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EDITORIAL

Rupert Ridgewell

In a notable year for composer anniversaries (Mozart, Shostakovich, Schumann, Marais, Michael Haydn, Lutyens, Williams, among others), the birthday of a publication might easily be forgotten. Music publishing landmarks are, after all, relatively few and far between. The 500th anniversary of Petrucci's *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*, of which only one incomplete copy of the first edition is known to survive, was rightly observed in 2001, but how many other editions have merited a party? Somewhat paradoxically it may help if few copies survive: the sheer scarcity value lends a certain mystique. This is almost certainly true, for example, of the first issue of the IAML(UK & Irl) Newsletter, which celebrated its Golden Jubilee in February this year.

By comparison, copies of *The English Hymnal* are about as plentiful as your daily newspaper. They are for that very reason easy to take for granted: it's not a book that you are very likely to buy, but it's always there when you need it. Mercifully, at least from a music librarian's perspective, the hymnal has changed very little in its hundred years. There is no need to seek out many variant impressions. As Simon Wright shows, however, a volume which may now be regarded with some justification as a great British institution was first viewed with some suspicion. An early 'abridged edition', conceived to appease the hymnal's powerful critics but pleasing no one, now joins Petrucci in the pantheon of 'rare' music publications.

With the Mozart and Shostakovich festivities receiving full treatment elsewhere, it may come as a relief to find that this issue is otherwise an anniversary-free zone. Readers aware of my current preoccupations will not be surprised to discover that concerts and performance history will instead feature as one of this year's recurrent *Brio* themes. The Autumn / Winter issue will include articles arising from work on the Concert Programmes Project, but we start with Catherine Ferris's exploration of the archival remnants of two major Dublin concert societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, now held by the Royal Irish Academy of Music.

Archives and their interpretation are also central to Chris Beckett's acute biographical comparison of three rather disparate musicians – Jenny Lind, Prialux Rainier and David Munrow – who are linked by the presence of their archives at the Royal Academy of Music. Biography, reception, archives, music societies, rare editions: it falls to Richard Turbet to draw together these diverse themes in his study of the shifting perceptions of William Byrd's keyboard works in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

'PALE GREEN OF THE ENGLISH HYMNAL!' – A CENTENARY RETROSPECTIVE

Simon Wright¹

In May 1906 Oxford University Press, in its house literary review *The Periodical*, announced (rather modestly, and sandwiched between a preview of a book on Matthew Arnold and an article on the drama of *Job*) the forthcoming publication (“shortly after Whitsuntide”) of *The English Hymnal*, a new hymn book offered “to all broad-minded men’, in the hope that every one will find in it the hymns which he wants”.² That book, always pocket-sized and most often presented in distinctive green livery, has remained in print for exactly one hundred years. During this time it has been available in vast numbers of formats and binding styles, but with only one major revision to its content along the way. Its supposed replacement of 1986, the *New English Hymnal*, never completely usurped the parent book, resulting in the almost unique situation of an original hymn book and its successor continuing simultaneously in print – incidentally, under two separate publishers.³ In these hundred years *The English Hymnal* has moved from being innovative and even controversial, first to a position of great influence, and then to a grandfatherly venerability. Yet, it is not a museum piece, for it continues to be widely used in some Anglican churches and schools, and sells in steady numbers still. At the book’s fiftieth anniversary in 1956, five million copies had been sold worldwide; now, in 2006, the figure is about fifteen million. Like Palgrave’s *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*, or Quiller-Couch’s *Oxford Book of English Verse*, *The English Hymnal* has become both a cultural and publishing icon. This article takes a journey through the book’s historical context, its own content, and its publishing history. But most importantly I will be examining *The English Hymnal*’s ‘soundscape’, its legacy beyond hymn book functionality, and its significant role in the history of twentieth-century British culture.

Percy Dearmer, from 1901 to 1915 the Vicar of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Primrose Hill, London NW3, and who became the editor of *The English Hymnal*, pointed at the beginning of the nineteenth century as the moment when there issued “a spate of hymn-books quite unprecedented in the history of Christendom”.⁴ He blamed the evangelical movement, not the

established Church, and complained that, by the century’s end, “an overwhelming mass of commonplace material was obscuring the light, and holding back from common use many hymns of high beauty and religious value”.

In 1890, at the culmination of Victoria’s reign and of the influence of her Empire – Pax Britannica – it is estimated that 400,000 different hymns were in circulation in the various books used by Anglicans, Baptists, Catholics, Methodists, Mormons, Shakers, and many others. Of these hymns, by definition, the majority would have been four-square, stilted, uninspired, or plain awful. And that is not to mention the matching tunes, which in themselves would generally be equally four-square and in all likelihood harmonically plain and quite probably ineptly composed. Dearmer was fond of quoting (oxymoronically) the following as a fine example of a bad hymn, which he politely categorized as of “simple standard”:

*Good Elijah went to heaven
In a chariot of fire:
Bright and warm to glory driven,
Fiery horses drew him higher.*

*Up God’s deathless way to glory,
Where God’s holy seraphs burn,
Enoch travelled by translation,
With no ticket to return.*

“With no ticket to return” simply tells us that we are at the apogee of railway mania in Victorian Britain, a mania directly responsible (together with mechanized printing presses) for the nationwide availability of hymn books in quantities undreamed of at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the Enoch-ticket type hymns simply blotted out the best of Wesley, Watts, Wesley, and Whittier, and indeed the finest products of the musical heritage that went with them.

Quite apart from the vast numbers of nonconformist hymnals on the market, the Church of England alone supported forty-two new hymnals between 1800 and 1820; from 1821 to 1830 a further fourteen new books were published, ten of these in 1833. Then another twenty books up to 1840, and forty-two more before 1861. This meant 118 separate hymnals designed for the same church in just 61 years! The matter was temporarily tidied up by the publication in 1861 of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* which by 1894 was being used by 10,340 churches in England alone, and in many others throughout the Empire. At that time, 1894, the Church of England was considering commissioning its own first ‘official’ hymn book, but eventually decided that *Ancient & Modern* was, *de facto*, that very thing. The idea of a new book fell through. Even *A&M* could not keep up with the rising tide of new material. Coupled also with changing tastes, it seemed itself to remain in a constant state of revision. Main editions or supplements appeared in 1861, 1875, and 1889. By 1890 sales had reached three and a half million. Then, in 1904, came a further completely new edition which immediately proved disastrous. The compilers, significantly, offered their work “in the

¹ This article is based on a paper given at York St John College at the IAML(UK & Irl) Annual Study Weekend in April 2006.

² *The Periodical*, May 1906, p.24-5.

³ *The English Hymnal* was published by Oxford University Press in 1906; *The New English Hymnal* was published by Canterbury Press in 1986.

⁴ In the Introduction to *Songs of praise discussed*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933, p.xix.

spirit of the English Prayer Book". But the edition fell down on a number of points: alterations to texts; changing the numbering scheme, making it incompatible with previous editions; discarding certain well-loved tunes. Its downfall was assured. No one was sure if *The Times* was damning with faint praise or otherwise when it wrote of the 1904 *Ancient & Modern*: "The tunes which appeal most to domestic servants are all, or nearly all, retained." Whatever the case, the 1904 *A&M* seemed to represent a meltdown of theological, musical, literary, and social debates that had been boiling for decades, and which were about to be blown out of the water for all time with a War. Clearly, the time was ripe for an entirely fresh consideration of just what a hymnal should be.⁵

To a select few, particularly those in touch spiritually with William Morris and the Arts & Crafts movement, a hymnal was to be cherished as a thing of beauty. It was to be a vehicle of praise and worship, enjoyed for careful selection of literature and melody, as well as simply to be admired as an artefact. At the turn of the century, and in Morris's spirit of woodcuts, literary restorations, and hand-printing, the poet Robert Bridges created a unique hymnal, one to stand out from the dross. Specially compiled for the congregation at Yattendon in Berkshire, where Bridges was Precentor, the *Yattendon Hymnal*, as it became called, was published privately by Bridges in instalments between 1895 and 1899, and in its complete edition is now prized as a rare book.⁶ It was printed for him by the Oxford University Press on fine, handmade paper; for its production, the Press revived the use of the ancient and elegant hand-cut types of Bishop Fell for text and Peter Walpergen for music. Bridges chose the types because they were the only ones that he could find of any beauty: "and I wished that my book should in this respect give an example and be worthy both of the music and its sacred use."⁷ Sales were made from the Press's London warehouse under their London Publisher, Henry Frowde, whose name appeared as part of the imprint. The result was indeed a thing of beauty, but the main point about the *Yattendon Hymnal* was that it was the first book to buck the long Victorian trend which culminated in the 1904 *Ancient & Modern*. In *Yattendon* there was nothing careless, nothing slipshod, nothing mass-produced, ill-thought out, or tawdry. While it had limited circulation, the *Yattendon Hymnal* became something of a cult book in terms of its content and selection, as well as in its presentation. Much of the literary material was written or translated by Bridges himself, setting a pattern of rigorous 'literary editorship' for a hymnal. It flew in the face of many anonymous Victorian compilations in which no attempt was made to regulate content.

In 1901 Percy Dearmer, himself an admirer of William Morris, took up his post at Primrose Hill. Dearmer, somewhat flamboyant, with his acute

⁵ For further information on the background to Victorian hymnody and the various editions of *Hymns Ancient & Modern* see W.K. Lowther Clarke, *A hundred years of Hymns Ancient & Modern*. London: William Clowes, 1960.

⁶ Robert Bridges and H. Ellis Wooldridge (eds.), *Hymns: The Yattendon Hymnal*. London: Henry Frowde at the Oxford Warehouse (= Oxford University Press), 1895-99.

⁷ Preface to Notes, *Yattendon Hymnal*, p.4.

literary and liturgical sensibilities, was endeavouring to shape the worship and music at his church, and by 1903 had gathered together a small collection of hymns which he used as a supplement to *Ancient & Modern*. Dearmer, like many, was disappointed by the 1904 revision and continued, therefore, to assemble his own material, for use in his own church. He was doing what Bridges had done for Yattendon, and it is significant that Dearmer himself called the *Yattendon Hymnal* "easily the most distinguished of individual pioneer contributions to modern hymnody".⁸

Dearmer called his collection *English Hymns*, but soon decided, along with some fellow enthusiasts, that what was now needed was not a local *Ancient & Modern* supplement, but an entirely new book. *English Hymns* became *The English Hymnal*,⁹ and Dearmer's informal book became a full-scale publishing project with the Oxford University Press.¹⁰ On the words side, Dearmer acted as rigorously as Bridges had, choosing and checking texts carefully, abandoning ill-considered alterations and avoiding the introduction of stock phrases.¹¹ His *Preface* took care to point out that the hymns were printed as their authors wrote them. Poetry was included: for example, "In the bleak mid-winter" by Christina Rossetti (*EH* 25),¹² and "He who would valiant be", adapted by Dearmer from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (*EH* 402). Dearmer had to exercise caution with poetry. The sensitivities of his time to any kind of superstition in a church context meant that he had to write out Bunyan's "Hobgoblin and foul fiend". But he left in the slightly risqué line about "A breastful of milk" in the Rossetti poem – this caused offence to many churchgoers, and sometime still does. But the words have stayed in. The work of selection encompassed texts translated from German, Greek, Irish, Latin, Russian, and Welsh, as well as original English language hymns, from Britain and America. Special care was given to the needs of the Church Year, not only for Sundays but for other Holy Days prescribed by the Prayer Book – Dearmer also provided a complete cycle of Office Hymns for the Saints' Days, and a sequence of hymns for the Minor Saints' Days of the Anglican Church, even though there is no Office for such days. Dearmer summarized as follows:¹³

Thus we have made complete provision for the liturgical requirements of Churchmen, while we have at the same time added many modern hymns of the first rank which have not

⁸ For biographical data on Dearmer see Donald Gray, *Percy Dearmer: a parson's pilgrimage*. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000.

⁹ Interestingly, Sir Henry Baker, the first Chairman of Proprietors, *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, once wrote that the "compilers [of *A&M*] will carry on until it shall please God to open the way for an authorised English Hymnal". See Lowther Clarke, *A hundred years of Hymns Ancient & Modern*, p.33.

¹⁰ Oxford University Press subsequently published various devotional books by Dearmer, starting in 1907, when the Press took over *The Parson's Handbook* (1899) from Grant Richards.

¹¹ *The Periodical*, rather sniffily maintaining a position on the moral high ground, had asserted that "room has been made by not admitting feeble hymns or hymns that are never sung".

¹² References to hymns from *The English Hymnal* are given in the form of the first line in double quote marks, followed by the *EH* number; hymn tunes are given by name in upper case, followed by the *EH* number. All numbering refers to the 1906 edition except where stated.

¹³ From the Preface to *The English Hymnal*, Tunes Edition, 1906, p.v.

hitherto been at their disposal. In so doing we have attempted to redress those defects in popular hymnody which are deeply felt by thoughtful men; for the best hymns of Christendom are as free as the Bible from self-centred sentimentalism, the weakness and unreality which mark inferior productions. The great hymns, indeed, of all ages abound in the conviction that duty lies at the heart of the Christian life – a double duty to God and to our neighbour; and such hymns, like the Prayer Book, are for all sorts and conditions of men.

In all of this, Dearmer's collection sounded a note of reform, justifying his claim that his material provided "a humble yet worthy companion to the Book of Common Prayer" – an echo of almost that exact phrase used to describe the 1904 A&M. The Words Edition of *The English Hymnal* was published by Oxford University Press on Ascension Day, May 1906.

Dearmer and his committee had determined that their new book would be as strong in its musical as in its literary content, and in 1904, following a recommendation from Cecil Sharp, decided to approach the composer Ralph Vaughan Williams. In the manner of a Sherlock Holmes client, Dearmer one day burst into Vaughan Williams's study and asked him to edit the music of the hymnal, to which Vaughan Williams agreed. Vaughan Williams estimated the work would take two months: in the event it took him two years. This lead time, though short in terms of current practice, is a reflection of the rigour, the care, and the thoroughness applied by Vaughan Williams to his task. It is significant that, when writing fifty years later about his work as Music Editor of *The English Hymnal*, Vaughan Williams acknowledged his debt to the *Yattendon Hymnal*.¹⁴ Publication of the Tunes Edition of *The English Hymnal* followed the Words Edition by just a few weeks.

Publication history

Incredible as it may now seem, the new hymnal caused immediate controversy. A group of Bishops, led by those of Oxford and Bristol, objected to the inclusion of certain hymns to St Mary and others of the saints. The book was banned in the Diocese of Bristol, immediately causing the newspapers to thunder on the themes of censorship and indexes of banned books. The Archbishop of Canterbury was forced to take a view. "The book contains hymns which appear to express doctrines contrary to the spirit and traditions, or even to the express teaching of the Church of England", he opined. He appended "hymns to the faithful departed" to the growing list of questionable material. Oxford University Press became alarmed, fearing that censure of one of their books by the Primate of All England could possibly be detrimental to sales, or even to their reputation. An additional embarrassment was that Thomas Strong, Dean of Christ Church, the very seat of the complaining Oxford Bishop, was a member of the Delegacy of the Oxford University Press, which controlled both the hymnal's printer and publisher.

¹⁴ See Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Some Reminiscences of The English Hymnal' in *The first fifty years: a brief account of The English Hymnal from 1906 to 1956*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956. Vaughan Williams's typescript (OUP Archive) differs considerably from the published version.

Dearmer refused to revise or withdraw his book, and the Press became piggy in the middle.¹⁵

Eventually a classic British compromise was reached. The original edition remained untouched, but a parallel "Abridged Edition" was prepared, with the offending material simply cut out. The abridgement was published in 1907. As things turned out, hymn books were soon to be displaced from newspaper editorial columns by unfolding world events and, as the original edition of *The English Hymnal* began to find acceptance and popularity, the 1907 abridgement quietly fell by the wayside. Copies of the 1907 book are now extremely rare: one is preserved in the OUP Archive.

In the early 1930s, the twenty-five year old *English Hymnal* was subjected to its first and only revision, but this affected the music only. Vaughan Williams selected a considerable number of additional tunes,¹⁶ and the plain-song hymns were re-notated in quavers (rather than the 1906 minims), and given new accompaniments. The new edition of the Tunes book was published in 1933. Curiously, it also quietly admitted one extra *text* (a poem), absent from the 1906 edition – "And did those feet in ancient time" (*Jerusalem*), by William Blake (EH 656A, 1933 Tunes Edition, and Words Edition impressions from 1933 onwards). Parry's musical setting made in 1916 had, by 1933, become the unofficial anthem of the Women's Institute, and it was felt prudent to include the text in the 1933 music book, and words copies from thereon. The curiosity is, though, that Parry's music was not printed, possibly because OUP was in dispute with Novello over other copyright matters for the book in 1933. It could go in now, but never has.

As also with Ordnance Survey maps, the term 'edition' is loosely applied to hymn books by their users and publishers alike, but the word is confusing (for example, in connection with these various 'versions' of *The English Hymnal*) unless explained carefully. An 'edition' of a hymn book may refer to a particular state, a particular set of contents; it may also refer to the way those contents are presented. Thus, the 1906 *edition* of *The English Hymnal* existed in a *Words Edition* (containing words only), and a *Tunes Edition* (containing words, with full music, including all harmony). The 1907 abridgement was effectively a special *edition*, a piece of vanity publishing for difficult Bishops – but it affected only the Tunes Edition of the 1906 book. The *English Hymnal*'s 1933 edition was a revision to the music only, and therefore only the Tunes Edition was re-set, and this of course remained compatible with the 1906 Words Edition. The Words Edition, in its one hundred years, has never been revised, apart from minor corrections, and the addition in 1933 of *Jerusalem*. In 1933 OUP also took the opportunity of producing a Tunes Edition (Treble Part) book, which showed words and melody line only. (Even more confusingly, the preferred modern terminology

¹⁵ This controversy is covered fully in Donald Gray, 'The birth and background of The English Hymnal' in Alan Luff (ed.), *Strengthen for service: 100 years of The English Hymnal*. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2005, p.1-20. Thomas Strong went on to edit the *Oxford hymn book* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), and in 1925 was himself appointed Bishop of Oxford. He remained a Press delegate until his death in 1944.

¹⁶ The changes are detailed on p.xx-xxi of the 1933 Tunes Edition.

for the Tunes edition is “Full Music Edition”, to distinguish this more clearly from the Treble Part version, which itself is often referred to colloquially as the “Melody Edition”.) The *New English Hymnal* is not an edition of *The English Hymnal*, but a completely new book.

The English Hymnal was originally typeset and printed at the University Printing House in Oxford, and published by the London business of Oxford University Press, like *Yattendon*, under the imprint of the then Publisher to the University, Henry Frowde. The book never bore the more academic Clarendon Press imprint, but from the start was regarded as a mass-selling, trade title.¹⁷ The book clearly benefited from OUP’s 450 years of typesetting, printing, binding, and publishing experience. Many critics saw in the hymnal’s typography a new standard of excellence in its clarity of typeface and layout. There was attention to various small details, such as the printing of choruses just once in italic; a central vertical rule where, at points in the Tunes Edition, verses were set out in columns; the use of asterisks to denote optional verses; and the use of a full point after the number of the last verse only, to show that it *was* the last verse. Musical settings of “Amen” were positioned separately on the page from the tunes to which they relate, not technically being part of the tune. OUP’s vast store of print fonts in non-Roman characters was deployed with alacrity to print original first-lines of hymns in Cyrillic, Gothic, Greek, and Syriac scripts, where appropriate.¹⁸ And in the Tunes Edition, words and music were elegantly integrated – not necessarily in consistent layout throughout the book, but certainly to be pleasing to the eye at each page opening. The music, including plainsong, was typeset and not engraved. All musical performance instructions were printed in italic. Plainsong hymns were given in both ordinary stave notation, and neums. Places where neumatic and stave settings of plainsong, together with stave notation of a modern tune, all fitting two or three separate hymn texts, also showing the corresponding notations of “Amen” are, quite simply, typographical tours-de-force. The page opening of numbers 58, 59, and 60 in the Tunes Edition is a fine example, and this is shown for both the 1906 and 1933 editions in Figures 1(a) and 1(b); these also show the conversion in 1933 of the plainsong notation from minims to quavers, and the move of ILLSLEY to accommodate O INVIDENDA MARTYRUM.¹⁹ Furthermore, the 1907 adaptation, and the 1933 new edition were both achieved with almost no disruption at all to the original typographical elegance and layouts. In particular, the 1907 book is a triumph of micro-surgery, with absolutely no scars visible on the printed page. This can be seen in Figures 2(a) and 2(b),

¹⁷ For a time, copies of *The English Hymnal* bore the imprint of “A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.” jointly with “Oxford University Press”. This was one of the conditions of a special distribution agreement between the Press and Mowbray.

¹⁸ These first-lines were printed on page, above the hymns to which they relate and, as a probably needless flourish of typographical bravado, in a special section of the Index (Tunes Edition, 1906, p.951 / Tunes Edition, 1933, p.1020-21).

¹⁹ Even as early as the 1906 Preface it was observed that the use of minim symbols in plainsong transcription gave an impression to all musicians of “a slower and heavier mode of expression than that which is proper to plainsong”. The ‘minim’ notation was adopted in *EH* 1906, however, as this was by far the preferred system at the time.

FROM THE CHRISTIAN YEAR
58, 59, 60

Mode ii.

ILLISLEY. (L.M.)
80m $\text{♩} = 66$.

(Modern Tune)
J. Bamford, c. 1895-1907.

88

FROM THE EPIPHANY TILL LENT

58

Incense east Cantor.
c. 6th cent. Tr. G. G.

OFFICE HYMN.
Tennysonian.
O BOUNDLESS WISDOM, Creator of
the earth and sky, Who hidest
at the parted waters flow:
In heaven above, on earth below:
2 The streams on earth, the clouds in
heaven,
By thee their ordered bounds were
Lest 'neath thoutempered fires of day
The parched soil should waste away.
3 Even so on who seek thy face
Four forth the waters of thy grace;

59

Tennysonian.
c. 7th cent. Tr. Amen. (1854)

OFFICE HYMN.
Tennysonian.
O FATHER, THAT WE ASK BE DONE,
Who, with the Holy Ghost and thee,
Dost live and reign eternally. Amen.

60

Cant. Deus sanctissimus.
4th or 5th cent. Tr. M. F. R.

OFFICE HYMN.
Tennysonian.
O FATHER, THAT WE ASK BE DONE,
Who, with the Holy Ghost and thee,
Dost live and reign eternally. Amen.

89

Figure 1(a): The English Hymnal.
Page opening for numbers 58, 59, and 60 (Tunes Edition, 1906).

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR
58, 59, 60

Mode II.

(MOORE'S TUNE)

O INVINDENDA MARTYRUM. (L. M.)
In moderate time ♩ = 144. To be sung in unison.

DIXON CHURCH MELODY.
Harmonized by R. V. W.

Note.—This hymn may also be sung to LINDSEY (No. 61).

Figure 1(b): The English Hymnal. Page opening for numbers 58, 59, and 60 (Tunes Edition, 1933).

SAINTS' DAYS: GENERAL

185

BEATA NOBIS GAUDIA. (L. M.)
In free rhythm ♩ = 96.
To be sung in unison.

MELODY FROM
'FELICITATEUS ORATORIO, CONSTANTINE, 1310.

186

MARTYRS

RODMELL. (C. M.)
In moderate time ♩ = 96.

Note.—This hymn may also be sung to the *Angels Melody* at Hymn 176.
Beate Martir, prospere.
BLESSED MARTYR: let thy triumph-day / 2 Why, soul to heavenly mansions sped / God's favouring grace do [flowed] / The day on which thy life-blood / The judge and torturer o'erthrown. / And he thy crown in need bestowed. / Christ claimed the victor for his own. / 3 Now consort of the Angels bright / Thou shinnest clothed in robes of white; / Robes thou hast washed in streams of blood. / A countless Martyr: for thy God. / 4 Be thou on this thy holy-day / Our strong upholder; while we pray / That from our guilt we may be freed. / Shed thou our sins as thine and plead. / 5 All hail to God the Father be, / All glory, as is ever meet, / To God the holy Paraclete. Amen.

273

Figure 2(a): The English Hymnal. Page opening for numbers 185 and 186 (Tunes Edition, 1906).

FROM THE EPIPHANY TILL LENT

58

Immense call
Cantator.
c 6th cent. Tr. G. G.

O BOUNDLESS WISDOM, GOD MOST MAKER OF THE EARTH AND SKY, / 1 Who bidst the parted waters flow / In heaven above, on earth below; / 2 The streams on earth, the clouds in heaven, / 3 Their ordered bounds were / Left beneath the untempered fires of day / 4 The parched soil should waste away. / 5. O Father, that we ask be done, / Who, with the Holy Ghost and thee, / Four forth the waters of thy grace;

59

Telleris ingenis Cantator.
c 7th cent. Tr. Anon. (1854).

MARTYR'S MIGHTY MAKER, whose / 1 Right arm the sea the solid land, / And drove each billowy heap away, / And bade the earth stand firm for aye; / 2 That so, with flowers of golden hue, / The seeds of each it might renew; / 3 And fruit-trees bearing fruit might yield— / And pleasant pasture of the field; / 4 Our spirit's ranking wounds efface / With dewy freshness of thy grace;

60

Cant. Deus sanctissimus.
14th or 15th cent. Tr. M. F. B.

MOS THY LORD AND GOD OF HEAVEN, / 1 Who to the glowing sky hast given / The fires that in the east are born / With gradient splendours of the morn; / 2 Who, on the fourth day, didst reveal / The moon her ordered maze; / 3 And start their ever-winding way / That each in its appointed way / Might separate the night from day / And of the seasons through the year / The well-remembered signs declare: / 4 Illuminate our hearts within, / And cleanse our minds from stain of unburdenance / Or our guilty load / May we unshattered serve our God.

Figure 1(a): The English Hymnal. Page opening for numbers 58, 59, and 60 (Tunes Edition, 1933).

SAINTS' DAYS: GENERAL
186

English Traditional Melody

RODWELL. (C.M.)
In moderate time ♩ = 96.

COME, let us join the Church above
The Martyr's praise to sing,
That soldier true who gave to-day
His life-blood for his King.

2 To-day through heaven the cry rang out,
'Great God, the fight is done!
Room for the Victor! Lo, his crown
Christ's valiant Saint hath won!' 272

A. R.

MARTYRS

3 The Martyr's triumph shall endure,
His fame time cannot dim;
See how he calls on one and all
To rise and follow him!

4 We know that in our Saviour Christ
The best our troubles heed;
That Saints in heaven to saints on earth
Are very near indeed.

Unison. 5 The cloud of witnesses look down,
They cheer us on to fight;
To God their prayers go up, that he
May lend their friends aright.

6 Brave Martyr, we will follow till
To God we yield our breath;
And learn from thee to spurn the world
And mock at pain and death!

Unison. 7. To Christ, for whom the Martyrs die,
All hand and glory be,
With Father, and with Holy Ghost,
To all eternity. Amen.

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where the deletion of hymn 185 from 1906 results in the spreading of 186 over two pages in 1907, to fill the gap, and to retain the same page numbering. *The English Hymnal* is printed to this day from the original 1906/1933 setting; it has never been felt necessary to re-originate the book. Indeed, to do so would inevitably destroy much of the hymnal's unique character.

Sales and spin-offs

After the initial hiccup, *The English Hymnal* began to attract favourable reviews.²⁰ *The Church Times*, rather pompously, said, "It is, in our judgement, worthy of being read, even when it is not sung" – quite why one would not use a hymn book for singing was overlooked. "Undoubtedly one of the best hymn books in our language", said *Christian World*. *The Pall Mall Gazette* noted the hymnal's "rigorous regard for taste and exactitude", while *The Guardian* singled out the book for being "the first attempt to sink party views and aim for the common good". *The Standard* said, "No collection of hymn tunes that has ever appeared before can approach this one in combined variety and excellence of quality, in generous inclusiveness and freedom from fads".

The book sold steadily and well. Sales were helped by a prospectus showing specimen pages, and a gratis copy of the book being sent to every benefited clergyman in England. Oxford University Press was ahead of its competitors in that it had a well-developed and continually improved international network of sales offices. Branches in New York and Toronto were established by the time of the book's publication. OUP Melbourne followed in 1908, Bombay in 1912, and Cape Town in 1915. Through these Press branches copies of *The English Hymnal* flowed to all quarters – principally to the Anglican churches of the Empire. The book had a pilgrim flavour, an international content – or at least a British Edwardian consensus of what internationality should be. It travelled well.²¹ OUP in India took by far the largest numbers of export copies, and today, still, the Indian branch reprints *The English Hymnal* locally itself when required. Even the green livery of *The English Hymnal* was acclaimed as refreshing, in an age when most Bibles, Prayer Books, and hymnals were bound in black or dark maroon. Interestingly, 1906 also saw the acquisition by OUP of the *World's Classics* literature series from Grant Richards. And by 1906, the Press's most ambitious publishing and printing project to that date, the *Oxford English Dictionary* had arrived via publication in serial form at approximately the middle of the alphabet, having commenced with the publication of "A-Ant" in 1884; the *Dictionary* was not completed until 1928.²² *Oxford World's Classics*, *The English Hymnal*, and the *OED* all flourish to this day. Oxford University Press, as a department of its university, is not necessarily in business to make immediate

²⁰ The quotations from press reviews which follow are taken from typescript copies in the OUP Archive; specific issue dates were not given in the typescripts.

²¹ One of the book's features is a special selection of Hymns for Home and Foreign Missions (numbers 546-554).

²² See Simon Winchester, *The meaning of everything*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Figure 2(b): The English Hymnal.
Page opening for number 186 (185 was removed) (Tunes Edition, 1907).

profit, but rather to invest in intellectual property that will bring a substantial and long-term return.

Throughout *The English Hymnal's* hundred years of life, the Words, Tunes, and Tunes (Treble Part) editions have been issued in a huge variety of sizes and binding styles, and there has been a constant flow of what publishers call spin-offs: derivative publications, companions, indexes, off-prints, and hymnals bound up with prayer books and Bibles. It is true to say that a mini-publishing industry effectively sprang up from *The English Hymnal*. OUP's encyclopaedic General Catalogue of 1920,²³ the first issued after the War, listed a vast range of formats and binding for the "Tunes" and "Words only" editions, plus a number of hymns available as offprints at 1d. or 2d. each. By 1920 a publicity brochure had been introduced, 6s. per hundred copies: *Hints on the Introduction of "The English Hymnal" and the Improvement of Congregational Singing*. In 1931 OUP issued its first Music Catalogue,²⁴ into which hymnal items were copied from the General Catalogue. The spin-offs had proliferated, with an *English Hymnal* book of organ accompaniments, a subject index, a *Transition Tune-Book* (fifty-two *English Hymnal* tunes to be sung to familiar words), and a book of hymns suitable for congregational practices. The 1933 revision of course saw further industry along the same lines.

By the mid-1950s the number of editions, type sizes, and binding styles was at something of a zenith. The choice was bewildering.²⁵ The Music Edition²⁶ (Crown 8vo) and the Melody Edition²⁷ (Small Crown 8vo) were both available in a range of simple or 'superior' bindings, while the Words Edition came in Crown 8vo and Long Primer 8vo (various bindings), and as Minion 48mo, Ruby 32mo, Nonpareil 32mo, Beryl 32mo, and Pearl 32mo, in standard bindings. There was a Sunday School Edition, and a range of publications "based on *The English Hymnal*" including *A Subject Index of Hymns in "The English Hymnal" and "Songs of Praise"*, *The Nine Sequences of "The English Hymnal"*, a special edition entitled *Hymnal for Scotland*,²⁸ and books of descants and communion hymns, introits and antiphons. Prices ranged from the standard Music at 11s. 6d. to Words (Pearl) at 1s. 9d. Superior binding prices, presumably, were upon application. In 1962, OUP produced an *English Hymnal Service Book*, a selection of hymns bound up with the Psalms and frequently used services from the Prayer Book. However, in recent years, and particularly since the closure of OUP's Printing House in 1989, the number of formats in which *The English Hymnal* is available has decreased to but a few; and the spin-offs have all disappeared.

²³ *Oxford University Press general catalogue 1920*. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1920.

²⁴ *Catalogue of Oxford music and books on music published by the Oxford University Press London*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

²⁵ See, for example, the lists in *The first fifty years*.

²⁶ *Sic* = Tunes Edition.

²⁷ *Sic* = Treble Part.

²⁸ *Hymnal for Scotland* (1950) was essentially the 1933 edition of *The English Hymnal*, with fourteen hymns specially approved for use in the Episcopal Church in Scotland bound in after (but not included in) the index.

Soundscape

The editorial pairing of Percy Dearmer and Ralph Vaughan Williams in itself had a decisive and marked effect on British publishing and culture, an effect still being felt. Crucially, the collaboration first brought Vaughan Williams in contact with Oxford University Press which, in 1925, became both his music and book publisher from then until the end of his life. This having been established, Vaughan Williams and Dearmer, together with the composer Martin Shaw, worked together on a further Oxford hymnal, *Songs of Praise* (published in 1925 and enlarged in 1931), and the *Oxford Book of Carols* (1928). Both books were immensely successful and, like *The English Hymnal*, remain in print to this day. They both also engendered many spin-off publications. *Songs of Praise* replicated many of the features of its parent, but was deliberately more populist. It found a particular niche in school assembly use. *Songs of Praise* was the initial inspiration behind the BBC's long-running television programme of that name, which in its turn resulted in a further OUP hymn book, *BBC Songs of Praise* in 1997. As a result of expertise gained with *The English Hymnal*, OUP became and remains publisher of a large number of other hymn books, and a conservative estimate would be that there have been sales of well over one hundred million individual hymnal copies by the Press since 1906. The *Oxford Book of Carols*, a sort of Christmas *English Hymnal*, placed the carol as a valid scholarly and performance genre firmly centre stage, and its huge and long-lasting success was directly responsible for the climate in which OUP was able to publish and develop its *Carols for Choirs* series from the 1960s onwards.²⁹ These have effectively become the musical voice of Christmas for over forty years. All of these publications have decisively shaped British culture, and each has its roots in *The English Hymnal*. They form, in their own way, the backdrop to what I shall call the *English Hymnal* 'soundscape'.

To understand the *English Hymnal* 'soundscape' we need to understand exactly what was original and different about the music in the hymn book, and to consider the real achievement of Vaughan Williams as Music Editor. It is important to remember that probably no hymn book either before or after *The English Hymnal* ever had a musician of the stature of Vaughan Williams as its editor. In 1904, when he undertook the task, he was thirty-two years of age but, of his canon of mature works, he only had the tiny song *Linden Lea* under his belt by that date. While working on *The English Hymnal* Vaughan Williams wrote *In the Fen Country* and *Songs of Travel*. Vaughan Williams later claimed he had protested to Dearmer that he knew very little about hymns. His religious position was, in his own words, one of "cheerful agnosticism", but as the son of an Anglican clergyman, and having served as organist in a London church, he was fully aware of current issues surrounding hymnody, and the place of hymns and music in worship. "The truth is", he wrote, "that I determined to do the work thoroughly, and that, besides being a compendium of all the tunes of worth which were already in use,

²⁹ *Carols for choirs* [1], 1961; *Carols for choirs* 2, 1970; *Carols for choirs* 3, 1978; *Carols for choirs* 4, 1980; *100 Carols for choirs*, 1987; *World carols for choirs SATB*, 2005; *World carols for choirs SSA*, 2006.

the book should, in addition, be a thesaurus of all the finest hymn tunes in the world."³⁰

Vaughan Williams threw his net widely, and his own musical sensibilities and preferences meant that while trying to include existing *good* tunes, he also eliminated the *bad* ones. Plainsong he approved of, but knew little about, and this was left entirely to W. J. Birkbeck in 1906, and J. H. Arnold in 1933. Apart from this, the book bears the indelible stamp of Vaughan Williams's own personality, through a distinctive and individual selection of hymn tunes, including those from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the USA, and France. English folk tunes were adapted, early tunes by Tallis and Gibbons were adopted, and chorales from Germany were arranged. Early psalters were freely consulted, and the best of the Victorians was included. A bold and individual gesture was to include music by Wagner, for example at number 313, for Dearmer's Communion hymn "Holy God, we show forth here Jesus' death our hearts to clear". In all cases, Vaughan Williams aimed to make his selection and setting as practical and singable as possible. "The music is", he wrote in the Preface,³¹ "intended to be essentially congregational in character, and this end has been kept in view both in the choice of tunes and in the manner of setting them out. Fine melody rather than the traditional exploitation of a trained choir has been the criterion of selection: the pitch of each tune has been kept as low as is consistent with the character of the melody." Vaughan Williams took seriously and responsibly something akin to a Churchillian sense of destiny, which he felt driving his work. "Is it not worth while making a vigorous effort to-day for the sake of establishing a good tradition? Especially should this be the case with children's hymns. Children at all events have no association with any particular tune, and incalculable good or harm may be done by the music which they sing in their most impressionable years."

Occasionally Vaughan Williams asked Dearmer to provide new texts for particularly good tunes. This was the origin of "Ye watchers and ye holy ones" (EH 519), which Vaughan Williams commissioned from Athlestan Riley for his own fine harmonization of LASST UNS ERFREUEN. And, the other way around, new tunes were also commissioned – from Thomas Dunhill and Gustav Holst, amongst others. Where no suitable tune existed, Vaughan Williams occasionally prevailed upon himself to provide his own. In the 1906 edition the Vaughan Williams tunes were ascribed to "my old friend, Mr Anon.", but in 1933 they finally bore his own name, or rather initials: "R.V.W."³² For "Come down, O love divine" (EH 152) (the words translated from Bianco da Siena) Vaughan Williams wrote a tune which he named after his Gloucestershire birthplace, DOWN AMPNEY. "For all the Saints who from their labours rest" (EH 641) resulted in Vaughan Williams's fine SINE NOMINE, with its arresting and soon-to-be trademark "Alleluyas";

³⁰ 'Some Reminiscences of The English Hymnal'.

³¹ Tunes Edition, 1906, p.x.

³² Some of the final impressions of the 1906 edition indeed had the ascription "R. VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS" [sic], the erroneous hyphenation surely indicating that Vaughan Williams himself had not been consulted over this change to the original policy.

its use with any other words was, and still is, prohibited. Because Rossetti's "In the bleak mid-winter" was a poem, not a hymn, it had no tune, and Vaughan Williams's request for one to his friend Holst resulted in CRANHAM (EH 25), another tune named for a Gloucestershire location. More controversial in some quarters than new tunes were the adaptations of folk songs in which, for several years, Vaughan Williams had been immersed as a collector. He clearly aimed to bring back the music of the people to the people, through their worship. For Vaughan Williams, this was not a moral issue; his cheerful agnosticism probably helped. Thus was born the marriage of FOREST GREEN to "O little town of Bethlehem" (EH 15), and MONKS GATE to "He who would valiant be" (EH 402). This last is an excellent case of an adapted folk song used alongside an adaptation of a literary text, to make a hymn in which words and music are inextricably linked. The collocation is perfect.

The plainsong melodies were such a significant part of the book that they received their own Preface in both the 1906 and 1933 Tunes editions. W. J. Birkbeck's 1906 exposition on the method of performance is a model of its kind, and provides to modern readers a fascinating window on late-Victorian plainsong performance practice and notation. The melodies chosen were, as far as possible, taken from "English sources, as seemed only natural and right in the case of an 'English Hymnal'".³³

Vaughan Williams, as he himself pointed out, was careful to pitch hymn tunes in keys suitable not only for choirs, but more particularly for congregations. *The English Hymnal* was first and foremost a practical book. Vaughan Williams seemed particularly to love the warm key of E flat major which when used in hymns tends to provide ideal pitches for all voices, without having to resort to any extremes (around 18 per cent of the tunes in the 1933 edition, excluding plainsong, are in E flat). MONKS GATE is in this key, as is LASST UNS ERFREUEN: their 'E flat-ness' is another characteristic of *The English Hymnal*'s soundscape.

In building up the 'soundscape' of the book, Tudor and other early English music was another rich source for Vaughan Williams. The 1933 edition includes seven tunes by Tallis and thirteen by Gibbons. The most celebrated Tallis use occurs at number 92, the THIRD MODE MELODY, for the words "When, rising from the bed of death". The use is celebrated not because the hymn tune has become particularly well used, but because Vaughan Williams famously and lovingly appropriated it for his *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*, written just four years after *The English Hymnal*, in 1910. In this work Vaughan Williams, at a stroke, and in a bold *English Hymnal* soundscape canvas, created a distinctive 'English string orchestra voice'.

The great hymn tune YORK, number 472 in *The English Hymnal*, is possibly the item that meant more to Vaughan Williams than any other in the book. It is a fine, traditional hymn tune, taken from the *Scottish Psalter* of 1615, with slightly later harmony. It is broad, robust, and diatonic, but with distinct modal inflection in the harmony. In *The English Hymnal* it is set to a

³³ Tunes Edition, 1906, p.xx.

Scottish Psalter paraphrase of Psalm 122: "Pray that Jerusalem may have / Peace and felicity". For Vaughan Williams, that cheerful agnostic, the tune became a motto, one associated with his own musical pilgrimage, his own life pilgrimage. Having selected it for the hymnal, YORK was then used by him in the Epilogue to music he wrote for a dramatized version of *Pilgrim's Progress* given at Reigate Priory in December 1906. It was used again by him in 1924 as a carillon in *Hugh the Drover*, and in 1942 in music for a BBC radio adaptation of *Pilgrim's Progress*. Finally, it became the splendid opening music for Vaughan Williams's great Morality, *The Pilgrim's Progress* of 1951, and was also used elsewhere at key points in that score. Edward Dent wrote to Vaughan Williams that "YORK is the making of the whole opera... I find it indescribably uplifting, every time it comes in, and more and more; it sets the whole mood of the opera at the start (and how beautifully you have orchestrated the wind there) and I felt I should never have got to Paradise if I didn't hear YORK there!"³⁴

While the use of YORK in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is somehow the most musically significant manifestation of an *English Hymnal* soundscape component in Vaughan Williams's own work, he freely used other musical material that he had assembled for the book, throughout his composing life. *Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus* (1939) is based on an *English Hymnal* folk tune adaptation,³⁵ and the *Three Preludes Founded on Welsh Hymn Tunes* (1920) and the *Fantasia (Quasi Variazioni) on the 'Old 104th' Psalm Tune* are what they say they are, again from the book.³⁶ Even the bucolic *Sir John in Love* (1928) inconspicuously quotes ST MARY (EH 84) by way of a conceit. The pliable, modal language of *The Lark Ascending* (1914/1920) and *Flos Campi* (1925) springs not only from the hymnal's body of English folk song, but the also from the plainsong melodies which are one of its hugely significant features.

These, then, are the primary colours of the *English Hymnal* soundscape: traditional melody, plainsong, folksongs, early music, new tunes, careful use of key colour. These are the elements that have passed subtly from the hymn book, into the culture, the musical language of the twentieth century. While it is a truism to say that Vaughan Williams used folk song as a foundation for his own musical language, it is important to remember that it was in *The English Hymnal* that this process actually commenced. It was here that he first began to meld, absorb, adapt. The material, as it were, was just brought in, still sweet and fresh from the fields. And it is impossible to imagine Christmas now without FOREST GREEN or CRANHAM; *The English Hymnal* was their nursery. The modality, turns of phrase, and clean serenity of early English music became a place of refuge, of inspiration, in which many British composers of the twentieth century were to walk. The older heritage was filtered through *The English Hymnal*, and became a lingua franca,

adopted by a large and diverse range of composers, including those not generally associated with the 'school' of Vaughan Williams.

The influence of 'English Hymnal hymnody' on Benjamin Britten, by way of example, was profound. *English Hymnal* ideals (particularly the use of plainsong in services) were promoted at Gresham's School, Holt, during Britten's education there, under the Director of Music, Walter Greatorex (1877-1949). The hymn book in use at the school during Britten's time was *The Public School Hymn Book* (1919), which contained a large number of *English Hymnal* hymns; Vaughan Williams himself went on to assist on a new edition of this book in 1949. Many of the hymn tunes alluded to, or quoted literally, in Britten's works are to be found in *The English Hymnal*: DUNDEE (EH 43, 206, 428) in *Scottish Ballad*; ST DENIO (EH 407) in *Suite for Harp*; and VATER UNSER (EH 462, 539) in *Winter Words*. The church service in *Peter Grimes* employs an *English Hymnal* text (EH 254) for the 'hymn' "Now that daylight fills the sky". *Noye's Fludde* uses hymns at beginning, middle, and end to provide three 'pillars' as a proscenium, and through which the action is viewed. It opens with the congregational singing of "Lord Jesus, think on me" to the *Damon's Psalter* tune named SOUTHWELL (both EH 77): Britten adopts the "later from of third line" printed in *The English Hymnal*. Noye, his family, all the animals, and eventually the congregation invoke God's help during the storm with "Eternal Father, strong to save" to the fine MELITA by J. B. Dykes (both EH 540). And the restoration of life and peace is celebrated in "The spacious firmament on high" (EH 297) set to TALLIS' CANON (EH 267). Similar use of congregational hymns occurs in *Saint Nicolas*: "All people that on earth do dwell" to OLD HUNDREDTH (both EH 365), and "God moves in a mysterious way" to LONDON NEW (both EH 394). The "Alleluias" which are crucial to both *Noye's Fludde* and *Saint Nicolas* are clearly shaped by the dual archetypes of plainsong and SINE NOMINE. Unlike Vaughan Williams however, rather than being integral to Britten's musical language, hymns are generally used by him as points of historical and cultural reference, and become therefore features rather than fabric. Their use by him is simply another view of the soundscape.³⁷

A Few Late Chrysanthemums was the title of a collection of poems by John Betjeman, published in 1954, just three years after *The Pilgrim's Progress*. One of these, *The Old Liberals*,³⁸ looked back to that old connection between the *Yattendon Hymnal* and *The English Hymnal*. The link, always firmly acknowledged by Dearmer and Vaughan Williams, finds resonance in Betjeman's words, which deftly and affectionately satirize the social milieu which had given rise to both books, and in which *The English Hymnal* flourished:

*Pale green of the English Hymnal! Yattendon hymns
Played on the hautbois by a lady dress'd in blue
Her white-hair'd father accompanying her thereto*

³⁴ Quoted in Michael Kennedy, *A catalogue of the works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.200.

³⁵ KINGSFOLD (EH 574)

³⁶ The three Welsh tunes are BRYN CALFARIA (EH 319), RHOSYMEDRE/LOVELY (EH 303), HYFRYDOL (EH 301, 563); OLD 104TH is EH 178.

³⁷ See Christopher Palmer, 'The Ceremony of Innocence' in Christopher Palmer (ed.), *The Britten companion*. London: Faber and Faber, 1984, p.68-83; see also letters 9 and 19 in Donald Mitchell and Philip Reed (eds.), *Letters from a life: selected letters and diaries of Benjamin Britten, volume 1 1923-39*. London: Faber and Faber, 1991, p.93-8.

³⁸ Published in *John Betjeman's collected poems*, 4th ed. London: John Murray, 1980, p.229.

*On tenor or bass-recorder. Daylight swims
On sectional bookcase, delicate cup and plate
And William de Morgan tiles around the grate
And many the silver birches the pearly light shines through.*

Betjeman claimed³⁹ that his own childhood verses "came out like parodies of A&M". But his mature work reflects a deep sensitivity to both the content and structure of sophisticated hymnody; in a true sense it is a literary manifestation of the *English Hymnal* soundscape. And let it not be overlooked that Betjeman's *Collected Poems* was, for many years, published in a format and binding that clearly imitated "pale green of the *English Hymnal*".

Last year Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, called *The English Hymnal* "a triumph".⁴⁰ Disagreeing retrospectively with his predecessor of one hundred years, he claimed that *The English Hymnal* stands not for "an archaic churchiness, but the commitment to a faith that is culturally adventurous, that expects God's people to be heirs of a humanly rich environment". For Rowan Williams, as for John Betjeman, *The English Hymnal* is both ideological and iconic. And so also it has been, for one hundred years, for the world-wide community of those that love hymns and the music to which they are sung.

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THE MUSIC COLLECTIONS OF THE ANACREONTIC SOCIETY AND THE SONS OF HANDEL SOCIETY AND MUSIC MAKING IN DUBLIN c1740-1865

Catherine Ferris

The library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Dublin contains a significant amount of largely uncatalogued music donated or bequeathed over the past century and a half by private musicians, teachers, collectors and various musical societies and organisations. Previously only one of these acquisitions (the Hudleston collection of guitar music from the nineteenth century) was catalogued but recently the collections of the Sons of Handel society and The Anacreontic Society, as well as that of the Antient Concerts Society, have been collated and catalogued.¹

A study of these music collections throws light on music making in Dublin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their significance may be inferred through examination within the context of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. The Irish Academy of Music opened in Dublin in 1848 with the intention of developing the musical talent of the youth of the city. Prior to this, there had been no systematised musical education in Ireland. In 1856 it was reorganised in order to receive funding from the government and the standard of teaching was raised to meet that of the Royal Academy of Music in London. In 1889 it became the statute-based Royal Irish Academy of Music that continues today. One of the founder members of the Academy was Francis Robinson, whose four sons were involved in Dublin music of the nineteenth century. The eldest of these, Joseph, participated in the reorganisation of the Academy, and it is primarily due to him that the RIAM holds late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century music sources. He was the founder of the Antient Concerts Society, a society "for the cultivation of vocal music, especially choral compositions of ancient masters."² He was also the first conductor of the University Choral Society at Trinity College Dublin from 1838.³ In 1872, nine years after the demise of the Antient Concerts Society, Robinson arranged that their music be bought by the Academy for use by the "Irish Academy of Music Choral Class" of which he

¹ Catherine Kiely-Ferris, 'The music of three Dublin musical societies of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: The Anacreontic Society, The Antient Concerts Society and The Sons of Handel. A descriptive catalogue'. M.Litt diss, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2005. The catalogues will be available online in the coming months, and will be accessible through the Music Department on the National University of Ireland, Maynooth website: <http://music.nuim.ie>.

² Brian Boydell, 'Music, 1700-1850', *A new history of Ireland IV*, ed. T.W. Moody & W.E. Vaughan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986, p.608.

³ Gerald FitzGibbon, "College Choral", 1837-1987', *Hermathena* cxiv (1988), p.55.

³⁹ In *Summoned by bells*, revised edition, London: John Murray, 1976, p.17.

⁴⁰ In Preface to *Strengthen for service*.

was conductor. Within this collection was music from the Antient Concerts Society's antecedent society, the Sons of Handel. The latter's manuscripts bound in Antient Concerts Society covers, the superimposition of Antient Concerts Society labels over Sons of Handel covers, and the manuscripts that bear both the Antient Concerts Society and the Sons of Handel stamps, indicate that Joseph Robinson's Antient Concerts Society used the original Sons of Handel manuscripts.

It seems that the Anacreontic Society and the Antient Concerts Society may also have had links, heretofore undocumented: parts for Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* are included in both collections, but numerous Anacreontic Society scores were bound by the Antient Concerts Society and bear their labels. This may suggest that the Antient Concerts Society and the Anacreontic Society played together and confused ownership of materials. Robinson joined the Anacreontic Society at a young age,⁴ so it is also feasible that he took scores with him to the Antient Concerts Society. It has not yet been ascertained how the Anacreontic Society's music collection came to be held in the Royal Irish Academy of Music archive. It is possible that either Antonio Sapio or Samuel Pigott, both of whom taught in the Academy and were members of the Anacreontic Society, obtained the collection for use by their pupils.

The Anacreontic Society and the Sons of Handel have thus far remained largely unstudied. The only sources previously available to musicologists were newspaper advertisements, articles and musicians' autobiographies. However, the music collections of these two societies comprise important primary sources which, prior to their cataloguing, were uncollated and mixed together with unrelated items in the library, and were effectively unknown and inaccessible to musicologists. The remainder of this article outlines the research already conducted into these societies and compares this with the information that can be gathered from the newly-catalogued collections.

The Sons of Handel Society

Derek Collins discussed the history of the Sons of Handel in his thesis "Concert life in Dublin in the age of Revolution" and in his article "Music in Dublin, 1800-1848".⁵ He notes that the earliest record for the activity of the society appears in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* in February 1790 and states that it seems to have been a private amateur organisation for the performance of choral and instrumental works. The society met at Morrison's Hotel, at the corner of Dawson Street.⁶ That it was a private society is assumed as the only newspaper reports follow performances, whereas public concerts were normally advertised in advance. It is said to have had close

⁴ Charles Villiers Stanford, 'Joseph Robinson', *The Cornhill Magazine* v (1898), p.797.

⁵ Derek Collins, 'Concert life in Dublin in the age of revolution'. PhD diss., Queen's University of Belfast, 2001; Derek Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848' in Richard Pine & Charles Acton (ed.), *To talent alone, The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1998.

⁶ Mrs. W.J.M. Starkie, 'The Royal Irish Academy of Music', in *Music in Ireland: a symposium*, ed. Aloys Fleischmann. Cork: Cork University Press, 1952, p.105.

relations with the Irish Musical Fund Society (which was established for the support of decayed musicians and their families)⁷ between the years 1795 and 1805. There is much debate regarding the inception date of the society. In the 1900 edition of Grove's *Dictionary*, Hercules MacDonnell notes that in 1810 Francis Robinson (the elder) founded the Sons of Handel and described it as "probably the earliest society established for the execution of large scale works".⁸ Charles Villiers Stanford similarly stated that it was founded "in 1810 for studying the works of Handel".⁹ Caitriona Doran suggests that this was a revival of the society of the same name founded in 1786.¹⁰ Ita Hogan states that the choristers of the cathedrals founded it in c1790.¹¹ Based on the date of 1824 for their "Anniversary Concert", Derek Collins suggests that the date of foundation was either 1789 or 1784. He states that the received perception that Francis Robinson founded the society should be revised, but that the date of 1810 may mark the beginning of his involvement with it.¹² A study of the watermarks in the manuscripts in the Sons of Handel collection shows that they date from between 1807 and 1820. This suggests that the collection under examination is associated with Francis Robinson's involvement with the society from c1810. This is further borne out by the fact that the Sons of Handel stamp, of which there is only one form and which appears on most of the manuscripts, is dated 1818.

There are only five works (in fifty-three part-books) surviving from the Sons of Handel society: *Joshua*; *L'Allegro, il Penseroso, ed il Moderato*; *Judas Maccabeus*; *Alexander's Feast* and *Acis and Galatea*. This supports Larchet's contention that the Sons of Handel was the earliest choral body in Ireland for the practice of oratorio,¹³ but challenges Collin's assumption that it was a society for both choral and instrumental music. The average number of part-books that survive for each oratorio is eleven. Considering that the early *Grove* entry cited above states that the Sons of Handel Society was concerned with the execution of large-scale works, it seems unlikely that only eleven performers would be involved. It must be assumed that a certain percentage of the original manuscripts have been lost. Three manuscripts in the Sons of Handel collection bear lists of forces. Fig.1 shows one of these lists: an inventory of the numbers of part-books and performers taken from the leader's manuscript for *Judas Maccabeus*. The number of part-books totals sixteen and the number of performers is nineteen. This clarifies two issues. First, that some of the performers shared books (e.g. two oboists played from one book and two flautists played from one book). Secondly, when we compare

⁷ Boydell, 'Music, 1700-1850', p.585.

⁸ Hercules MacDonnell, 'Robinson, Joseph' in George Grove (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 3. London: Macmillan, 1900, p.113.

⁹ Stanford, 'Joseph Robinson', p.795.

¹⁰ Caitriona Doran, 'The Robinsons, a nineteenth century Dublin family of musicians, and their contribution towards the musical life in Dublin'. MA diss., National University of Ireland Maynooth, 1998, p.iv.

¹¹ Ita Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1966, p.80.

¹² Collins, 'Concert Life in Dublin in the Age of Revolution', n.131.

¹³ John F. Larchet, *Music in Ireland: a symposium*, ed. Aloys Fleischmann. Cork: Cork University Press, 1952, p.15.

Judas Maccabaeus		
Parts		Books
2	Violins Primo	2
1	Second Violin	1
1	Viola	1
2	Basses & Violoncelli	2
2	Horns X ² Trumpet	1
2	Oboes	1
2	Flutes	1
	Fagotti	1
	Timpani	1
Voice Parts		
2	Treble	2
	Contralto	1
	Tenor	1
	Bass	1
Total		16 Books

Figure 1

“Anacreontic Centenary Concert”, which was held in Dublin in 1840 with much publicity, encourages the assumption that it was founded in 1740. Brian Boydell provides the additional possible dates of 1729 or 1749.¹⁵ However, in the handwritten addenda to his personal copy of the volume of the *New History of Ireland* in which he provided this information, Boydell suggests that the society was a continuation of the activities of the Musical Academy of Crow St. (founded in 1729), which may have become the Philharmonic Society (founded in 1741), which subsequently became the Anacreontic Society.¹⁶ In the appendix to his article however, Boydell states that the earlier Philharmonic Society may have only been confused with the Anacreontic Society. Further confusion may originate from Charles Villiers Stanford’s biography *Pages from an unwritten diary* (1914) in which he states that “the Dublin Philharmonic Society [was] the successor of an older body

¹⁴ It is important to note that this percentage is conjectural, as the originals on which these calculations have been made have not been kept in isolation since the time they were written. The predicament is that the extant manuscripts contain three cello and bass part-books, but the leader’s list only specifies that two were used. It must be noted that only manuscripts that bear the Sons of Handel stamp or the Sons of Handel inscription were included in the catalogue. The library in the Royal Irish Academy of Music contains numerous other similar manuscripts not bearing the Sons of Handel stamp. These could not be confirmed as part of the collection so were not included in this article. A further examination of the other unmarked manuscripts may make the calculations more solid.

¹⁵ Boydell, ‘Music, 1700-1850’, p.608.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr Barra Boydell for allowing me access to his late father’s papers for this research.

called ‘The Anacreontic Society’,¹⁷ not the other way around. However, Grattan Flood remarks (with reference to the year 1758) that, “The Anacreontic and Philharmonic concerts were [...] well supported”.¹⁸ This brief reference seems to suggest that the Anacreontic Society and the Philharmonic Society were in existence contemporaneously, but Grattan Flood is regarded as an unreliable source.¹⁹

To clarify: 1729 is widely accepted to be the date of establishment of the Musical Academy of Crow St., which appears to have had no relation to the Anacreontic Society; 1740 is cited by numerous sources as the founding of the Anacreontic Society, based on the date of the centenary concert; and the date of 1749 is suggested by Brian Boydell in the appendix to his article. This alternative date is commonly ignored and was assumed by Derek Collins to be a typographical error for 1740. However, Boydell’s personal handwritten addendum reiterates the date 1749, suggesting that he knew something we do not.

The collection of music from the Anacreontic Society housed in the Royal Irish Academy of Music comprises 191 works ranging from symphonies to songs, mainly in orchestral sets. Each set of part-books is bound generally according to genre. There are seven genre-sets: two opera, two general orchestral, one vocal, one string quartet and one symphonic. Sets five and six (for vocal parts and string quartets respectively) are the most striking of the collection. They comply with the concept of a private society where the members gathered in chamber-sized groups to play music or sing glees for personal entertainment. However, they contradict the received understanding that the Anacreontic Society was a society involved only in large-scale instrumental performance. The remainder of the collection comprises five works: two different publications of Mendelssohn’s *Hymn of Praise*, and one of each of Beethoven’s *Mount of Olives*, Haydn’s *Creation*, Handel’s *Messiah* and *Coronation Anthem*.

The format of the music in the collection raises the question of the influence the music trade had over music making in Dublin in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. From a total of 229 items, over half were in score format. The collection suggests that if two identical parts were required, one would be purchased and the second would be copied from that. Often in sets of parts only one title page exists, usually accompanying the first violin part. The eighty-four extant title pages supply details of the publishers: thirty-seven editions were published in London, twenty originated in Leipzig, and sixteen from Paris. It is notable that only one of the editions was published in Dublin. Within the cross-section of items from London publishers there is no one dominating source, unless one considers the changing hands of publishing companies. There are two scores from Longman and Broderip, three from Broderip and Wilkinson, one from

¹⁷ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an unwritten diary*. London: Edward Arnold, 1914, p.55.

¹⁸ W.H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music*. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970, p.298.

¹⁹ Axel Klein, ‘Flood, W.H. Grattan’, *Grove Music Online* (accessed 21 March 2006), <http://www.grove-music.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.09843>

Longman, Clementi & Co. and nine from Clementi & Co.²⁰ The remaining items in the collection are manuscripts copied by numerous hands. Amongst these are the signatures of the copyists "Collier" and W.J. Ledwidge whose identities have not yet been established.

As with the Sons of Handel, all previous knowledge of the Anacreontic Society had been gleaned from newspaper advertisements, articles and musicians' autobiographies. As no comprehensive account of the activities of the society has thus far been compiled, the collection offers important information for researchers. Notable works in the Anacreontic Society collection include a military piece by Johann Christian Bach, published posthumously, which is the only surviving original publication of that work.²¹ Also contained in the collection is a work described as a "piece" (unfortunately without title page or any means of identification)²² by Johann Bernhard Logier, the German composer and inventor of the "chiroplast" who settled in Dublin in 1809 (he died there in 1846).

The composers most commonly represented in the society's collection are listed in Fig.2. Thirty-three composers featured in the collection are represented by only one work. By contrast, the Irish composer Sir John Stevenson (1761 – 1833) is represented by eight of his works. Stevenson is best remembered as the arranger of *Irish Melodies* with Thomas Moore and as a prominent composer of church music and glees, but he was also widely involved in directing and performing in musical events in Dublin during this period. His works in the Anacreontic Society collection are representative of the vocal repertoire of the society as all eight are glees. Among them is *Here in a cool grot*,²³ Stevenson's most popular glee in the late eighteenth century, for which he won a prize from the Hibernian Catch Club in 1779.

The repertoire of the Anacreontic Society featured many contemporary local composers and international composers who were visiting or had settled in Dublin, as shown in Fig.3. Although the quantity of their works does not compare with that of the canonic composers, their inclusion in the repertoire is of interest. A considerable number of composer/musicians travelled from France during the revolutionary period to London and on to Dublin. Giornovichi, Janiewicz and Alday arrived in London in the period 1791-1792 and migrated to Dublin five years later. Paul Alday - the composer, violin teacher and music publisher - regularly performed in Dublin as a soloist; his violin concertos were especially popular. He was leader of numerous orchestras including the Anacreontic Society from 1819 to 1828, of which he was also secretary between 1824 and 1830. He was the only composer resident in Ireland from 1780 to 1804 who is known to have written symphonic music. The Anacreontic Society collection includes the

²⁰ Other publishers represented are Preston (5), Monzani (3), Goulding & D'Almaine (2), Wessel (2), Drouet (1), Welsh and Hawes (1), D'Almaine (1), Fentum (1), Forster (1), Birchall (1).

²¹ Stephen Roe, 'Bach, §III: (12) Johann Christian Bach: Works', *Grove Music Online* (accessed 21 March 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.40023.3.12.9.8>.

²² The movement titles include "the Tyrone quick step, Abercorns slow march and Miss Patin's Quick Step" which would seem to suggest the "piece" is a collection of court dances.

²³ Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*, p.168.

Composers	No. of works
Haydn	17
Mozart	14
Handel	12
Kalliwoda	9
Stevenson	8
Beethoven	7
Auber	7
Mendelssohn	5
Rossini	4
Spohr	4
Weber	4
Giornovichi	4
Janiewicz	3
Kreutzer	3
Morley	3
Rode	3
Rosquellas	3
Webbe	3
Alday, Danby, Devienne, Herold, Hoffmeister, Marschner, Paer, Pleyel	2
J.C. Bach, Baillot, Bishop, Drouet, Fontaine, Gaudry, Giordani, Haigh, Hayseder, Kucken, Jackson, Lamotte, Lindpainter, Linley, Lobe, Logier, Mayseder, Mehul, Mornington, Onslow, Paxton, Pieltain, Pucitta, Reeve, Reissiger, Rock, Ruolz, Sarti, Smith, Stevens, Vaccari, G.B. Viotti, M. Viotti.	1
Unattributed composers	24

Figure 2

Local composer	No. of works
Giornovich	4
Janiewicz	5
Alday	6
Gaudry	1
Giordani	1
Logier	1
Mornington	1
Smith	1
Stevens	1

Figure 3

wind parts from his two symphonies, clearly Haydnesque in style, which were until recently thought to have been entirely lost. Contemporary reviews of the second symphony comment that, "on the whole, this symphony contains so many beauties that it must always be a desideratum to the selection of every lover of instrumental music."²⁴ The Italian composer Giornovich (1740-1804) travelled to Dublin as a performer and was engaged in the 1797 theatre season as violinist. Four of his violin concertos are extant in the collection. In the same season, the Polish composer Janiewicz (1762-1848) featured as leader and violin soloist in the Dublin theatres, remaining for a further two years. Three of his violin concertos survive in the collection. Richard Gaudry (1800-1826) is a relatively unknown Irish composer who is remembered primarily for his involvement in the music of the cathedrals. It is said that after his early death the Anacreontic Society performed a quartet to by him "as a tribute".²⁵ It is possible that the glee for four voices *Descend, celestial Queen*, found in this collection is the same work. Tomasso Giordani (1730-1806) was an Italian keyboard player, violinist, teacher and composer. He first visited Dublin from London in 1769 and returned to settle in 1783. He organised and performed in many subscription series and concerts in the final twenty years of the eighteenth century. He conducted the Rotunda concerts in 1769 and 1783, and organised the "Spiritual Concerts" in 1792.²⁶

A genre analysis of the repertoire of the Anacreontic Society, illustrated in Fig.4, shows that there are a greater number of popular vocal works in the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.120.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.203.

²⁶ Brian Boydell, *Rotunda music in eighteenth-century Dublin*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1992, p.217.

Genre	No. of works
Secular vocal works	46
Symphonies	33
General orchestral music	34
Concertos	30
Operas	13
Overtures	12
Oratorios	12
String quartets	6
Sacred vocal works	3
Military orchestral	1

Figure 4

collection than instrumental works. This does not reflect the true nature of the society, as it was primarily concerned with the performance of large-scale orchestral works. However, because the glees were shorter and could be performed with little or no rehearsal, more of them may have been included by the society in their private repertoire than complex orchestral works.

Performances of any specific works were rarely advertised, as the members performed only occasional public concerts for which they employed professional conductors and soloists. Visiting virtuosi who participated in such concerts included Kalkbrenner in 1824, Thalberg in 1842 and Liszt in 1840.²⁷ The membership of the society was confined to amateurs. The identity, social and economic positions of those members provides a clear indication of the status held by it, embracing as it did people ranging from professional musicians to amateurs including a leading peer of the realm. Brian Boydell notes that the Duke of Leinster "was president over a long period in the nineteenth century and played the double bass in the orchestra."²⁸ Numerous local composers also held positions within the society. Alday conducted the orchestra and, as noted by Ita Hogan, also held the positions of leader, treasurer and secretary. Stevenson also conducted and held the position of vice-president in 1822.²⁹ Members Sapio and Pigott were influential in the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. Samuel J. Pigott (1800-1853), who played a rare 1720 Stradivarius known later as the "Piatti cello", was cellist in the orchestra of the theatres at Crow Street and Hawkins Street in Dublin, from c1824 to 1827. From the mid 1820s he ran a business as a music seller and publisher in Dublin.³⁰ Antonio Sapio (1799-1851) came to Dublin with an Italian opera company, settled and began to give vocal lessons in the 1830s.³¹ Collins mentions Francis James Robinson (1799-1872), brother of Joseph, as a conductor of the Anacreontic Society.³² He is primarily remembered as organist, director and vicar's choral of the cathedrals. Collins also refers to John Barton as conductor of the Anacreontic Society.³³ He also directed the Dublin Festival Choral Society in 1831, and is noted as a clarinettist in musical reports of the time. He is not to be confused with his brother James, a violinist. Hogan lists an R. Walsh of 80 Grafton Street as a member of the Anacreontic Society in c1824. He was an accomplished pianist and violinist and was praised by Kalkbrenner for his performance in 1826.³⁴ She also lists William Conran, a pianist based in Dublin in c1820 and 1830 as a performer in an Anacreontic

²⁷ Philip Shields, 'The Special Collections of the Academy Library' in Richard Pine & Charles Acton (ed.), *To Talent Alone, The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1998, p.479; *The Strollers: A Book of Dates, Operatic, Dramatic and Musical*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1878, p.12.

²⁸ Boydell, 'Music, 1700-1850', p.608.

²⁹ Derek Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848' in Richard Pine & Charles Acton (ed.), *To Talent Alone, The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1998, p.21.

³⁰ Ita Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*, p.103

³¹ Basil Walsh, *Catherine Hayes 1818-1861, The Hibernian Prima Donna*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000, p.10-12.

³² Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848', p.103.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*, p.207.

Society concert of 1828 where he played a concerto by Weber.³⁵ Collins notes a William Sarsfield Conran as conductor of the society.³⁶ In his chronology of music-related newspaper advertisements Derek Collins cites Reverend Michael Sandys as the President of the Anacreontic Society in 1794.³⁷ Sandys was organist at St. Patrick's cathedral in 1769 and a vicar choral, becoming Dean's Vicar in 1778.³⁸ He is noted as playing oboe and the double bass at the Commemoration of Handel performances in 1787 and 1788.³⁹ Another cleric and vicar choral in the Dublin cathedrals, Reverend John Bayly, is reported by Collins as being the President of the Anacreontic Society in 1804.

The collection of music in the Royal Irish Academy of Music supplies further information regarding specific members of the society. Fig.5 provides the names, dates, associations and roles within the society's orchestra transcribed as originally presented on the scores and manuscripts.⁴⁰ Information about many of these people is limited in books on music in Dublin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This suggests that they were amateurs and/or belonged to a lower class, as only the names of high-class members or prominent musicians would have been used in newspaper advertisements to attract public interest.⁴¹ Thus far, the following members have been identified. "J.A. Barton" is James Barton of 66 Blessington Street, brother of John, the conductor. He was leader of the Crow Street orchestra from 1811 to 1820, of the Hawkins Street and Kilkenny Street orchestras from 1821, and also led the Philharmonic Society in 1830. In 1841 he opened the Abbey Street "New Music Hall" with the Promenade Concerts. He was a named violinist in contemporary advertisements, reviews and programmes from 1799 to 1844. Frankfurt cellist Herr Wilhelm Elsner came to Dublin in 1851 on the invitation of John Stanford.⁴² He was the first professor of cello after the reorganisation of the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1856 and is frequently mentioned in contemporary newspaper reports as performing with the Antient Concerts Society of Dublin and participating in chamber music ensembles, especially piano trios. It is probable that his signature originates from performances following the conclusion of the Anacreontic Society's activities; otherwise it is likely that he would have been advertised as a member. "F. Holden" is presumably Francis Holden, the early nineteenth century Dublin composer.⁴³ His output, published between 1800 and 1820, includes vocal and keyboard music. He is noted as a subscriber to

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.201.

³⁶ Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848', p.2.

³⁷ Not to be confused with his father, also called Michael, of Christchurch who died in 1774.

³⁸ W.H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music, A History of Music at the Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*. Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 1989, p.224.

³⁹ Collins, 'Music in Dublin, 1800-1848', p.130; Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, p.305.

⁴⁰ It is important to note the dates in these cases. Many suggest usage of the scores after the conclusion of the Anacreontic Society's activities.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, but probably for this reason, I have not been able to ascertain the identity of many of these musicians as yet.

⁴² Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford, Man and Musician*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p.11.

⁴³ Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music 1780-1830*, p.153 and p.164.

Members	Instrument book upon which signature was found
J.A. Barton 1830	
Bell	1st violin
M. Button	4th violin
Collier cop[yis]t 15 May 1846	
M. Collins	5th violin
Cree	1st violin
Mr Defoe	
Herr Elsner	'cello
William Fe	
Dr Figgis TCD 12 December 1919	
Gleeson Philharmonic Society 3 February, '89	
F. Holden	
William Hull	
W. Ledwidge cop[yis]t	
McCalley	2nd violin/'cello
William Morley 28 March, 1846	
Pigott	1st violin
Miss Rosenthal	2nd violin
Captain Speedy	
Mrs Sterling	'cello/double bass
P. Swift	
Templeton	3rd violin
Mrs. Therans [?]	
W. Turner	
Wink	
Woods	

Figure 5

and member of the Irish Musical Fund Society in the years 1806 and 1807 respectively (not to be confused with his father, the music seller Smollet Holden who died in 1813).⁴⁴ "McCalley" may be John McCalley, a violinist in the theatre scene from 1774 to 1784. He was one of the first members of the Irish Musical Fund Society and sat on the committee. Payments to his widow by the society began in 1800 marking the year of his death.⁴⁵ Collins names "Templeton" in 1802 as playing in a benefit for the Irish Musical Fund Society with his son. A Templeton is also named in 1839 and 1841 as a performer, and this may be the son. With regard to the signature of "Woods" on one of the scores, there are many references in the literature to people named "Wood" but the only other known reference to "Woods" is Reverend Mr Woods, cited by Collins as a viola player in the 1788 Commemoration of Handel performances.

The information from newspapers and other contemporary sources on the publicised musicians, together with that discovered from the signatures on the scores in the collection, suggests that the Anacreontic Society comprised members from a large cross section of society: from the religious institutes, the pedagogical profession, the professional musicians, the upper-class aristocracy and the music trade. This is especially significant considering the political and social backdrop. In 1740 Ireland was under British rule, with an Irish parliament wholly composed of Protestants and Anglicans, which was subservient to the parliament in London. Penal laws, which inhibited the freedom of Catholics, were not removed until 1793. The Irish rebellion led by the United Irishmen took place in 1798. The Act of Union, which came into force in 1801, removed the Irish parliament and with it many of the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy from Dublin. The British government finally conceded Catholic Emancipation in 1829. All of these issues reinforced the sectarian division of society and furthermore established the class difference.

However, the Anacreontic Society is noted for including in its membership amateurs of both Protestant and Catholic denominations. This society initiated an assembly of social groups that would not otherwise have interacted. The passing of the Act of Union and the abolition of the Irish Parliament resulted in Dublin becoming isolated from the rest of Europe. Composers and performers ceased to include the city in their tours. Public concert patronage in Dublin seemed to diminish. This encouraged the private music making of the upper-middle-classes, the "professional aristocracy" and supported the activities of societies such as the Anacreontic.

Although information on membership and the activities of the Anacreontic Society may have been inferred from the newspaper articles and advertisements, the music collection shows in a cohesive manner what

music was played, and by whom. It is unfortunate that by comparison so few sources exist for the Sons of Handel. Its collection survives as an example of the Society's activities, rather than as a full representation. Together, however, the two collections contribute much to our understanding of the role played by music societies in the public and private spheres in Dublin in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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⁴⁴ Collins, 'Chronology of Concerts 1792-1814', 'Concert life in Dublin in the Age of Revolution', p.364 and p.372.

⁴⁵ Boydell notes a trumpeter McCalley who was paid for copying music and supplying books to the orchestra in the Rotunda from 1774 to 1784. This latter orchestral librarian is probably the same as that whose music shop was noted by Hogan as flourishing in 1800. Whether or not this is the same person is not clear.

THREE MUSICAL LIVES AND THEIR ARCHIVAL TRACES: JENNY LIND, PRIAULX RAINIER AND DAVID MUNROW

Chris Beckett

When Lytton Strachey announced his (radical) biographical method in the Preface to *Eminent Victorians* (1918), he recorded his indebtedness to the “Standard Biographies” of Victorian England, as palpable examples of everything a biography should *not* be:

*Those two fat volumes, with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead – who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slipshod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortège of the undertaker, and wear the same air of slow funeral barbarism.*¹

In contrast, Strachey sought “a becoming brevity” (which he thought “the first duty of the biographer”) and the freedom to refrain from compliment. His method was to “attack his chosen subject in unexpected places”:

*he will fall upon the flank, or the rear; he will shoot a sudden, revealing searchlight into obscure recesses, hitherto undivined. He will row out over that great ocean of material, and lower down into it, here and there, a little bucket, which will bring up to the light of day some characteristic specimen, from those far depths, to be examined with a careful curiosity.*²

Although most biographical writing in the twentieth century was not bound by brevity, the tendency for biographers to shine their “searchlight into obscure recesses” was quickly established, given impetus by the insights into human actions and their unconscious motivation that Freud and the new science of psychology offered. Michael Holroyd, the distinguished biographer of many Bloomsbury figures, including Strachey, has recently characterised the Victorian biography as “a rather earnest exercise of information retrieval – a dire mechanical occupation”.³ He views it as an unfortunate interruption of the tradition of modern biography that began with Aubrey’s *Brief Lives* (unpublished at his death in 1697), or Samuel Johnson’s “An Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage” (1744), or James Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* (1791). In this tradition, the subject is best captured – to take up Strachey’s hunting metaphor – “upon the flank, or the rear,” and the modern biographer’s engagement with his or her subject is commonly a perceptible strand in the texture of the narrative.

¹ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1918 (preface).

² *Ibid.*

³ Michael Holroyd, ‘Our Friends the Dead’. Hay Festival Lecture, 2002

[<http://books.guardian.co.uk/departments/biography/story/0,6000,725702,00.html>, accessed 8 November 2005].

In 1891, John Murray published “two fat volumes” commemorating the life of Swedish singer Jenny Lind. They may be taken as representative of the “ill-digested” Victorian biography that Strachey had, and Holroyd has, in mind. After Lind’s death, in 1887, her husband Otto Goldschmidt engaged Henry Scott Holland (theologian and Canon of St Paul’s Cathedral) and William Smith Rockstro (music teacher and writer, and a friend from Goldschmidt’s student youth in Hamburg) to write *Jenny Lind, the Artist*, which defined the Jenny Lind that was popularly remembered at the end of the nineteenth century. Many of the working documents that passed between the two writers and Goldschmidt, who assiduously directed the project, have survived. They form one of three archive collections from the Library of the Royal Academy of Music that have been recently catalogued (with the financial support of the Heritage Lottery Fund).⁴ Goldschmidt, who is perhaps best remembered for the formation of the Bach Choir and conducting the first English performance of Bach’s Mass in B minor (in 1876), was appointed Professor of Piano at the Academy in 1863 and was subsequently appointed Vice Principal (1866–1868).

The creators of the other two archive collections also have Academy connections. The papers of South African composer Priaulx Rainier (1903–1986), who came to England in 1920 as an Academy violin student and was subsequently appointed Professor of Harmony (1943) at the same institution, form the second collection.⁵ The papers of David Munrow (1942–1976) form the third collection.⁶ In the ten-year span of his brief career, Munrow – who also taught at the Academy, as well as the University of Leicester – founded the popular Early Music Consort of London and developed a mainstream audience for music from the medieval period through to the late baroque. In the course of introducing these three collections, I shall peer briefly into some of those recesses that Strachey so prized.

Jenny Lind

*For she turns each heart, and turns each head,
Of those who hear her sing.
And she is turning all her notes to gold,
Is famous Jenny Lind*⁷

The Goldschmidt papers are a compact collection (much material has been either lost or was returned upon publication)⁸ comprising three archive

⁴ ‘Papers of Otto Goldschmidt concerning the Holland and Rockstro biography (1891) of Jenny Lind’ (ref OG), an on-line catalogue resource, at: www.a2a.org.uk. The collection comprises 142 files. To view the catalogue, search for either Goldschmidt or Lind.

⁵ ‘Papers of Priaulx Rainier’ (ref IPR), an on-line catalogue resource, at: www.a2a.org.uk. The collection comprises 1,528 files. To view the catalogue, search for Rainier.

⁶ ‘Papers of David Munrow’ (ref DM), an on-line catalogue resource, at: www.a2a.org.uk. The collection comprises 706 files. To view the catalogue, search for Munrow.

⁷ Chorus from the music hall song “The Jenny Lind Mania” [<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/andersen/jennyindlge.html>, accessed 8 November 2005].

⁸ According to Ware and Lockard, much unused material “was returned to the owners, the Goldschmidts retaining a portion of it”. See W. Porter Ware and Thaddeus C. Lockard (ed.), *The Lost Letters of Jenny Lind*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1966, p.10.



Mademoiselle Lind from a portrait by Magnus.
Berlin 1846

Fig 1. Jenny Lind (Berlin, 1846). "Mademoiselle Lind from a portrait by Magnus" in Henry Scott Holland and W. S. Rockstro, *Jenny Lind, the Artist*. London: John Murray, 1891, vol.I, frontispiece.

boxes (142 files). Although most documents are in English, some are in German, and some are in Swedish. The documents include correspondence with English, Swedish and German publishers, some raw research material for the biography (not all of which was published), papers regarding Lind's status as a Ward of Court, agreements and contracts (some certified copies, some informal, most translated) concerning her professional relationship with the Royal Theatre, Stockholm, where she gave her earliest performances, and a copy of an agreement with Phineas T Barnum, who promoted her extraordinarily successful American tour. Also included are a number of papers from Jenny Maude, daughter to Lind and Goldschmidt, who reviewed the collection in the course of writing her own account of her mother's life, and made some marginal comments as she worked. As Mrs Raymond Maude, she published *The Life of Jenny Lind* (1926), which largely reinforced Holland and Rockstro's account and continued the narrative to her mother's death (the volume ends with a Plate showing the memorial to Lind in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey). Although many of the documents in the collection are working copies of material that was subsequently published in the biography, some annotations to them – apparently slight – made by husband and daughter, as they worked on their respective volumes, will reward the attentive reader.

As a young man of sixteen, Goldschmidt attended a memorable performance by Jenny Lind, with Mendelssohn conducting, on 4 December, 1845, at the Leipzig Gewandhaus.⁹ Goldschmidt and Lind's professional paths first crossed less than three years later at a Benefit Concert for Brompton Hospital, in the Great Concert Room of Her Majesty's Theatre, London, 31 July, 1848. Goldschmidt played two pieces by Mendelssohn. According to Holland and Rockstro, "Mr Goldschmidt had been introduced to Mdlle Lind, and she very much wished to give him the opportunity of appearing at her concert. But, she had not heard him play; and did not think it wise to render herself responsible for the début of a young artist, until she had made herself acquainted with the style of his performance. She therefore invited him to play to her at Clairville; and it was after having heard him there, that she requested his assistance at the concert."¹⁰ The biography informs us that Lind gave several concerts in Hamburg in the winter of 1849, "and one of these, with full orchestra, in the Grosse Tonhalle on November 22nd was given by Mr Otto Goldschmidt, of whom she saw a good deal at this time. They did much music together. He played and she sang; the memory of Mendelssohn was a common bond between them."¹¹

On 17 January 1850, Goldschmidt travelled from Hamburg to Lübeck, where Lind was to sing at a seasonal Children's Ball. At the foot of an

⁹ The entry for Jenny Lind in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) informs us: "Such was the demand for tickets that privileges normally enjoyed by Music Academy students were withdrawn, resulting in a student protest led by a red-haired youth from Hamburg, Otto Moritz David Goldschmidt, later to become [Lind's] husband." See Henry Scott Holland and W. S. Rockstro, *Jenny Lind, the Artist*. London: John Murray, 1891, vol.I, p.325.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.227.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.357. Ware and Lockard, *The Lost Letters of Jenny Lind*, p.70, add the detail that Goldschmidt "played a piano concerto" and "also accompanied her in two other concerts."

archive copy of a letter from Lind to Amalia Wichmann (12 January, 1850), Goldschmidt has added a personal annotation: "I was present at this ball & danced many a time with Jenny" (OG/2/2/16). This annotation, with all the appearance of spontaneity, is subsequently incorporated into the narrative,¹² although no explicit editorial instruction to do so accompanies it. Elsewhere, however, Goldschmidt is quite dogmatic in instruction to his writers about what should *not* be included, particularly with regard to Mendelssohn, whose death, in 1847, had affected Lind deeply. The intensity of her feelings for Mendelssohn – and Goldschmidt's sensitivity to the publication of her feelings – is apparent from several documents in the archive. Some of Lind's remarks in her letters were judged by Goldschmidt to be inappropriate for publication. For example, in the margin of a copy of a letter from Lind to her friend Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer (dated 28 January, 1848, from Stockholm), Goldschmidt has marked a particular passage in which Lind expresses her grief as "Private and confidential". Omitted from the letter when published in the biography,¹³ the passage reads: "Would I were on the only spot of the earth where I love to let my thoughts stray! But – the sea rolls between me and his grave! There lies my music – my poetry – my art – my purest joy, my lost joy" (OG/2/2/10). To give another instance, Lind's letter of 11 July, 1849, from Schlangenbad, to widowed Cécile Mendelssohn, refers to a shared wound "that will never heal". Here, Goldschmidt's annotation is quite clear: "Private for editors, to be copied into book by myself / OG" (OG/2/2/15).

The fine distinction Goldschmidt made between passages that he selected for publication and those that he did not can seem fine indeed to a reader today, and of course do nothing to disguise – if that had been the purpose – an evident emotional attachment between Lind and Mendelssohn. Perhaps Goldschmidt's editorial motivation had less to do with concealment and more to do with achieving an appropriate narrative balance and painting a desired portrait. If biography is a practice in which "the contradictions of a human life are unified,"¹⁴ Lind's life presents particular contradictions that fascinate, and the researcher today is more likely to be interested in those very inconsistencies for what they reveal about character and circumstance. Another way of putting it is to say that we are more likely to be interested in Lind's worldliness than we are in her philanthropic works, and ready to see a complex (and, perhaps, enabling) relationship that unites both. Our readiness to do so is a function of distance and time, neither of which perspectives were available to Goldschmidt.

It was within Goldschmidt's gift, however, to anticipate and to provide for the interests of posterity, and this he appears to have done. In 1896, five years after the publication of his wife's biography, and with an eye to the future that is our present, he deposited with the Mendelssohn Society of London a cache of letters that Lind had received from Mendelssohn during

¹² Holland and Rockstro, vol.II, p.373.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.201.

¹⁴ José Ortega Y Gasset, 'In Search of Goethe from Within' (1949), reprinted in *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays* (1968).

the three years before his death. The letters were deposited on the condition that they remained sealed for one hundred years. The century having passed, they were opened in 1996.¹⁵ Ironically, all Mendelssohn's letters to his wife (with the accidental exception of one) were destroyed, at her request, upon her death.¹⁶

Jenny Lind, The Artist portrayed Lind as the epitome of Victorian values: a Christian heroine who rose by her God-given talents from impoverished circumstances to fame and fortune, and to declaim – through the frequently-performed aria from Handel's *Messiah* – that her Redeemer lived. In Holland and Rockstro's narrative, the gift of a remarkable voice is repaid in kind, by giving, through charitable and religious concerts, and other good works. "Her forceful and beautiful character makes one who delves into the facts of her life feel that God must have sent her to earth as his special envoy and for a special purpose," gushed Ware and Lockard, in *The Lost Letters of Jenny Lind*.¹⁷ Although their volume placed into the public domain many letters hitherto unseen, from Lind to her close friend and confidante Amalia Wichmann, and many letters written to her that were only partially published in Holland and Rockstro (thus the volume is an invaluable companion to the biography), the narrative interpolations that link the letters might have been written in a bygone era (rather than 1966), and served to reinforce the familiar Victorian portrait. Nevertheless, the letters were helpfully cross-referenced to their appearance in Holland and Rockstro, and revealed further instances of Goldschmidt's editorial hand. To give but one example of an omitted passage, consider Lind's first letter to Wichmann following Mendelssohn's death (4 November), written from Stockholm, 15 December, 1847. Lind begins in the third person, as if distanced from herself:

*A word from your Jenny. She hasn't yet become reasonable. She is only mourning the friend whom she will never see again, and she scarcely knows how to find consolation. Oh! What a blow, Amalia! And what a fate hangs over us human beings! You see – he was the only person to whom I felt myself so completely devoted! The only person who brought fulfilment to my spirit, and almost as soon as I found him I lost him again.*¹⁸

Holland and Rockstro, however, chose to misrepresent the letter by suggesting a Lind at peace with herself, and went so far as to invent words and attribute them to her: "I feel so strangely content".¹⁹

¹⁵ Clive Brown has suggested that the letters "tend to substantiate the notion of an affair" and adds, dramatically, that "a conspiracy of silence surrounds their contents". However, Brown does not appear to have examined the letters himself and gives no further references. See Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, p.33. In a footnote, Holland and Rockstro, vol.II, p.11, inform the reader that the letters from Mendelssohn to Lind that appear in their biography were translated by Goldschmidt from letters in his possession.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.32, where a passage from the surviving letter is quoted.

¹⁷ *The Lost Letters of Jenny Lind*, p.21. The passage continues: "Her generous gifts to the unfortunate throughout her life, her love of the pure and decent, her patience with those who could not hope to measure up to her greatness, set her apart as one of few such personalities in all history."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.54.

¹⁹ Holland and Rockstro, vol.II, p.191.

The biographer's desire to present a coherent life story, with a clear moral trajectory, may sometimes be confronted with unwanted biographical information that is already sufficiently public to demand narrative incorporation, although to do so disturbs the particular pattern of a life that is being carefully drawn. When Jenny Maude, in the midst of writing her own life of her mother, reviewed the biographical papers that her father had gathered, she wrote a brief note (dated 31 July, 1920) in which she identified just such a moment of narrative stress, an episode where careful structure creaked: "Walter resented the Harris episode being mentioned at all - O.G. deprecated it being given prominence, so soon after Gunther's exit" (OG/4/3). The reference is to the marriage proposal of one Captain Claudius Harris, a young officer in the Indian Army. According to Holland and Rockstro, he was a brother-in-law of Joseph Grote. Lind's engagement to Julias Gunther, a tenor with the Theatre Royal in Stockholm, had been broken-off and Harris, newly-met at the Grottes, and much taken with Lind, offered marriage. Lind, we are told, initially found the proposal attractive. However, Harris's Evangelical mother took a dim view, it seems, of theatrical life. As Holland and Rockstro put it: "[Lind] was asked not merely to abandon her profession, but to be ashamed of it."²⁰ Jenny Maude suggests that her father's resentment at the episode's "prominence" in the biography is also a resentment of timing ("so soon"), which amounts to a charge against narrative pacing. The charge seems to convey an undercurrent of resentment against the immutable facts of a life more public than private, and Maude's note refers to her mother's parting from Gunther as an "exit", as if he had been a character on a public stage.

A recent publication has suggested that there may have been more to the Harris episode than unfortunate haste. In *Chopin and the Swedish Nightingale* – which takes its subject, in Strachey's words, "upon the flank" – Cecilia and Jens Jorgensen argue that Lind used Captain Harris as a smokescreen to cover a secret affair with Chopin, whom she had hoped to marry when she left London for Paris, in May 1849.²¹ Again, Lind researchers will want to satisfy themselves about the evidence offered. In this regard, the Academy archive does include a letter to Goldschmidt from Frederick Lewin (related by marriage to the Grottes) in which he reports that he has been doing his best "to obtain the information relative to Mr Harris's family asked for in yr last letter, hitherto without effect" (OG/2/3/17). The letter was written 31 October, 1889, during Goldschmidt's period of biographical research. It is another example of an apparently slight but intriguing document amongst Goldschmidt's papers that may contribute towards a more inclusive portrait of Lind's life, one that does not divorce her remarkable voice – and its evident powers of enchantment – from her sexuality, and one that considers experience to be a more likely source of strength of character than an idealised innocence.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.341.

²¹ Cecilia and Jens Jorgensen, *Chopin and the Swedish Nightingale*. Icons of Europe, 2003. For further details, and an abridgement of the argument, visit: <http://www.iconportal.com/chopin.content.htm> (accessed 8 November 2005).

Priaulx Rainier

On her death, Priaulx Rainier's personal papers passed to June Opie, a close friend in the composer's later years. They were on holiday together at Besse-en-Chandesse, in the Auvergne, when Rainier died, 10 October, 1986. Subsequently, Opie made some limited researches amongst the papers in the writing of *Priaulx Rainier: A Pictorial Biography* (1988), the only book about Rainier's life and work that has yet been published.²² Written in the period immediately following her death, it is a modest book that suffers a little from haste and from the author's proximity to her subject. And there is, unfortunately, a dryness and a shyness in the telling that fails to capture the complex human being who radiates so strongly from the remarkable collection of her papers at the Academy. Opie's biography resembles a Victorian biography in miniature, inasmuch as it is, to recall Holroyd's phrase, a small-scale exercise in "information retrieval" (and, here and there, misinformation-retrieval), which turns away from engagement with the emotional and psychological currents that give a life shape and purpose, and which have characterised modern biographical practice.

Almost all of Rainier's scores and related music papers are held at the University of Cape Town.²³ However, the remaining papers – her professional and private correspondence, various personal documents, concert programmes and reviews, and many photographs – went to Opie, who gave them to the Academy in 1989, following the publication of her biography. In the intervening years, a few researchers have looked at parts of the collection – in particular, the many remarkable letters from Barbara Hepworth, essential reading for the intimate insight they provide into the sculptor's life and work – but the bulk of the papers have rested untouched until the present cataloguing project.

Personal letters received dominate the collection and provide an accumulative impression of the composer, all the more vivid for being many-voiced. As we would expect, the collection includes few personal letters written by Rainier, with the notable exception of a very informative run of letters (1938-63) to her sister, Nella, then resident in South Africa, in which the composer supplied regular and detailed snapshots of her London life. Since many of Rainier's correspondents were prominent figures in music, literature, art and dance (for example, Michael Tippett, David Gascoyne, Barbara Hepworth, Ben Nicholson, Pola Nirenska and Doris Humphrey), it is hoped that many of her letters have survived and now rest securely in other archive collections. There are also less extensive runs of letters in the collection from many other correspondents of no lesser interest, with a range that encompasses Arthur Bliss and John Cage, and begins alphabetically with American pianist Webster Aitkin, some 93 correspondents in total. The range of correspondents is striking.

²² A volume by Douglas Young is forthcoming.

²³ The exceptions are *Quanta* and *Due canti e finale* (both of which were bequeathed to the British Library) and *Triptych for oboe solo* which is MS 526 in the Royal Academy of Music Library.



Fig 2. Priaulx Rainier (1967). Photographer not known. Royal Academy of Music reference: IPR/1/38/2.

Rainier came to England on a scholarship from South Africa in 1920, not quite seventeen years of age, to study violin at the Academy. Her teachers were J. B. McEwen, Hans Wesseley and Rowsby Woof. Subsequently, she earned her living as a teacher of violin and as an occasional string quartet player. Violinist Orrea Pernel became a close friend,²⁴ and Pernel's many letters to Rainier provide a useful source of information for this period of her life. They were frequent guests at the musical weekends of Lady Diana Massingberd at Gunby Hall, Spilsby, near Skegness.

On one occasion, on being collected by Lady Massingberd's chauffeur from the local railway station, Rainier was involved in a serious car accident. Her pocket diary entry for 19 December, 1931, briefly records an "accident near Spilsby". Entries for the two weeks subsequent record: "Cottage Hospital, Spilsby Lincs" (IPR/1/2/6), and entries for January 1932 record a period of recovery at Spilsby. Unable to play the violin for several months, the accident seems to have been something of a turning point for her.²⁵ During this period, Rainier wrote, with some initial diffidence, her first sustained compositions: *Three Greek Epigrams* (three short songs based upon translations by Richard Aldington from the Greek of Anyte of Tegea – a telling choice) and a "Duo for piano and violin", the latter performed at Wigmore Hall on 30 April 1936 by Pernel and Harriet Cohen.

Her course as a composer now confirmed, she travelled to Paris in October, 1937, for a number of private lessons in composition with Nadia Boulanger, over a three-month period, before returning to London.²⁶ Amongst the compositions in draft form that she took with her to Paris were three movements of an unfinished string quartet. The finished "Quartet in C minor" was given its first performance by the Gertler Quartet at a private recital in 1939. Its first public performance, however, was not until 1944, by the Zorian Quartet at the Wigmore Hall. Rejected by publishers Boosey & Hawkes Ltd in 1939 – "it is not a work for which we could find an opening under present conditions" (IPR/4/3) – she sent it, at Michael Tippett's suggestion, to Schott & Co, who published it in 1945. The work proved to be a popular contemporary choice for string quartets, and popular with audiences, and was frequently played across Europe and in America. Introducing a BBC radio broadcast, in 1968, Rainier said: "a summer spent in Finland [1936] affected me deeply . . . Looking back at this Quartet, I see in it now the rhythmic dancing fierceness of Africa and the melancholy lyricism of the far north. At the time of writing the work, however, these were entirely subconscious sources underlying the music" (IPR/5/4/6).²⁷ At the prompting of dancer Pola Nirenska, it was eagerly choreographed by Doris Humphrey and first performed in America as a dance in 1951, under the title *Night Spell*.

²⁴ Entries for Orrea Pernel in Rainier's pocket diaries begin in 1930 (IPR/1/2/5).

²⁵ Papers in the archives show that Rainier changed her violin only three days before the accident, on 16 December, at A. Hume ("Old Violin Expert, Maker and Repairer"), 34 Great Portland Street, Oxford Circus, London. See IPR/4/1.

²⁶ Rainier continued to receive occasional letters from Boulanger until the year before her death (Boulanger died 22 October 1979).

²⁷ Amongst Rainier's papers is a large photographic portrait of Sibelius, its four corners bearing the tell-tale marks of drawing-pins; verso, in pencil, is written: "Sibelius Finland 1937" (IPR/6/9).

Subsequently performed across Europe by the American Dance Company of José Limon, it came to Sadler's Wells Theatre, London, in September 1957. It is possible to trace in the archive the work's performance-journey from quartet to ballet, in letters from Nirenska, a close friend during the war years when she lived and worked in London, and Humphrey herself. It was typical of Rainier's approach to composition that she never wrote another string quartet, despite requests to do so. She never visited the same soundscape twice, and a new composition was always conceived as an opportunity to explore new sound-combinations. As late as 1984, David Harrington (Artistic Director of the Kronos Quartet) wrote to Schott & Co "to commission a new work for String Quartet from Ms Rainier as her first is, without a doubt, one of the finest to have been written in the 1930s" (IPR/4/54).

The war years brought many productive changes to Rainier's life. She served as an air-warden in Kensington, and worked as a land-girl in Hertfordshire (where she met Henry Moore). In 1943, the Academy offered her employment as a teacher of harmony and composition, a role in which, to judge from all student accounts, she excelled and inspired.²⁸ In a personally liberating and aesthetically nourishing decade, she met the dancer Pola Nirenska and made many other friends in London's dance community, and met Michael Tippett and his circle at Morley College. She was introduced to Barbara Hepworth and Ben Nicholson, and an invitation to visit them in Cornwall began a life-long association with St Ives and its circle of artists. Eventually, she purchased a small studio apartment there, dividing her time between St Ives and London. Working between these two locations – and frequently tending the garden she established for Hepworth at Trewyn Studios, now managed by Tate St Ives – she produced some of the most striking compositions of the twentieth century. With *Quanta* (1962), for oboe and string trio, commissioned by the BBC, her fully-mature work emerges, economical in expression, and fully-conscious of the musical language of the post war European avant-garde, in a receptive manner that was alien to both Britten and Tippett, her English contemporaries. Although she wrote concertos for cello (Jacqueline Du Pré, 1964) and violin (Yehudi Menuhin, 1977), her work characteristically explores small combinations of instruments and discovers the rewards of deliberately limited harmonic arguments. Rainier wrote of *Quanta* that it "follows no orthodox form, contains no thematic material, but springs out of its initial impulse,"²⁹ and this might stand as a general statement for much of her work that followed.

Unlike Tippett, Rainier had little interest in opera, but she was fascinated until the very end in the dramatic and musical possibilities of sung language (long-unfinished settings of Rilke's *Sonnets to Orpheus* went with her on her last journey to France in 1986). *Three Greek Epigrams* (1936) was followed by

²⁸ For example, this comment by Joyce Rathbone, in a letter from 1975: "That first week of our acquaintanceship, at Bryanston [Summer School], when you put me through those gruelling sessions on the Mozart Clarinet Trio, phrase by phrase, bar by bar, note by note, working in a way which was not exactly strange to me (my instinct had always been analytical) but which was thrilling because it was such a different quality of work from anything I had ever been asked to do before – that first week was, I'm sure, the most important watershed in my musical life." (IPR/3/67).

²⁹ Rainier, "For *Radio Times*, 1962" (IPR/5/4/2).

settings of two poems by South African poet Uys Krige (1947-48), and subsequently by settings of John Donne (*Cycle for Declamation*, 1953), David Gascoyne (*Requiem*, 1955-56), Edith Sitwell (*The Bee Oracles*, 1969), Dylan Thomas (*Vision and Prayer*, 1973), and Carmen Bernos de Gasztold (*Prayers from the Ark*, 1974-76). Rainier had a great love of poetry, and researchers with an interest in Gascoyne's work will be excited by the presence in the archive of a number of early Gascoyne poems in signed typescript, a copy of his BBC radio script "Night Thoughts" (1955, with revised passages and other markings in Gascoyne's hand), as well as several letters from the poet. The poems in typescript include two versions of Gascoyne's "Mozart: Sursum Corda" (a poem dedicated to Rainier):

*Supernal voices, flood the ear of clay
And pierce through the dense skull! Reveal
The immaterial world concealed
By mortal deafness and the screen of sense*
(IPR/6/1/2)

Rainier's economy of expression, from which all sentimentality (but not feeling) is banished, owes much to the aesthetic of Hepworth and Nicholson, and nothing at all to Gascoyne's tendency to verbal extravagance, but in a work like *Requiem*, for solo tenor and chorus, the clarity of melodic line provides the best of foils for the richness of Gascoyne's words to resonate. To take another work for voice, Rainier's attention to detail is apparent in the minute changes she made to Uys Krige's poem "The Dance of the Rain" when she set it for tenor and guitar. Thus, when set, "clear rim" – with its awkward succession of *r*'s – became "clean rim", and "firm small breasts" became the more evenly stressed "small firm breasts" (IPR/6/2/3). The balance of particulars was all. In 1961, at the Aldeburgh Festival, after hearing Peter Pears and Julian Bream perform Tippett's *Songs for Achilles* (at the same recital, Pears sang *Dance of the Rain*), Rainier reported to her sister Nella that Tippett's songs "were v. large and operatic for voice. I think too heavy a tune for guitar accompaniment considering there were only single notes a lot of the time" (IPR/2/2/50).

Notwithstanding its apparent difficulty, its modernity and its difference, performances of Rainier's music managed to convey a passion and a sincerity of feeling that provided for genuine accessibility, and there are many touching and appreciative letters in the archive from individuals beyond the world of professional music that attest to its communicative and emotional power. It was this expressive capacity that enabled *Cycle for Declamation* to serve as an effective public vehicle for private grief from its very first performance. Peter Pears, who commissioned the work, gave the first performance of *Cycle for Declamation* (a setting for unaccompanied voice of passages from John Donne's *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*) in memory of Australian pianist Noel Mewton-Wood, on 22 December, 1953, at the Church of St George the Martyr, London. Mewton-Wood, who committed suicide (5 December, 1953), had performed some six months earlier at the St Ives

Festival of 1953 (Tippett and Rainier were the Festival's musical directors.)³⁰ Twenty-two years later, at the Memorial and Thanksgiving Service for Barbara Hepworth (at St Paul's, Knightsbridge, London, 7 October, 1975), Pears sang it again. The printed Service records, with a reticence that quietly conveys the power of friendship and place, that *Declamation* was "written in the garden of Trewyn Studio, St Ives" (IPR/6/3/5).³¹

For the researcher who cares to row out upon the great lake of letters that Rainier received and who – Strachey-like – lowers down "here and there, a little bucket", there is much to discover. In 1958, we find Rainier entertaining David Tudor and John Cage (IPR/3/86), and in November, 1961, she is writing to her sister that Tudor had just visited "again" and showed her "the newest symbolism for scores" (IPR/2/2/51).³² In 1962, Rainier reports to her sister that Boris Blacher, excited by *Quanta*, has invited her to stay in Berlin to work with him – "he's the only one I show [scores] to" (IPR/2/2/55) – to experiment with electronic sounds and tape. Fishing elsewhere, the researcher may discover a disarming and, one supposes, typical letter (31 June, 1964) from young Jacqueline Du Pré (IPR/4/16), apologizing – in the girlish hand that had, paradoxically, sounded Elgar – for not having done her homework on Rainier's "Concerto for Cello and Orchestra": "You know, I really don't think, after all, that I ought to come round to you on Mon or Tue as I have not looked at the concerto properly and I feel that the notes must be learnt reasonably before being able to study it musically. Would you, therefore, forgive me if I did not come round?" One imagines that Rainier's forgiveness was tinged with some anxiety, given that the work's first performance, at the Proms, was only a few weeks away.

Pola Nirenska addressed her letters to Rainier as "my old rock," a term of endearment that captures the strength of character from which many friends drew over the years. There is much testimony of the heart, in all its guises, in the letters Rainier received. Barbara Hepworth walking a Cornish hillside to gather a posy of wild flowers to enclose in her daily letter to Rainier, or jumping for joy listening to Tippett's recording (1949) of Thomas Tallis's forty-voice motet, *Spem in alium*.³³ Hepworth apologizing for the stone-dust in her letter, with painful hands. Peter Gellhorn writing from Mooragh Camp, Ramsey, on the Isle of Man, his place of émigré-internment.³⁴

³⁰ And at the Aldeburgh Festival, in 1952, William Primrose and Mewton-Wood had performed Rainier's Sonata for viola and piano. Amongst Rainier's papers are two newspaper cuttings about the suicide (IPR/6/15). Tippett attended the first performance of *Cycle for declamation* and found the occasion "so moving" – letter to Rainier, 24 December 1953 (IPR/3/84/1/22).

³¹ Fittingly, the work was later chosen for "A Concert in Celebration of the Life and Work of Priaux Rainier, 1903-1986", given at Wigmore Hall, 28 March 1987 (IPR/5/1/96). A similar public function was served by *Requiem* when it was performed in memory of archaeologist James Brock (IPR/5/1/68), who had at one time hoped to marry Rainier – see the many letters from Brock (IPR/3/10).

³² With respect to Cage, consider Rainier's remark in a letter (26 April 1956) to Yvonne Rodd about a review of the first performance of *Requiem*. Rainier wrote that the critic in *The Times* had "hit upon the two problems which have been a particular concern of mine for some time, perspective, and distance achieved by silence" (IPR/5/2/12). For Rainier, silence had a particularly resonant quality.

³³ Re-issued 2005 on compact disc by NMC Recordings (NMC D103).

³⁴ Gellhorn had accompanied Sophie Wyss when she sang *Three Greek epigrams* at 19 The Boltons, London, 12 July 1939, on the occasion of the first performance of Rainier's String Quartet.

Doris Humphrey, responsible for *Night Spell*, adding a message to her Christmas card, shortly before she died (29 December, 1958), to say that she had finally completed the book on choreography that she had been planning for ten years, and that it would be out in the spring. Judy Gascoyne writing to say how restorative it had been for David to hear *Requiem* on the radio (1976). As the years advance, Dame Sybil Thorndike is no longer able to attend performances of Rainier's works but listens on the radio, and Nadia Boulanger is unable to hear the recording that Rainier has sent. Orrea Pernel remembers shared weekends at Gunby Hall, and Rainier annotates a National Trust photograph of the same country house: "Where I spent many days and weeks with Lady M & Sir A Massingberd playing quartets and gardening" (IPR/1/25). And William Glock writes (1984) that he "listened quietly in bed and enjoyed *Aequora Lunae* more than ever before . . ." (IPR/3/30). The range of the letters, and their record of the human spirit, is remarkable.

David Munrow

Whereas Priaux Rainier's papers have an intimate character that draws the reader into her life, there is very little in the papers of David Munrow that is of a personal nature (and nothing that might illuminate why he took his own life, in May 1976). The collection – which was purchased at auction by cornettist Iaan Wilson, before finding its way to the Royal Academy of Music – should be thought of as a collection of professional papers. The bulk of the material comprises files of music that relate to particular concerts given by the Early Music Consort of London, which Munrow founded and directed, and to their numerous audio recordings. In addition, there are Munrow's scores and arrangements for various television and film productions, as well as some radio scripts (rather fewer than one might have hoped), and a large number of concert programmes. The collection also includes material relating to Munrow's *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1976). This historical compendium of instruments, a project completed towards the end of a compressed career-span of only a decade, is written from the perspective of a practising musician, driven by the recovery of lost sounds and the instruments that produce them: "There is no orchestral instrument as strident as the shawm, as sweet as the gemshorn, or as hollow as the panpipes, nothing to compare with the nasal edginess of the rebec or the biting rattle of the tromba marina, nothing to match the vocal timbre of the cornett or the rich buzz of the crumhorn and regal."³⁵ Munrow described the writing of the volume as a "process of discovery."³⁶ His career seemed to derive much of its momentum from heuristic impulse.

Munrow's approach to early music was not antiquarian or academic, the familiar charges. "My only dictum is that there are no golden rules, and we

³⁵ David Munrow, *Instruments of the middle ages and renaissance*. London: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.



Fig 3. David Munrow (ca.1967). Photograph supplied by Gillian Munrow, photographer not known.

would be much better off if there were fewer axes being ground.”³⁷ He successfully embraced the communicative technology of his time – radio, film and television – to introduce early music to a wide audience base, with a synergy that both intuited and influenced popular taste. His professional career co-incided happily with the development of the long-playing record, an innovation that supported the novelty of his live performances by providing the opportunity for listeners to extend their appreciation and understanding. When Munrow returned from Peru in August 1961, where he had spent a year on a Voluntary Service Overseas programme prior to reading English at Cambridge, he returned with a number of indigenous instruments he had collected along the way, a compulsive habit that remained with him. In the archive, there are traces of this enthusiasm: an illustrated catalogue of Chinese instruments (DM/9/19), a Sotheby’s “Catalogue of Important Musical Instruments” (DM/9/22), and a letter (1974) from Rainer Weber (Bau Historischer Musikinstrumente) concerning an order for various instruments, including a Kleindiskant-Pommer which is not quite ready for delivery (DM/1/1/5).

At Cambridge, Munrow met Thurston Dart. “In his study at Jesus, he had a crumhorn hanging on the wall. One day I asked him to lend it to me, and that awakened my interest in the field of old instruments.”³⁸ After completing an MA degree at Birmingham University, for which he researched seventeenth century bawdy songs (particularly, Thomas D’Urfey’s *Pills to Purge Melancholy*), Munrow began to make his living as a musician with the Royal Shakespeare Company (1966-68). The earliest concert programme in the collection is for a recital at Hinckley Music Club, on Thursday 11 November, 1965, when Munrow and Christopher Hogwood played a programme of 16th century music. Munrow also began to give illustrated talks on early music, at music clubs and schools, with Hogwood and Gillian Reid (whom he married in 1966), and to give recorder recitals. In 1967, Munrow founded the Early Music Consort, which developed naturally from his work with Hogwood and Reid, and from his work in the theatre. “By 1967, I had the core of the Consort. Then I heard James Bowman and thought that there was the most fabulous ‘noise’ I’d ever heard, so he joined us too.”³⁹ The core of the Consort that would excite and charm audiences across the world, and receive several recording awards, was Munrow, Bowman, Hogwood, with Oliver Brookes (viol) and James Tyler (lute). Munrow’s success had much to do with being prepared to advance on a number of fronts simultaneously, in an explorative spirit that paid little heed to the professional barriers that traditionally divided musician from musician. The popular taste that found early music engaging was the same popular taste that was keen to discover its folk music heritage, and the same taste that looked for musical authenticity in the sound-track to historical films. Again the long-playing record played an important role, and Munrow had a foot in several camps. When the English folk-singer Shirley Collins searched for musicians to record the song-

³⁷ ‘David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth’, *Gramophone*, May 1974, p.2010.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.2009.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.2009-10.

cycle *Anthems in Eden* (1969), she turned to Munrow and his Consort.⁴⁰ When the BBC wanted music to enhance *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, and *Elizabeth R*, it looked to Munrow. And when Ken Russell came to make *The Devils*, he looked to Munrow (and Sir Peter Maxwell Davies) for music both medieval and macabre.

It is unfortunate that the archive does not contain scripts and play-lists for Munrow's popular radio programme *Pied Piper* (although there are a number of scripts for various other BBC broadcasts, and a set of scripts for British Airways). The musical range of *Pied Piper*, in which Haydn might sit beside a Peruvian folk tune, or a contemporary work for recorder, offered not only a window onto Munrow's breadth of musical interests – "I use my own records, often rare ones, that aren't in the BBC library"⁴¹ – but also his skill in selection and programming, allowing one chosen work to resonate against another to reveal lateral musical relationships across cultures and time. When Meirion Bowen, with a certain detached humour, wrote on "the pre-classical music cult that took root here in the sixties,"⁴² he concluded that Munrow's success was partly attributable to his presentation skills and his selection of material. "Their recital of medieval French music ... on November 15 [1970], was among their very best, simply because it had a theme to it. One left with a clear sound-impression of French musical life in the 14th century, with its diversity of styles and bold experiments with rhythm and melodic ornamentation."⁴³ One of the most fruitful ways of reading the Munrow collection, which has little reading material in the way of correspondence or discursive prose, is to read the concert programmes. Although we do not have play-lists from *Pied Piper*, which would have shown bolder combinations, the concert programmes bear out Bowen's point. As a natural communicator, Munrow was sensitive to the differences between mediums: "You can do things on a record that you can't attempt at a concert. You can juxtapose things, as on the Dufay record,⁴⁴ that I don't think would work in a hall. One has to find the best way of 'putting over' early music, and what works in one medium doesn't necessarily work in a completely different one."⁴⁵

Nothing was left to chance in the making of a record. Munrow controlled every stage of the process, from the selection of the music, and the arrangement of parts, to sleeve-notes and packaging, and the same attention to detail was given to every performance. At the core of the collection are sets of music files, identified by the names of Consort musicians, all assiduously prepared by Munrow himself, freely mixing photocopied material with parts in manuscript, and little to indicate – in the spirit of a copyrightless tradition rooted in voice, memory and accretion – what has been borrowed, adapted

⁴⁰ The sequence included a song from Sussex called *The Blacksmith* ("I love to watch my love / with his hammer swinging..."). For parts for counter-tenor, fiddle, viol, and sordun, see DM/3/130.

⁴¹ 'David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth', p.2009.

⁴² Meirion Bowen, 'Early Music', *Music & musicians*, January 1971, p.61 [http://www.meirion-bowen.com/mbartearlymusic.htm, accessed 8 November 2005].

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ The Early Music Consort of London's recording of Guillaume Dufay, *Se la face ay pale*, as chanson and as Mass. The recording was made in September 1973.

⁴⁵ 'David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth', p.2009.

or written. Originally retained in A4 ring-binders, many of the pages were hinged together, concertina-fashion, by 'sellotape' that had yellowed and peeled-away over the years (but has now been removed). The files have a well-thumbed appearance that attests to their continuous use, as material was re-used and re-combined for different performances. The variable condition of the material (some of the photocopied sheets are of poor image quality) reflects practical purpose and not the expectation of inclusion in an archive.

Authenticity recedes as we try to grasp it. As Harry Haskell has observed, "the history of the [early music] movement is the history of the search for authenticity – or more accurately, the history of changing concepts of authenticity."⁴⁶ Munrow's fundamental response to the conundrum of authenticity was one of exuberant engagement, combining voices and instruments in ways that made sonic sense to the human ear. "Some people use shawms and high recorders when they perform these Renaissance masses. I can't believe they were actually used . . . Any shawm would have blown the head off any counter-tenor."⁴⁷ And his response to why the majority of the earliest music published in the sixteenth century was for stringed instruments, and not for the wind instruments that dominate instrument inventories of the period, was pragmatic and social: "Wind players were mainly professionals whilst for commercial success music publishing needed to appeal to the amateur market . . . Playing the lute or virginals was an infinitely more decorous pastime than blowing a crumhorn or rackett."⁴⁸ One of the few discursive moments in the archive concerns the use of vocal vibrato, prompted by an exchange of letters on the subject published in the *Musical Times*, in 1969 (see DM/9/11). Munrow was of the now-orthodox view that vibrato had no place in vocal music of the renaissance. Of all instruments, he considered the human voice to occupy a privileged position (thus, Bowman's centrality to Munrow's Consort). Instruments were measured against it: "Wide though it is, the spectrum of sound provided by early instruments can be seen as being made up of different facets of vocal timbre."⁴⁹

A biographer of Munrow will not find much in the collection beyond the evidence of the music he performed, although perhaps that in itself offers something of an analogous narrative, from the vitality and lightness of Elizabethan song to the darker riches of gothic plainsong that were his last recordings. That musical journey to one side, and in the absence of material, such as letters, yet to emerge in the papers of others, there is little but fragments and accidental inclusions in the archive from which we can tease out something of the man. A casual postscript from a University of Leicester examinations secretary, referring to a BBC television appearance ("Your guest-spot on *Face the Music* was great") gives a glimpse of Munrow's winning charm (DM/1/1/4). Two letters to Munrow from Colin [] in Lima (1961)

⁴⁶ Harry Haskell, *The early music revival*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988, p.175.

⁴⁷ 'David Munrow talks to Alan Blyth', p.2009.

⁴⁸ David Munrow, *Instruments of the middle ages and renaissance*. London: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.6.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6

that tumbled out of the pages of J A Westrup's *British Music* (stamped "Consejo Britanico, Lima - Peru") in the process of cataloguing: "I find it very difficult to believe, really, that you've gone from this horizon, and frequently expect to hear the door open energetically . . ." (DM/1/1/1). A postcard to David and Gill Munrow, from happier times: "when I found this card I had to remember your playing as well as [a] beautiful evening with you . . ." (DM/8/2/17).

An item that resonates with another kind of personal significance, and returns us to that inspiring crumhorn hung from the wall of a study in Jesus College, is a small and unmarked printed card from University of London King's College Faculty of Music, informing that a memorial concert for Robert Thurston Dart (1921-1971) will take place at St John's Smith Square, London SW1, on Saturday 3 April 2.15 pm - 3 pm. Dart, who had been a significant influence on Munrow's vision – or invention⁵⁰ – of early music, died on 6 March. In the final stages of terminal illness, in the month before his death, he recorded the Brandenburg Concertos with Munrow and the Academy of Saint-Martin-in-the-Fields.

On 10 May, 1976, John Culshaw (Producer, BBC Television) wrote to Munrow giving a detailed schedule for his forthcoming appearance as a soloist in *André Previn's Music Night*, to be recorded 2 June, 1976. The letter is included in a file of professional letters that, to judge from their original context, may not have been answered (see DM/1/1/5). They give a good indication of the range (and pressure) of work to which Munrow was committed during 1976 and beyond. The BBC recording for Andre Previn would not be made. In the words of Christopher Hogwood, "Munrow died by his own hand at Chesham Bois, Buckinghamshire, on 15 May, 1976."⁵¹ In a recent note to the CD re-issue of Munrow's *The Art of the Recorder*, Clifford Bartlett recalls that only a few days before his death Munrow had asked him, uncharacteristically, to compile a list of editions to include in the notes for his next record, a task that Munrow would ordinarily have attended to himself. It was not until later, when news broke of his death, that the detached prescience of the request became apparent.⁵²

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⁵⁰ See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The modern invention of medieval music: scholarship, ideology, performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁵¹ Christopher Hogwood, 'Munrow, David John (1942-1976)', rev., *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31482, accessed 6 June 2006].

⁵² Bartlett's note can be read on-line, at: <http://www.testament.co.uk/Notes/munrownote3.pdf> (accessed 8 November 2005).

CHANGING ATTITUDES: THE INSTABILITY OF THE BYRD KEYBOARD CANON FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

*Richard Turbet*¹

The revival of the music of Byrd began, with that of other early English composers, in 1840 with the founding of the Musical Antiquarian Society.² Its first publication a year later was *A mass for five voices* by Byrd, edited "and preceded by a life of the composer, by Edward F. Rimbault."³ This contained the first printed list, albeit partial, of Byrd's keyboard music, consisting of his "compositions and arrangements" in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Rimbault extracted Byrd's pieces from a manuscript index lent him by William Chappell. The list contains all the pieces ascribed to Byrd, with four additions: *Sir John Gray's galliard*, ascribed to "W.B."; *The Irish dumpe* and *Watkin's ale*, both anonymous, and *Piper's pavan*, attributed in Fitzwilliam to Martin Peerson.⁴ The eighteenth century had shown negligible interest in Byrd's keyboard music. For his time Rimbault was the outstanding British musical bibliographer.⁵ Even at this early stage of the Byrd revival his list marked the beginning of the attempt to catalogue Byrd's works. It also manifested a latent tendency among editors and musicologists to add anonymous keyboard pieces to the Byrd canon. As the canon stands,⁶ none of the pieces suggested for inclusion before 1939 have been retained, and therefore none of the anonymous pieces now regarded as canonical were suggested until 1939 or later.⁷ Also, some of the pieces attributed to Byrd in contemporary sources have now been rejected. So it would appear that the criteria for inclusion into the Byrd keyboard canon have changed over the years.

Neither Rimbault nor Chappell explained the inclusion of the two anonymous items. Both, along with *Sir John Gray's galliard* and the misattribution of Peerson's piece, were uncritically adopted by Joseph Warren in a more comprehensive though still not complete list of Byrd's works published eight years later.⁸

¹ Revised version of paper given at the International William Byrd Conference, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A., 17-19 November 2005.

² R. Turbet, 'The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840-1848', *Brio* 29 (1992), p.13-20.

³ See p.1-10.

⁴ For a note on Gray see R. Turbet, *William Byrd: a guide to research*. New York: Garland, 1987, p.274.

⁵ R. Legge, rev. R. Turbet, 'Rimbault, Edward Francis', *Oxford dictionary of national biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, vol.46, p.986-87.

⁶ R. Turbet, *William Byrd: a guide to research*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2006, p.72-91.

⁷ See below.

⁸ W. Boyce, *Cathedral music*. New ed. London: Cocks, 1849. Memoir of "William Byrd" by Joseph Warren, p.18-23.

It was not only such lists that offered scope for adjustments to the Byrd keyboard canon. Between 1899 and 1939 his entire keyboard corpus came to be published: first in *The Fitzwilliam virginal book*, edited by J.A. Fuller Maitland and W.B. Squire (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1894-99), followed by *My Lady Nevells booke*, edited by Hilda Andrews (London: Curwen, 1926), and *Forty-five pieces for keyboard instruments*, edited by S.D. Tuttle (Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau lyre, 1939); these joined *Parthenia*, already published during Byrd's lifetime (London: Evans, 1612/13).⁹ Of these, *Parthenia* and Fitzwilliam were not devoted solely to works by Byrd.

No scope for speculative attributions was offered by the way the sequence of publications developed. Fuller Maitland and Squire merely noted unattributed pieces and, with the exception of *Sir John Gray's galliard*, suggestively attributed to "W.B." as noted above, they did not attempt to shunt any of them into the canons of Byrd or the other composers represented in Fitzwilliam. All the pieces in *Parthenia* are attributed, while Nevell contains music only by Byrd. Tuttle refers to Byrd, in his introduction, as "one of the great pioneers in the history of keyboard music" and continues, "Yet to understand completely his writing for keyboard instruments and his importance in the development of keyboard style it is necessary to know all the virginal music."¹⁰ He goes on to explain why there are 45 pieces completing the Byrd canon in print. What emerges is that all of them carry attributions, some disputed, to Byrd.¹¹ This means that within this initial project to bring all of his keyboard music into print, there are no anonymous pieces editorially ascribed to Byrd, neither because of scholarly analysis nor speculation. This stasis is significant in the light of previous listings, contemporary publications and future developments.

Three anthologies of Byrd's keyboard music were published in 1923 during his tercentenary: *Dances grave and gay*, edited by Margaret H. Glyn (London: Rogers); *The Byrd organ book*, also edited by Glyn (London: Reeves); and *Fourteen pieces*, edited by Fuller Maitland and Squire (London: Stainer & Bell).¹² All three contain works anonymous in their sources but attributed editorially to Byrd. In the *Fourteen pieces* it is the ubiquitous *Sir John Gray's Galliard*, with its attribution to "W.B." Glyn includes *Martin sayd to his man* in *Dances grave and gay*, and *Captain Piper's pavan* in *The Byrd organ book*. Fuller Maitland and Squire do not comment on *Sir John Gray's galliard*. According to Glyn, *Martin* "suggests the character of a large section of Byrd's instrumental work" but offers no explanation for the presence of *Captain Piper's pavan* (also set by Peerson, the version attributed to Byrd by Rimbault).¹³ Clearly Glyn imported it to complete a pair with *Piper's galliard*,

⁹ For subsequent editions of *Parthenia* see J. Harley, *British harpsichord music*, vol. 1. Aldershot: Scolar, 1992, p.274-76.

¹⁰ Pages XI-XII.

¹¹ Except no. 26, a setting of *Piper's galliard*; see O. Neighbour, *The consort and keyboard music of William Byrd*. London: Faber, 1978, p.165.

¹² R. Turbet, 'Byrd tercentenary keyboard anthologies: an appendix to Routh', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 4 (1998), p.10-11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.11.

a setting of Dowland attributed to Byrd in its source possibly in error for another setting which survives anonymously.¹⁴

Edmund H. Fellowes wrote two biographies entitled *William Byrd*: "a short account" for the tercentenary in 1923, and a monograph in 1936, both of which went into second editions, in 1928 and 1948 respectively.¹⁵ Both books contain lists of Byrd's music, but apart from the now expected *Sir John Gray's galliard*, no anonymous pieces are presented as Byrd's.¹⁶ Nor are any in Fellowes' complete edition of Byrd's corpus published in 1950, as part of *The collected works*.¹⁷

This, however, proved to be a watershed in Byrd scholarship. A new postwar generation of professional musicologists emerged, a section of whom, inspired by the work of Thurston Dart at Cambridge University, focused on Byrd. (Dart himself edited *Fifteen pieces* [London: Stainer & Bell, 1956] and included the anonymous *Coranto Lady Riche* "on the grounds of style".) The outcome was a new edition of the complete works, to replace that of Fellowes.¹⁸ In fact the keyboard music did not form part of it and, edited by Alan Brown, was published separately, entitled *William Byrd: keyboard music*, hereinafter BK, as volumes 27 and 28 of *Musica britannica* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1969-71). In this first edition, only works attributed to Byrd were included, with incipits of those regarded as "spurious, doubtful or misattributed" in the appendix. However, in a postscript, Brown added the anonymous *Eccho paven & galliard* which, on stylistic and bibliographical grounds, seemed to Oliver Neighbour worthy of inclusion in the Byrd canon.¹⁹ For the second edition of both volumes in 1976 Brown added a section consisting of incipits of anonymous "Works possibly by Byrd". Two preludes and an alman were included in consequence of further researches by Neighbour. A setting of *If my complaints* is the one in Tuttle's edition mentioned above. Brown also included *Watkin's ale* noting similarities with Byrd's lavoltas and some imaginative writing in the third strain; the *Coranto Lady Riche* quoting Dart on style (see above) and on Byrd's friendship with Penelope Riche, and adding his own observation on the piece's resemblance to Byrd's own Jig; and a setting of *Christe qui lux* arguing for Byrd's authorship on grounds of style.

Since the publication of the second edition of Fellowes's monograph in 1948 there have been three monographs that contain listings of the keyboard music. First came Oliver Neighbour's *The consort and keyboard music of William Byrd* (London: Faber, 1978). Besides the five pieces mentioned above which he identified as Byrd's, he introduces no other anonymous works into the Byrd keyboard canon. Every piece with an attribution to Byrd in its source is discussed. A fair few are dismissed, as are a small number of those anonymous pieces attributed to Byrd by writers up to and including Brown. The works

¹⁴ Neighbour, *The consort and keyboard music of William Byrd*, p.165.

¹⁵ Edmund H. Fellowes, *William Byrd*. Oxford: Clarendon; London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ But see *William Byrd* (1936), p.213 or 2nd ed. (1948), p.211.

¹⁷ R. Turbet, 'Francis Neilson, F.W. Dwelly and the first complete edition of Byrd', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77 (Summer 1995), p.53-58.

¹⁸ P. Brett, 'Editing Byrd', *Musical times* 121 (1980), p.492-95, p.557-59.

¹⁹ Neighbour, *The consort and keyboard music of William Byrd*, p.215.

regarded by Neighbour as authentic are listed at the beginnings of the chapters relating to their genres, and each is given a slightly cumbersome descriptive number. The monographs by Turbet²⁰ and Harley,²¹ being respectively informative and biographical did not seek to add (nor subtract) attributions, rather to reflect best contemporary musicological opinion.

Just when the Byrd keyboard canon seemed to have become established to general satisfaction, the cage was rattled by David Schulenberg. In a paper first read in 1991 but not published until 1997 (albeit it in a journal dated 1993) he sought to redefine the bases upon which attributions of keyboard music to Byrd could be regarded as safe.²² He expressed scepticism about the five pieces Neighbour proposed for inclusion in the canon, and about most, though not all, of those in Brown's appendices. At one stage Schulenberg uses Neighbour's own stylistic arguments against him and argues for the reinstatement into the canon of a piece (Alman, BK 109) dismissed by Neighbour.²³

Finally there is the discographical dimension to consider. In 1999 Hyperion Records released Davitt Moroney's recording *William Byrd: the complete keyboard music*.²⁴ Moroney wrote the accompanying booklet of over a hundred pages and, as a scholar as well as a performer, presented his ideas on the Byrd canon. Of the anonymous works already mentioned he included all five proposed by Neighbour, plus *If my complaints* and *Christe qui lux* from Brown's appendix.²⁵

After a century and a half of lists, editions and recordings, there is still no established corpus of keyboard music by Byrd. *Pace* Schulenberg, over ninety per cent of the corpus is in place. The contention is within the remaining ten per cent. No other section of Byrd's output, except his consort songs,²⁶ has received the sort of attention under discussion, where the corpus has been boosted by attributing to Byrd pieces anonymous in their sources. There have been isolated examples amongst the choral and consort music,²⁷ but there has been no attempt to emulate John Morehen's computerized procedures for testing the authenticity of those Latin motets with questionable attributions.²⁸

So why has Byrd's keyboard music received proportionally more of this attention, and what is the significance of the discarding from the canon of

²⁰ Turbet, *William Byrd* (2006).

²¹ J. Harley, *William Byrd, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*. Aldershot: Scolar, 1997, amended repr. 1999.

²² D. Schulenberg, 'The keyboard works of William Byrd: some questions of attribution, chronology, and style', *Musica disciplina* 47 (1993), p.99-121.

²³ Even as this paper was being drafted, Pieter Dirksen published a reasoned case for attributing to Byrd the anonymous prelude [CXVII] from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book: see P. Dirksen, 'Byrd and Sweelinck: some cursory notes', *Annual Byrd newsletter* 7 (2001), p.11-20.

²⁴ CDA66551/7.

²⁵ The recording of *Watkin's ale* attributed to Byrd (CRD 3350) is ignored by Michael Greenhalgh in 'A Byrd discography' in *Byrd studies*, ed. A. Brown and R. Turbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, reissued 1999, paperback ed. forthcoming, p.205-64.

²⁶ T. Dart and P. Brett, 'Songs by Byrd in manuscripts at Harvard', *Harvard library bulletin* 14 (1960), p.343-65.

²⁷ Such as *Salve regina* a4 and *In nomine* a6: see Turbet, *William Byrd* (2006), p.106 and p.100.

²⁸ J. Morehen, 'Byrd's manuscript motets: a new perspective' in *Byrd studies*, p.51-62.

one group of anonymous pieces with subsequent attributions to Byrd, in favour of another such group? The former question is more easily answered. Most of Byrd's motets were published. The quantity of anthems and consort music is much smaller than of either the motets or the keyboard music. Most of Byrd's keyboard music, like that of his contemporaries, remained unpublished during his own lifetime, as did his consort songs. Many contemporary keyboard works survive anonymously, and it has become human nature to try to attach the names of particular composers to anonymous works.

The second question is this article's *raison d'être*. All those anonymous pieces attributed to Byrd at some point between 1841 and 1923 have now been rejected from the canon of his keyboard works. From 1960 a professional breed of academic scholars emerged. Their aims were to publish a new edition of Byrd's complete works, which would take account of advances in scholarship since the edition of Fellowes, and to discuss every authenticated work in a series of monographs. It has already been noted that there was disagreement within the project about the attribution to Byrd of anonymous keyboard pieces. Schulenberg then fired his shots across the bows of this flotilla, and Moroney supported only selectively its editorial conclusions. Earlier critics provided very little guidance. Rimbault did not explain his attributions, but Margaret Glyn, who would qualify as a musicologist, sought albeit briefly to justify one of hers. The era of professional musicologists brought forth debate and explanation. The attributions from 1956 reflect advances in scholarship since 1923, but has the present generation sufficiently refined musicology to the extent that anonymous works can be attributed to Byrd with complete objectivity?

Before the question of inclusion can be answered, it is necessary to consider the related question of exclusion. Earlier writers about Byrd wanted to be inclusive, hence the more whimsical attributions, until Brown's complete edition of 1969-71. At a stroke he removed a swathe of over twenty pieces from the canon, either for reasons of style or for proven misattribution. Numbered 96 to 113 inclusive in this edition, some numbers consist of two or more pieces, such as pavan and galliard pairings. Proven misattributions to Byrd occur in the cases of numbers 96 (probably Tomkins), 97 (Gibbons), 99 (includes arrangement of piece by Holborne), 102 (Morley), 103 (probable error for 118, an anonymous piece with a suggested attribution to Byrd; both Tuttle and Moroney accommodate the latter within their collections), 104 (attributed only to "W.B."), 106 (Farnaby and/or Bull) and 108 (Lever). The remaining pieces are rejected on the grounds of style, though all are ascribed to Byrd in at least one contemporary source, even if left anonymous in others. For reasons of style, Brown also withdrew number 41, a setting of *The hunt's up*, from the third edition of volume I. Of the pieces regarded by Brown as genuine, Neighbour rejects only number 51, *Parsons' In nomine*. Of the five anonymous pieces added to the Byrd canon by Neighbour, Brown reproduces the *Eccho paven & galliard*, providing only incipits for the other three pieces, implying thereby a degree of scepticism. It has already been noted in connexion with the complete recording that Moroney agrees with Neighbour about the five anonymous pieces that

Neighbour adds to the canon, and that Moroney himself adds two others not admitted by either Neighbour or Brown. Of items attributed to Byrd but removed from the canon, Moroney agrees with Brown but not with Neighbour in retaining *Parsons' In nomine*, and disagrees with both in retaining the pavan and galliard BK 100/EK 10.²⁹ This pair of pieces deserves a digression all to itself.

How authentic or inauthentic a pair is it? Oliver Neighbour describes it, on page 178 of his book mentioned above, as "surely spurious", but his "surely" is – surely – a reference to the echoes of authenticated Byrd that can be found in BK 100/EK 10. Alan Brown excludes it from the corpus, but in his notes for EK (p. 178) gives an impression close to second thoughts. Davitt Moroney includes it on his complete recording, but in his notes (pages 101-102) expresses the strongest scepticism. Its situation in its only source, the Weelkes MS (GB-Lbl Add. MS 30485), close to a genuine and attributed work (BK 73) in which echoes from the pavan are audible, and close to a genuine but unattributed work, *The fourth pavan* (BK 30) in which echoes from the pavan are also audible, could lower suspicion about the work's authenticity; so could the fact that the alman-like third strain of the pavan resembles those of *Lady Monteaule's pavan* (BK 75) and the pavan BK 76, neither of which is in the Weelkes MS. The work itself is regarded as being unworthy of Byrd himself on account of its structure and content. Perhaps there is an analogy in the contemporary literary sphere. Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus* survives in only two texts, neither of which are thought to convey satisfactorily Marlowe's original intentions. One of these surviving texts is probably the recollections of actors lacking access to copies of the original; the other contains material added subsequently by other hands.³⁰ Could it be that BK 100/EK 10 was indeed the work of Byrd but is transmitted in a regrettably unique version that represents the seriously flawed recollections of a pupil or less gifted colleague lacking a copy of Byrd's original? Few if any of Byrd's other surviving spuria or dubia seem to qualify for this suggested explanation, except possibly the *Medley* BK 112 and *Malt's come down* if they were composed by Byrd for pupils, but such an explanation might have relevance to the disputed keyboard works of other contemporary composers. And it is important to heed the opinions of seasoned performers such as Davitt Moroney, as to whether a given piece sits characteristically of the composer under the hands. These two do not.

These continuing disagreements and developments, over removal of attributed pieces as well as attribution of anonymous ones, emphasize that there is no stable canon of keyboard music by Byrd. Why are some pieces introduced and others excluded? Are those procedures indeed a result of objective and informed critical assessment, or are they occasionally what is wanted or expected of Byrd's keyboard corpus?

²⁹ *Elizabethan keyboard music*, ed. A. Brown. Musica britannica, 55. London: Stainer and Bell, 1989. Hereinafter EK.

³⁰ C. Marlowe, *Marlowe's Doctor Faustus 1604-1616: parallel texts*, ed. W. Greg. Oxford: Clarendon, 1950, Introduction.

It would be interesting to know whether his putative pupil Mary Brownlow could play the galliard dedicated to her. Byrd may have scribbled simpler pieces, quickly and without his usual care, and left them with the pupils for whom they were composed, who perhaps in turn passed them to friends who perhaps in turn made copies which are the sources, or the sources' sources, which survive. Possibly a friend or a pupil learned a piece by heart and committed a faulty or improvised text to manuscript, as suggested above regarding BK 100/EK 10. We have virtually no knowledge of the circumstances in which Byrd composed his keyboard music, and whether in certain cases he relaxed his highly self-critical standards or lost control over the subsequent progress of a piece. Schulenberg was right to focus on criteria for attributing to Byrd anonymous pieces or even pieces that actually are attributed to him in surviving sources. But there is an equal danger that pieces which we do not want to be by Byrd are being rejected from the canon or, if anonymous, are being denied access if proposed, or never considered in the first place. Byrd might compose a piece in an unfamiliar or anachronistic style, or he might deliberately write something apparently inept to make a point or to satirize ineptitude. For reasons of decorum he would not do this in his sacred choral music, but we know that he possessed a sharp sense of humour and was not averse to pointing out through his own works the compositional flaws he perceived in the works of others.³¹ None of this is to advocate that the Byrd keyboard corpus be subjected to ceaseless bombardment by the claims of the entire anonymous Elizabethan keyboard repertory. The criteria for admission to his keyboard canon must be as rigorous as those for retaining questionable attributions. But Byrd might have been hurried, distracted, satirical, misquoted, misrepresented or misinterpreted, and once was young. There is also the possibility that genuine pieces by Byrd survive anonymously and have not been identified because they do not seem to fit the criteria for admission to the Byrd corpus. If *The flute and the drum* survived isolated and anonymous, the rest of *The battle* having perished, would it be recognised as Byrd's? His reputation can withstand the occasional Homeric nod. He should not be saddled with material merely to provide attributions for resolutely anonymous pieces. During that dark period of public and critical unawareness that lasted for two centuries after his death, his name, on those rare occasions when it was invoked, was what we would call nowadays a brand, to be attached to quaintly attractive manifestations of the fashionable musical trivia such as catches and rounds lacking the legitimacy of a composer's name. The benefit of the contemporary ignorance of Elizabethan keyboard music in general was that the brand name Byrd was not attached indiscriminately to any of the many surviving anonymous Elizabethan pieces. Nevertheless, such pieces with a good stylistic or bibliographical case for attribution should not be rejected for subjective or political reasons, only after the objective and informed critical assessment mentioned above. Otherwise we might be depriving ourselves and posterity

³¹ Neighbour, *The consort and keyboard music of William Byrd*, p.206-15.

of a further measure of Byrd's output, and perhaps even further glimpses of his technique and personality. If a group of listeners, selected for their interest in Elizabethan music but unfamiliarity with the pieces in question, were given a "blind tasting" of *The flute and the drum* and the anonymous *Watkins' ale* (of which Alan Brown included an incipit in the appendix of his second edition of the *Keyboard music* as BK 119) and the information that one of the two is the work of Byrd, undoubtedly the majority would choose the latter, as they would *Coranto Lady Riche* given the same circumstances.

Different generations, and different individuals within those generations, have themselves differed as to the content of Byrd's keyboard canon. Between 19 August and 4 November 2005 the British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast on its BBC2 television channel a weekly series entitled *Tales from the Green Valley*.³² Five academics from appropriate disciplines – history and archaeology – went to live for a year in a remote and secluded farm on the Anglo-Welsh border, and led an existence as close to that of 1620 as modern scholarship can tell. One programme of half an hour was devoted to each successive month. This gentle series described in detail how each day was filled, why each task was necessary, what aids were and were not to hand, how long tasks would take, and how individuals interacted in the conduct of their daily lives. We cannot physically return to those days. There is much that we still do not know or, if we do know, do not comprehend. A man in Byrd's position will not have had to participate in many of the more rural transactions which were enacted, though he would have participated in some urban transactions which appropriately were not enacted in the programme. Nevertheless he possessed rural dwellings and dwelt in some of them. What was revelatory about *Tales from the Green Valley* was the content of each day, the pace and rhythm in which those contents were passed, and the nature of the interaction of the individuals involved. All these aspects of contemporary existence – content, pace, interaction – had an impact on Byrd's daily life. In a practical rather than a technical sense, they dictated when and how he composed. They dictated the nature of his interaction with musical contacts such as employers, patrons, colleagues and pupils. They dictated the circumstances in which he transmitted his compositions to their recipients, and how those recipients transmitted them further – if they did indeed transmit them – and, to turn the subject round, how the compositions proceeded further and further away from their composer and from the control of their composer. As part of the continuing challenge to sort out the disputed and anonymous works on the periphery of Byrd's keyboard canon – to retain or reject attributed works, to identify anonymous works that should or perhaps after all should not be admitted – we need to pay heed as well to musicological criteria as also to the minutiae of his daily life: the content, pace, rhythm, relationships and attitudes which would have dictated the circumstances in which his musical texts were transmitted.

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³² Website: www.petersommer.com/tv-tales.html. DVD: Acorn Media UK Ltd, AV9400.

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REVIEWS

Edited by Marian Hogg

English eighteenth-century concertos: an inventory and thematic catalogue. By Owain Tudor Edwards. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2004 (Thematic catalogues, 28). viii, 246 p. ISBN 1-57467-098-9. \$56

I first came across the name of Owain Tudor Edwards back in the 1980s, when I used his article on "English String Concertos before 1800" published in what then was still the "Proceedings" (rather than the modern-day *Journal*) of the Royal Musical Association. I can't claim to have read his doctoral thesis (University of Bangor, 1967) on "The Concerto in England during the Eighteenth Century", but it is obvious from its title, and from the many other examples of his scholarship cited in the bibliography to this new catalogue, that he has doggedly pursued his research into that topic since that time. We may therefore expect good things from this new publication. At its heart is an inventory, arranged alphabetically by composer from John Alcock to Thomas Wright, of concertos by English composers published in the eighteenth century, with thematic incipits, title-page transcriptions and the other paraphernalia that we have come to expect from a thematic catalogue nowadays. The data from this inventory is later used to create other indexes, so section 3, for example, lists the concertos by solo instrument or instruments. Section 4 lists the works by publisher, of interest for the fact that it shows just how often composers of these quite large-scale works had to self-publish, with only a few of the luckier ones being able to find a publisher, such as Longman & Broderip or Robert Bremner, who would be willing to share the risks with them. The section that follows, "An aid to identifying concertos", strikes me as a missed opportunity. Anyone – such as most librarians, I'd guess – hoping for a list of incipits laid out by pitch names in the manner of Barlow and Morgenstern's *Dictionary of Musical Themes* is going to be disappointed, as the musical descriptions are chiefly limited to key, time signature, lengths of movements and tempo markings. Now, it may conceivably happen that a librarian or researcher might be faced with the music (lacking a title page) of a concerto of 235 bars in A major in 2/4 marked *Allegretto*, in which case he/she would be able to use Edwards's catalogue to deduce that it is probably the first movement of one of James Hook's 6 *Concertos for the Harpsichord or Forte-Piano*: but if any of these clues is lacking, unambiguous identification of the work is not going to be possible using the information provided here. An incipit list by pitch names (in this case E A A G# A B G# etc.), or with incipits all transposed into C, would have been far clearer and far shorter.

The prefatory matter to the main inventory both intrigued and confused me, consisting as it does of the following sections: Introduction, "On the randomness of fame"; (2) The purpose of this book; (3) Foreign music and musicians in England; (4) Some remarks on music making in England in the early eighteenth century; (5) English views about the basso continuo; and (6) localizing the source material. There are further essays at the end of the book on "Missing concertos" (this one is useful and informative) and on "Two prolific concerto writers" (Charles Avison and William Corbett). One does not usually expect to find this type of material in a thematic catalogue, and much of it seems out of place here. The titles of some of the sections remind one of Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins's histories of music, and Dr Edwards deserves some credit for his wit in this regard; but personally I could happily have done without it all. This will, of course, be a matter of individual opinion, and others might enjoy these texts more than I did.

My main areas of disappointment with the catalogue, though, are that it does not cite modern editions of the works listed, and that its compiler by and large takes the data on sources for original copies straight out of *RISM* series A. He pleads that a list of modern editions would "quickly become out of date", and "might raise false hopes of obtaining works that are out of print". But, er, isn't one of the reasons we have libraries that they help people to find things that are out of print? The compilers of work lists in *New Grove* seem to think it is worth giving this sort of information, and I think Edwards should too: probably at the expense of the *RISM* data, which takes up a large amount of room in many of his entries. In any case, some of the data in *RISM* series A is well over thirty years old, and a check against resources listed in OCLC or RLIN (or, indeed, using the promising new www.theeuropeanlibrary.org web site to check for copies in various parts of Europe) might well have supplemented it. It didn't take me long to find the OCLC record for the Newberry Library's copy of William Felton's *Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord*, op. 2, which isn't recorded in Edwards's entry; and the European Library website revealed several copies of concertos by Charles Avison in the Royal Library in Amsterdam that likewise don't appear. There are several references in the catalogue to the library of St Michael's College, Tenbury, whose contents are now mainly in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Most UK music librarians will know this, but many outside the UK will not, and it is a pity that the information was not updated.

One final point: while it is always good to have illustrations from sources in a catalogue, it's essential to ensure that the transcription of title-page information from those sources is accurate. Using another Avison example, the transcription of the title page of his *Eight Concertos in Seven Parts* op. 4 does not match the illustration on p. 188 of the catalogue; and the amusing title page to William Corbett's *Concerto's or Universal Bizzaries* [*sic*] that appears on p. ii does not match its transcription on p. 73. This will necessarily sow doubt in the mind of the user as to whether other transcriptions, too, are less than accurate.

I have dwelt at some length on the shortcomings of this catalogue, but should conclude by saying that it is of course better to have a slightly imper-

fect work than none at all. Owain Tudor Edwards has done a service to those interested in the English concerto repertoire, and his catalogue will be a useful starting point for researchers into this topic. They should nevertheless proceed with some caution.

John Wagstaff

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(The following list, compiled by Marian Hogg, is for information only; inclusion of any item in the list does not preclude or guarantee review in *Brio* at a future time.)

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- Beck, Eleonora M. *Giotto's harmony: music and art in Padua at the crossroads of the renaissance*. European Press Academic Publishing, 2005. 264pp. ISBN 8883980301. €25
- Charteris, Richard. *An annotated catalogue of the music manuscripts in the Folger Library, Washington D.C.* Pendragon Press, 2005. 749pp. ISBN 978 1 57647 115 9. £60
- Dean, Winton. *Handel's operas, 1726-1741*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006. 800pp. ISBN 1 84383 268 2. £90
- Fifield, Christopher. *Ibbs and Tillett: the rise and fall of a musical empire*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. 692pp. ISBN 1 84014 290 1. £30
- Getz, Christine Suzanne. *Music in the collective experience in sixteenth-century Milan*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 326pp. ISBN 0 7546 5121 5. £50
- Griffiths, Paul. *A concise history of western music*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006. 380pp. ISBN 0521842948. £25
- Halstead, Jill. *Ruth Gipps. Anti-modernism, nationalism and difference in English music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. 216pp. ISBN 0 7546 0178 1. £45
- Jenkins, Lyndon. *While spring and summer sang: Thomas Beecham and the music of Frederick Delius*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. 214pp. ISBN 0 7546 0721 6. £45
- Karnes, Kevin C. (ed.). *A brief introduction to the skill of song by William Bathe* [Music Theory in Britain, 1500-1700: Critical Editions] Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005. 148pp ISBN 0 7546 3544 9. £45
- Knobel, Marita & Brigitte Steinart. *Singing opera in Germany. A practical guide*. Kassel: Baerenreiter-Verlag, 2005. Translated, Revised and Enlarged edition of Marita Knobel/Brigitte Steinert: *Beruf: Opernsänger. Ein Ratgeber*. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag 2002. 224pp. English text. ISBN 3-7618-1673-1. £18.00
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Scott-Sutherland, Colin (ed.). *Ronald Stevenson: the man and his music. A symposium*. London: Toccata Press, 2005. 509pp ISBN 0-907689-40-X.

Temperley, Nicholas. *Twelve Lectures on Music by William Sterndale Bennett*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006. 176pp. ISBN 1 84383 272 0. £45

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