's Contemporary Music Network to the provinces.

Local Authorities

The 1948 Local Government Act (Section 132) permitted but did not require all Local Authorities except County Councils and Parish Councils to spend a sum not exceeding the product of a 6d. rate on the arts and entertainment. It has been argued that as a form of taxation the rates are archaic, inefficient, inequitable and much in need of reform or abolition. The extent to which local government is financed from the centre[1] is as much an admission of the inadequacies of the rates as a tax as it is evidence of the Government's desire to control the size and nature of local government spending. The Local Government, Planning and Land (No.2) Bill presently before Parliament seeks to replace the formula system of the Rate Support Grant with block grants from the Government, giving the Treasury the ability to control local government expenditure much more fully and directly. Direct and detailed central control over the size and distribution of the bulk of local government funds could mean the end of effective and responsible local democracy. The leader of the Conservative group in the Association of Metropolitan Authorites has described the Bill as "the biggest threat to the constitutional independence of local government in this country since the nineteenth century".[2]

The exclusion of the County Councils and Parish Councils from the 1948 arts provisions threw the onus onto the middle tier of the local government system - the County Boroughs, Boroughs and Urban and Rural District Councils. Their overall response was poor, but with great variation from place to place. Significant improvements began to be made in the sixties: a Political and Economic Planning Survey written in 1966 estimated that between 1960/61 and 1964/65 Local Authority spending on the performing arts increased by

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[1] Approximately 60% of local government funds come from central government.

[2] 'The Observer', 13th July, 1980.

66%.[1] The estimates should be treated with caution since they were based on only a 50% response rate to a questionnaire, but it was reckoned that in 1964/65 Local Authorities spent £2¾ million on the performing arts, including £1½ million on music (of which £½ million went on the upkeep and running of halls). Even then the country-wide average expenditure was the product of only a 0.31d. rate whereas the legislative upper limit was 6d; excluding London, the average was lower still at 0.26d.

The 1963 Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act allowed County and Parish Councils to spend up to the product of 1d. rate on any purpose including the arts, to the interest of their people. This provision was used by a number of counties to make contributions to R.A.A.'s. The 1964 Public Libraries and Museums Act allowed authorities to offer the use of facilities in their libraries and museums for artistic activities of all kinds, including concerts. Libraries and museums provide one natural focus for the arts and many local authorities have developed considerable services to the arts through them: music has benefitted from concert facilities, publicity, directories of local societies and orchestras, diaries of events and record and performing material lending services supplied by libraries and museums. The 1967 General Rate Act (Section 40) allowed authorities to reduce or remit the rates payable on buildings occupied by arts organisations: this ability has been used by some and not others; those arts organisations that are registered charities in any case qualify automatically for the remission of half their rates.

In 1974 the Arts Council published the first detailed survey of local government arts expenditure in England.[2] It related to 1972/73 and its results had to be based on only a 57% response rate; popular entertainment, staff costs, capital expenditure, subsidised loans, libraries, publicity and, most importantly, arts expenditure within education (schools, colleges and adult education centres) were excluded. Those authorities that responded had spent a total of £6,602,376 on the performing arts and £7,145,786 on museums and art

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1 'Sponsorship of Music: the Role of Local Authorities', P.E.P., 1966. Between 1960/61 and 1964/65 the Arts Council's expenditure grew by 114% to £3.2 million.

2 'The Arts and Museums 1972-73: An Arts Council Survey of Local Authority Spending', Arts Council, 1974.

galleries. Had they used the maximum allowed, the product of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ new pence rate, they would have spent £81.6 million. With estimates for non-respondents, Local Authority expenditure for the whole of England was guessed at £8.1 million on museums and art galleries, and up to £7.4 million on the performing arts.

Local government was reorganised in April 1974 in accordance with the Local Government Act, 1972. London apart, which had been reorganised in 1965, a two-tier system of Counties and Districts came into operation and the number of authorities was reduced from 1,258 to 411. Clause 142 of the Act, ironically, removed the upper limit on arts spending of the product of a $2\frac{1}{2}$p rate and left authorities free to contribute as they like to the arts inside and outside their immediate areas. The new authorities were encouraged by the Act towards "the development and improvement of the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts" - a wording plainly derived from the Arts Council's Charter. Some of the old Boroughs and County Boroughs with proud records of arts sponsorship were displeased to find themselves inside Counties that under the old shire system had a tradition of meanness towards the arts. Conversely friction arose in some places because the new Counties could demand that their Districts charge a 'precept' over and above their own rate demands towards the cost of arts facilities based in one District but used by people from a much wider area (a system which carries the benefit of obliging some funding of the arts, the possibility of making the rich District help the poor, and the recognition that a large concert hall or theatre serves a wide area). Counties and Districts have sometimes found themselves either duplicating each others efforts in the arts field or pulling in opposite directions. Some of the large and artistically active Metropolitan Counties seem now to regard the R.A.A.'s as an expensive irrelevance, outmoded by the need for a direct Local Authority/Arts Council partnership. Without losing what good traditions of arts patronage have been built, it seems necessary that the respective roles of the District, the County and the R.A.A. should be clarified.

In 1977 the Arts Council published a second detailed survey of Local Authority spending on the arts and museums, relating to the year immediately after reorganisation, 1974/75.[1] The response rate

[1] 'The Arts and Museums 1974-75, An Arts Council Survey of Local Authority Spending', Arts Council, 1977.

was 66%. Staff time, subsidised loans, rate relief, libraries, popular entertainment, and the arts in school, college and adult education were again excluded. It was estimated that since the 1972/73 survey Local Authority expenditure on the arts and museums had risen by 68% to approximately £26 million, the product of a 0.34p rate; in the same period, however, the retail price index rose by 30%. Museums and art galleries took £12.4 million, and had been overtaken by expenditure on the performing arts, which had grown to £13.6 million. Three areas of activity - direct promotions, expenditure on buildings and R.A.A. contributions - almost doubled, but other forms of grant-aid only equalled or in some cases fell behind inflation. Again there were very great variations from area to area, but broadly the Metropolitan Counties and Districts were much more generous than the predominantly rural ones. London, Yorkshire and the North West were the leading areas in arts spending.

The upkeep and running of concert halls was much the biggest item of 'music' expenditure, at £3.7 million, but it should be noted that such halls are used for much else besides concerts (from conferences to all-star wrestling). Grants to professional orchestras was next largest at £0.8 million, followed by grants to professional opera and dance companies at £0.5 million. Direct promotions of music, opera and dance followed at £0.3 million; grants to amateur music accounted for £0.18 million. Some further effective expenditure on music is inextricable from the grants to arts centres, R.A.A.'s, professional performances in schools and local arts councils and societies (together totalling £1.3 million).

Since 1974/75, it is unlikely that Local Authority spending on the arts will have increased in real terms, indeed it is more likely to have fallen because, under pressure from central government in the light of the country's poor economic performance, the income of Local Authorities has declined by between 8% and 14% in real terms since then.[1]

Successive Ministers for the Arts and Arts Council Annual Reports have called on Local Authorities to expand their support for the arts.

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[1] According to estimates produced by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (C.I.P.F.A.). The yearly 'Leisure and Recreation Estimates' published by C.I.P.F.A. do not suggest real growth in Local Authority arts spending over the last three years.

The disappointing general response is partly due to an unsatisfactory system of funding local government and more recently due to the country's economic situation. Philistinism also plays its part: the £26 million the Local Authorities spent on the arts and museums in 1974/75 was less than a quarter of their revenue expenditure on parks and about half their revenue expenditure on public swimming baths.[1] Sports and open space expenditure appears to the local councillor much more politically acceptable than arts expenditure. This represents a failure of people who believe in the essential presence of the arts in the good life to lobby their local councillors effectively. The startling disparities between Local Authorities in arts support largely result from inertia: on one hand it preserves what already exists, but on the other it means if you do not have a concert hall, you need no concerts to put in it, no committee to make grants to music and no permanent official to administer your hall or those grants. A good level of arts support from an Authority seems to depend on the enthusiasm, dedication and persuasion of one or two local politicians and the absence of strong adversaries within the Finance Committee. Beyond that, it appears that consideration of the arts should not be swamped in the agendas of an Arts and Leisure Committee or a Museums, Galleries, Libraries and Arts Committee; a readily identifiable committee or sub-committee for the arts and a specifically responsible permanent official are important. (At the same time it should be recognised that the buildings for sports, museums, galleries and libraries might be capable of turning to musical use.)

The Local Authorities of a region have in some instances banded together to provide subsidy for orchestral concerts. The Eastern Authorities Orchestral Association was created to pool Local Authority funds for engaging professional orchestras to give concerts in East Anglia, where there is no resident professional orchestra. The Arts Council adds to these funds (£80,000 in 1978/79). The South and West Concerts Board is an association of Local Authorities devoted to the subsidy of the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra and Sinfonietta. The place where its subsidy and the Arts Council's meet is in the Western Orchestral Society (the governing body of the two orchestras), on the Board of which both sources of subsidy are represented. London already has a 'regional' authority, the Greater London Council

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[1] 'The Arts and Museums 1974-75, An Arts Council Survey of Local Authority Spending', Arts Council, 1977.

(G.L.C.). Since 1965 much of the orchestral life of London has been overseen by the London Orchestral Concert Board, which comprises three nominees from each of the Arts Council and the G.L.C. and an independent chairman (currently Sir William Glock). The job of the Board is to review the subsidy requirements of the four major symphony orchestras, to allocate subsidies and attach conditions if necessary, to give special subsidies for the performance of contemporary works, to co-ordinate programmes and to help other ensembles giving concerts in London by providing grants and guarantees against loss. For every £11 that the G.L.C. gives to the Board, the Arts Council now contributes £21, though this is not a fixed formula and it must be remembered that the G.L.C. bears the cost of the upkeep of the halls in which the orchestras perform. All but one-seventh of the Board's expenditure goes to the four self-governing symphony orchestras. Of these payments approximately 60% are made in the form of concert guarantees, the bulk of the rest being for holiday, sick and retirement pay and administration. Slightly less than 10% of the Board's grants relate to contemporary music, and the G.L.C. makes no contribution to these special subsidies. This is the most heavily 'institutionalised' partnership between the Arts Council and a Local Authority; its artistic results have been a source of controversy for many years (see Chapter Five).

One of the most recent exhortations to Local Authorities came from Lord Redcliffe-Maud in his book 'Support for the Arts in England and Wales'.[1] He stated that, once local government had learned the "gentle art" of patronising the arts "at arm's length" (i.e. with minimal direct interference in artistic decisions), "We must look to local elected councils, at district and county level, to become the chief art patrons of the long-term future, developing a comprehensive service as part of the main fabric of local government." Fine as this sounds, given the record of local government so far, it is not practical politics, at least not without a massive change in the climate of opinion produced by years of successful lobbying, and probably not without radical reform of local government finance. A more immediate measure is available that would be consonant with the drift away from truly local control of a wide area of expenditure: the Government could make support for the arts by local authorities a duty rather than an option and could stipulate that no less than the

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[1] Gulbenkian Foundation, 1976.

product of a certain rate be spent on the arts.

Local Authority commissions for composers are very rare, though they have been made for special events such as the celebration of a special anniversary of a City Charter or the opening of a new concert hall. Some small part of their grants to orchestras, opera companies, amateurs, R.A.A.'s and arts centres will have found its way to supporting contemporary music. It is probably right that their funding of modern and experimental arts should be channelled through R.A.A.'s where it can be handled with greater knowledge and sensitivity. Local Authorities nonetheless have a vital role to play in relation to musical creativity. By shouldering greater financial responsibility for the traditional areas of professional arts performance - orchestras, opera and dance companies, concert halls and theatres - they can release more Arts Council and R.A.A. funds for innovative work. They can stimulate amateur creativity by giving space and facilities in libraries, museums, schools and colleges to adult, amateur music-makers during the evenings and weekends. The ridiculous barrier of the absence of a caretaker during these periods must be put aside. The provision of these facilities should be included in the design of new multi-purpose buildings. All central public libraries should carry directories of amateur music-making in their areas, diaries of professional and amateur musical events and a score and part-lending service (perhaps including the performing materials of unpublished works by local composers suitable for amateur performance).

Their most important contribution can be in education. The provision of instrumental teaching in schools, of Saturday morning music centres for schoolchildren to play in orchestras and ensembles and of youth orchestras meeting in the school holidays is now well-developed. Through the conjoint failure of educators, composers and publishers, the music of the living composer is all too seldom present in these activities. Even less often is the living composer present himself, working with these gifted and enthusiastic children. The Arts Council and R.A.A.'s could provide 'pump-priming' money to encourage the composer's presence both on paper and in person. The teaching of music within the school curriculum is in a much sorrier state. Again the work of the living composer is largely absent. Children who do not respond to the serious music of the past centuries

might well respond to newer music, especially if they experience it in workshops conducted by composers with backgrounds in improvising, jazz and electronics. The subsidy of professional performers and composers to work in schools and for schoolchildren to attend concerts and workshops out of school could be fruitfully expanded. A great deal of the education debate in recent years has focussed on the structure of schools themselves, on discipline and the need for a 'core curriculum' of basic skills in literacy, numeracy and science. The arts are for life: if the schools neglect them in their curriculum they fail to prepare children for the riches life can offer them.

The 1944 Education Act laid on Local Authorities responsibility for education beyond school and college. Adult education has been sadly neglected, despite Lord Russell's excellent report on the need for its expansion (made in the early seventies and now only gathering dust) and despite the approaching age of fewer and fewer hours of the year spent in employment. There is immense scope for bringing people of all ages to a deeper understanding and enjoyment of music and contemporary music in particular through involving the composer in amateur music-making (both performing and composing), in workshops (including improvisation) and in seminars and lectures. It is an area in which the Local Authorities, Arts Council, R.A.A.'s, University Extra-Mural Departments and the Workers' Education Association urgently need to combine and strengthen their efforts, not necessarily through institutionalised joint funding and provision, but certainly through a pooling of resources and expertise.

Finally it should be mentioned that Local Authorities have long been important providers for the training of performers and composers beyond school, by direct funding of some conservatoires, colleges of further education and polytechnics where music is taught, and by giving students grants to attend these institutions and the universities. Most grants have to be made mandatorily if the student is accepted by a recognised institution and has gained the required number of passes in the Ordinary and Advanced Level General Certificate of Education examinations. For certain music courses and for students without the appropriate general educational qualifications, grants need be made only at the Authority's discretion. As money gets tighter, discretionary awards get fewer. Fortunately, most conservatoires are now re-organising their practical courses and including

sufficient study besides performing (which usually means extending three year courses to four) for them to be given mandatory status. But mandatory status also means demanding two passes at G.C.E. Advanced Level for admission to the college or academy. There will be a number of excellent performing and creating musicians who find this condition difficult to meet - it may thus soon become important that the 'A' level system be revised to allow examination in practical and creative music to stand as an 'A' level as well as a more academically based 'A' level in music. Many young musicians rightly see the rounded courses combining musicology, composition, analysis, history, acoustics, conducting and performing offered as degrees in music by the universities, as the richest available musical education before they go into more specialised careers. For some of those that want to become professional players, conductors or composers, the three years at university are best followed by one or two years at a college of music. Grants for such further study are wholly discretionary and are fast disappearing. The Department of Education and Science could add to their own funding of postgraduate study in order to cover such students or could make grants mandatory for Local Authorities. If this does not happen, then the Arts Council could set up a bursary fund for such students - it does, after all, already give bursaries for studying arts administration. Another possibility is the development of 'sandwich courses' in music: two years at a university could be followed by a year playing, conducting or composing at a college, followed by a final university year. Such courses already happen in engineering subjects and in language studies (in which students spend one year in the country whose language they study before their final year at university). Such a system for music would ease the problems of students trying to sustain practical excellence during three consecutive years of primarily academic work and would embarass the universities less in trying to find and pay for instrumental tuition of the highest quality. A lack of grants to study composition after a three year university music course could have a profound effect on entry into the profession (see Chapter Seven).

Private Patronage

Ernst Roth wrote in his book 'The Business of Music' that "Nothing suits the arts better than liberal patronage, which rewards generosity of the mind with generosity of money. It ensures the dignity of both."[1] Composers have always needed patrons: the composer in seventeenth and eighteenth century Italy and Germany was an employee of church or court, but he had a multitude of potential employers. For all that he spent some years in livery, Haydn did have an orchestra and opera house at his disposal, a real and continuing demand for his music and, moreover, he was far from a poor man towards the end of his life. Mozart's 'bid for freedom' was only half-hearted - in his last years in Vienna he still sought a position as Court composer; the poverty of his end was, in truth, as much due to his own financial mis-management as it was to the poor reward for his genius. Even that free-est of all spirits, Beethoven, was sustained by patrons in his middle years. Some composers of the nineteenth century demanded freedom as a condition of their genius. Whereas their predecessors had tended to come from dynasties of musical servants, they more frequently were the sons of the middle-class professions. Their demand was consonant with an age of creeping democracy and desire for national self-determination; the rise of their own middle class provided some composers with considerable fortunes through the opera house, the concert hall and the sales of music for piano. Yet Ludwig was still indispensable to Wagner (who demanded pots of gold as well as humble obeisance to his genius). Even Tchaikovsky needed Madame von Meck.

The radio, gramophone, film and television have offered potential harvests of riches to twentieth century composers to be reaped, though not always well enough, by the growing sophistication of copyright protection. Other changes have, however, kept the need of patronage alive. The merchandising of music has opened a wider chasm between the 'serious' and 'popular' sides of the art, joined only by the occasional rope bridge (although there are recent signs of more attempts to straddle the divide). Who among 'serious' composers now make the front pages of the newspapers as Liszt, Wagner and Brahms did? Within the audience for 'serious' music there is greater demand for the products of the past than those of the present. Some possible

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[1] Ernst Roth: 'The Business of Music', Cassell, London, 1969, page 21.

reasons why this should be so were discussed at the end of Chapter Five. This is also the flower of seeds sown in the nineteenth century, notably by Mendelssohn in his 'revival' of Bach, by the nineteenth century's own attitude to Beethoven, and the rise of musicology. But Donizetti's audience had never heard of Monteverdi; they did not even want the opera Donizetti wrote last year - they wanted this year's opera (so long as it did not contain too many surprises). An opera composer today faces an audience which knows and wants operas by both Monteverdi and Donizetti, and dozens and dozens more besides. At the same time, democratisation and redistributive taxation have all but obliterated the private patron in Europe. Even amongst the great businesses there are very few that remain entirely in private hands (Count Rasoumovsky or Sir Thomas Beecham's father have been replaced by the Public Relations Officer presenting his arts sponsorship budget to the Board, which first reduces it, then tucks it into a corner of the accounts in the hope it will not raise ire in too many shareholders). It is inevitable that the state should thus have shouldered the main burden of arts patronage, but the 'patronage' of the box-office cannot be ignored. The situation that Stravinsky sarcastically posited, of governments buying up surplus symphonies like surplus grain, should not be accepted. The kind of attitude suggested with (? bitter) irony by Schoenberg:

> "As far as the listener is concerned, all I know is that he exists, and in so far as he is indispensible for acoustic reasons (since music doesn't sound well in an empty hall) he is only a nuisance," [1]

or Milton Babbitt:

> "I dare suggest that the composer will do himself and his music an eventual service by total, resolute and voluntary withdrawal from this public world to one of private performance and electronic media,"[2]

is not tenable by a composer living in a democracy and in receipt of state patronage. But the box-office cannot register for that which cannot be heard: all those that stand between the composer and his audience must recognise his need of regular presentation in the best possible circumstances for the audience to respond favourably; all those responsible for the education and shaping of the audience must

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[1] Letter to Zenlinsky quoted in 'The Musician's World', ed. Hans Gal, 1965, page 441.

[2] Milton Babbitt: 'Who cares to listen' in 'The American Composer Speaks', ed. Gilbert Chase, 1966.

recognise young people's need of a varied musical diet served attractively and with enthusiasm if they are to have a genuine chance of defining their own tastes rather than having them thrust upon them by the forces of commerce. If, at the end of the day, the audience for serious new music remains very small, then it is a mark of quality in a democracy that it cares for its minorities and that it gives all its citizens the opportunity to fulfill themselves and their talents. If we do not offer our living composers patronage, the musical culture of our day will not only be poorer, but its own characteristic creations will simply not be available for future generations when they might be better understood and enjoyed: as Honegger wryly remarked, "The first specification for a composer is to be dead."[1] Despite the small audience for genuinely innovative music, lighter and more popular music has always used 'spin-offs' from the pioneering of the radical few. There may be many people who would not hand over a fraction of their wages at the box-office in order to hear a piece of contemporary serious music but who, nevertheless, recognise the right of the composer to have a wage subsidised by the state for his efforts. Supporting the composer requires no more than the spillage from the nation's petty cash. But the composer has no automatic right to have his 'income gap' filled by the state, neither is he necessarily wholly guiltless in the creation of that gap. Hindemith warned a hypothetical aspiring composer that, "never will it occur to you that the composer may be guilty, that the consumers are not the only ones to be blamed".[2] Alan Peacock has suggested that composers might make more effort to justify their subsidy and attempt to reduce its necessity: "Would it compromise composers too much to write not merely piano and recorder pieces but string quartets and chamber music which did not make immense technical demands? ... Surely it would be a more worthy objective to ensure public support in the form of pump-priming operations rather than incur the suspicion that it was developing into a permanent charity. The 'income gap', therefore, may be reduced significantly in the long run if public tastes are

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1 A. Honegger: 'I am a Composer', St. Martin's Press, New York, 1966, page 19.

2 Paul Hindemith: 'A Composer's World', Harvard, 1953, page 203.

bent in the proper direction by composers' own efforts in teaching and composition, as well as by the more immediate means of a well-organised and articulate political lobby."[1]

Although the state should and has to accept the main responsibility for supporting a composer, the organs of state patronage must not be the only sources of help. If this were so, it would put today's composer in still worse case when compared with his seventeenth and eighteenth century predecessors, for not only was their music more immediately valued, but they were also faced with a large number of different potential patrons. It would be absurd to pretend that a prince of the past maintained a composer purely out of altruism. He may have done so because he himself liked music, because music was a preferred entertainment of his court, or because he felt doing so conferred some splendour and status to his household. Only rarely will he have done so out of kindness, service to genius, or for posterity. Similarly it would be idle to expect many firms with impatient shareholders to sponsor music out of pure philanthropy. None the less there is a tradition in this country of the 'self-made' businessman making donations to worthy causes. There is also some evidence that, "the hope that more and more firms will come to regard giving assistance to the arts as a mark of good citizenship"[2] expressed by the first Minister of Arts in 1966, is just beginning to be fulfilled. It must be recognised, however, that most business sponsorship of music is a form of enlightened self-interest.

Business sponsorship of the arts in Britain is currently estimated at four to five million pounds per year, of which approximately three million goes to music. This is much smaller than sponsorship of sport, in which the sponsors' names are frequently emblazoned on every television screen in the country, but it is growing out of concern for what is known as 'the corporate image' - the idea that if you associate the name of your firm with things of perceived 'high quality', then some of that quality 'rubs off' on your firm in the minds of the observers. There are currently three ways in which sponsorship of the arts can be made in a 'tax-efficient way': some payments

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[1] Alan Peacock: 'Public Patronage and Music: an Economist's view' in The Three Banks Review, March 1968, pp. 35 and 36.

[2] In the preface to 'Patron: Industry Supports the Arts', The Connoisseur, 1967.

can be allowed against tax as business expenses incurred for the sake of advertising and public relations; payments made to registered charities, which many arts organisations are, can qualify for tax remission, especially in the form of covenanted payments over a period of years - the qualifying period was reduced from seven to four years in the last Budget; or a firm can form its own charitable foundation and transfer funds to it free of tax, but such a course means that the foundation's own gifts must be limited to the Charity Commissioners' definitions of 'charitable purposes'. Useful though these procedures are, there is still scope for simplifying and de-restricting the tax advantages of business arts sponsorship.

The flow of sponsorship in the sixties and seventies has been helped by business organisations themselves. The Institute of Directors formed its own Arts Advisory Council in the sixties, its first Arts Adviser was Sir William Emrys Williams, a former Secretary-General of the Arts Council. During the seventies three private firms were established specialising in arts consultancy, working on a commission basis as handlers of business sponsorship programmes to ensure the best return and sound artistic advice for sponsors, and as professional fund-raisers for arts organisations. In 1976 the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts (A.B.S.A.) was founded with the help of a Government grant. Its aims are "to encourage the use of the arts as a means of sponsorship in the U.K. by business organisations and to widen public understanding and acceptance of the extent of and reasons for business sponsorship of the arts." It has a small permanent staff and an Advisory Council, chairman of which is Lord Goodman, a former Chairman of the Arts Council. Firms may join for annual membership fees of a few hundred pounds, the precise amount being determined by their current arts expenditure; in 1979 there were seventy members. A.B.S.A. does not raise or dispense funds, its functions are those of advising, encouraging and publicising. The Government has this year granted it a further £25,000 for publicity purposes. One of its initiatives has been to launch national awards for corporate sponsorship. In 1979 the prizes awarded for musical activities went to the Midland Bank for their series of cut-price 'promenade' operas at Covent Garden, to Benson and Hedges for their chamber music festival at Snape and to Harveys for the best all-round programme of sponsorship for music. The Composers' Guild would do well to establish good relations

with these various organisations for raising and channelling business funds into music.

Most business sponsorship is naturally, by its very motivation, geared to establishing links with the more prestigious, well-known and better attended parts of our musical life: the symphony orchestras, opera companies and festivals; it is here that the most commercial 'mileage' is to be found and it is to these organisations that the thoughts of the artistically inexpert most readily turn. Some of the publicity afforded to sponsors for giving financial help on a tiny scale compared with funds from public bodies prompted the Arts Council in 1979 to remind its clients that its own aid should be properly acknowledged in programmes and publicity. A.B.S.A. has now drawn up a 'code of practice' for industrial sponsors. A certain amount of sponsorship derives from a desire to make a firm's own locality attractive to potential and actual employees - John Player's help for the English Sinfonia in Nottingham and Harvey's help for musical activities in Bristol is at least partially of this nature. Too little sponsorship is associated with the place of work itself, either by bringing the arts in to the factory/office complex or subsidising the purchase of tickets for outside arts events at the workplace. The Hallé and Liverpool Orchestras have traditions of 'industrial concerts', but clearly there are many 'deals to be done' with local firms in subscription selling drives. Another form of sponsorship is that in which an industry acknowledges its debt to the arts it uses itself: current examples include the small grants made to some R.A.A.'s by the independent television companies of their regions. There is a precedent for the Government making this acknowledgement compulsory in the form of a levy: all gambling on horse racing is levied and the proceeds are used to the benefit of the sport itself in the forms of additions to prize money, maintenance of courses and aid to breeders. Independent broadcasting is an obvious candidate for such a levy. Were they healthier, the commercial theatres, film companies and record companies might also be considered.

Even dramatic increases in industrial sponsorship, beneficial though they would be, could never amount to much more than marginal help for the arts. The Royal Opera House Covent Garden has been comparatively successful in raising funds from industry, yet such

money still covers only 3% of its total costs. Unless gifts are covenanted over a long period, sponsors might vanish overnight because of financial problems or changes of management within the firm. This has recently been illustrated vividly by Imperial Tobacco, which for many years has sponsored much needed international competitions for 'cellists and conductors; these have now been jettisoned in favour of a three-day Tchaikovsky festival which is totally unnecessary. Contemporary music benefits only patchily from business sponsorship, as Lord Redcliffe-Maud pointed out, "Little help from commercial sources goes to the experimental arts or to events which would neither give the donor national publicity nor serve to improve public relations with the town in which the firm is based".[1] Arthur Jacobs has made the same point in musical terms more pithily: "No great imagination is needed to picture a canny local tradesman saying to some festival organiser: 'I'll back Beethoven - someone else can have the Birtwistle'."[2]

Not all music sponsorship has been noisy. Guinness has funded a series of recitals by young artists and a composers' competition for many years. Granada has made many unsung grants to help talented children and students, to enable the Lindsay Quartet to be attached to Keele University, to provide an organ at the Royal Northern College of Music. During the sixties, the Farnham Festival persuaded local companies to commission no less than fifty new works for school ensembles and orchestras. In recent years Harveys of Bristol have subsidised records of music by living composers (see Chapter Three), contemporary music at the Arnolfini Gallery and in the Bristol University Summer Music Festival, and they have commissioned a symphony. The Youth and Music and Concerts for Children movements were pioneered by a philanthropic and amazingly energetic retired businessman, Sir Robert Mayer. In the mid-sixties the Society for the Promotion of New Music, which had been promoting concerts, open rehearsals and forums for young or unjustly neglected composers since 1942, ran into considerable financial difficulties; it was saved by a bequest of over £100,000 from a successful businessman who had once been a pupil of Matyas Seiber - Arthur Paul. In the mid-seventies the Macnaghten Concerts, another organisation devoted to promoting concerts of music by living composers, faced bankruptcy; in this instance a number of distinguished composers offered manuscripts for auction and gave the proceeds so

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1 Lord Redcliffe-Maud, op.cit., page 112.

2 The Music Yearbook 1973-74, Macmillan, page 19.

that the concerts could continue.

Britain is rich in charitable trusts and foundations, most of them founded on the philanthropy of wealthy individuals. In 1975/76 Lord Redcliffe-Maud estimated that registered charities gave £4 million to the arts. Some of this money will have come from organisations (such as R.A.A.'s) which were registered charities for the exemptions so gained, but he thought that approximately one million pounds was granted to the arts by genuinely private trusts and foundations. The real value of these grants is unlikely to have grown since 1975/76 since most trusts are held in 'safe' investments, which have not outstripped inflation over the past five years. The great value of the trusts and foundations is their independence: their choice of giving, though probably broadly specified in their bequests and constitutions, does not have to be justified to shareholders, nor to a body representing the public interest, nor to the public itself (unfortunately for the present writer this also means they are usually secretive about how much they give to whom). They can risk backing the untried and little known, they can give money to deserving individuals, they can initiate research into neglected areas, all without having to prove the value of this expenditure as public money or as good publicity and image building; they are accountable only to their own aims and consciences. For performing musicians, the Rupert Foundation funds a conducting competition and countless small trusts help young artists with study grants and loans or gifts to obtain good instruments. For composers, the Feeney Trust has a long record of awarding commissions (frequently in connection with the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra) and the Vaughan Williams Trust awards commissions, copying costs, grants for study, subsidy for performances of contemporary music and occasionally for recordings - a particularly beautiful example of the royalty - generating copyright term (fifty years after the composer's death) being used to help the living. The George Butterworth Trust and the Francis Chagrin Fund offer help with copying costs. The Hinrichsen Foundation makes various kinds of grants to contemporary music, including financing a university composer-in-residence and subsidising performances and recordings. Many composers have been helped with grants from educational trusts for periods of advanced study abroad. A number of bequests fund prizes for composers' competitions. The Gulbenkian Foundation has subsidised recordings of contemporary music, given

grants to R.A.A.'s and many smaller arts organisations, and has funded research into the needs of many areas of the arts, including the training of musicians, the situation of the electronic composer and, most recently, the needs of the improvising musician - in 1979 it made grants to the arts totalling a quarter of a million pounds.

The Trades Unions have not been great patrons of the arts, unless one counts sporadic forays into the market for paintings and sculptures for investment purposes, or the view held with some justice by the members of musicians', actors' and dancers' unions that they effectively subsidise the arts by working for such low wages. The National Union of Mineworkers makes grants to a number of colliery brass bands. The Trades Union Congress commissioned two pieces as part of the celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of Congress House. The Musicians' Union is obviously an immensely important body for protecting the employment, conditions and pay of musicians of all kinds, but its composers' section is small and inactive so far as serious composition is concerned. Its Music Promotion Committee makes grants to many performing organisations and was recently a prime mover in the establishment of the National Centre for Orchestral Studies (offering an intensive, one-year postgraduate course in all aspects of playing in orchestras); it also makes grants to several summer music schools for jazz and classical music, but few composers have benefitted directly from its grant-giving.

The Trades Union movement as a whole has, from time to time, turned an eye on the arts. The Trades Union Congress of 1960 requested that its General Council should enquire into and report on the promotion and encouragement of the arts, and a resolution was also passed asking the Council to consider the propositon that, "The trade union Movement has participated to only a small extent in the direct promotion of plays, films, music, literature and other forms of expression including those of value to its beliefs and principles."[1] The General Council's report in 1961 recommended that the union movement should bring pressure to bear on central and local government to increase the resources devoted to the arts. It pointed out that the quality of many people's working lives was such that creative pastimes were necessary yet seldom attainable, but recognised that as working conditions, housing, local amenities, educational opport-

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[1] The T.U.C. Working Party Report on the Arts, T.U.C., 1976, page 2.

unity and community services improved, the leisure and vision to enjoy artistic activities should become available. The report warned (at an early date) of the dangers of commercial pressures and television rendering the artistic experience of the young both cheap and passive. There was also a practical response to the 1960 motion: a movement known as 'Centre 42' (after the number of the arts motion at the 1960 Congress) was set up, led by the playwright Arnold Wesker. It aimed to bring trade unionists and artists together in the common aspiration of expressing their ideals in artistic terms by breaking down the barriers of class and geography that seemed to separate high art from the mass of the people. A national centre for the movement was sought in London, and in 1962 it mounted six festivals outside London in conjunction with local trades councils. The movement was, however, short-lived - it could not survive the lack of financial response from the unions' membership and the inexperience of its own leadership. The Arts Council hesitated and 'Centre 42' died. In many ways the development of Arts Council support for R.A.A.'s, Arts Centres, Community Arts, jazz, experimental rock music and 'fringe theatre' has been a gesture in the same direction as 'Centre 42'. The Arts Council does fund art that is openly critical of the present political organisation, but it would be difficult for the Council to fund a venture belonging firmly to and springing from a specific part of that political organisation. The trades unions, to their credit, have always held that 'bringing the arts to the people' should not involve any lowering of artistic standards and values, but they must be uncomfortably aware that any large-scale grants to the arts made by them might seem to many of their members like giving to the already unfairly privileged.

In response to a motion from the Musicians' Union at the 1974 Congress, the T.U.C. established a working party on the arts which, when convened, described its own terms of reference as, "to consider and make recommendations on ways in which trade unionists and their families may be enriched by, support and contribute to the arts."[1]

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[1] Working Party Report, page 1.

The working party made many good points in its 1976 report[1] - the Government should make a firm commitment to real increases in arts support over a five year period, a special arts research unit should be established, local authorities should expand their help to the arts (and to amateurs in particular) and should employ professional musicians as players as well as teachers in schools, industries which base their prosperity on an art form should make financial contributions to its well-being, the arts should have a more central place in the school curriculum, the London concentration of arts activity should be diluted, community and ethnic arts should be developed, the arts should be more readily available in places of work etc. etc. - but as yet there seem to have been no significant practical results.

The British Council

The British Council began life in 1934 as a voluntary association devoted to disseminating abroad a knowledge of Britain, its language and its culture. In 1940 the potential propaganda value of such work in countries not yet directly involved in the war stimulated the Council's incorporation by Royal Charter, the preamble to which states its purpose as "promoting a wider knowledge of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the English Language abroad and developing closer cultural relations between our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and other countries." Its efforts to carry out this duty reach nearly every country of the world, though its work in Europe was not begun until the early seventies.

Although it is formally independent, almost all the Council's finance comes from the Exchequer - 83% in 1978/79; the remaining 17% was paid to the Council by foreign governments and by international agencies for services rendered, or more directly for the teaching of English.[2] Its financial dealings are rigorously audited by the

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1 It also contained a ringing declaration of the need for participation and creativity in the arts: "If people are to develop fully their mental and emotional capacities they must be able to both appreciate a range of such activities and also be free to participate creatively in these activities, since participation in and mastery of an artistic activity brings insights and pleasure additional to that enjoyed by appreciation alone." - page 4.

2 British Council Annual Report 1978/79. All other statistics in this section are drawn from the Council's Annual Reports.

Comptroller and Auditor General and, like any other publicly funded body, it can be called to account for itself by the appropriate Parliamentary Committees and by periodic Government Committees of Enquiry. The emphasis of its activities is in part dictated by how the funds are granted: in 1978/79 the Foreign and Commonwealth Office gave £25.7 million for the Council's general overseas information work, whilst the Overseas Development Administration (formerly the Ministry of Overseas Development) gave £14.2 million for educational work in developing countries and £36 million for technical co-operation schemes, curriculum development etc. In 1978/79 this resulted in the following distribution of funds by subject:

	£ million
Science and Technology (including tertiary education)	25.2
Scientific and Technological Education (primary and secondary)	6.5
Direct teaching of English	6.4
English teaching support	11.1
Education as a subject	14.8
Social Sciences	17.6
Arts and Humanities *	9.3
	90.0

* 'Arts and Humanities' includes all the arts and crafts, with religion, philosophy, history, archaeology, languages other than English, and literature.

Arts expenditure accounted for only 2% to 3% of the total during the sixties, but grew rapidly in the seventies to vary either side of 10%. The geographical priorities of expenditure are laid down by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

The Council has been subjected to no less than eleven extensive enquiries since the war. It was the Drogheda Report of 1954 that recommended the basis of the Council's work in education. The Duncan Report of 1969 stressed (and, as has been seen, accomplished) greater efforts in the field of the arts. The Report argued that the arts were something in which we still had a real claim to excellence and respect, that other European countries were spending proportionately more than Britain on exporting their arts, and that the arts to some extent embodied the moral, social and spiritual values Britain

hoped to foster abroad. At the turn of the decade the Council's work was threatened by insufficient funds. The Report of the House of Commons Estimates Committee in April 1971 gave an important vote of confidence in the long-term value of the Council's work: "The Committee is in no doubt about the Council's actual and potential contribution to international relations and to educational development overseas ... It would be highly undesirable to subject the Council to further reductions in expenditure." But the Review of Overseas Representation carried out by the Central Policy Review Staff in 1977 (the Berrill Report) recommended the virtual destruction of the Council, leaving just an operational base in London with a few overseas staff concerned only with education. The whole thrust of the Report was that our overseas representation should acknowledge our very much lowered economic and political status; it took a very limited view of the nature and needs of cultural diplomacy. A Government White Paper published in August 1978 did, however, affirm the importance of the Council's continuing role, but nevertheless recommended a management review and a clarification of relations with other agencies in a search for greater cost-effectiveness. The Council now faces a cut in its real income of about 20% over the next two to three years. Though we have lost much of our share of world industrial markets and though we have given an Empire its freedom, we still have much to offer the world in our arts, our language, our education, our scientific and our technological innovation; moreover there is a proven demand for these things. To cut back the work of the British Council is myopic and small-minded.

The Council is ruled by a Board of approximately thirty members. A minority of them are nominated by the relevant Ministers, the rest are elected by the Board itself from the worlds of the arts, business, the professions, science and education. There are sixteen advisory committees, including one for music, appointed by the Board on the advice of the committees themselves and the permanent staff. The Music Advisory Committee is presently unusually large, with 22 members, including three composers (only one of whom is in any way prolific). Normally the Committee has numbered less than twenty, with three or four active composers.

The British Council's most obvious service to the living composer has been in subsidising recordings (see Chapter Three). It has also

given many composers grants to travel abroad to festivals, conferences and performances of their own music. It stimulates foreign performances of British works by making gifts of records and scores to influential individuals, performing organisations and libraries abroad, by maintaining its own libraries of scores and records of British music in foreign countries, and by loaning out performing material free or at subsidised rates. The Council also helps to fund foreign tours by British orchestras, opera companies, ensembles and soloists. The importance of foreign tours to the sustenance of our leading contemporary music groups has already been instanced in Chapter Five. The programmes taken abroad by British musicians frequently and deliberately include works by living British composers. The importance of the British Council's work to our composers is evidenced by the following statistics:

In 1975/76:

6,050 records and 214 cassettes) were sent to
and 389 works in score and parts) overseas libraries

183 records) were given to foreign
and 54 scores) artists, promoters,
) orchestras, broadcasting
) organisations etc.

30 loans or subsidised hires of performing material were made
62 tours by British musicians were funded.

1976/77:

4,443 records and 286 cassettes) were sent to
and 270 works in score and parts) overseas libraries

308 records) were given to foreign
and 117 scores) artists, promoters,
) orchestras, broadcasting
) organisations etc.

34 loans or subsidised hires of performing material were made
76 tours by British musicians were funded.

In 1977/78:

	An unspecified number of records and cassettes	) were sent to
and	202 works in score and parts	) overseas libraries
	1,150 records	) were given to foreign
and	93 scores	) artists, promoters,
		) orchestras, broadcasting
		) organisations etc.

101 loans or subsidised hires of performing material were made

87 tours by British musicians were funded.

CHAPTER SEVEN : THE COMPOSER'S LIVING

In their book 'The Composer in the Market Place', Peacock and Weir included statistical analyses of the earnings of composers in 1971 based on a questionnaire sent to 2,873 composer members of the P.R.S. Of the 1,084 replies, only 575 could be fully analysed, giving a final response rate of 20%. The figures must, therefore, be treated with caution; but the authors stated, "We nevertheless believe that the data ... gives a fair impression of the earnings positions of composers in 1971."[1]

The composers' self-categorisation into 'popular', 'serious' and 'light' was cross-checked by P.R.S. staff. The survey revealed that earnings were so heavily skewed that the large incomes of a few financially successful composers would give an unrepresentatively high average income figure - indeed roughly two-thirds of all composers earned less than the average - and so median earnings[2] were presented as giving a more reliably typical situation.

Median earnings of composers in the United Kingdom in 1971[3]

	£			
	All Composers	'Popular' Composers	'Serious' Composers	'Light' Composers
Median earnings				
(i) from musical composition	357	356	185	472
(ii) from all sources	1,924	1,976	1,780	1,965

The overall income of the serious composer in the median position was lower than that of his popular and light colleagues, also a much smaller proportion - only 10.4% - of his total income came from composition than in their cases. Peacock and Weir's median serious composer earned £1,780 in 1971; the median income of all non-manual workers in

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1 Peacock and Weir: 'The Composer in the Market Place', Faber, London 1975, page 12.

2 "Median earnings were arrived at by arranging all the composers in a group of ascending order of income and by then selecting the income of the composer falling in the middle of the group" (i.e. the middle by number not income) - page 22.

3 Ibid, page 23.

that year was £1,788.8. On the other hand, in a league table of the earnings of workers holding university degrees or equivalent qualifications in 1971, the median serious composer was amongst the bottom 21%.[1]

In the analysis of the sources of composers' income, average figures were used, so it must be remembered that they do not relate to the median composer.

The sources of the earnings of serious composers in the United Kingdom in 1971 [2]

		%
1.	Musical Composition	
	Performing and broadcasting royalties	23.7
	Mechanical royalties	0.9
	Sheet music earnings (sales and hires)	3.6
	Opera and dance royalties	0.8
	Other (e.g. commissions)	6.6
	Total earnings from musical composition	35.6
2.	Other musical activities (e.g. teaching, performing, conducting, reviewing, etc.)	51.0
3.	Non-musical activities	13.4
		100.0

The average figures show the serious composer earning 35.6% of his income through composition, for the median composer it was only 10.4%. Within the income from composition, the small proportion earned from mechanical royalties reflects how seldom the living composer's work is put onto record and the poor sales of records of contemporary music; it may also indicate that many serious composers still do not realise that whenever a broadcasting organisation pre-records a piece of music for later transmission a mechanical royalty is payable,[3] and that they should thus join the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society in order to receive a share of its blanket licensing revenue from broadcasts. The comparative insignificance of sheet music earnings demonstrates how little new serious music is published,

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1 'Social Trends No.7', Central Statistical Office, London, 1976.

2 Peacock and Weir, op.cit., page 23.

3 Unless the recording is destroyed within 28 days of the broadcast.

how badly it sells, and how small a proportion (10% or less) publishers can afford to pay to the composer as a royalty on sheet sales, after taking into account their own high costs and the sales resistance engendered by widespread illegal photocopying. The figure also suggests the extent to which publishers have become reliant on their share of composers' earnings other than through sheet sales: as far as contemporary music is concerned, they are primarily agents for the promotion of performances, broadcasts and recordings, and suppliers of performing materials for them, rather than sellers of printed material. There is a case for substantially increasing the price of renting performing material, but it carries with it the danger of dissuading performing organisations from presenting contemporary music still further - one would guess that the rental of copyright performing material is quite 'price elastic'. Opera and dance royalties are not collected by the P.R.S. and have to be individually negotiated; for this reason they may be considerably lower than they would be if they were negotiated and charged by a large licensing body controlling virtually all copyright music. There are, of course, many composers who never write an opera or a ballet score, because they have no desire to, because they are never given the prospect of a performance to stimulate them, or because the composition of a large-scale opera or ballet would take an unacceptable quantity of their creative time and effort when compared with the economic and 'psychic' returns they would gain from the few performances it would be likely to have.

These average sources of income relate to a serious composer approximately two-thirds of the way up the 'league-table' of financial success. For the bottom two-thirds, it is likely that mechanical royalties and sheet music earnings would have constituted even smaller proportions of income, because their works were even less likely to have been published or recorded. Earnings figures can depend on whether composers have agreements with publishers covering all or some of their works. Consider the case of a composer who assigns the copyright of four or five of his recently successful works to a publisher and also contracts to that publisher a lien on his future works: during the early years of the agreement his income might well decrease because the publisher is now taking half the performing and broadcasting royalties that were previously entirely his own, but as the years go by his income might increase rapidly as the publisher's promotional

work becomes effective. Income from composition in a given year bears little or no relationship to the time and effort expended on composition during that year: only half a commission fee is payable on beginning a work, the other half is paid on completion; performing, broadcasting and other royalties from the work may not appear for a year or more after completion. This can create undue emphasis on the commission fee. Where there is flexibility in the time a composer can spend on composition according to income, it can mean that he will be able to afford little time to compose this year because that was his situation last year and the year before (and the year before etc.), and so his royalty income never allows him sufficient respite from other employment. For most serious composers it means that composing has to be fitted into the interstices of another job, with little prospect of 'breaking out'. It is for these economic reasons, as well as others argued earlier, that more help should be given for repeat performances and to encourage dissemination of all kinds, that there should be more plentiful bursaries and composer-in-residence jobs and special arrangements for young composers.

All the arguments as to why the sources of income should have been as they were in 1971 still hold today, with the exception that commissions have probably become a good deal more significant (especially for the bottom two-thirds of the league) as the commission subsidies of the Arts Council and R.A.A.'s have expanded. Jazz, improvising and electronic composers would have tended to show characteristically different patterns of income sources in 1971. They were probably then in an even worse case than their more conventional counterparts, but their position will have been eased a little by the actions of the Arts Council in the late seventies (though the needs of electronic composers have been recognised only very recently, and that in a very small way).

Turning again to the proportion of composers' income that is gained through composition, Peacock and Weir also gave the results of their survey by bands.These showed that 61% of serious composers gained less than one-fifth of their income from composition, 25% between one-fifth and four-fifths, and only 14% gained more than four-fifths of their income by composing.[1] Income from composition

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[1] Peacock and Weir, op.cit., page 24.

includes money earned by writing television, radio and film incidental music, which some composers engage in as a form of self-subsidy for their serious work. Only a handful of composers in this country can live by serious work alone, most have to take other jobs. There are some whose jobs lie outside music, perhaps because they feel that spending from 9.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. in a different endeavour leaves more of their musical creativity for the act of composition itself. This is not without historical precedent; Borodin, after all, was a chemist, Cui an army general, and Ives made a fortune as an insurance broker. There is a small number of posts which combine writing pieces on demand with arranging other music - musical directorships in television or the theatre and some composer-in-residence schemes - yet still leave time for independent composing. The job of the cathedral organist could be such a post, but there is scarcely a composer amongst them in this country today. It may be that the fiercely traditional 'paper work' examinations, as well as the organ-playing and choir-training skills demanded by the Royal College of Organists and Royal School of Church Music, are as much of a deterrent to creative spirits as is the routine of the job itself. The composing 'kapellmeister', so common in the eighteenth century, seems to have very few modern equivalents. The great majority of nineteenth century composers played and conducted to earn part of their income, but as the twentieth century has seen the musical profession develop more and smaller specialisms, even this kind of animal is becoming quite rare.

Most serious composers are now sustained by jobs in education. Few of them are found in the state schools, where the pressure of work and (in classroom teaching if not in out-of-hours ensemble and musico-dramatic activities) the problems of sustaining interest and discipline amongst older children during music lessons demand a particular temperament and dedication. For this and other reasons already given, it is important that Local Authorities, R.A.A.'s and the Arts Council should provide opportunities for schoolchildren to encounter composers on a visiting basis.[1] Rather more composers are found in the independent schools, where longer holidays, lighter timetables and (in some cases) a more creative atmosphere, appear to be more conducive to composition. Some independent schools already have regular visits from composers, and one has a composer-in-residence. More and more composers have taken jobs in the universities and colleges of higher education as non-pastiche composition has

[1] The Leicestershire and Inner London Education Authorities already employ 'composers-in-residence'.

become a more prominent feature of, or option within, the music courses offered by them. This was given particular impetus during the sixties when the Music Department of York University was opened, and its staff were appointed with the idea in mind that active composers might teach music in a fresher, more stimulating way than pure academics. Many of the 35 university departments of music now have composers as their heads, with one or two more composers amongst the staff. The conservatoires have always taught composition, usually at a nominally postgraduate level rather than in basic courses, and they employ composers either as hourly-paid visiting teachers or as full-time salaried staff. With the students absent for twenty or more weeks of the year, higher education offers time for composition. The number of hours per week in term-time spent in contact with students, and hence the time consumed in preparation for that contact, varies a great deal from department to department: some people are little more than composers-in-residence, whilst others are teachers who compose in what spare time they can find.[1] The contracts of employment for university lecturers stipulate that they should undertake research. It is now generally recognised that composition qualifies as a form of 'research', but by no means all the universities recognise that composers need 'research facilities'. The research of other academics is effectively funded by the purchase of equipment, materials, books, periodicals, grants to travel to international symposia, etc. Affording comparable facilities for composition could include (but usually does not) free photocopying of scores and parts, purchases of copies of the composer's published and unpublished works for the university library, subsidised performances of the composer's new works (on the campus or in the town) and travel grants to enable the composer to attend overseas performances of his works or international composers' gatherings. There is a tradition in British universities of lecturers having a 'sabbatical year' between every five, six or seven years of continuous teaching. With a worsening economic climate and deterioration in staff/student ratios, sabbatical years are becoming less frequent. For the composer who needs stretches of free time to complete large-scale works, it could be that a sabbatical term every third year would be of greater benefit than complete sabbatical years much further apart.

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[1] A few universities have composition fellowships which carry with them minimal teaching requirements, but they are of limited duration (from one to three years).

A composer's income can vary considerably through his life, according to the quality and volume of his work, the policies of all the institutions examined in the foregoing chapters and the vicissitudes of taste and fashion; it also varies according to his age. The potential composer at school is, of course, supported by his parents and the state. If he has sufficient talent and desire, he will almost certainly be given instrumental lessons and achieve a considerable degree of proficiency on one or more instruments; there will also be many opportunities to play in orchestras and ensembles. His general musical education is likely to be less good, since the teaching of music other than instrumental skill can be good in some schools but deplorably bad in others. Nevertheless, a schoolchild can get a very good musical education by listening to Radio 3 and borrowing scores, records and books from the public libraries; unfortunately, as with playing an instrument, his desire to do so may have been largely defined by the up-bringing and environment of his very earliest years. My impression from interviewing candidates for university is that the standard of playing amongst schoolchildren has risen to a remarkably high level and that more and more children are being encouraged to try their hand at composing. Rather curiously, it seems that children from ordinary schools are often more likely to have composed than children from the schools which specialise in music, where the emphasis seems to be put too much on instrumental brilliance and long hours of practice. If he is accepted by one of the places of higher education, our potential composer will be given a state grant to pay his fees and living expenses, though it is possible that he will have difficulty in obtaining a grant if his general educational attainment is poor (see Chapter Six for a discussion of this point). Absurdly, although the age of majority in this country is eighteen, his student grant will be 'means-tested' against his parents' income and they will be expected to make good any deduction. At this stage, then, he is still dependent on a mixture of money from his parents and the state, plus what he can earn from vacation jobs. The opportunities to extend himself as a composer will vary as to which university or college he attends. At Bristol University he will have a course in free composition on arrival and will also be encouraged to compose through the tutorial system (there are four active composers on the staff). Each year there are student composition competitions for a short choral piece, an orchestral work and a chamber work, the winning pieces being given in concert by one of the University

performing groups; there are also two less formal concerts of students' compositions and regular opportunities to have pieces played by professional chamber musicians. In his third year, the by now budding composer can take a course in composition to count for half of his final examination.

It is at the end of his three years at university that the composer faces his first income crisis. His earning power as a composer is nil. He wants, and probably needs, at least two years studying composition intensively at a college of music, on a university postgraduate course, privately or abroad. In the fifties, sixties and early seventies, grants to do so were fairly readily available for the genuinely talented young composer, but now the discretionary awards from Local Authorities have all but dried up and the competition for the limited (and decreasing) number of postgraduate awards available from the Department of Education and Science is fiercer than ever; moreover the award of such a grant depends heavily on the candidate's final mark in his degree examinations, and if composition did not play a very significant part in those examinations and our composer is not very proficient in other musical skills, a grant will not be forthcoming. The various trust funds that give grants for further study are financed from 'safe' investments, the returns on which have been particularly hard-hit by the rampant inflation of the seventies; consequently they are in a worse position than they used to be to help those whom the state will not. Without a grant, our young composer will have to find some form of employment and all those forces restricting his compositional activity described earlier will come into force almost before he has begun. Earlier in this century, serious composition in Britain was effectively limited to the sons of the monied classes.[1] Education at an independent or choir school was followed by a spell at university and a year or two at a college of music, perhaps with benefit of scholarships, but not state grants. Then followed some years either living on a parental allowance (or perhaps some other benefactor), teaching in an independent school, or being paid a retainer by a music publisher (now a rare event). Because entry to the profession was so restricted, someone

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[1] Elgar is an obvious exception. When he eventually found success in his late forties he adopted, as Sullivan had done before him, the mores and manners of the 'gentlemanly' class. Holst struggled for most of his life to fit composing in between other means of earning a living. The composing daughter is now (happily) not such a rarity, due to changed attitudes towards the role of women and increasing state provision for education and the arts.

with talent and determination as well as private financial backing could probably make their way tolerably well. We now have an educational system which provides opportunities to develop as a composer from the age of five to finishing a first degree at university dependent on talent, perhaps geography and parental attitudes but not necessarily money. As a result we have more people than ever before (perhaps too many) with some degree of talent and accomplishment in composition who wish to use it. If the education authorities and/or the arts grant-giving bodies leave the best of them with nothing and nowhere to go at the age of twenty-one, then we are in danger of making composing careers once again the province of the sons of the upper-middle class only. Those extra few years of study, perhaps in Britain, perhaps abroad, leave the composer better equipped (and probably better known) to begin his career. It may be that the real talents will not begin to show until those years.

The late twenties and early thirties (and, for many, the next forty years) will almost certainly be years of direct employment. It is in these years that composer-in-residence schemes are most needed: they provide employment directly related to and giving time for composition at the same time as continuing the composer's 'education' in a practical way.[1] The income from commissions and royalties can be slowly built up. Serious composers' earnings tend to 'peak' late in life, usually much later than those of popular and light music composers. But the composer in his late fifties and early sixties who has not got a fair number of works firmly entrenched in the repertoire can be heading for financial trouble: given the ever swifter pace of musical change, he may find that the music he has already written and the music he is likely to write will be thoroughly out of fashion. If he has always been in full-time employment his future will be secured by a full state pension and an occupational pension. If he has been largely self-employed and has not, through mismanagement or lack of money, contributed the much higher rates of national insurance necessary for the self-employed to obtain full state pension rights, nor made private provision for his old age through tax-deductible endowments or annuities, then he may be heading for final years of hardship.

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[1] It is not suggested that composer-in-residence schemes should be seen as the prerogative of the young composer: in many instances a mature composer with some knowledge of the locality would serve the community better.

The P.R.S. attempts to relieve such hardship in two ways. Its Earnings Equalisation Scheme operates for composer members who are fifty or more years old and who have been P.R.S. members for at least 25 years. (The successors of members who completed 25 years of membership before their death qualify for the scheme for a maximum of 15 years, or more if the successor is a widow). The scheme takes the earnings in each year of membership and adjusts them to present-day prices; an average of the best 25 years is then made and if the member's current earnings are lower than that average, up to 50% of the difference between the two is paid as an extra allowance. The payments are subject to upper and lower limits which are adjusted for inflation (in 1979 no allowance was payable if the adjusted average of 25 years' earnings was less than £501, or if current earnings exceeded £3,132; the maximum allowance payable was £1,100).[1] It is debatable whether this fusion of assurance for the middle-aged and pension for the old-aged is entirely satisfactory. Perhaps something closer to a pension scheme, with an older qualifying age and a shorter qualifying period would be more desirable. Most contributory business pensions now operate according to the number of years in the scheme (or comparable schemes) and an adjusted average of only the best three years' earnings. It is also arguable that there should not be a lower limit of adjusted average earnings under which no allowance is payable, and that the maxima of current earnings and allowance payable are set rather lower than they should be. The second P.R.S. 'safety net' is its Members Fund. All members contribute one quarter of one per cent of their annual revenue to the Fund, which also has an income from investments, legacies and donations. The Fund is a registered charity and was established in 1934 to help members, their widows and dependents who find themselves in straitened circumstances through advancing age and changing musical fashion or sudden, unavoidable financial crises, perhaps precipitated by an accident or ill-health. In 1979 the Fund granted £40,048, mostly in the form of weekly allowances, and advanced loans totalling £18,125.[2] It is conceivable that one or two composers might slip through the P.R.S. net - because of patchy or too short membership, because their average

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1 The Performing Right Society Yearbook, 1980, page 68.

2 Ibid, page xi.

earnings do not qualify them for the equalisation scheme, or perhaps because they have lost regular but part-time employment (which does not necessarily qualify for redundancy pay or the full employment benefit). Until the crisis is over, or until official retirement age is reached and the age-related state benefits can be claimed (though these can be tiny for the previously self-employed) such cases would need help from one of the musical trusts and charities, or as a last resort in suitable cases, an Arts Council bursary.[1]

For a composer or his publisher to trace every public performance and broadcast of his music anywhere in the world, negotiate and collect payment for them, would be plainly impossible. For music users such as the B.B.C. or South Bank Halls to seek permission and agree payment for each use of copyright music would be similarly impracticable and prohibitively expensive. So composers and publishers have little choice but to vest their public performance and broadcasting rights in the P.R.S. which, in this country, through reciprocal agreements with similar bodies abroad and through its own overseas agencies, negotiates and collects payment for them. The music user, through an annual blanket licence, buys from the Society the right to use practically all copyright music in existence, provided only that to the best of his ability he makes accurate returns of the pieces of music he uses. If a composer actually were able to control every single use of his music, technically he could try to charge very much higher rates for its use than he would obtain through membership of the P.R.S., though his individual negotiating power is, of course, likely to be considerably less than the P.R.S.'s institutional strength. The point is made to show that a composer can control the best part of his income only through his voting rights as a P.R.S. member. The Society's own efforts to maximise the composer's income are circumscribed by the presence of the Performing Right Tribunal.

The Society is ruled by a General Council of which half the members are composers or lyricists and half publishers. Of the present eleven writer members of the General Council, four might be described as serious composers, and the others are from the pop world.[2] Among the publishers, 'pop' and serious music are more or less equally represented, though some publishing businesses straddle both worlds.

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[1] In rare instances such bursaries have been given.

[2] Some of the 'writer' members of the Council are now composers or lyricists 'manqué' - they have become musical entrepreneurs, publishers in all but name.

There is a smaller Executive Council in which, significantly, publishers out-number composers seven to five. The General Council is elected by the 12,000 composer, writer and publisher members. The P.R.S. is engaged in a gigantic policing, negotiating, financial and administrative operation which is labour intensive. Part of that operation has been computerised for the past decade, but the staff nevertheless numbers over 600. Administration and staff costs account for 12% to 15% of P.R.S. income (14½% in 1979) which compares favourably with the foreign societies; but there is no point in holding down the proportion of income taken up by expenses if that makes for a much lower total income than might be achieved, along with lesser efficiency in tracing and recording the uses of members' music. Many composers have instanced to me examples of their having to notify the P.R.S. of significant uses of their music that have been missed. Though in fairness this can be the fault of the licencees as much as the P.R.S. itself, the 'policing' of programme returns seems to be an area of its operation much in need of improvement. It is also arguable that the P.R.S. has not been as successful as it ought to be in increasing its own gross income.

The rules of membership of the Society have been the subject of recent change, and that after considerable public turmoil including articles in the satirical magazine 'Private Eye', accusations of impropriety, dishonesty and secrecy in P.R.S. management (on the questions of membership lists, voting rights and subsidised loans to senior staff), the issue of a writ of libel and a demand from a group of M.P.'s for a public enquiry into the running of the Society. The libel suit was dropped and no public enquiry has been established. The list of voting members has been made public, the proportion of voting members increased from 14% to 58% and the proportion of members entitled to receive the annual report increased from 14% to 100%. At the same time, the qualifications for membership have been tightened. It used to be the case that a writer member needed only to have had a single work published, recorded, used as incidental music or exploited in some other way so as to make the royalties worth collecting, to be granted provisional membership. The number of works

has now been increased to three.[1] Publisher members are required to have a catalogue of a minimum of ten works, of which at least five have been actively exploited. Provisional members receive the annual report but have no voting rights. In any single distribution, if a member's credits are less than £3 they will not be paid. After five years of provisional membership, the General Council is empowered to decide that insufficient royalties have been accumulated to justify the cost of their distribution and terminate membership. (There is an obvious need for the Society to allow membership to only such composers whose royalties are worth the cost of collection.) Alternatively it may prolong the provisional membership or promote to associate or full membership. Associate members have one vote. To be an associate member it is necessary to have aggregated royalties of £150 (writer) or £750 (publisher) over not more than three years. Full members have ten votes.[2] To be a full member it is necessary to have earned £1,000 (writer) or £5,000 (publisher) in each of two out of any three consecutive years. Full members averaging £10,000 (writer) per year or £50,000 (publisher) in the preceding two years qualify for ten extra votes (an average of £500 (writer) over the preceding 20 years also qualifies). This is a democracy weighted by money. In 1979 it meant that 81% of the votes were held by members who had claimed 81% of the royalties in the previous year.[3] In money terms it is patently fair - but is it right?

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1 Membership of G.E.M.A. (in West Germany) is gained after proving works have been professionally performed and/or broadcast, submitting scores for examination by existing composer members and, in some cases, passing a written examination. G.E.M.A. has rather fewer members than the P.R.S. but more than three times as much income. This is not wholly accounted for by the fact that G.E.M.A. also handles mechanical rights - the copyright protection and payments made for using music are superior.

2 Additional votes can be used only for ballots. Each member has just one vote in a 'show of hands' at an Annual General Meeting.

3 Performing Right Society Yearbook, 1980. Statistics in this section have been abstracted from Annual Reports and Accounts (up to 1976) or Yearbooks (1977 onwards) of the P.R.S.

In 1979 the writer membership of the P.R.S. was distributed thus:

Full Members	1,274
Associate Members (including successors of deceased members)	4,304
Provisional Members	4,810
	10,388

These figures include 'pop' and 'light' composers and lyricists. The number of serious composers active in Britain can only be guessed, but the full members of the Composers' Guild number just over 400 and there are probably 50 to 100 other significantly active serious composers who do not belong to the Guild. Some clues as to the P.R.S. income of serious composers can be gained from examining the Guild membership: 33% of Guild members are also full members of the P.R.S., but many of them qualified as such before the mid-seventies when the stipulations for full membership were less rigorous than they now are; Guild members, as well as their subscription, pay to the Guild 2% of their P.R.S. income up to a maximum of £20. Only 40 members paid the full amount in 1979. This means that only they earned £1,000 or more in P.R.S. royalties during that year.

The P.R.S.'s business, management and voting is inevitably dominated by pop and light music, but the Society does, like many of its foreign counterparts, make arrangements for cross-subsidisation of serious music. Despite the great disparity in audiences between Radios 1, 2, 3 and 4, the P.R.S. makes no distinction between them in respect of royalties, thus not penalising the serious composer for the relative smallness of the Radio 3 audience. Furthermore, the royalty payable per each minute of a piece increases significantly the longer the piece. This means that the (normally longer) serious pieces are paid more per minute than the (usually shorter) pop items. The blanket licence income from British and Irish broadcasting organisations is constituted into five funds, then distributions from the funds are made on a 'points system'. The monetary worth of one 'point' in any given distribution is then the total money available divided by the number of points awarded. The calculation of 'points' is made in two stages. The first is according to length, taking one point as the gain from a piece lasting up to one minute. The points

per minute gained for all the minutes of a piece then increase as follows:

1 - 2½ minutes	x	1 to 1.6
2½ - 7 minutes	x	1.6
7 - 17 minutes	x	1.6 to 1.8
17 - 32 minutes	x	1.8 to 2.4
32 minutes or more	x	2.4

If the P.R.S. feels or votes that the serious composer is still poorly rewarded, then it can augment his subsidy internally by increasing these differentials. The second stage of the calculation is to multiply the points so far gained by the 'station value' of the channel on which the piece was broadcast. Some examples are given below.

B.B.C. Television:	B.B.C.1	10.00
	B.B.C.2	9.50
Independent Television:	Complete I.T.V. Network	43.10
	London I.T.V. only	10.00
	Channel Islands T.V. only	0.10
B.B.C. Radio:	Radios 1, 2, 3 and 4	10.00
	World Service	1.00
	Radio London	1.47
	Radio Oxford	0.08
Irish Broadcasting:	R.T.E. Radio	1.00
	R.T.E. Television	2.00

Independent Local Radio presently lies outside this scheme. Music used for jingles, background and incidental music, or station breaks and identification music, are all paid at fractions of the full rates. Since the P.R.S. receives a lump sum from the B.B.C., it could increase its payments to serious composers to some extent by apportioning more of that sum to radio royalties.

The P.R.S. also subsidises serious music through donations to performing and promoting organisations. These donations amounted to £22,086 in 1978, £33,922 in 1979. Among the 56 recipients in 1979 the largest grants were made to the Songwriters' Guild, the Composers' Guild and the British Music Information Centre. The grant to the Composers' Guild was held at only £2,000 for many years. In 1979 it

was increased to £3,000, but if it had taken account of inflation during the seventies it would have been many thousands more. The current year's grant of £4,000 was withheld until the Guild, which faced bankruptcy, agreed to a form of amalgamation with the Songwriters' Guild. Other recipients included private organisations devoted to promoting concerts of contemporary music - the Nash Concert Society, New Macnaghten Concerts, Park Lane Group, Redcliffe Concerts - which also received Arts Council and/or L.O.C.B. grants. Donations in aid of jazz were made to the Jazz Centre Society, Welsh Jazz Association and the Barry Summer School (Jazz and Improvised Music). Many other small grants were made to help performances of contemporary music, including just one (to Electric Phoenix) in aid of electronic music. In 1978, however, the P.R.S. did fund a composers' competition for electronic music.

The third means by which the P.R.S. subsidises serious music lies in its payments for public performances. During the sixties, live performances of serious music were subsidised by a differential points system, but the results were not very satisfactory for the composers. In 1969/70 it decided to set aside a specially subsidised pool of revenue, the pool consisting of the royalties from serious music performed under blanket licences, the royalties from performances not covered by blanket licences and a special subsidy. In 1972 the special subsidy was set at 1% of the Society's gross revenue. Each year the General Council reviews the total amount available in the pool and adjusts the subsidy as it sees fit. In 1979 the total pool was £430,000 of which £369,000 was from subsidy (1.4% of P.R.S. gross revenue). It is open to the P.R.S. to vote to increase this rate of subsidy. It could also revise its tariff for the blanket licences of the halls in which serious concerts are held, which has been the same since 1972. The tariff is operated as a % of the hall's gross expenditure as follows:

2.50% on the first	£2,500
2.25% on the next	£2,500
2.00% on the next	£5,000
1.75% on the next	£5,000
1.50% on the next	£5,000
1.25% on any further amount.	

Where the hall is hired to another promoter, the charge is 5% of gross receipts. The 'banding' of the tariff is in urgent need of revision because of inflation. There is also a strong case for increasing the percentages charged; most of the halls are non-profit-making and probably subsidised out of public funds, but they get their music absurdly cheap. Distributions from the pool for live performances of serious music are made on a points plan according to musical forces employed, length and the seating capacity of the hall (points are halved for amateur performances).

Despite this cross-subsidisation, the royalties paid to serious composers for broadcasts and performances of their music in 1978 were scarcely impressive:

Royalties paid in 1978[1]

	£
10 minute piece on B.B.C. Network Radio	72.70
30 minute piece on B.B.C. Network Radio	304.83
10 minute piece on B.B.C.1 (Television)	397.42
5 minutes incidental music on I.T.V. Network	186.78
20 minute string quartet in the Purcell Room	45.30
20 minute chamber orchestra work in the Queen Elizabeth Hall	75.50
20 minute work for full orchestra in the Royal Festival Hall	103.55

The P.R.S. must ask itself whether its present efforts at subsidy and income-gathering really are sufficient in the light of such poor rewards to our most creative musicians.[2]

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1 It should be remembered that in many cases half these royalties will have been paid to a publisher. Most I.T.V. companies nominate one of their allied companies or subsidiaries as 'publisher' of incidental music, thereby halving the payment to the composer.

2 G.E.M.A., for instance, pays rates for all uses of serious music that are more than twice those paid for uses of light and pop music. Composers who have been members for more than five years also receive 'merit bonuses' which take into account their contribution to serious composition.

The P.R.S. total income in 1979 was £33,065, 158. Of this, no less than 39% came from British and Irish broadcasting. The urgency of renegotiating the charges to broadcasters and the effect on composers' incomes of the under-financing of the B.B.C. cannot be emphasised too strongly. The rest of P.R.S. income was gained as follows: 25% from British and Irish public performance, 31% from overseas, 5% from investments. Between 1972 and 1979 the Society's income increased by 242%, on the face of it, an impressive achievement. But over the same period the cost of living in Britain increased by 196%, and P.R.S. writer membership by 95%; moreover the use of music also increased considerably with the opening of B.B.C. and Independent Local Radio. The following table shows the royalty income bands of P.R.S. writer members over the period:

Distribution of Income between P.R.S. Writer Members

	% of writer members							
Royalties received	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Less than £250	78	79	79	82	79	78	69	69
£250 - £1,000	12	12	12	9	11	11	16	16
£1,000 - £5,000	7	6	6	6	7	7	10	10
£5,000 and over	3	3	3	3	3	4	5	5

It must be remembered that these figures include purveyors of pop and light music. In 1979, only 40 members of the Composers' Guild received £1,000 or more in broadcasting and performing royalties. It is unlikely that composers who were members in 1972 have since moved steadily up through the income bands, their places at the bottom being filled by newcomers. Most serious composers received a pittance in 1972 and still do today.

The collection of mechanical royalties in Britain is by no means as unified, systematic, open to scrutiny or kind to composers as it is in say, West Germany, or indeed as the P.R.S. is in this country in respect of other royalties. Some mechanical royalties are collected entirely by publishers, some by Britico (which is a non-profit-making company managed separately but administered by the P.R.S. since 1969) and the bulk by the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society (M.C.P.S.) which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Music Publishers'

Association.[1] The Managing Director of the M.C.P.S. estimates that "the total value of mechanical royalties in the U.K. is probably of the order of £24 million now."[2] In 1979 approximately £10 million passed through the hands of M.C.P.S., £829,792 through Britico, and perhaps another nine or ten million pounds were handled by publishers. Britico has one composer on its Council of Management, the M.C.P.S. none. The M.C.P.S. is, however, a purely administrative organisation. The Mechanical Rights Society negotiates the rate of mechanical royalties with all the significant music users (but delegates collection to the M.C.P.S.) and amongst the 18 members of its Council of Management there are two representatives from each of the Songwriters' Guild and the Composers' Guild. Phonographic Performance Limited (P.P.L.) is an association of gramophone record manufacturers that grants licences for the public performance of gramophone records. Its inclination to be restrictive and arbitrary in its licensing has brought it much criticism. It holds copyrights in records themselves rather than the music on them, and thus is under no obligation to make payments to composers, performers or publishers; in fact it does make 'ex gratia' payments to performers, the Musicians' Union, M.C.P.S. and publishers, which together amount to approximately one fifth of the revenue P.P.L. has at its disposal. One of P.P.L.'s most important actions is in concluding agreements with the Musicians' Union and broadcasting organisations on the proportions of live music and records to be broadcast. Whereas the P.R.S. has a rule that composers should receive no less than 50% of any royalties due from a broadcast or performance (and enforces that rule by making payments directly to composers), none of the mechanical rights societies have any such rule. The share passed on to composers by

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1 The M.P.A. took over the M.C.P.S. in 1976. Prior to that it was a company privately owned by a number of publishers. Since 1976 considerable improvements have been made in its administration and distributions. M.C.P.S. currently has 4,000 members, divided more or less equally between composers and publishers.

2 Letter to the author, July 1980.

publishers can be less than the norm of 50%. The collecting agencies and publishers are also notoriously slow at passing mechanical royalties on to composers. The unification, systematisation and 'opening up' of mechanical royalty collection and apportionment, perhaps with precise definition of the composer's share of such royalties on the West German model, is long overdue.

The recording of copyright music in any way requires permission or licence; this applies to home-taping, video-taping, film-making, commercials, and a host of other uses besides the making of gramophone records and cassettes for sale. The requirement is not well known and is widely flouted. The only effective way of compelling payment would be to charge a levy on recording equipment such as that imposed in West Germany. Most of the largest users are covered by blanket licences; the one most relevant to the serious composer is that covering the B.B.C., which makes an annual payment to the M.C.P.S. (negotiated by the M.R.S.) in respect of all the copyright music it records other than under the '28 day rule' (see Chapter One). The sum is divided amongst the works used on a per minute basis and currently yields approximately 50 pence per minute.

If a piece of copyright music has once been put onto record, anyone else may do so on payment of a royalty of 6¼% of the ordinary selling price of the record.[1] The figure was set in 1928 and remains unchanged despite a recent public enquiry into the subject. This provision is very much a matter of everyday use in the industry, though it is occasionally undercut by negotiation. The minimum that has to be paid to a copyright owner is 0.313 pence per record, a rate quite out of line with European practice. If the composer does not have a publisher, then the recording company

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[1] The 'ordinary selling price' has been a subject of some dispute since the 1960's when Resale Price Maintenance was abolished. Generally, the manufacturer's 'recommended retail price' is used (less V.A.T.), but many shops undercut this price and some manufacturers are abandoning the concept. This is yet another copyright provision which is becoming impractical as well as unjust.

may insist he assigns copyright in that work to their own 'publishing' company, thereby further reducing his royalties. As soon as the health of the record industry revives (possibly through copyright law reform) these provisions ought to be looked at again with a view to making them more equitable to the composer.

The Composers' Guild of Great Britain aims to improve the lot of the composer of serious music in Britain through bringing pressure to bear on relevant institutions, businesses and individuals, and by giving advice to its members in the form of recommended rates for commission fees and specimen contracts for commissioning and publishing. Recently it has distributed information on sources of commission, other rates of pay and income tax. Its most significant initiatives have been founding the magazine 'Composer' and the British Music Information Centre (see Chapter Two). Its full membership has remained steady at around 400 for many years.[1] Ernst Roth wrote that such Guilds,"recruit their members mainly from the ranks of the disappointed."[2] This is partly true, in that the highly successful composer with a publisher promoting his works needs a Guild very little - a few of our most successful composers have seen the Guild as an irrelevance and have not seen fit to use their eminence to help their less fortunate colleagues. Some, though not all, of the Guild's attitudes and efforts have indeed been amateurish, but this is largely because it has always been hopelessly underfunded: its membership dues, share of royalties and P.R.S. grant have never matched its aspirations or the needs of its members. Ideally it should retain professional advisers on copyright, tax, social security etc. and be able to prepare well researched and documented cases to set before the institutions which it faces. Despite a large rise in its membership fee,[3] the Guild now faces bankruptcy and has been forced to seek amalgamation with the Songwriters' Guild.

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1 Membership is gained after examination of some of the applicant's scores by a panel of the Executive Committee.

2 Ernst Roth, op.cit., page 40.

3 This year the Guild increased its members' annual subscription from £10 to £15. Its levy of 2% of members' P.R.S. earnings (up to a maximum of £20) has stood at the same rate for many years. That only 10% of Guild members reach the maximum payment is a good illustration of how ill they are paid for their music.

There will be gains in professionalism and bargaining power, but the serious composer will lose the only organisation that speaks solely for him. Electronic and jazz composers already have their own organisations, and a new 'Association of Professional Composers' waits in the wings. For the moment it seems that the serious composer may soon face not only his manuscript alone, but all those institutions acting on him that have been described in these pages as well, save for organisations in which he and his like are just one small part.

British composition flourishes more abundantly in 1980 than it did in 1960. Through the expansion of broadcasting (in particular the increase in air-time for serious music brought about by the introduction of the B.B.C.'s daytime Music Programme - now Radio 3) and through the growth of subsidies for contemporary music from the Arts Council and its devolved authorities, the opportunities to be given commission fees, first performances and broadcasts have multiplied considerably. There are now twenty or more composer-in-residence posts available. There has also been a good deal of composer 'self-help' (economists might call it 'forward integration') through composer-led ensembles, composer-publishers, the foundation of the British Music Information Centre and a certain amount of 'public body badgering'. A form of self-help that both composers and the institutions that serve them should perhaps consider more often is that which nurtures the present and future audience through educational work and producing music for children and amateurs. The new opportunities are, however, having to be shared out amongst a profession that has swollen since the mid-sixties with the expansion of higher music education and the place of composition within it (an expansion that has itself created more opportunities for the performance of new music).

Since 1960, contemporary music has more and more put into practice the adage 'small is beautiful'. It is the proliferation of small ensembles, small publishers and small record companies that has served it best in recent years. But some of this 'smallness' has been forced upon it by the steady withdrawal of the major performing organisations, record companies and publishers from disseminating the works of living composers on a large scale. Just as heavy industry

has failed the country at large, so the 'heavyweights' of the serious music industry have failed the living composer. Now they themselves are beginning to fail.

The obsolescence of our copyright law severely depresses the income of composers, publishers and record companies. A country which has got used to obtaining its new music cheaply harbours institutions which keep it cheap. The P.R.S. is treated as a dangerous monopolist rather than as a trade union trying to further the welfare of its members. The demand for economies within arts subsidy and the B.B.C. (as well as changing attitudes in the B.B.C.) now threatens what has been achieved. Even that achievement is small enough: the living serious composer still pockets less than 1% of payments made for serious music in Britain (including those made by the grant-givers); his music still attracts about 5% of available air-time, performance subsidy and repertoire - in many cases an even smaller proportion of the repertoire. Only a handful of serious composers can live by composition alone and the general levels of their commission fees and royalties still compare ill with those of their European counterparts.

At the back of these problems stands the audience. Hugo Cole has written: "In status, the composer heads his profession. Every musician who has committed notes to paper would prefer to be thought of as a composer ... Yet composers as a class are not particularly contented people. They have resigned themselves to living thriftily, while others with half their talent grow affluent. But almost all want the approval of the society they live in; approval which seems to be withheld when society does not even grant them a living wage. The peculiar view of life which lies at the root of their being and accounts for their creative ability - the intransigence that leads them to insist on the validity of their personal vision, and to demand that things should go their and no other way - unfits them for accepting the judgement of others or fitting comfortably into the social scheme of things. Most have, if not a grudge against society, a certain sadness at heart, because their works - which are their children - are too little noticed, praised, and understood ... Society venerates composers, but can get along without them; pats them on the head, then tells them to run away and play. This does not make for happiness - there is no frustration so great as that of the eager,

energetic man or woman with no resistance to work against. No wonder that many composers retreat into despondent silence; or become convinced that the world is in conspiracy against them; or resort to extreme and provocative behaviour, which in turn convinces society that it was quite right to think that new music is impossible, incomprehensible, or an elaborate confidence trick."[1] Hugo Cole himself admits that this gloomy picture is only part of the truth, that a number of composers do in fact make themselves widely useful to society through working for film, television, theatre, and education; yet the audience figures for contemporary music and the part the general musical public seems to want it to play in our culture stand as confirmation of his darker thoughts. As the twentieth century has progressed, the supply of music on the air, on record and tape, and in the concert hall has increased so much that the audience, which has always been given to differences of taste, has been able to splinter into many different 'specialist' preferences.[2] In previous centuries, a satisfying musical experience was much harder won - public performances were fewer and the alternative was to re-create the music for oneself. The easy availability and the more passive nature of much present-day musical enjoyment may well have spelled the end of any generalised notion of the serious music lover. Within such a fragmented audience, that proportion which truly welcomes innovation is always liable to be

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1 Hugo Cole, op.cit., page 25 ff.

2 In doing so the audience mirrors the development of the art and language of composition in this century.

small. It has been argued that this does not have to be so, that greater efforts from composers and from all the individuals and institutions selecting, programming and presenting their works to the audience, could move the work of the living composer out of the shadows.

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