ISSN 0007-0173

BRIO

JOURNAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MUSIC LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRES

Spring/Summer 2012

Volume 49, No. 1

Brio: Journal of IAML(UK & Irl)

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BRIO **Vol. 49 No. 1** **Spring/Summer 2012**

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BRIO is abstracted in *Library and Information Science Abstracts* (LISA) and *RILM Abstracts*, and indexed in *The Music Index* and *The International Index of Music Periodicals*.

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EDITORIAL

Katharine Hogg

I write soon after returning from a small but very successful Annual Study Weekend hosted by the music department of Cardiff University, which offered a mix of practical information sessions and presentations from library professionals and musicologists, as well as musical performance by talented students from the music department and the opportunity to explore the cultural life of Cardiff.

During the Annual Study Weekend the presentation of the IAML (UK & Irl) Excellence Awards, celebrating the work and achievements of a variety of music libraries across the UK and Ireland, reflected the diversity of our members and the jobs they do, from education to public access to specialist research, and the roles they play in supporting their users. This issue of *Brio* reflects this diversity within the music library profession, with contributions from library users and staff on a range of topics.

Olive Wilson and Thelma Baldwin take us to seventeenth-century Essex to discover the intricacies of various editions of popular songs published for a local community. That so few copies of some of these survive is a testament to their popularity – they were used until they fell apart – and the adjustments to texts also provide an insight into the acceptable moral standards of their intended audiences. Andrew Morris explores the Foyle Menuhin archive at the Royal Academy of Music and describes some of the treasures therein, which shed light on Menuhin's relationships with Bartok, Bloch and other composers of his era. Karen McAulay investigates Welsh folksong in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries using an impressive collection of collaborative social media research tools, and not only presents her findings on the content of the research but also evaluates the web tools used in the process, and their relevance to this sort of project.

Ephemera is becoming an increasingly important area of collecting as its importance as a research resource is recognised, and the Concert Programmes Project demonstrated how extensive and important these resources can be. Rupert Ridgewell and others report on the recent musicians' letters project, which recently completed its report commissioned by the Music Libraries Trust. The project undertook a scoping study to establish the extent of another area of ephemera important for music research, musicians' letters. The article outlines the key discoveries and themes identified by the project team, relating

to resource discovery, preservation and access for this vulnerable material. Oral history is another ephemeral area of research material, frequently overlooked and rarely published. In 1977 Lewis Foreman recorded an extensive interview with Douglas Gibson, who worked in music publishing in London for more than half a century. Foreman's edited transcripts here provide an insight into a lost age of music publishing and the relationships with individual composers, as well as Gibson's role in establishing the BBC Music Library.

Finally I must thank my two colleagues who have worked with me and with my predecessors on *Brio* for some years, Giuseppina Mazzella and Robert Balchin. Giuseppina has been our Advertising Editor for several years, while Robert has commissioned and edited the book reviews. Both have been committed and tireless colleagues with whom it has been a pleasure to work. I hope to be able to welcome their successors for the next issue of *Brio* in the autumn this year.

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PART SONGS AND CATCHES FROM AN ESSEX VILLAGE: THE SECULAR PUBLICATIONS OF THE PSALMODIST JOHN ARNOLD (1720-1792)

Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson

John Arnold of Great Warley in Essex published seven editions of his *Compleat Psalmodist* between 1740 and 1779,[1] as well as *The Psalmist's Recreation* (1757), two editions of *Leicestershire Harmony* (1759, 1767), *Church Music Reformed* (1765) and *A Supplement to the Complete Psalmodist* (1777). These were compilations of tunes for metrical psalms, anthems and hymns, some composed by the compiler himself. Arnold was unique among eighteenth-century psalmodists in that he also brought out a substantial body of secular music, ten books between 1753 and 1791, eight of them either new collections or revised editions.[2] (Details of these volumes are given in Table 1.) Arnold, however, was not a professional musician, as can be seen from the announcement of his marriage in the *London Evening Post* of 18 October 1753:

> A few Days since Mr. John Arnold, jun. of Great Warley in Essex, Gentleman Farmer, (*Author of the Compleat Psalmodist and Essex Harmony*) was married, at Hornchurch in the same County, to Miss Sackette of Hornchurch, a young Lady of fine Accomplishments, and a good Fortune.

Arnold was very young when he compiled his first book of church music, for he signed his preface to *The Compleat Psalmodist* on 29 October 1739, when he was just nineteen.[3] In this preface and in all his publications he styled himself "John Arnold, *Philo-Musicæ*", and it is clear that his passion for music remained the dominant interest of his life. It is unlikely that he had a formal musical education, for in his prefaces he makes no reference to any choir school and we know the name only of the man who taught him to play the flute. Throughout his life he was a buyer of music, subscribing in 1743 to

[1] The spelling was changed to "Complete Psalmodist" from the 6th edition (1769).
[2] The third and fifth editions of *Essex Harmony* volume 1 and the second edition of *Essex Harmony* volume 2 are currently available on Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
[3] He was baptised at Great Warley, Essex, on 10 November 1720. The portrait frontispiece to the *Compleat Psalmodist* includes the words "Aetatis Suæ 19".

Maurice Greene's *Forty Select Anthems*, at a cost of 2 guineas, and later writing of his pleasure in his "Stock of Music".[4]

The first edition of *The Compleat Psalmodist* included 51 of Arnold's own tunes as well as four by "Mr. *Philemon Chalk*, one of the *Society* of *Great-Warley*" and one by "Mr. *John Harwood*, Leader of the *Tenor*, of the Society of *Great-Warley*". So this small Essex village already had an active Society of Singers in the 1730s, a group of men who led the psalm singing in the Sunday services at the parish church.[5] By the 1750s they must also have been enjoying the singing of part songs and catches, for Arnold's first published piece of secular music, "Blooming Bacchus ever young" for tenor and bass with a three part chorus, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1752 (p. 424).[6] He included this song in all five editions of the first volume of his *Essex Harmony*.

Arnold used the same printers and booksellers for both his secular and religious music: *The Essex Harmony* and the third edition of *The Compleat Psalmodist* (both 1753) were printed by Robert Brown and both volumes were sold by C. Hitch, J. Hodges and J. Buckland. The title pages of his publications name only London printers and booksellers, with the exception of the 1759 *Leicestershire Harmony*, where one Loughborough bookseller is included alongside five from London, and he advertised his books in London newspapers as well as in the local press.[7] London is about seventeen miles from Great Warley and Arnold must have made frequent visits to the city while at the same time maintaining his many activities in his home village. He was fully involved in local affairs, joining his father on the parish vestry when he was 21.[8] He held various posts including overseer of the poor and surveyor of the highways, and was chosen as one of the two church wardens at the age of 28, a responsibility he held for much of the rest of his life. All of these posts were unpaid and Arnold's land holdings were never large enough to subsidise his musical activities to any extent. He tailored his publications to a market he knew existed, adapting his later editions to changing tastes and no doubt including pieces that were popular with his local singers.

[4] "On the Author's fine Organ. Written by Himself, 1765", printed in *The Complete Psalmodist*, 7th edition, 1779.
[5] Nicholas Temperley gives a succinct account of these societies in 'The Old Way of Singing: its Origins and Development', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 34, 1981, pp. 536-7, reprinted in his *Studies in English Church Music, 1550-1900*, 2009 , pp. 94-5, and describes them more fully in *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol.1, 1979*,* Chapter 6. He is, of course, only concerned with their role as church choirs.
[6] The composer was described as "*Mr* JOHN ARNOLD, *jun. of* Great Warley, *in* Essex. (*Author of the* Compleat Psalmodist.)". (His father was also called John, as was his grandfather.)
[7] Advertisements in the *Ipswich Journal* (the only local newspaper until 1764) and the *Chelmsford Chronicle* also give the names of East Anglian booksellers, at times as far north as King's Lynn.
[8] The vestry was the body of men responsible for setting the rates and organising local services such as the relief of the poor, the upkeep of roads and the maintenance of law and order.

Table 1: John Arnold's secular music publications

Title	Edition	Date	Preface	Publishers	Price	First advertisement
The Essex Harmony	[1]	1753	Great Warley, Essex July 20, 1753	Printed by Robert Brown. Sold by C.Hitch & L.Hawes; J.Hodges; J.Buckland; J.Johnson	1s. 6d stitched	2.8.1753 *Public Advertiser*
The Essex Harmony	2	1758	Great Warley, Essex July 20, 1753	Printed for C. Hitch & L. Hawes; J. Buckland; S. Crowder & Co.	1s. 6d. stitched	12.2.1762 *Public Advertiser*
The Essex Orpheus			None	Printed for the Author. Sold by John Johnson	3s. 6d	20.10.1764 *Ipswich Journal*
The Essex Harmony	3	1767	Great-Warley, Essex Jan. 28, 1767	Printed by Robert Brown. Sold by L.Hawes & Co.; J.Buckland; S. Crowder & Co.	2s. 6d bound	26.12.1767 *St James's Chronicle*
The Essex Harmony vol. 2	[1]	1769	Great-Warley, Essex Oct. 28, 1768	Printed by R & M Brown. Sold by L.Hawes & Co.; J.Buckland; S.Crowder	2s. 6d bound	31.3.1769 *Chelmsford Chronicle*
Catch Club Harmony			None	Engraved, printed and sold for the Author by Longman, Lukey & Co. Also sold by Hawes; Crowder; Buckland	5s	23.11.1770 *Chelmsford Chronicle*
The Essex Harmony vol. 1	4	1774	Great-Warley, Essex May 1, 1772	Printed by R & M Brown. Sold by J.Buckland; L.Hawes & Co.; S.Crowder; T. Caslon	2s. 6d bound	
The Essex Harmony vol. 2	2	1777	Great-Warley, Essex May 1st, 1776	Printed by G.Bigg. Sold by J.Buckland; S.Crowder	2s. 6d bound	
The Essex Harmony vol. 1	5[1]	1786	Great-Warley, Essex February 20th, 1786	Printed by A.Rivington and J.Marshall for J.Buckland; B.Law; S.Crowder	3s bound	30.6.1786 *Chelmsford Chronicle*
The Essex Harmony vol. 2	3[2]	1791	Great-Warley, Essex May 1st, 1776	Printed for J.Buckland; S.Crowder; D.Ogilvy; J.Speare	3s bound	

Single songs

Blooming Bacchus ever young, headed "*A* SONG *for* Two Voices. *Set to Musick By Mr* JOHN ARNOLD, *jun. of* Great Warley, *in* Essex. (*Author of the* Compleat Psalmodist.)" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1752, p. 424.
The echoing horn sounds well in the morn, published by Longman, Lukey and Co. No copy appears to survive. Advertised in *Essex Harmony*, *i* (1774).
When Cloe was by Damon seen. Two different surviving editions: one headed "A SONG for Two Voices. Set by Mr. ARNOLD jun." (R. Falkener, c 1775), on sheet with "How happy are we" by Bedford Aldrich, and the other headed "A Favourite SONG by Mr. ARNOLD", on sheet with the anonymous "You alone if you'll believe me" (Eliz. Rhames, 1776-8). This song has been misattributed to Samuel Arnold, but appears in *Essex Harmony* (1753) as by "Mr. John Arnold, Jun." (John Arnold senior died in 1762.)
In a full flowing bowl, headed: "A NEW TWO PART SONG. Set by Mr. J. Arnold." (L. L & B [Longman, Lukey & Broderip], c 1775).
Ye fair who tempt the heart of youth, headed: "THE FRIENDLY ADVICE. A New Song. The Words by Mr. Bloss. Set to Music by Mr. J. Arnold." (L. L & B, c 1775).

[1] The title page states it is the 3rd edition, but it was the 5th edition, and advertised as such in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* for 30.6.1786.
This was a re-issue of the sheets of the 2nd edition with a new title page.

In the preface to *Essex Harmony* Arnold claimed that it was unnecessary for him "to make any Apology for the Publication of the following useful Work; especially since no Collection, already extant, contains Half its Quantity and Variety in so small a Compass, and at so easy a Rate". The price was one shilling and six pence, stitched, for thirty-two part songs and fourteen catches, and the book's compact size meant that it could be easily fitted into a man's coat pocket. (Arnold's purchasers are more likely to have walked or ridden to their evening's singing than to have been carried there in a coach.) By contrast, Maurice Greene's *Catches and Canons for three and four voices* [1747] contained only twenty-nine pieces (twenty-four catches and canons and five part songs), cost five shillings and was a largish oblong folio. Before *Essex Harmony*, singers of part songs who were looking for published collections had little other than Greene's volume, the folio *Thesaurus Musicus*, which contained only two-part songs, and reprints of seventeenth-century catch collections. *Essex Harmony* included three pieces by Arnold, and fifteen other composers are named, from Lawes, Purcell and Blow to Leveridge, Greene and Lampe. There is a preponderance of cheerful drinking songs, and while a small number of the pieces are a little risqué, there is nothing really bawdy. As in all the later editions, the catches are kept separate and grouped together at the back, and the majority of those in the first edition are by Purcell or Blow, with only two attributed to contemporary composers.[9] Although this first edition of *Essex Harmony* sold well enough to warrant a second edition five years later, only two copies are listed in COPAC or WorldCat – one at Cambridge University Library (MRB.260.75.2) and an incomplete volume at the Bodleian Library (Harding Mus.E. 854). The second edition (1758) has the contents of the first edition re-set and for this we know only of a single surviving copy, at Bristol University Library. This low survival rate does not indicate low sales, of course. Arnold's musical publications were not of the kind that were finely bound and preserved in gentlemen's libraries, but were given hard use and thrown away when they were worn out or went out of fashion in the nineteenth century.[10]

Arnold did not return to *Essex Harmony* until 1767, but during the intervening years he was active in the music-making of his parish and neighbourhood. In 1763 and 1764 he organised concerts, with professional musicians from London, in a "New Musick-Assembly Room" that he had added to Hulmers, his modest home near Great Warley church. For his "grand MORNING-CONCERT of Musick, by some of the best Performers from London" on 27 October 1763, the tickets cost "a Quarter

[9] "Come, now boys, since we've met" by George Basford of Loughborough and Henry Carey's catch against corruption in elections, "Curs'd be the wretch that's bought and sold".
[10] The copies of *The Compleat Psalmodist* that we have seen also bear evidence of hard use.

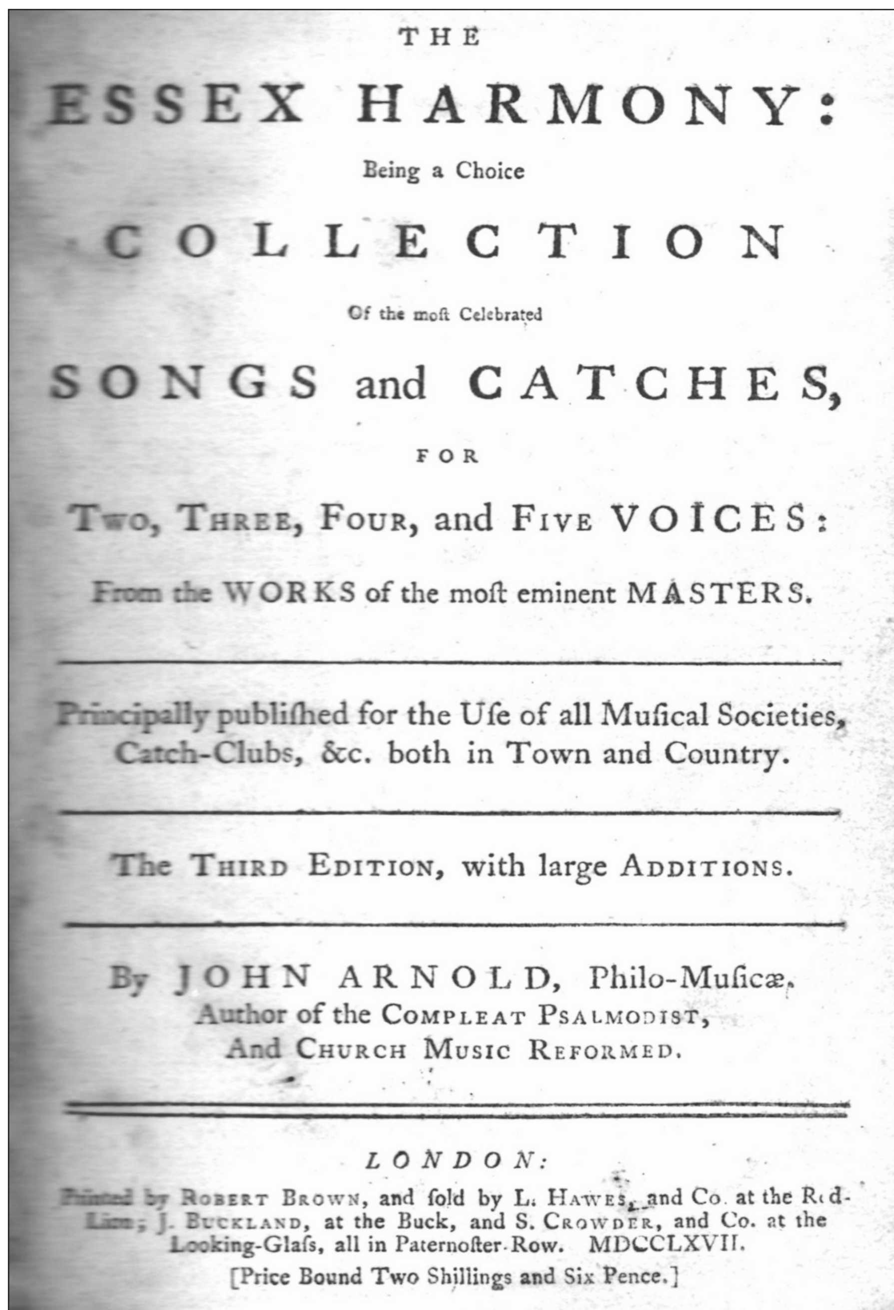
of a Guinea each, Stabling and Hay included".[11] Arnold advertised a series of four subscription concerts to be held at the Crown Inn in the nearby town of Brentwood in June to September 1766.[12] In the summer of 1764 he was holding a weekly musical meeting at his home each Monday, "intended for the amusement and improvement of those gentlemen who practice the Violin, German Flute, etc. and to establish a social Acquaintance among all Lovers of Music in the neighbourhood. Each person to pay one Shilling admittance."[13] We know that Arnold played the flute from lines he wrote in 1765:

And to employ more leisure Hours,
The German Flute I learn'd of Bowers.[14]

In 1771 a young lady visitor to Warley Place, the largest house in the parish, described in a letter the enjoyable "little concerts" put on there by family members and friends, including Arnold as one of the two flautists.[15] It was for such domestic music-making that he compiled *The Essex Orpheus or a Choice Collection of the most Celebrated Airs, Minuets, Marches & Song-Tunes Set for the German Flute or Violin with Several Choice Duetts Set for two German Flutes or two Violins*, printed "For the Author" by John Johnson. The title page is undated, but the volume was advertised in the *Ipswich Journal* on 20 October 1764.[16] The book contains 69 pages of type-set music and cost three shillings and six pence. It includes over 70 popular tunes arranged for the flute or violin, as well as 33 duets and two trios, and begins with "God save the King".[17]

The third edition of *Essex Harmony* "with large ADDITIONS" was published in 1767 (see Figure 1) and cost two shillings and six pence, bound. It was a thorough revision, expansion and updating of the second edition, with eleven songs and six catches discarded and 24 songs and 40 catches added. A small number of the new catches were a little more bawdy. It seems that, since his first edition, Arnold had bought Maurice Greene's *Catches and Canons* [1747], from which he took four pieces, *Eighteen Canzonets* by

[11] *Ipswich Journal*, 15 October 1763.
[12] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 16 May 1766.
[13] *Ipswich Journal*, 12 May 1764.
[14] "On the Author's fine Organ". See footnote 4. Arnold added a note stating that Bowers was "an eminent Teacher of the German Flute".
[15] Letter printed in Brown, A. J. F.: *Essex People 1750-1900*, 1972, p. 65.
[16] John Johnson was replaced in his business by his widow *c* 1762, but books with the imprint of John Johnson appeared occasionally after this.
[17] The only known surviving copy is in the collection of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History, held in the Albert Sloman Library, University of Essex in Wivenhoe Park, which coincidentally became the home of the musical young lady visitor after her marriage.



THE

ESSEX HARMONY:

Being a Choice

COLLECTION

Of the most Celebrated

SONGS and CATCHES,

FOR

TWO, THREE, FOUR, and FIVE VOICES:

From the WORKS of the most eminent MASTERS.

Principally published for the Use of all Musical Societies, Catch-Clubs, &c. both in Town and Country.

The THIRD EDITION, with large ADDITIONS.

By JOHN ARNOLD, Philo-Musicæ,
Author of the COMPLEAT PSALMODIST,
And CHURCH MUSIC REFORMED.

LONDON:

Printed by ROBERT BROWN, and sold by L. HAWES, and Co. at the Red-Lion; J. BUCKLAND, at the Buck, and S. CROWDER, and Co. at the Looking-Glass, all in Paternoster-Row. MDCCLXVII.

[Price Bound Two Shillings and Six Pence.]

Fig.1. Title page of Essex Harmony, 3rd edition, 1767

John Travers (1746), which gave him five songs, and *Catches, Glees and Canons* by William Hayes (1757), which contributed seven catches. In this third edition Arnold updated his preface, and wrote:

> The very great Number of Musical Societies, Catch-Clubs, &c. which are now established, both in Town and Country, plainly demonstrate that Part-Songs and Catches, never were so much in Vogue in England, as at present; the Practice of which (if rightly used) may be esteemed as very commendable, not only in its being an innocent Amusement, and a pleasant Evening's Recreation, after the burthensome Fatigues of the Day, for Persons to join in Singing of melodious Songs and Catches; but Peace and Tranquillity may thereby be introduced into a Neighbourhood, and social Harmony abound.

New to this preface, too, is a reference to the use of instruments with the voices: the bassoon and bass viol for the lowest part and violins, flutes etc. for the higher ones, "which will greatly augment the Music". In the 1761 edition of *The Compleat Psalmodist* Arnold had written of the bassoon as "making an exceeding good Addition to the Harmony of a Choir of Singers" and in the 1779 seventh edition he commented that "of late Years several Kinds of musical treble Instruments have been introduced into many country Churches, to accompany the Voices, as Violins, Hautboys, Clarinets, Vauxhumanes, &c.", so again his religious and secular music-making went hand in hand.[18]

When the fourth edition of *Essex Harmony* came out in 1774 it had become the first volume of *Essex Harmony,* for Arnold had compiled a second volume and published it in 1769. The fourth edition of *Essex Harmony i* was the same size and price as the third edition, but several changes were made, as can be seen in Table 2. As in the third edition, half of its pieces were catches, and Arnold was now not only searching out and selecting catches from other publications but was composing them himself. In 1770 he published *Catch Club Harmony being an entire New Set of Catches &c. for Three and Four Voices Composed by John Arnold Philo Musicæ*. It was "Engrav'd, Printed & Sold, for the Author, by Longman, Lukey & Co." and contained 74 pieces, mostly catches with some epigrams and epitaphs. The catches include one on the words on the inn sign of the Thatchers Arms, where the Great Warley vestry meetings were held.[19] The only copy of *Catch Club Harmony* we have traced is in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and this has Arnold's signature and the control number 205.[20] Arnold was to maintain

[18] A vox humana was a tenor oboe in F.
[19] The Thatchers Arms still serves drink and food in Great Warley today. The sign that Arnold was familiar with has vanished, but was still in place in the late nineteenth century.
[20] U202 Mu6703.1631. We are very grateful to the Royal Library, Copenhagen, for sending us a pdf of this volume.

his connection with Longman, Lukey & Co. and their successors in the publication of his single songs (given in Table 1) and of his only other volume of engraved music, *A Supplement to the Complete Psalmodist* [1777]. The fifth edition of *Essex Harmony i* came out in 1786 and saw a return to the higher proportion of part songs found in the first edition, reflecting the growing popularity of glees in the theatres, pleasure gardens and domestic music making. Arnold was now creating part songs by adding his own bass line to existing pieces. He had included Handel's two-part "When Phoebus the tops of the hills does adorn" in the third edition of *Essex Harmony i*, but in the fourth edition he added a bass line to make this a three-part song. In the fifth edition, he added bass parts to thirteen songs, here creating two-part songs out of solo ones, including John Ernest Galliard's ever popular "With early horn", first performed fifty years earlier.

Table 2: Essex Harmony Volume 1

Date of edition	No. of pieces	Songs added	Songs cut	Catches added	Catches cut	No. of Songs	No. of Catches	% of Catches
1753, 1758	46					32	14	30
1767	93	24	11	40	6	45	48	52
1774	92	4	3	6	8	46	46	50
1786	90	19	2	3	22	63	27	30

The second edition of *Essex Harmony ii* came out in 1777, eight years after the first, and was a substantial revision. In both editions, the proportion of catches is higher than in any edition of the first volume, 64% in 1769 and 61% in 1777. Five of Arnold's catches in *Catch Club Harmony* had first appeared in the 1769 *Essex Harmony ii* and four further items from *Catch Club Harmony* were put into the 1777 edition.[21] It is likely that Arnold played no part at all in the third edition of *Essex Harmony ii*, which was made up of sheets from the second edition, including the preface dated 1776, but with

[21] These included Arnold's setting of "Since Celia's my foe", which replaced an anonymous setting of the same words that had appeared in the first edition.

a new title page dated 1791.[22] Arnold was to die in February 1792, at the age of 71, and the last publication on which he worked was the 1786 fifth edition of *Essex Harmony i*.[23]

The title page of the first edition of the second volume of *Essex Harmony* promised "An Entire New Collection of the most Celebrated Songs and Catches, Canzonets, Canons and Glees, for Two, Three, Four, Five, and Nine Voices. From the Works of the most eminent Masters". The collection "bound in Red" cost two shillings and six pence.[24] In his preface, dated 28 October 1768, Arnold wrote of "the great Number of Catch-Clubs, &c. which are now established both in Town and Country". After describing the catch clubs of London and Oxford, he continued:

> There are a great many others in several Parts of this Kingdom, some held weekly, some once a Fortnight, and some of them once a Month, amongst many Country Choirs, &c. and in some Places are given gratis, by Gentlemen, a Silver Cup, &c. to be sung for by Country Choirs, on Holidays, at some Inn, or Publick House … which provided this was more encouraged and pursued, it would not only prevent the many Accidents, Mischiefs, and other bad Consequences, generally attending those Diversions of Heroism, Cudgeling, Football Playing, &c. but would be a means of encouraging the Practice of one of the greatest of Sciences; and what can be more agreeable or commendable for Country Choirs, than to … entertain themselves and Friends, with such harmonious and inoffensive Mirth.

Arnold arranged his own singing competition for country choirs at the Horse and Jockey on Warley Common, on the Thursday of Whitsun Week 1773.[25] (Great Warley's Whitsun Fair had been suppressed in 1762 "because of the many Riots, Tumults and other Disorders ... occasioned thereby".)[26] The winners of his competition were to receive a china punch bowl and silver ladle together with six drinking glasses ornamented with musical trophies. The hoped-for pacifying effect may have appealed to the church warden in Arnold, but the competition was clearly also designed to increase his sales. The choirs, of not less than six singers each, were required to perform "three Songs, or Glees, in Two Parts; and three Catches, in Three Parts; two of

[22] A copy survives in the Bodleian Library (Harding Mus. E 858).

[23] Arnold's last publication of church music was the *Complete Psalmodist vii* (1779), where he made many changes from the sixth edition.

[24] *St James's Chronicle*, 27 July 1769. It had earlier been advertised in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of 31 March 1769.

[25] Baldwin, Olive and Wilson, Thelma: A Singing Competition in 1773, *Essex Archaeology and History News*, 2009, pp. 15-16 (www.essex.ac.uk/history/esah/Newsletters/ESAH_Winter2009.pdf).

[26] Quarter Sessions Order Book, 20 April 1762. (Essex Record Office, Q/SO/10, p. 337).

the Songs or Glees, to be Sung out of the 1st. and 2d. Vols. of the ESSEX HARMONY; and two of the Catches, out of CATCH CLUB HARMONY".[27] Dinner was eaten at 1 pm, followed by the competition, decided by "three proper Judges of Music", and finally there was "a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music, by some Gentlemen Performers; and great variety of Singing by several Country Choirs".[28]

In the first edition of *The Compleat Psamodist* a large number of the tunes were named after towns and villages in South Essex and in *Leicestershire Harmony*, which Arnold edited for an anonymous "Eminent Master of the County of Leicester", many tunes were given the names of places near to Loughborough.[29] However, local references are almost completely absent from *Essex Harmony*. The 1777 edition of the second volume included the glee "Farewell sorrow, farewell pain" by "Mr. Rayner Taylor, *Organist of Chelmsford, Essex*", a piece that does not seem to have been published elsewhere. Arnold must have known Taylor, the first organist of Chelmsford's parish church, who organised concerts in Chelmsford and was responsible for a concert in Brentwood in the week of the race meeting held on Warley Common in 1773. Taylor later emigrated to America and became important in the musical life of Philadelphia. The fifth edition of *Essex Harmony i* (1786) included the glee "How merrily we live, that soldiers be" from Shield's afterpiece *The Flitch of Bacon* (1778), headed "Warley Camp". There is no mention of Warley Camp in the afterpiece or in the separately published song sheets of this "favourite glee".[30] It seems that Arnold could not resist naming the glee after the famous annual camp of the militia on Warley Common, where the king had reviewed the troops in 1778.

Although John Arnold died in 1792, his *Essex Harmony* lived on. By the end of 1802 Bland and Weller had brought out both volumes, with engraved music and a title page vignette showing fourteen singers and ten instrumentalists round a table at a rather grand catch club meeting (see Figure 2), but with no mention of Arnold and no preface.[31] The publishers reproduced

[27] *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 14 and 28 May 1773. An advance notice of the competition was in the *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 6 Nov. 1772. There were also announcements in the *Ipswich Journal* (15 May 1773) and in a London evening newspaper, the *St James's Chronicle* (20-22 May 1773).

[28] In 1779 a competition was held at the Anchor Inn, Sudbury on the Tuesday of Whitsun week, organised by the publican, with a prize of "Six Pair of genteel Gloves". Here the singers were merely asked to perform "Three Two Part Songs" and there was no mention of dinner or a concluding concert. (*Chelmsford Chronicle*, 21 May 1779).

[29] The American Daniel Bayley the elder of Newburyport, Essex County, Massachusetts published editions of a psalmody entitled *Essex Harmony* between 1770 and 1785, but the tunes are not named after places in that locality.

[30] The air was adapted from Michael East's madrigal "How merrily we live that shepherds be". Arnold gives the composer as "Michael Este", an alternative spelling of East's name.

[31] On 11 December 1802 an advertisement in the *Morning Post* announced that volume 2 would be published two days later. The British Library dates its Bland and Weller catalogue that includes both volumes of *Essex Harmony* as ?1800, so it is available on Eighteenth Century Collections Online. However, the catalogue must date from 1802 or later, since it includes songs from *The Sixty-Third Letter*, premiered on 6 July 1802.

Fig.2. Title page of Essex Harmony published by Bland and Weller, 1802

the third edition of *Essex Harmony i* (1767) and the first edition of *Essex Harmony ii* (1769), keeping the order of contents the same except for a few places where changes were made, presumably to fit the music more neatly onto the engraved plates. There are a number of engraver's mistakes, including "Dr Haves" for "Dr Hayes" and "Mr Oliver" for the composer Mr [Joseph] Olive. In several cases "a 3 voc" was changed into "a 2 voc" at the head of songs clearly in three parts. Strangely, Charles Burney's setting of the nursery rhyme "Jack and Jill" was moved from volume 2 to volume 1, the only departure from the original contents. A single title page plate was engraved, with "Volume I" left to be amended in manuscript for volume 2. This was not always done, so a volume 2 can appear to be volume 1: if the first song is "Since Celia's my foe" it is volume 2.

Some years later, the firm of Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. published their own two volume set of *Essex Harmony*, with a title page vignette of four men smoking and drinking outside an inn overlooking the sea, and again with no credit given to Arnold. The two volumes were page-by-page copies of the Bland and Weller edition. Most of the engraver's mistakes were corrected, so that Dr Hayes and the correct use of "a 2 voc" return, but it is clear that the copy was from Bland and Weller rather than from Arnold's originals, for "Mr Oliver" remains and "Jack and Jill" is still in volume 1. The imprint "London, Printed by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. 20 Soho Square & 7 Westmoreland Street, Dublin" dates the edition to *c* 1811-1816.[32] Some of the surviving copies, however, have the words "& to be had at" neatly inserted above the line before the Dublin address, so it would seem that these copies were issued after the Dublin premises were taken over by Willis & Co. around 1816 (see Figure 3). By this later date Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. felt it necessary to remove some words and ideas that might offend purchasers and in the bowdlerised copies the signs of erasure and re-engraving are usually easy to spot. The majority of changes are found in volume 2, where, for example, "a pox" is changed to "a fig" or "a curse", "sing our bellies full" becomes "quaff our glasses full" and "a rose without a prick" turns in to "a rose that will not last", necessitating a change from "thick" to "fast" in the previous line. The rhyme was barely maintained in Baildon's "Says my lord to his lady", where the question "Shall we go to supper, or do you know what?" became "Shall we go to supper, or play with the cat?" The bowdlerisers abandoned any idea of ameliorating Arne's *Lady Fanny* and replaced it, on pages 72-3, with "Non nobis domine", which was used as a post-dinner grace by clubs modelling themselves on the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club.[33] Only four changes were thought necessary

[32] See Humphries, Charles and Smith, William C.: *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 1970, p. 158.

[33] "Lady Fanny" was one of the catches Arnold dropped from his second edition of vol. 2. "Non nobis domine" is not included in any of Arnold's editions.

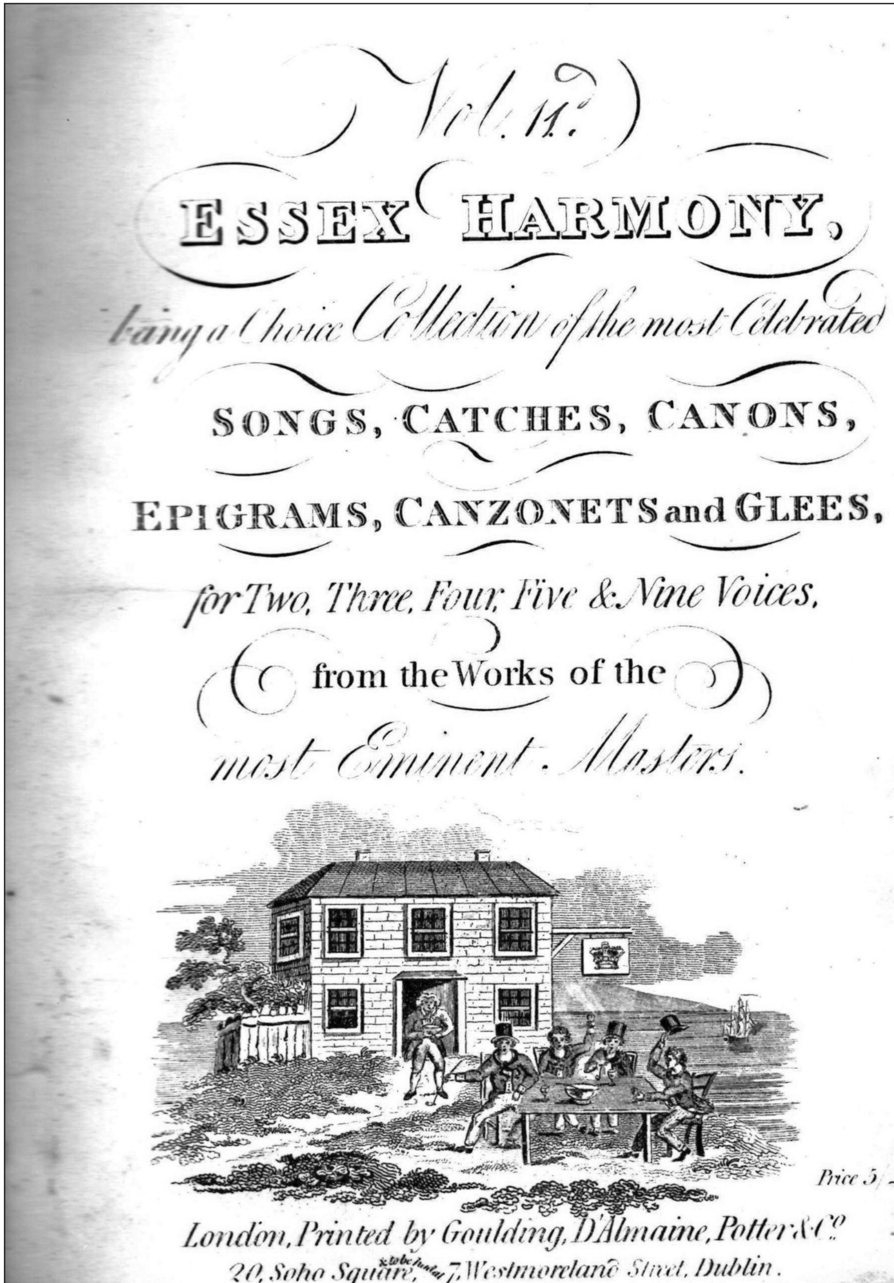


Fig.3. Title page of Essex Harmony published by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., ca. 1816

in volume 1, but "thighs" had to become "sighs" and on page 106, the catch "Lie still my dear" became "Be still my dear", although the bowdleriser forgot about the Table of Songs, which still has "Lie still my dear". We know of no unbowdlerised copies with 'to be had at' added to the imprint and no bowdlerised copies without this addition.

The Bodleian Library has copies of both volumes of *Essex Harmony* published by Bland and Weller on paper watermarked 1820 and with the price re-engraved as 8 shillings rather than 5 shillings.[34] It is interesting that Bland and Weller found it worthwhile to re-issue the volumes as late as this and that they did not think it necessary to make any bowdlerisations. We know of two copies of the Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. second volume on paper watermarked 1820.[35] The price remained unchanged at five shillings, and these volumes, of course, are bowdlerised. We are aware of only two bowdlerised copies of the first volume and neither are on watermarked paper: one in the Albert Sloman Library at Essex University has the plate mark 'Essex H. Vol: 1' on most, but not quite all, of the odd-numbered pages, and that at the Royal College of Music has '150' added after 'Essex H. Vol: 1' each time.[36] (Plate marks do not seem to have been added to volume 2.) It seems remarkable that Bland and Weller expected to continue selling the volumes at a much higher price and that Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. went to the trouble of bowdlerising plates and adding plate marks to compilations that had first appeared so many years earlier. These collections, unchanged except for the bowdlerisations in the later Goulding copies, had first been available for sale in the late 1760s. Indeed, over 60% of the pieces from the first edition of *Essex Harmony* (1753) were still present in these editions that were for sale seventy years later, revealing a surprising continuity of taste among singing groups. Our copy of the Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. second volume has an inscription showing that it was bought on 11 May 1829 by Jeremiah Stead of Gildersome, Yorkshire. That this publication from an Essex village was still being purchased thirty-seven years after Arnold's death is surely evidence of his skill as a compiler as well as of the enduring popularity of part songs and catches.

Abstract

John Arnold (1720-1792) lived throughout his life in the village of Great Warley in Essex. Between the ages of 19 and 65 he compiled and published 21 volumes of music, including *The Psalmist's Recreation*, *Church Music*

[34] Bodleian Library, both volumes at Mus. 2 d,140 and volume 2 at Harding Mus. E 862. The Royal College of Music has a copy of volume 1 with the 1820 watermark (XCV.C.5).

[35] Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. E 863 and our own copy.

[36] Royal College of Music, C 121.

Reformed and seven editions of his major work, *The Complete Psalmodist*. But he was not just a psalmodist, for his *Essex Harmony*, two volumes of catches and secular songs for two or more voices, ran into several editions. This article looks in detail at the publishing history of Arnold's secular works and at the social music-making that gave rise to them.

Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson have written extensively on 17th and 18th century singers and composers for musical periodicals and for New Grove. They were Research Associates for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, for which they wrote over 60 articles, and have edited facsimile editions of the complete songs of Richard Leveridge (1997) and of The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702-1711 (2007).

Brio Volume 49, Number 1. pp 18-30

COLLECTIONS OF MUSICIANS' LETTERS IN THE UK AND IRELAND: SUMMARY OF A SCOPING STUDY COMMISSIONED BY THE MUSIC LIBRARIES TRUST

Katharine Hogg, Rachel Milestone, Alexis Paterson, Rupert Ridgewell and Susi Woodhouse

The scoping study

In 2010 the Music Libraries Trust commissioned a scoping study to examine one of the longstanding items in its list of desirable projects: the documentation of musicians' letters. The main objective of the project was to determine the extent to which letters have been preserved and documented, and at what level, with a view to establishing what measures can be undertaken to help improve access to them. A team of five researchers, comprising the authors of this article, was appointed to undertake the project over the course of a 12-month period. The final report, completed at the end of 2011, provides a synthesis of information regarding access to musicians' letters in libraries, archives and other institutions and private collections, and outlines the limitations of current provision in the UK, with reference also to the Republic of Ireland.

In undertaking the project, the team adopted a fairly wide definition of the term 'musician' to encompass not only practising musicians and composers, but also agents, publishers and others involved in the business of making music. This reflects the reality of many collections: they are diverse in content. The team also adopted a broad definition of the concept of a 'letter', intended to encompass not only the traditional personal handwritten document sent from one individual or organisation to another, but also email correspondence, which raises separate issues of preservation. The scope of the project was contained, however, by focusing on material dating from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, with an emphasis on the classical tradition. This focus had the advantage of highlighting collections that are still 'in flux' or not yet documented.

The project comprised four main areas of activity: a survey of holding institutions, to obtain a broad overview of where letters are held; a survey of researchers active in the field, to gain a sense of current issues concerning access to collections of letters; a series of structured interviews with a representative cross-section of people currently working in music (predominantly classical) in the UK, to obtain their views concerning the preservation

of their correspondence; and the compilation of a bibliography of published collections of letters. This article represents a distillation of the main outcomes of the project and the recommendations outlined in the report for future activity. It is hoped that the study will itself become a tool for advocacy, especially since it has, for the first time, given an indication of the degree to which the letters of musicians are endangered documents, prone to be lost to history.[1]

The research resource

Letters are key documents for historical and contextual research in all disciplines, often prized especially for the insight they can bring into the personal or inner life of the subject. As an intimate form of communication from one individual to another, letters are often thought to encapsulate the private voice of the writer, making them highly resonant biographical sources. They are equally valued for the contextual and incidental information they can impart. In the case of musicians, letters can provide essential information about all aspects of musical life, from the intricacies of the creative process (especially in the case of collaborative works, such as operas), to practical issues surrounding the preparation of a work for performance, to the social and economic position of musicians in society.

The researchers who responded to our survey highlighted the value of letters as sources for factual and biographical information, to establish dates, timelines and situations, to verify other source data, and for wider information on contexts. In addition, many researchers use musicians' letters to find opinion and uncover attitudes and ideas – to 'get in the mind' of the musician. More specifically, they are used to gain an insight into a musician's personality through their habits, views and influences, to learn about the musician's relationships, to research compositional processes, and to discover musicians' opinions on works and performances. Overall they are used as sources for information unavailable elsewhere. As one researcher stated, 'Letters offer a wormhole into a period that we look back on with hindsight. Letters offer a view from the front-line without the benefit of hindsight'.

Researchers stated that the main benefit of using letter collections is that they provide primary contemporary information, untainted by later analysis – a 'you are there' point of view. They are beneficial for showing musicians' immediate, fresh, and personal opinions – they provide an insight into the private thoughts of musicians. Others stated that they can offer valuable insights into the process of composition and musical judgement, as well as

[1] The authors would like to thank all those who gave their time and expertise to make the scoping study possible. They include: the staff of organisations and individuals responding to the survey, staff at the BBC Written Archives, Oxford University Press, the London Symphony Orchestra, Cheltenham Festivals, Royal Festival Hall, Royal Academy of Music, Royal Society of Musicians, and those who kindly agreed to be interviewed on their use and perception of archives of letters.

evidence of potential metaphorical meanings concerning the music itself. Many researchers stated that one of the great benefits of the use of musicians' letters is that they contain information that is not available elsewhere. They are invaluable for better understanding of musicians whose careers are not well documented, and reveal aspects of musicians' personalities that would not otherwise be accessible. In addition, they often contain data that may contradict 'received wisdom'. As one researcher stated, musicians' letters 'offer a window into the mind of the composer'.

Holding institutions

Musicians' letters nevertheless tend to be less well documented than some other music research materials, such as music manuscripts and printed scores. Although the letters of some key composers have been published, they represent merely the tip of the iceberg with regard to the total corpus of letter collections held by libraries and archives internationally. A large body of incoming correspondence might typically form part of a musician's estate, if the individual concerned was careful about retaining such material, but outgoing correspondence will be – by its very nature – scattered far and wide, if preserved at all. Material relating to particular individuals is very often distributed in numerous different repositories, both private and public, reflecting the diversity of their personal connections and professional associations. Musicians obviously correspond for professional reasons not only with other musicians, but also with promoters, publishers, broadcasters, members of the public, and the press, as well as with any number of private individuals and corporate bodies for all sorts of personal reasons. Musicians' letters may be found in repositories relating to all these types of correspondent, in countless institutions, both public and private, throughout the UK and Ireland.

An inventory of extant collections lies at the heart of the final report, offering a starting-point for any subsequent research and documentation. The inventory covers a total of 110 holding institutions, with information drawn from a general survey of holding institutions, visits to particular collections, and desk research. The repositories covered in the inventory include national libraries, university libraries, public libraries, public archives and museums, composer museums and trusts, music conservatoires, broadcasting institutions, music publishers, music festivals, charitable foundations, orchestras and ensembles, concert venues and recording companies. There are 1,930 entries for 1,550 musicians, composers, and corporate bodies associated with music and active in the 20th and/or 21st centuries. For ease of access, the inventory was presented in the report alphabetically by name of musician: in the case of mixed collections that have been indexed by name, there are multiple entries in the inventory covering the same collection. The

raw data is also available electronically in spreadsheet format, so that it can be sorted according to need and/or searched by keyword.

The range of personal and corporate names represented in the inventory encompasses composers, conductors, music clubs and societies, music critics, singers, music publishers, agents, artists' executives, choreographers, instrumentalists, music teachers, recording engineers, orchestras, choral societies, impresarios, musicologists, editors, music administrators, ballet dancers, journalists and features editors, instrument makers, opera producers, collectors, sound engineers, songwriters, music patrons, government bodies, and music festivals. The inventory also gives some indication of the degree to which letters for particular individuals are scattered in different institutions: letters relating to Elgar, for example, are covered by eighteen entries from nine libraries and archives. But the majority of the musicians listed are represented in only one institution, usually containing only a fragment of the full correspondence.

While some institutions have been able to catalogue their archival collections to item level, a substantial number of collections have been catalogued only at a fairly low level of detail. In these cases the inventory can give only a broad indication of content. Equally, while we have identified a number of undocumented and, in some cases, largely or entirely unknown collections, much remains to be discovered, especially in the archives of private and commercial arts organisations. The inventory should therefore be regarded as indicative, rather than offering a comprehensive view of the field. In order to help to counteract these imbalances, and to explore issues associated with holdings in different sectors, the team identified a number of representative collections or institutions in several categories for exploration in more depth.

Archival versus administrative collections

A major issue, with implications for resource discovery and preservation, is the fact that letters often form part of the working administrative files of an institution and are therefore to be found not only in library and archive repositories. For example, at the Royal Academy of Music letters are scattered in many different departments, comprising a mixture of research material in the special collections of the library and the museum, as well as forming part of the Academy's administrative working records and institutional archive. Another key example is the BBC Written Archives, which maintains a comprehensive archive of administrative papers and is still very much a working archive for the institution, rather than simply a library of historic documents. The BBC has, of course, been associated with virtually every musician of note in the twentieth century through its broadcasting activities and has also employed many prominent musicians both in its orchestras and music staff. Several series of papers in the BBC Written Archives

contain substantial caches of musicians' letters, reflecting the organisational structure of the BBC and the working files of various departments. Thus correspondence with one musician may be spread across a number of departments and files.

Similarly, the archives of music publishers can be a rich source of correspondence but they are typically arranged to support the business of the publisher and not primarily for research. The Oxford University Press, for example, started to publish music early in the 20th century and the firm's archive covers the full period of its publishing history. The archive is open to the public for bona fide research, subject to a general '30 year rule' for the most recent material; other files may also be withheld at the discretion of the archivist of OUP. As a business archive, the material is arranged according to publication, so that all documents relating to a particular work, series or anthology will be kept together in a single file or set of files; for example, there is a file for Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast*, and another for the anthology *Tudor Church Music*. Each publication file includes a variety of material: original correspondence from the composer, librettist, editor and others to the publishing house; proof corrections; documents relating to first performances; and other material. The contracts between the publisher and composer are kept separately and are not normally available to the public. There are no statistics relating to the size of the archive, but a conservative estimate from the Head of Music is that OUP holds in excess of 50,000 editorial files relating to music, nearly all of which would contain at least one letter of communication from a musician (namely, the composer), and many files would contain letters from more than one musician.

Working archives can also be dispersed physically in multiple locations, depending on the structure of the organisation, making access especially problematic in some cases. The Cheltenham Music Festival, for example, provides a case study of an organisation that holds important material relating to the performance of music since at least the 1970s, but which does not maintain a central archive. The bulk of the collection is stored in Cheltenham Town Hall basement and consists of the working administrative materials of the festival such as box office reports, sponsor and funding information, contracts and publicity materials, and correspondence with the musicians involved in each festival. More recent material (2008 onwards), including a relatively small amount of paper correspondence, is housed in the Festival administration's current office space. The vast majority of routine official correspondence with musicians and composers now takes place by email (contracts being the only real exception). Handwritten 'thank-you' letters tend to have been left attached to scores; the compilation of a database of the scores held by the festival is in progress, along with notes indicating when a letter remains attached. It seems possible, because of their absence from what

has been discovered at this stage, that less 'routine' correspondence (such as letters of thanks, comments on the festival, correspondence from and about musicians) may form part of the personal collections of successive artistic directors of the festivals, who are often musicians in their own right.

Other bodies represented in the inventory demonstrate various aspects of the music business and the wide range of contexts in which music is performed. They include art galleries, churches and cathedrals, country houses, and the Guardian newspaper. One might equally anticipate finding caches of letters in the archives of artists' agents, musical tour companies (e.g. Martin Randall), instrument makers, accountants, film and theatre companies, music clubs and societies, music competitions (e.g. the Leeds International Piano Competition), learned societies, livery companies (e.g. the Worshipful Company of Musicians), Trade Unions (e.g. the Musicians Union), schools and other educational establishments, embassies, and government departments.

Resource discovery

The survey of researchers undertaken during the project underlined some key barriers to the effective discovery of musicians' letters. Principal among them is the lack of granularity in the description of many letter collections held by public institutions and, more often than not, the lack of descriptions or signposting of private and commercial archives. Collections of letters very often form part of the larger set of papers of individuals or institutions and are often not catalogued or indexed separately, but form part of the description of the entire archive. Significant caches of material are also held by public institutions that have not yet catalogued their collections, or do not have the resources to do so. Although online access has in many ways improved access to existing descriptions to the benefit of research, libraries and archives, with few exceptions, do not tend to have the resources to provide item-level access to larger collections.

There are currently no federated sources of information specifically focused on documenting holdings of musicians' letters, either in the UK and Ireland, or internationally. The desirability of creating an umbrella site for documenting musicians' letters was mentioned by a number of participants in the project's survey of researchers. The inventory of collections produced by this project offers a first step towards achieving that goal, although the sheer volume of material held merely in the public sector is a considerable challenge here. In the short term, there is clearly an opportunity to improve the coverage of Cecilia to embrace collections in all sectors – both public and private – and to develop that portal to add index entries and item-level descriptions where possible. In the longer term, the digitisation of major repositories and collections will certainly help to improve access, although

the level of descriptive metadata required here is equally important and this data cannot be derived from existing catalogues in most cases.

Letters do fall within the scope of a number of online portals that aim to provide over-arching access to information about archives and library collections, but these are generally designed to operate at a relatively high level of granularity. There are nine authoritative sources that provide information for a significant proportion of the materials held in public sector bodies, charitable trusts and other institutions:

National Register of Archives
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/default.asp

Access to Archives (A2A)
http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/default.aspx

Archives Hub
http://www.archiveshub.ac.uk

AIM25
http://www.aim25.ac.uk/

Scottish Archives Network (SCAN)
http://www.scan.org.uk/index.html

Archives Wales
http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/

National Archives of Ireland
http://www.nationalarchives.ie/index.html

National Library of Ireland: Sources
http://sources.nli.ie/Browse/Archive

Cecilia
http://www.cecilia-uk.org

Another barrier to effective access is the lack of a federated search mechanism for these separate databases. Awareness of the availability of these resources and their limitations with regard to music collections might also be enhanced. Indeed, there is scope for greater collaboration between the library and academic communities to provide guidance about locating material and identifying collections that would merit exploration. We might legitimately question whether more progress would have been made in the description of letter collections if more students were made aware of these opportunities for discovery. Equally, the general loss of specialist music posts in many university and public libraries risks the loss of an important conduit of information and guidance concerning the identification and mapping of music research materials generally.

Metadata issues

Letters form part of the wider web of music-related source materials, all equally relevant and important to the work of a researcher. Traditionally, library catalogues are divided by format and do not seek to provide integrated access to subject-specific information cutting across different formats and collection-types. In the online environment, such linking and integration of data is possible but has rarely been achieved, although the technical and conceptual issues involved have been tested and discussed, notably by the Mspace project at Southampton University.[2] More effective data linking remains a desirable goal not only for music users but also for the humanities in general, to open up the interrelationships between different materials and sources of information, and to support interdisciplinary research.[3] It is, however, a particularly acute problem in the musical sphere, with its uniquely diverse series of formats embracing sheet music, books, serials, manuscripts, letters, ephemera, sound, and film. The implementation of RDA (Resource Description and Access), anticipated in 2013, with its emphasis on the relationships between descriptive elements (names, subjects, titles) regardless of format, will undoubtedly bring this issue to the fore – at least in the library sector – and provide the basis by which greater integration of resources can be achieved.

Metadata issues will continue to be problematic until more collections have been described and catalogued at item level. Ideally one would wish, at a minimum, to have access across collections via an authority list of the names of letter writers and recipients, together with subject access describing something of the content of each letter. Such detailed treatment is generally limited to important special collections and key repositories, such as Leeds University Library via its dedicated letters database. Online access inevitably brings with it the prospect of the mass digitisation of source materials,[4] but musicians' letters have not, thus far, been made available extensively online.[5] A key restrictive factor is the copyright in unpublished works, including letters, which is currently protected until 31 December 2039.

[2] http://musicspace.mspace.fm/

[3] These issues are explored in a report prepared by the Research Information Network entitled 'Reinventing Research? Information practices in the humanities' (April 2011). See http://www.rin.ac.uk/.

[4] The potential for digitisting such material is described in JISC's report 'Digitisation of Special Collections: Mapping, assessment, proritisation' (2009). See http://www.jisc.ac.uk/.

[5] A project is currently underway to publish a new annotated edition of Mozart's letters in several languages. See Cliff Eisen et al., *In Mozart's Words* <http://letters.mozartways.com>. Version 1.0, published by HRI Online, 2011. ISBN 9780955787676. An online database of Vaughan Williams's letters is also planned, supplementing the volume of selected letters published in 2008 (see Hugh Cobbe (ed.), *Letters of Ralph Vaughan Williams, 1895-1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)).

Privacy issues

One of the key recurring issues in this report is the right to privacy. Letters are generally, by their very nature, private documents that communicate matters that are not intended for wider consumption. This is equally true of personal letters between private individuals and letters produced by employees of a public or private organisation in the course of their work: the latter can contain commercially sensitive information, or relate to such matters as terms of employment which are not intended for public airing. Privacy and data protection legislation is intended to protect individuals and organisations from the unauthorised use of private documents, and this has implications for the availability of musicians' letters in many archives (the Arts Council archive held by the Victoria & Albert Museum is one example). This is also an overriding factor in the policy adopted by many commercial companies to providing access to their archives. The EMI Archive, for example, restricts access to archival documents created since 1945. Privacy concerns can also affect the willingness of individuals to allow letter collections to enter public institutions, or to make private collections accessible to researchers via appointment. Indeed, many private collectors are understandably cautious about making information about their collections public, for reasons of security as much as privacy. In many cases, letters have a sentimental value that transcends any consideration of their wider significance. The value of such material is not always recognised by executors of personal estates and, for that reason, is sometimes disposed of. Some respondents to the survey of researchers also mentioned the issue of copyright as a barrier to the publication of letters; the same issue is obviously a factor to be considered in any project involving the digitisation of letter collections.

Private collections

Not surprisingly, the general consensus among the individuals who took part in the survey of researchers is that letters held in private collections are especially difficult to locate and access. As one researcher stated, 'it is always the case of being a tenacious detective'. Only four of the 25 researchers had not used privately held collections, emphasising the importance of private collections even if they are not widely publicised and are often difficult to track down. In this instance researchers attempted to gain information from a musician's estate, to track down relatives of the subject, to interview subjects, and simply to trawl through a collection. Other means of locating sources mentioned were contacting particular institutions, such as orchestras and publishing houses, being a subscriber to auction-house lists, and the use of eBay. Despite all the finding aids mentioned above, some researchers stated that locating the sources was still ultimately down to 'looking in the right places', 'intuition', and 'happy chance'.

Even if access is limited, organisations holding correspondence should be encouraged to consider safeguarding their collections for future generations and, where possible, lodge details of them with a federated database such as Cecilia. It should be noted that none of the private and commercial organisations contacted for this report were unwilling to share information about their holdings, although most of them were approached via personal contacts known to team members. We have also identified some examples of organisations – such as Schott Music – that have made provisions for the future of their collections; as we have seen, some larger organisations like the BBC and OUP also maintain archives on a professional basis.

In order to gain insight into the views of current practitioners, including musicians and music administrators, regarding letters in their possession or in their institutions, the project arranged a series of structured interviews with 15 individuals. The interviewees were asked to consider various aspects of their correspondence, including content and format, access, retention and legacy. Some general points emerged over the course of conducting these interviews. The most universal of these is that all participants required some explanation or clarification of what was meant by 'musicians' letters collections' – a strong indicator of the dichotomy between how these documents are viewed by researchers and archivists versus working musicians and administrators. Other more varied observations are outlined below:

- There are no obvious occupational or generational factors that seem to indicate trends in attitudes to, retention of, and mediums of correspondence. While this might be attributed to the relatively small scope of the interviews, responses to this topic seemed to be highly personal.
- The idea of 'legacy' is uncommon. Most interviewees had to be prompted and encouraged to view their correspondence as useful or interesting to researchers.
- The idea of an 'archive' or 'collection' is alien to many practitioners. There may be a slight tendency of older composers to consider their materials as an archive, although not necessarily one which they regard as important for future generations.
- Interviewees generally made a distinction between written and email correspondence, in terms of purpose, significance, and storage.
- Performers were much less likely to consider correspondence in isolation from scores, sketches and manuscripts accompanying (or forming the subject of) correspondence. There is also evidence that the medium of correspondence sometimes *is* the manuscript, in the form of brief notes in the preliminary pages.

- 'Interesting' things are kept. Although this has probably always been the case for many musicians, selection and filtering of material has almost inevitably occurred prior to a researcher's access to the materials. The added value that interviewees attach to items of interest may also account for the splits in many festival and organisational collections (see, for example, the current Cheltenham Music Festival report).
- Understanding organisational structure and the history of those organisations is important in understanding how collections may have been acquired, separated, combined or lost. Within organisations, different subjects of correspondence are commonly housed in different departments, and therefore treated in different ways.
- Many organisations had no clear ideas of when materials should or could become 'archive', and often storage issues seem to be a more important factor than consideration of value in establishing retention policy

From this small sample of interviewees it is clear that there are vast, ever increasing amounts of musicians' correspondence. This ever-expanding body of material raises questions of precisely which materials are valued sufficiently to preserve, and how the preservation of digital collections is addressed. One could argue that the reluctance on the part of many musicians to devote time to establishing any order to their collections is all the more reason for directing researchers to these collections and encouraging them to focus on exploring and cataloguing these materials. It is also clear that the scholarly value of personal collections is not always recognised, or at least that the possibility of finding an institutional home for the material is not always considered. Even those musicians who are aware of the value of their collections struggle to find any guidance on how to preserve them. Advocacy is clearly also needed at a local level to safeguard material relating to performance organisations and related bodies, such as venues and music festivals. The case of the Cheltenham Music Festival archive demonstrates some of the complexities involved here, not least in identifying and conserving correspondence held by organisations in general administrative files for ongoing business reasons, rather than being gathered in a central archive, and the challenges presented by the merging or separating of partner organisations. The same issue applies to electronic communications, although here there is an even greater danger of data loss owing to a general tendency not to archive emails, either in an electronic or print format. The policy adopted by the London Symphony Orchestra to selectively print and archive email correspondence is an exception motivated by the general administrative practices of the organisation, rather than the need to archive emails for posterity.

Recommendations

It will be evident from this summary of the scoping study that much valuable work has been done to provide information on collections of musicians' letters, but that far more remains to be accomplished before this important research resource can be thought of as generally accessible.

In order to assist the Music Libraries Trust Trust with the planning of any programme of support for future research into musicians' letters, the Team offered the following as recommended courses of activity based on evidence gathered over the course of the project:

1. Online resource discovery: there is a need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of resource discovery for online records because at present information is scattered across a number of databases requiring a number of separate searches. It is recommended that dialogue with relevant public sector bodies such as the National Archives and JISC is sought on federated search mechanisms for resource discovery.

2. Increasing the level of documentation: whilst it is unlikely that any significant quantity of material can be recorded at item level, making available at least basic details of letter collections must be encouraged. It is recommended that MLT and IAML (UK & Irl) work together to encourage individual institutions and persons to add collection records to the Cecilia database. This will at least provide a starting-point for researchers.

3. Priorities for further research: this scoping study has provided the first step towards the development of a future programme for the documentation of letter collections. It is recommended that, in conjunction with recommendation 2 above, a targeted programme of fully-funded research in priority areas of the music industry is undertaken to secure further and enhanced additions to Cecilia. It is recognised that in the current economic climate, appropriate funding is likely to be difficult to secure, but it may be possible to progress identified priority areas through research undertaken by PhD students or by those preparing for a Master's in library and information science.

4. Electronic communications: research for this project has shown that there is a very real danger that valuable material will be lost to future generations through lack of preservation policies for electronic communications. It is recommended that MLT undertakes an advocacy campaign to raise awareness of the need for this and to highlight the various sources of expert advice and guidance available.

Abstract
This article describes a scoping study funded by the Music Libraries Trust to examine the documentation of musicians' letters in the UK and Ireland. It outlines the project's methods and scope, focuses on some case studies and summarises the findings, which consider issues of documentation, preservation and access to collections of musicians' letters in public and private ownership.

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Brio Volume 49, Number 1. pp 31-39

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FOYLE MENUHIN MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Andrew Morris

With a career spanning the twentieth century, Yehudi Menuhin spent almost his entire life in the public eye. As a violinist he performed for more than six decades and left a catalogue of records made in almost every era of recording, from early electrical technology developed in the 1920s to the digital of the 1980s. His innate curiosity and desire to address his own shortcomings led him to explore musicianship in holistic terms and his own problematic musical education led to the establishment of the Yehudi Menuhin School in Surrey, England. Menuhin's career was also one defined by his associations with the great composers of his time. It was his early encounter with the elderly Edward Elgar that remains his most celebrated collaboration: Menuhin's 1932 recording of Elgar's *Violin Concerto*, one of the longest and most demanding works in the repertoire, was made when he was only sixteen. As a mature artist, he continued to engage with living composers, such as Bartók and Bloch, and, as he became more widely known, became dedicatee of hundreds of new works for the violin. Many of these works were retained, in manuscript form, in Menuhin's own private collection which remains intact and represents a substantial archive of music composed for the violin in the latter half of the last century.

The Menuhin archive was acquired by the Royal Academy of Music in 2004, shortly before the archive was due to be sold by Sotheby's auction house. Public donations and the considerable support of the independent grant-making trust the Foyle Foundation made the purchase possible and, once resident at the Academy, the archive became known as the Foyle Menuhin Archive in recognition of the trust's importance in the purchase. A considerable amount of reorganisation was necessary when the archive was relocated, and its full extent became clear only when the collection was catalogued in the years that followed. A few months after the archive's arrival at the Academy, further material was donated by the Menuhin family. The combined archive therefore consists of a vast number of items, including printed scores, manuscripts, books, personal papers, memorabilia, correspondence, concert programmes, photographs, drawings, paintings, objets d'art, prints, and film. Although further offers of Menuhin related material from third parties were made at the time of the archive's purchase, the collection

is considered complete, given that it is a reflection of the personal collection of the late Lord Menuhin, and it is not open to the addition of further items.

While the wealth of written and photographic information remains an invaluable resource for those interested in the biography of Lord Menuhin and those whose paths he crossed, it is the collection of printed and manuscript music that holds most interest for non-Menuhin specialists. As is to be expected, Menuhin's collection of printed music is predominantly biased towards works for violin and chamber music featuring violin, but his collection also encompasses a large part of the orchestral repertoire, reflecting his extensive work as a conductor. Much of the collection of printed music shows signs of heavy use, usually evident from the extensive performance annotations made by Menuhin. Markings often in heavy pencil or in a multitude of coloured pens cover the scores on which he worked, always in his recognisably spidery hand. The collection also contains many scores that were not marked up and where possible these have been added into general library circulation, with the provenance indicated in their catalogue records.

As one of the pre-eminent soloists of his day, Menuhin attracted the interest of a plethora of contemporary composers and the collection of printed scores contains a host of rarely encountered works often bearing handwritten dedications by their composers to Menuhin. There are a number of photocopies and facsimiles of composers' manuscripts, but it is highlights of the collection of 100 or so autograph, holograph and significant scribal manuscripts that this article seeks to explore specifically. The manuscript collection, ranging from works by baroque masters to living composers, is sequenced with the prefix FMMS (Foyle Menuhin Manuscript), distinct from the prefix used for the Academy library's principal manuscript sequence (MS).

Vivaldi, Viotti and Mendelssohn

Although the bulk of the manuscripts in the collection were written specifically for Menuhin, some of the most valuable and unusual are for works by composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For musicians and scholars specialising in the Baroque period, a scribal manuscript of a previously unknown sonata movement by Vivaldi is particularly important. FMMS023 is a three movement *Sonata for violin and continuo*, the second and third movements of which are from the fourth sonata of Vivaldi's Op.5 set of six. Those movements were already designated RV35 in Peter Ryom's 1986 Vivaldi catalogue, but the FM manuscript gives an eighteen-bar *Adagio* in place of RV35's already existing *Preludio largo*. "Sinfonia a violin solo Antonio Vivaldi" is written at the head of the first page, followed by "Stampato" ("Printed"). In Ryom's revised Vivaldi catalogue of 2007, the hitherto unknown movement is listed as RV35a.[1]

[1] Peter Ryom, *Vivaldi Werkverzeichnis* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007), p.18.

Another great figure in the early history of the violin, Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824), is represented by the holograph manuscript of a "Suonata" ("coll'accompagnamento d'un basso per esser ambedue le parti suonate da un violino solo"; FMMS026)[2], sold to Menuhin by London-based rare book dealer Albi Rosenthal in 1967 for £210. Viotti's playing was pivotal in the transition from the Baroque techniques of the eighteenth century to the modern techniques established in the nineteenth century and was also vital to the widespread recognition of Antonio Stradivari (1644-1737) as the pre-eminent maker of stringed instruments.[3] Viotti was also a prolific composer of music for stringed instruments. The work itself is seven pages in length and represents an earlier version of the work than the other principal primary source. This version has three movements (*Introduzione*, *Allegro*, *Marcia*) rather than the previously acknowledged one movement and is a substantial work, though it isn't one that Menuhin recorded.

Menuhin's involvement with an early work by Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847) was rather greater. In 1938, Menuhin had given the first performance of a previously unpublished *Violin Concerto* (1853) by Robert Schumann (1810-1856), dating from late in the composer's life when he had begun to show signs of the mental decline that blighted his final years. In 1951, Menuhin had been shown another unknown violin concerto, this time the manuscript of an early work by Mendelssohn. Menuhin purchased the manuscript from Albi Rosenthal and went on to give the first performance in modern times, on February 4th 1952, at New York's Carnegie Hall.[4] Dated 1822 and written when the composer was just twelve years of age, the concerto, in D minor, predates the famous E minor concerto by twenty-three years. The manuscript copy retained in the archive is in full score, but contains only the first twelve folios, breaking off suddenly at the end of a verso page some way into the second movement. Menuhin must have had access to a complete manuscript at some point; indeed, a photocopy of a manuscript of the entire work (totalling thirty folios) is held in the archive. It is not clear, however, whether the original manuscript held in the Foyle Menuhin archive was ever completed or if it was abandoned at the point at which it ends.

The remaining segment of the manuscript is held in an extremely sturdy cloth covered box and presents a neat copy of the score with minimal corrections. The title page bears two inscriptions: the first states that the

[2] The work is discussed in Chappell White, *Giovanni Battista Viotti: a thematic catalogue of his works* (Pendragon, 1985), p.124.

[3] The Academy itself has some connections to Viotti: the "Viotti ex Bruce" Stradivari, one of the best preserved of the maker's violins, is owned by and displayed at the Academy, and Viotti was buried at the church of St. Marylebone, directly opposite the Academy's museum.

[4] Humphrey Burton, *Menuhin: A Life* (London: Faber & Faber, 2000), p. 323-4.

First page of holograph manuscript of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in D minor, c.1822 (FMMS022).

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work was "Composed for E. Reitz in 1822"; the second says "Von Frau Cecile Mendelssohn-Bartholdy am 24. Mai 1853, zum Geschenk erhalten, F. David" ("From Frau Cecile Mendelssohn on 24 May 1853, received as a present, F. David"), establishing that it passed from Mendelssohn's widow, the year before she died, to the violinist and composer Ferdinand David (1810-1873). David had been a close friend of Mendelssohn - David gave the first performance of Mendelssohn's later *Violin Concerto in E Minor* - and of Reitz.

The opening *Allegro molto* is almost complete, with just a single deleted bar, but gaps in the scoring towards the end suggest that some details of harmony and instrumentation were yet to be finalised. Following this are two aborted attempts at a slow movement: nine bars of an *Adagio* and twelve bars of an *Andante* are decisively crossed out in favour of an *Andante non troppo*, which proceeds with just a few corrections and deleted bars. The manuscript contains no material for the final movement *Allegro*.

Menuhin recorded the Concerto three times: once for RCA (1952) and twice for EMI (1953, 1971). His edition of the work was published in 1952 and, in the printed introduction, he mused on Mendelssohn's prodigious gifts. 'It is difficult for us today to conceive of a youth of twelve already so accomplished as Mendelssohn', he writes; the parallels with his own early successes, however, are obvious.[5]

Bartók, Bloch and Enescu

As he matured into a successful adult performer, Menuhin often looked to living composers to provide him with new works for his expanding repertoire. Perhaps the most famous of these was Béla Bartók (1881-1945). Although not held in its original manuscript form in the Foyle Menuhin collection, the materials relating to Bartók's *Sonata for Solo Violin* (1944) shed important light on the composition and early performance history of the work. Bartók sent Menuhin a full facsimile reproduction of his own manuscript[6] from which he learnt the score and which is marked heavily in pencil with fingerings and bowings (FMMS082). Menuhin had commissioned the work in 1943, seizing the opportunity to do so following a very successful private performance of Bartók's *First Sonata for violin and piano* (1921), in the composer's presence. After receiving the manuscript and working through it, Menuhin wrote to Bartók with questions and suggestions. Bartók's reply, dated June 30 1944, is pasted inside the bound facsimile manuscript. Bartók addresses Menuhin's

[5] Felix Mendelssohn, *Concerto in D Minor for Violin and String Orchestra: Full Score* (C.F. Peters Corporation, 1952); EP 6070a. 'Discovered and edited by Yehudi Menuhin' is printed on the title page.

[6] In his later years, Bartók often provided musicians with lithograph copies of holograph manuscripts from which to work. For a discussion of this and its consequences for Bartók scholarships see Akadémiai Kiadó, "Manuscript versus Urtext: The Primary Sources of Bartók's Works" in *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, T. 23, Fasc. 1/4, Centenario Bélae Bartók Sacrum (1981), p.17-66.

questions about details of the score and suggests a few minor changes of notation, promising finally to make no further alterations. He ends the letter with a poignant reflection on his own deteriorating health. He died in the September of the following year.[7]

Menuhin presided over the first printed edition of the work, published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1947, and his annotated proof copy of the edition is included in the archive. He incorporated the changes suggested by Bartók into this edition, along with a controversial alteration to the original microtonal opening to the *Presto* final movement. In a letter to Menuhin, dated April 21 1944, Bartók states that the quarter-tonal passages add 'colour-giving-character' and are not structurally necessary.[8] The composer reiterates the point in the manuscript score, giving a list of alternatives on the final page which include the possibility of substituting semitones for the quartertones. Menuhin later expressed regret at the decision, citing the inordinate difficulty that the passages had presented at the time as his reason for choosing the easier semi-tonal option;[9] subsequent performance practice has reinstated the original microtonal writing. Menuhin gave the first performance of the work – with Bartók present in the audience – at Carnegie Hall on 26 November, 1944. He recorded the *Sonata* for EMI in 1947, two years after Bartók's death, at London's Abbey Road Studios. He returned to Abbey Road in 1957 and again in 1974 to re-record the *Sonata*.

Bartók was one of a generation of European émigrés who ended their days in the United States. Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) was another and, in many ways, Menuhin's association with him was his most important with a living composer. Bloch had been bowled over by Menuhin's playing in 1928 and made an arrangement of the melody *Abodah* (*God's Worship*) specifically for the young violinist. It was the first piece anyone had dedicated to Menuhin. "All the music I had so far played was by composers dead and gone", he said in his autobiography. "To have a composition by a living master and written especially for me was a matter of great pride and excitement."[10] Menuhin's reaction to a work written expressly for him certainly explains his ongoing engagement with living composers he admired. He remained open to working with Bloch at any opportunity and, as Bloch's life neared its end, the relationship took on a poignant significance: "He was my first composer, I was his last performer", Menuhin later wrote.[11]

Three decades later, a visit by Menuhin to Bloch's isolated Pacific home prompted a further set of pieces, this time for violin alone. The two *Suites for solo violin* (FMMS083) were composed in the spring and summer months

[7] The letter is reproduced in full in János Demény (Ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), p.332-333, and in Béla Bartók, *Sonata for Solo Violin: Urtext Edition* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1994)

[8] The letter is reproduced in full in Bartók, *Sonata for Solo Violin: Urtext Edition*.

[9] Yehudi Menuhin, *Unfinished Journey* (London: Methuen, 1996), p.171-3.

[10] Ibid., p.48.

[11] Ibid., p.345.

of 1958, at Bloch's home at Adgate Beach, Oregon. The composer's deteriorating health was related to Menuhin in two letters, one now included with the manuscript of the *First Suite* from Bloch himself (in French) and the other, written by his daughter Suzanne, with the *Second Suite*. The two works are quite similar in tone and follow a similar Bachian design: the first in five movements (*Prelude - Andante tranquillo - Allegro - Andante - Allegro energico*), dated, on the final page, April 17, 1958, and the second in four (*Energico deciso - Moderato - Andante - Allegro molto*), dated June-July, 1958. Menuhin valued the works, calling them "beautifully written for the violin, expressive, melodic, classical'[12], though an opportunity to record them did not present itself until the mid-1970s.[13]

An earlier manuscript by the great Romanian violinist and composer George Enescu (1881-1955) is a reminder of another of Menuhin's important relationships. Menuhin became a student of Enescu's in 1927, learning a great deal about interpretation and musicianship from him, though rather less about violin technique. Menuhin became a strong advocate of Enescu's compositions, particularly the *Violin Sonatas*, at a time when his work was barely known. Enescu's music is represented very well in the Foyle Menuhin archive and by two scores in the manuscript collection. The first is an arrangement for violin and piano of the sixth of Paganini's *Twenty Four Caprices for solo violin*, dated "15 Janvier 1913" and titled *6e Etude de Paganini par Georges Enesco*.[14] The score is quite heavily marked in blue and red crayon and in pencil. The second manuscript is a cadenza for Brahms's *Violin Concerto*, written in an unidentified hand (FMMS138).

Further concertos and solo pieces

Menuhin's experiences with Bartók, Bloch and Enescu were all of great importance to his development as a musician, but as he became more respected and established he continued to receive and actively commission new works; some were unsolicited and no doubt many went unplayed. Others came from well-known composers and one in particular from a well-known author. Anthony Burgess (1917-1993) is still best known as the author of the notorious 1962 novel *A Clockwork Orange*, and while his original librettos and libretto translations are familiar, his prolific career as a composer is little known. In fact, he composed across all genres and a substantial *Violin Concerto* is held in the collection (FMMS001). The manuscript is a ninety page fair copy for a work with substantial orchestra, dedicated to Menuhin and dated on the final page "Gibraltar summer, 1945 – Monaco July 27, 1979", suggesting a very long period of gestation.

[12] Ibid., p.345.

[13] 1974 in the case of the First Suite; 1975 in the case of the Second.

[14] Enescu was resident in Paris for many years and often adopted the French form Enesco. Many of his works were published in France, leading to the continued variance of spellings used.

Besides Burgess's large scale work, manuscripts of concertos held in the collection range from romantic to contemporary works. The eighth of fifteen violin concertos by Louis Spohr (1784-1859) is held in the collection as an early copyist's manuscript, most probably from the time of the concerto's composition in 1816, bearing the full title "Ottimo concerto in modo di scena cantante : per il violino con accompagnemento d'orchestra, op47" (FMMS085). The title refers to Spohr's desire to compose a concerto as a series of operatic arias, connected by recitatives; Spohr referred to it as his *Gesangsszene*.[15]

Lennox Berkeley's *Violin Concerto* (FMMS094) was commissioned by Menuhin, who first performed it at the Bath Festival of 1961. The manuscript, consisting of only the violin solo part, is heavily marked by Menuhin and was published by J & W Chester in 1962. Malcolm Williamson's *Violin Concerto* (FMMS032) was composed four years later and edited by Menuhin for Weinberger's 1966 published edition. The autograph manuscript is a reduction for piano and violin. Menuhin admired both concertos greatly and recorded them in 1971 for EMI. Williamson is also represented by *Partita: for viola on themes by Walton* (FMMS120), written for an instrument on which Menuhin only occasionally performed as soloist.

A piece by Hans Werner Henze (b. 1926) suggests the fond regard in which Menuhin was held in his later years. *Serenade* for violin solo ("*To celebrate April 22, 1916*"; FMMS004), was written for Menuhin's seventieth birthday in 1986, by which time Menuhin was less active as a violinist and more as a conductor. The autograph score is presented on a single sheet of large landscape format manuscript paper.

A significant collection

The Foyle Menuhin archive, in its entirety, is a vast and invaluable window into the life of a man often considered to be one of the great musicians of his century. The manuscript collection is only one part of it, but it owes its existence to the same curiosity and desire to archive that accounts for the breadth of the collection as a whole. This article has only touched its surface, selecting a few of the most obvious highlights from the hundred or so composer's manuscripts, but the range of the works mentioned shows that the manuscript collection goes beyond those composers who wrote specifically for Menuhin. Schumann and Mendelssohn both benefitted from his explorations beyond the established repertoire, and the many unsolicited manuscripts and printed scores suggest countless contemporary composers keen to pique Menuhin's curiosity for the unknown. The manuscript collection is a record of that curiosity and of a life spent engaging with living composers.

[15] Stephen Lindeman, Structural novelty in the early romantic piano concerto (Pendragon Press, 1999), p.38.

The catalogue of items can be found at http://lib.ram.ac.uk; enquiries may be sent to library@ram.ac.uk, or by post to: Royal Academy of Music Library, Marylebone Road, London NW1 5HT.

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Abstract
In the course of his hugely successful career as a violinist, Lord Yehudi Menuhin was dedicatee and first performer of many works for his instrument. His famous collaborations with composers such as Béla Bartók and Ernst Bloch resulted in some of the most important works for violin of the twentieth century. The Foyle Menuhin Archive, now housed at London's Royal Academy of Music, includes Menuhin's collections of manuscripts, which contains works by Mendelssohn and Vivaldi. This article relates the history of the Academy's involvement with the Foyle Menuhin Collection and discusses some highlights of the manuscript collection.

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Brio Volume 49, Number 1. pp 40-48

MUSIC PUBLISHING IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A VIEW FROM THE PUBLISHING HOUSE

Based on an interview with Robert Douglas Gibson[1]

by Lewis Foreman

I recorded an interview with Douglas Gibson on 9 August 1977, soon after he had retired as managing director of the music publishers J. & W. Chester, then independent and still in their longstanding premises at 11 Great Marlborough Street. After moving to Eagle Court near Farringdon station they were taken over by Music Sales in 1989 and the extensive Chester hire library combined with that of Novello, now operating from premises in Bury St. Edmunds. This summary of the interview has been recast to outline the principal themes which came out of the discussion.

The firm of J. & W. Chester – John Chester and his son William – originated as a music shop, incorporating a music subscription lending library, in Brighton in 1874. This in turn was founded as a branch office of the publisher Augener which John Chester had started in 1860.[2] In 1915 the firm was purchased by Otto Kling, formerly the London manager of Breitkopf & Härtel, whose premises at 54 Great Marlborough Street were closed down during the First World War. Presumably Kling at first operated from Brighton to keep a low profile, in case of wartime antagonism, although his father was Swiss and he had probably been born in Geneva. Indeed he found it necessary to publish an affidavit to this effect with a copy of his birth certificate; this appeared in an early issue of *The Chesterian*. After a year or two he opened Chester's in new London premises at 11 Great Marlborough Street across the street from Breitkopf's former shop. Kling brought with him longstanding non-German members of the Breitkopf staff, and elements of stock without a Breitkopf imprint including the extensive music lending library. The Brighton shop continued for a while but was eventually closed.

[1] 26 August 1894 -11 January 1985.

[2] This was the date celebrated when J. & W. Chester marked their 'Centenary' with a special album of piano pieces by house composers including John Ireland and Poulenc in 1960. (*The House of Chester 1860-1960 Centenary Album*.)

Setting out in music publishing

Douglas Gibson's account of how he joined the firm is fascinating, for basically his father bought him a shareholding after he had worked an apprenticeship to the business. Gibson opened our discussion by remembering: 'I was demobilised from the [First World] War and I didn't know what to do. It so happened that I was living in Birmingham and my father went to see his solicitor and he said: "well how are your boys getting on, are they settling down after the war?". My father said my other two brothers were settled down but I hadn't really made up my mind. "Well, what is he fond of?" "Well, he's fond of music, he plays the piano a good deal and he's very interested in music. But no special bent, not as a profession." The solicitor said that a friend of his in London had a great friend, Otto Kling, who had bought a firm of music publishers and was going to turn it into a limited company. There might be a chance, if I felt inclined to go there and see if I liked it and they liked me, and invest in the firm. I came up for six months trial, and I invested in it, or rather my father did for me.' Otto Kling died in 1924 and was succeeded by his son Harry, who died in 1936 and was briefly succeeded by the firm's secretary W. A. Chenery, who himself died the following year.[3] Gibson, who by virtue of his shareholding had been on the board since the mid-1920s, then became managing director, not retiring until the 1970s.

Gibson was illuminating in his description of starting out in the sales department: 'Kling would always say to me "now never say you don't know, on the telephone or to any customer. *You* don't know; *he* doesn't know and *she* doesn't know, but Chesters *do* know!" I used to go to him and he'd say – "now I can tell you where the answer is straight away" [from] all the foreign catalogues we dealt with. "Now where d'you think he might have come from – Czechoslovakia? What are the publishers of Czechoslovakia? Yes we'll try their catalogues." He'd teach me that way, so that one got to know the catalogues of Europe. When I was running the firm I enjoyed it more and more because one made friends with composers, artists, conductors and people abroad as well. If I wanted information from Amsterdam, Copenhagen or Italy, I knew someone personally who I could ask.'

'We had twelve to about 15 or 16 staff at Great Marlborough Street and it gradually grew. At first, of course, it was very small. And of course, you must remember, in the early days, about 1920, the Chester catalogue of their own copyrights was quite, comparatively small, [when compared] with people like Augener, Peters edition, and so we used to represent a lot of the – particularly – the Russian firms: Belaieff, Bessel and Jürgensen and people like that. We made quite a speciality of Russian music, with the help of the well-known writer Mrs Rosa Newmarch. She was an old friend of mine. So that carried

[3] *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 5th ed., edited by Eric Blom. Vol.2, p. 203.

us along whilst the catalogue of Chester was gradually being built up. By the time I left we hardly carried any other stock except our own publications. It became big enough to support itself.'[4]

The publishing relationship – Poulenc

Gibson's view of the publisher's relationship with composers was similarly based on trust and personal friendship: 'I was on the serious concert side, which is in many ways quite different from the approach of publishing on the popular side. I mean the popular side, as I understand it – I knew them as friends heading their firms. They go for immediate, mostly for immediate, cash results. Whereas the serious publisher is thinking twenty, thirty, forty years hence that the composer that he publishes will still be in demand and will develop from a young man to a man of standing, if you follow me. This happened in my case, with a number of composers, for example, the French composer, Francis Poulenc. Chesters published the first works of Francis Poulenc before any French publisher paid the slightest attention to him. Now, I published some of his last works. I didn't publish everything, and he used to bring things, when he was in London. "Look here's a motet or some little choral work or something like for school use or something", he'd say, "I tell you how I've written this, are you at all interested?" I would say "No, I can't do justice to it, I haven't the connection for it" and he'd go to a mutual friend in Paris, Paul Rouart, who is now Salabert of Paris, and they would publish that work. But then I'd suggest other things, flute, oboe, clarinet sonatas, and things like that, and we'd discuss them together and in due course he writes them and I have the publishing of them.' (Poulenc acknowledged their relationship with the dedication of his third *Novelette* for piano which he dedicated 'To my dear friend Gibson'.) 'The same with another well-known composer, Manuel de Falla, they are the same to my mind. There must be a personal relationship, a personal friendship and contact, between the composer and the publisher, and a confidence in each other, so that one is not trying to outdo the other. That was my [approach], I tried to make it like that, by making friends, and dealt with a lot of foreign firms all over Europe.'

'We did those very early works of Arnold Bax and then he got tied up with Murdoch's, the publisher Murdoch. I don't know what reason it was. Arthur Bliss – I knew him as a very good personal friend all his life, and as a matter of fact I met him in the army. We did his early works, then [he went to] Novello. You take Lennox Berkeley, whom I consider a very under-rated composer, who should have a much better showing. The clarity and distinction of his writing, his orchestral writing, is to my mind quite exceptional. Forgive me talking as if it's personal myself, but I had fifty years of it and it became part of one.'

[4] In 1957 J. & W. Chester became associated with the Copenhagen publishing firm of Wilhelm Hansen.

Previously unpublished photograph, taken at the offices at 11 Great Marlborough Street, of Poulenc (at the piano) and Douglas Gibson with Hanne Wilhelm Hansen.

Reproduced courtesy of Chester Music Ltd.

I asked about composers who retained their own copyright and therefore were presumably published on commission. Gibson singled out Lord Berners[5] as 'one of the people, one or two very minor people who never came to anything, who paid for their own work. Some of Lord Berners' did [get taken up] – *Valse Bourgeoise*, *Chinoiserie* and of course his ballet *The Wedding Bouquet*.'[6] However it was clear Gibson was not in favour of such an arrangement. 'It's up to the publisher with his experience to have that hunch – "I think we've got something here".'

Popular music

Gibson was particularly warm about de Falla. 'Manuel de Falla was a very curious man. I met him on several occasions and he was meticulously careful about his works, which had not to be altered or arranged, unless he sanctioned it. Now, [in the case of] the *Ritual Fire Dance*, everybody wanted to do that, dance bands and everyone, like [Khatchaturian's] *Sabre Dance*, you know. I always jumped on it. I know I lost a lot of money on it, but I always jumped on it, I knew de Falla would not allow it to be made a dance thing, and it would be killed in six months. It would be finished like the Khatchaturian was.'

'On one occasion, just after Falla's death [in 1946], a man on the popular side – American – came to see me. "I've got a little proposition to make you", and I thought "oh, what's this all about?" "That little number of yours". Well, of course, that put my back up at once, calling something that we published a 'little number'. We didn't publish 'numbers', they do that in the Charing Cross Road. I said: "Well, what are you referring to exactly?" - "That *Fire Dance* of that man Falla." I said: "What do you want to do with it?" "I want you to get me the rights, the world rights for a special arrangement of it". I said "I certainly can't do that". "But we'll put it on the map for you", he said. This was after about thirty years after it had been published. I said "Well, we're selling as a piano solo about five or ten thousand a year, and then orchestral hirings all over the world. I don't want Rubenstein playing it as an encore pretty much at every recital that he gave, and I thought it doesn't need putting on the map." He said "Ah, but I've got something that'll really show you". I said "Now what have you got?" He said "a vocal arrangement". I said, "It doesn't sound very good, but who's going to be the vocalist?" "The Andrews Sisters are going to do it." "The Andrews Sisters", I said: "Well, I'm sorry. I know Falla, if he'd been alive, would not have accepted it at all, and I should have to consult him if he had been alive, on a thing like that, but personally I would refuse. I'd refuse straight away doing it." I thought of an

[5] Gerald Hugh Tyrwhitt-Wilson, Baron Berners (1883-1950).

[6] First performed at Sadlers Wells 27 April 1936; piano score published by J. & W. Chester, 1938, all other materials on hire.

excuse: "Look, by the time the Andrews Sisters would want a good rake off, wouldn't they, and you'd want a rake off, if you'd want any profits, a good percentage and tax your side, and tax this side, and then I've got to pay the composer's executors. There's nothing in it!"'

Stravinsky

In retrospect, my discussion with Gibson was quite confusing about Stravinsky, for he would have been unlikely to have dealt with the composer personally in Otto Kling's lifetime, and Chester were Stravinsky's publisher for only four years, 1919-1923. But, as Stephen Walsh observes: 'because of the war they [Chester] harvested the produce of a decade, which happened moreover to be the most fascinating, whether or not the richest, Stravinsky decade of all. *Les Noces*, *Renard* and *The Soldier's Tale* are perhaps the most radical group of masterpieces, both musically and theatrically, by any modern composer.'[7]

'We did a number of works by Stravinsky' said Gibson. 'He was a very sharp business man. For instance *L'Histoire du Soldat*. We had published a suite for violin, clarinet and piano from *L'Histoire du Soldat*. When he was in London one year, having lunch together as we always did[8], I said "Look here Igor, *L'Histoire du Soldat* is for seven instruments, why not a little suite for these chamber orchestras that are about. It might be a very useful little thing, like the trio suite we published many years ago that doesn't sell much [because] not many people play a trio nowadays, and the piano, violin and clarinet are awkward to get together. Just say if we do the same suite and just take the orchestration from the original." "Oh no", he said, "No, no, no – you may be a good publisher Mr Gibson, but you're not a musician, you can't." He went back to New York. A few weeks after I saw [in the American papers] 'Stravinsky conducts a chamber orchestral suite from L'Histoire du Soldat'! Of course, I wrote to him at once: 'Hey? Don't you remember when we were having lunch in London, I suggested this idea for you?' Of course immediately I get a reply from him. "You should have published the score years ago, it's a very successful thing". You can't win, you see, on that kind of thing.'[9]

Stephen Walsh provides an interesting discussion of Stravinsky's relationship with J. & W. Chester on the Chester website, making clear that Kling was the key to the relationship at the end of the First World War.[10] The case

[7] Website: ChesterNovello.com/Stravinsky; biography by Stephen Walsh.

[8] I am grateful to Peter Todd for the information that the lunch was at the Savoy Hotel.

[9] Gibson's anecdote is slightly confusing as to probable dating. Chester published the clarinet trio version of the suite from *L'Histoire du Soldat* in 1919 (Plate no JWC 222), and a 'Grande suite' for piano solo in 1922 (Plate no J&WC 2080). Ansermet gave the first performance of a suite for septet in London on 20 July 1920. According to Dominique-René de Lerma (*Igor Fedorovitch Stravinsky, 1882-1971; a practical guide to publications of his music*, Kent State University Press, 1974), Chester had published the first movement of this in 1922.

[10] Walsh, op.cit.

of the *Firebird Suite* of 1919, which Stravinsky arranged for a more standard orchestra than the original ballet, and the concomitant 1911 *Suite*, illustrates the complexity of publishing arrangements at the time. The 1919 *Suite* involved a changed succession of movements and ended with the final scene of the ballet instead of the *Danse Infernale*. Walsh tells us: 'Kling was at first cautious about taking this suite into the Chester catalogue, but did so on the condition that Stravinsky indemnify the company against any claim by Jürgenson [who had published the complete ballet score]'.[11]

Gibson commented: 'There was trouble over that because it was published by Jürgenson in Moscow with no copyright [protection], no world copyright. He [Stravinsky] was living in Paris during the First War or just after. We published it in 1919. He took a suite from the original Jürgenson Suite of the complete ballet and we published it, and it was tremendously successful – we only hired the orchestra material of course. Well, cutting a long story short, after the full score was reprinted two or three times, and there were still, with a score like that, of that size, one or two little queries – flats, sharps, on the horns or what have you for corrections, and I always kept [a note of] anyone who queried it, anyone who competently queried anything like that. I used to keep a score in my office with indicated queries, so that when it's reprinted, right, we could check up. I sent a score to Stravinsky, and said "Look it's been printed two or three times already, but there are still one or two queries. I've indicated them in the margin of this copy, and would you just say yes, no, or whatever it was." Of course, I get a note back from him: "I have passed it to my man Craft, and he will be correcting it for me and will send it on to you, meanwhile, let me have $50 for the charge for doing it". His own score, about the third print! One felt like telling the chap, well, would you like the score correct or not?' Walsh comments: 'Though it caused ill-feeling between composer and publisher, the 1919 Suite is a true Chester-period score, an apt symbol of the trials and tribulations of the exiled artist in an age in which commerce ran ahead of the regulation of copyright.'

BBC Music Library

One topic Gibson raised which was completely unknown to me was Chester's role in the formation of the BBC Music Library. He said: 'Incidentally, I had the pleasure of assisting materially in starting the BBC orchestral library. It happened this way: Rex Palmer was the first 2LO manager/director of the offices at Savoy Hill in the first radio days. [2LO was the second radio station to regularly broadcast in the UK]. He introduced me to a man, Frank Hook, who was librarian of the BBC in Savoy Hill. I went down to see him and he told me they were thinking of forming a BBC Symphony Orchestra [in fact

[11] Walsh, op. cit; see also Walsh's *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1999, pp. 439-40)

the predecessor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra formed in 1930] but they hadn't any library of music or anything like that. It was just in conversation. I came back, went to the office and looked through what we'd got in our orchestral library of the classics – Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, things like that. A lot of them we'd got duplicate or triplicate sets.[12] I went to Harry Kling[13] and said "Look, there's a chance here that the BBC may be starting a library and we've got duplicate or triplicate sets in the library and I can do a deal." The figure, even in those days, would be above £1,000 for it. You know he nearly chucked me out of the firm for it. He said "I must go and see him myself". Well, he went down to see Frank Hook, and Hook said "If we are going to do any business with Chesters about this library, it will be with Mr Gibson and no one else". Harry Kling never forgave me. I always bless old Frank Hook, we were friends for donkey's years afterwards until he died. Well, the deal went through and we hived off part of the Chester library, orchestral library, and that was the start. Then they made up with other things – it was the days when the programmes used to be made up in the morning and they suddenly found they didn't have a copy for the pianist in the evening – and they wanted copies of various things by the afternoon. I told Frank Hook, if you ring me up by 10 o'clock in the morning, I will see that if it's in London at all it'll be down here by 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It was one of our best accounts.'

The Chesterian

Very soon after the acquisition of the Brighton firm, Kling must have started the journal *The Chesterian*, the cover title proclaiming: 'A guide to the publications of the House of J. & W. Chester'. Frequency was irregular between 1915 and June 1919, but after September 1919 there appeared eight numbers a year. In September 1932 it became bi-monthly, and ceased publication during the war, but restarted in 1947. It then became a quarterly and finally ceased publication in 1961. Gibson remembered: 'Otto Kling started a magazine – it was a house pamphlet when he first took over Chester. That developed until it became the magazine *The Chesterian* which was edited by Jean Aubry. He was a Frenchman who lived in London. I never knew what he did for a living. He had one room at Marlborough Street and used to dash in and out, always in a hurry. Rollo Myers edited it for a little while after Jean Aubry gave it up, and then after that we carried on ourselves under no editor, just simply from the house. I decided in the end it was not

[12] According to Gibson when the Breitkopf London office was closed by the war, Kling realised some of his assets as a director by taking it in stock, possibly part of his motivation in buying a music publisher with a retail outlet in the first place.

[13] Harry Kling; Stephen Walsh refers to him as Henry Kling and describes him as 'abrasive'. (*Stravinsky A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1999, p. 440).

worth keeping on – it was too expensive and there were so many other music magazines. Some of the early ones are quite intriguing – they're showing a lot of Russian works that we had agencies for.'

Overview

The musical world that Douglas Gibson knew for half a century was a remarkably consistent one. When he retired one could still visit most British music publishers and the BBC within a very few London streets. But take-overs, increasing rents, technological change and the increasing dominance of pop music would soon end the longstanding pattern of a remarkably large number of, mainly, smaller firms, all with retail and trade outlets in the Oxford Street area.

Acknowledgements

I must record my thanks to the late Douglas Gibson for agreeing to this interview so many years ago, and to Peter Todd, formerly of J. & W. Chester and to James Rushton, Managing Director, Chester Music Ltd /Novello & Co. Ltd, for their assistance.

Abstract

Music publishing in the UK in the first half of the twentieth century was in general a closely-knit world which had operated from a small area of central London for centuries. Douglas Gibson's reminiscences recall this musical world and how it operated before the rapid changes of the past half century which have transformed the landscape of British music publishing.

For many years Chief Librarian of the Foreign & Commonwealth Office in London, Lewis Foreman has published many books on music and musicians, including a biography of Arnold Bax, now in its third edition, and most recently The John Ireland Companion. Since taking early retirement he has become a full time writer/researcher on music, and advises various independent record companies on unrecorded repertoire. He contributes musical obituaries to The Independent newspaper.

Brio Volume 49, Number 1. pp 49-60

CROWDSOURCING THE CELTIC BARD: WANDERING MINSTRELS AND MOURNFUL HARPS FROM THE WESTERN ISLES TO WALES

Karen E. McAulay

The present article arises from a presentation to the IAML (UK & Irl) Annual Study Weekend in Cardiff in April 2012. It describes the challenge that I set myself, to use social media and Web 2.0 technology for a serious musicological enquiry. It will become apparent that the experiment permitted me to draw upon both my informational and musicological interests, allowing each to inform the other.

By way of introduction, it should be explained that I completed my doctoral studies into historical Scottish song-collecting in 2009. It became evident through this research that published national song collections of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were actually highly illustrative of the cultural climate in which they had been compiled, in a way not found in more 'classical' art-music.

The Dublin IAML conference in 2011 provided a platform for my paper, 'Minstrels and Metaphors: the hidden messages in early 19th Century Celtic song collections', in which I addressed a particular aspect of my topic that has increasingly interested me – the frequent references to bards and minstrels; and a set of metaphors which characterise the repertoire as rare treasures that were at risk of fading away unless they were collected and preserved. Paying tribute to the country hosting the conference, I extended my topic to embrace Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* and the literature of the United Irish movement, alluding in passing to Edward Jones's Welsh collections as well. (That paper gave rise to an article which, at the time of writing, has gone to press for a forthcoming issue of *Fontes*.)

The programming of our national Annual Study Weekend in another Celtic country in April 2012 prompted a deeper inquiry into the myths and metaphors surrounding Welsh folksongs, in order to establish the common and disparate aspects of our Celtic nations' national song history. Indeed, there was an additional reason to consider the Welsh collections that were contemporary with the Scottish ones which had been my primary focus, for I had undertaken to write an additional chapter for the book based on my thesis, and it seemed appropriate to place the minstrels and metaphors of my Georgian and early Victorian Scottish collections alongside those of their Welsh and Irish cousins.

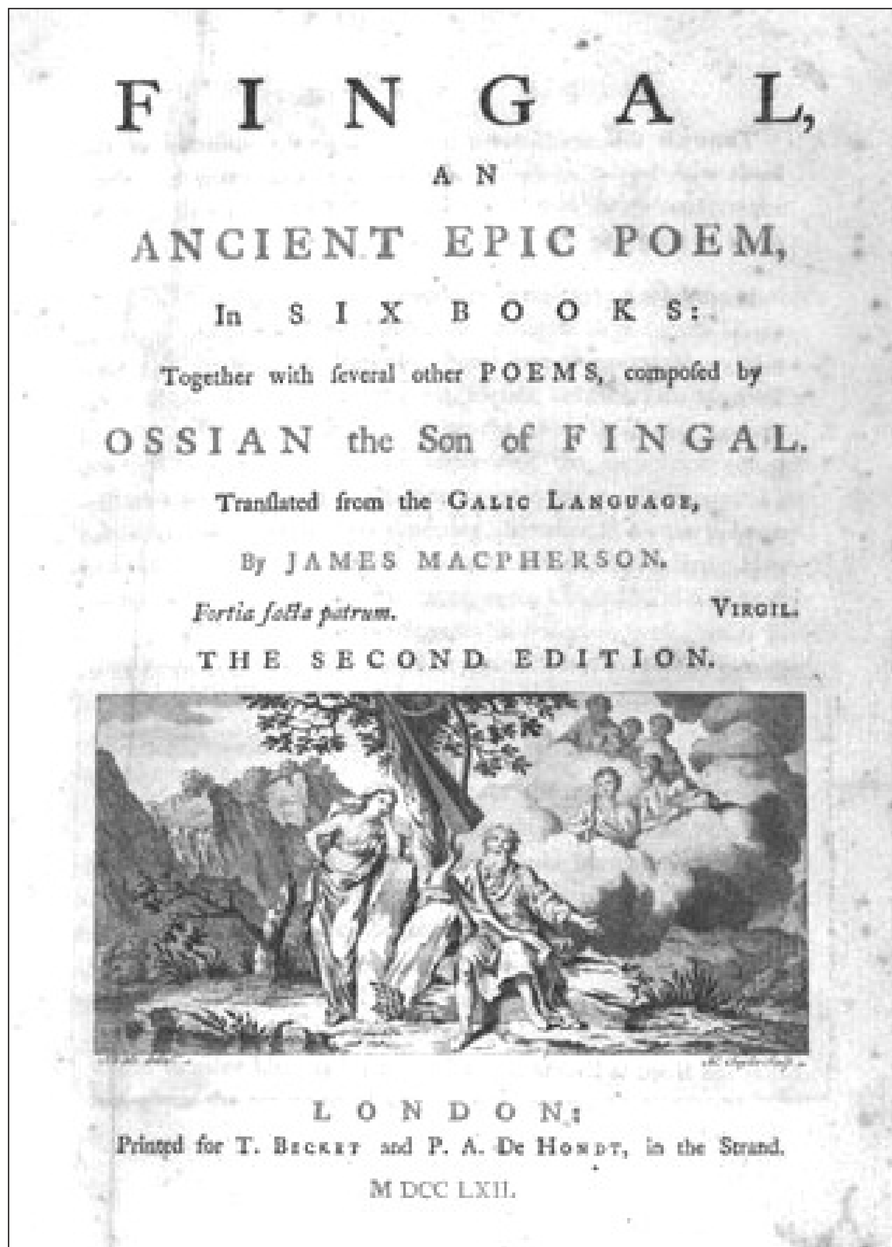
It was very clear that minstrels and bards played a prominent role in the prefaces and introduction to these song collections. In Scottish collections, much was made of Ossian the bard – the mythical hero about whom James Macpherson had allegedly translated and edited so much Gaelic verse in the 1760s. In Ireland, the minstrel and his harp had a symbolic (and, indeed, militant) importance connected with the United Irishmen and political rebellion. Meanwhile in Wales, the story of King Edward I, his massacre of the bards and the eventual suicide of the last bard, had a resonance that was no less important than allusions to the contemporary drive to preserve the bardic tradition by competitions and eisteddfodau.

In practical terms, the impetus of a looming book deadline, not to mention the Cardiff Annual Study Weekend, made it imperative that I should quickly gain an overview of these Welsh national song collections. The obvious answer was to make use of social media and networking: to use the contemporary buzzword, I would 'crowdsource' the Celtic bard. 'Crowdsourcing' is essentially a way of conducting collaborative research via Web 2.0. I was influenced by an Edinburgh project called 'Addressing History: Crowdsourcing the Past', which had entailed a number of volunteers using geospatial mobile phone technology to map historical Edinburgh with the city of today.[1]

I hoped that, by inviting other people to collaborate with me and investigate the early printed music sources, I would not only ensure that I had sourced the main Welsh song collections, but also benefit from the observations of other people with different viewpoints. In particular, since I had approached these collections as a musicologist who had gained some understanding of gothic and romantic literature along the way, I hoped to encounter a kindred spirit who had approached the repertoire from the opposite direction.

There are a huge variety of social media tools available, but I limited myself to half a dozen relatively tried-and-tested resources: Tiki-Toki timelines; a wiki called PBWorks; Twitter and Academia.edu; the Mendeley bibliographic tool; and Diigo (social bookmarking); lastly, I made an abortive attempt to embrace Prezi presentations as an alternative to PowerPoint. Sadly, in zooming in and out of Prezi circles, I shrank some of my key points to virtual invisibility, which explains why I did not use this technology in my Cardiff presentation.

[1] See 'Addressing History: Crowdsourcing the Past',
<http://www.slideshare.net/smacdon2/addressinghistory-crowdsourcing-the-past>, and,
'Addressing History: Challenges in Crowdsourcing Edinburgh's Past'
<http://prezi.com/6wrhaaytei-p/addressinghistory-challenges-in-crowdsourcing-edinburghs-past/>, both accessed 11.04.2012.



FINGAL,
AN
ANCIENT EPIC POEM,
In SIX BOOKS:
Together with ſeveral other POEMS, compoſed by
OSSIAN the Son of FINGAL.
Tranſlated from the GALIC LANGUAGE,
By JAMES MACPHERSON.
Fortia facta patrum. VIRGIL.
THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, in the Strand.
M DCC LXII.

Fig.1. James Macpherson's Fingal (1762)

Social media tools used

Tiki-Toki timelines <http://www.tiki-toki.com/>

PBworks <http://pbworks.com/>

Twitter <http://www.twitter.com>

Academia.edu <http://www.Academia.edu>

Mendeley <http://www.mendeley.com/>

Diigo <http://www.diigo.com/index>

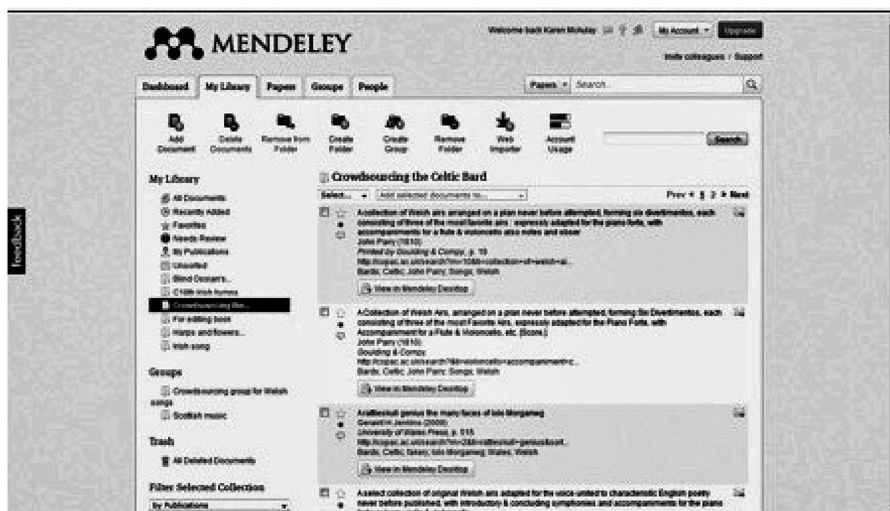
Prezi <http://prezi.com/index/>

Tiki-Toki timelines are visually appealing and straightforward to employ. As their name suggests, they're ideal for presenting chronological information in a visually appealing manner. I made two. The first, 'King Edward's Folly', was effectively both a chronology of the proposed project, and an invitation for others to join me.[2] I tweeted the link to 'King Edward's Folly', and circulated it on the IAML lists. In retrospect, perhaps the idea of using a timeline as vehicle for my project-plan was a little too quirky to achieve the desired results. (An effective Prezi might have been better, had I not struggled so much with that particular technology!) I did get one firm expression of interest, and a few more which didn't quite come to fruition.

My second timeline was a chronology of Welsh songbooks, and the finished results were more gratifying: I could certainly have used it, or something like it, in a public presentation, and it stands alone as a graphic representation of the subject.[3]

Still hopeful that I'd be able to set up a collaborative project, I set up a PBWorks wiki on which I hoped my 'team' would be able to share their findings. To this end, I created several pages for different aspects of the project – a homepage, a chronology, and some background to the project, along with a useful list that Heini Davies (Music Cataloguer, National Library of Wales) had generously shared with me.[4] Over and above this, I built a special project page on my Mendeley cloud-based bibliography, so that I could keep a grip on the various song collections that I was studying.

[2] <http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/16269/King-Edwards-folly-crowdsourcing-the-Celtic-bard/>
[3] <http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/18016/Chronology-of-Welsh-songbooks/>
[4] <http://crowdsourcingbard.pbworks.com/w/page/48563209/FrontPage>



In retrospect, I was guilty of over-complicating the whole endeavour. A wiki would have been useful if I actually had a team of collaborators. Similarly, the Mendeley bibliography was undeniably worthwhile, and offered me a genuine reason to experiment with it, but I was the only person to use it. The fact that it could have been collaborative was, in reality, purely incidental. Both really needed the validation of a larger-scale project with an identifiable goal and end-result, to justify the time needed to set them up.

However, I *did* get valuable input via Twitter and Academia.edu, a forum which can best be described as the thinking man's Facebook. Twitter was by far the best collaborative tool. I was informed of useful sources, weblinks and authorities, and it was encouraging just knowing that there were 'tweeps' out there taking an interest in what I was doing. Similarly, Academia.edu did provide me with a couple of useful interdisciplinary contacts, and our own IAML(UK & Irl) mailing list also played its part. Likewise, although I haven't mentioned it specifically, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland's *Whittaker Live* blog proved a useful place to post links and updates. Indeed, for a largely solo project, it was easier to manipulate than the wiki!

If the idea of 'crowdsourcing the Celtic bard' wasn't as overwhelmingly successful as I'd hoped, it was still a worthwhile endeavour with positive outcomes. In reality, it couldn't and didn't compare with the Edinburgh crowdsourcing project, which involved extensive coverage of a capital city by a number of individuals. However, my decision to use social media *did* lead to effective networking, and I was particularly indebted to Heini for putting me in touch with Daniel Huws (formerly of National Library of Wales) and Sally Harper at Bangor University, not to mention alerting me to Phyllis Kinney's very recent book on Welsh traditional music.

Of course, collaborative research via social media isn't the same as scholarly research on one's own. The opinion has been voiced that this kind of work is more superficial, but it is impossible to generalise. Depth and breadth of research will depend on the nature of the project and the ultimate aims and goals of the participants. Additionally, informal collaboration depends on goodwill, whilst a large-scale collaboration between colleagues, or even institutions, is obviously more likely to command a greater 'buy-in' by all concerned.

However, in the present context, it enabled me to move from an uneasy feeling that I was attempting to replicate my Scottish research in an impossible timeframe, to the confidence that I had scoped the field of Welsh folksong, and established the basic facts that I needed for the present purpose. Furthermore, the contacts that I had made were with people who were experts in their own fields. I was gratified to find out that Sally Harper had participated in a series of AHRC projects called, simply, 'Beyond Text'. The particular project that she spearheaded included a series of experimental workshops comparing the performance of vernacular mediaeval verse in Ireland, Wales and Scotland.[5] These in turn gave rise to a series of YouTube videos, under the title of 'Voicing the verse', and allowed the present-day audience to witness bardic verse literally brought to life in performances by, for example, singer/harper Gwenan Gibbard; or in the compelling rhythmic declamation of folksinger Gwilym Morus.[6] Whilst my own research had been strictly musicological, I work in an institution where practice-based research is the norm, and I am ideologically committed to the idea of sharing research outcomes in as practical a way as possible. In this respect, seeing this old material so re-animated provides a very satisfying means of introducing the printed sources themselves.

Despite having compiled comprehensive listings of Welsh sources for my talk, a book-by-book survey would clearly not have made for a lively presentation. I elected instead to give an overview of some of the most interesting aspects of the repertoire. (The sources used can be found on my Tiki-Toki chronology timeline, footnoted above.)

Some of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Welsh sources were for harp alone, whilst others were songbooks. Although my own research had been into songbooks, clearly 'national music' could be instrumental or vocal, and harp music was perhaps given greater emphasis in Wales than Scotland at this time. It is important to be aware that terminology was different then from now. Then, the compilers would speak of 'songs' with

[5] Dr Sally Harper at Bangor – One of 40 AHRC Beyond Text projects <http://www.beyondtext.ac.uk/index.shtml > accessed 11.04.2012

[6] Gwenan Gibbard, <http://youtu.be/mJoiWrHKyWE> and Gwilym Morus, <http://youtu.be/ZP5IDCRjOm8>, both accessed 11.04.2012

their 'airs' (i.e. lyrics with tunes). Furthermore, the concept of 'folk music' was only just emerging, for although 'national' music was indeed significant cultural capital, its connection with the peasantry was a comparatively new understanding.

Welsh collections, like their Scottish and Irish counterparts, were graced with useful prefaces, and other paratextual material that allows the modern reader to glimpse the cultural concerns of earlier times. Across the board, there was the urge to preserve what the Scottish James Johnson and Robert Burns, *and* the later Welsh Maria Williams, proudly described as their 'ancient national airs'. Another common thread was the insistence upon authenticity: for example, Edward Jones's first collection was entitled *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards: preserved by Tradition and Authentic Manuscripts* (1794), whilst Maria Williams stated that 'No embellishments have been attempted' in her *Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg* (1844). The Welsh music expert Daniel Huws has questioned this assertion!

Protestations of authenticity were sometimes very much tongue-in-cheek. The Scottish mid-eighteenth-century James Macpherson, of Ossianic fame, is the name that most frequently comes to mind today, but the early nineteenth-century poet Allan Cunningham (*The Songs of Scotland*, 1825) and church precentor and music compiler Robert Archibald Smith (*The Scotish Minstrel*, 1821-4) were equally implicated in such deceptions; meanwhile, Welsh nationalists took some years to realise the extent of Iolo Morganwg's cultural fakery in describing non-existent rituals which subsequently became enshrined in proud national custom. The expression 'contrived authenticity' is a good one for describing the kind of fakery that some of the perpetrators gleefully shared with their friends, but assiduously hid from everyone else. Even compilers not deliberately faking the tradition were not averse to improving and modifying texts.

There were, however, some cultural differences between the Celtic nations' song-collections. For example, the Scots published Gaelic song settings quite a bit earlier than the Welsh produced song settings in Welsh: as late as 1844, Maria Williams' collection, which she compiled as an entry for a competition, was the first published Welsh songbook, whereas a Scottish collection of Gaelic and Scots songs, *Albyn's Anthology*, had been compiled by a Scotsman called Alexander Campbell nearly three decades earlier (1816-18).

As mentioned before, there was more emphasis on harp music in Wales, whilst the Scots published fiddle and bagpipe collections as well as the songbooks and piano settings common in all countries. Additionally, there was a distinctively Welsh tradition of singing called Penillion, or Cerdd dant, which involved improvised singing over a repeated harp tune, not necessarily in the same metre or beginning simultaneously.[7] This was a technique which was

[7] 'The art of singing irregular verses of different metres and length to the same tune' – John Owen (Owain Alaw), *Gems of Welsh Melody* (1860-64).

22 O NANCY'S HAIR IS YELLOW LIKE GOWD.

Old Border Melody.

Slowly

Oh Nancy's hair is yellow like gowd, An' her e'en, like the lift, are blue; Her face is the i_mage o' heav'n_ly luve, An' her heart is leal an' true.

The innocent smile that plays on her cheek,
Is like the dawning morn;
An' the red, red blush, that across it flees,
Is sic as the rose ne'er has worn.

If it's sweet to see the flickerin' smile
Licht up her sparklin e'e,
It's holier far to see it dim'd
Wi' the gushin' tear's saut bree.

'Twas na for a faithless luve's fause vows,
Nor a brither upo' the wave,
That I saw them fa'— no, they were drapt
On an aged father's grave.

Tho' joy may dimple her bonnie mou',
An' daffin may banish care,
In nae blythsome mood, nor hour o' bliss,
Will these een e'er glint sae fair.

Fig.2. R.A. Smith's Scotish Minstrel (1820-24) - 'O, Nancy's hair'.

also performed competitively at eisteddfodau, with the winners receiving considerable acclaim.

Much of the historical background provided in Welsh song collections concerned bards and harpers, deriving the details from historic sources such as that by the mediaeval chronicler Giraldus Cambrensis. Thus, we learn that the bards were believed to have descended from Druid-bards in the Dark Ages, and that there were bardic competitions as far back as the sixth century. Some of the details tend to vary in translation, but it is clear that bardic status was determined by their skills and abilities, those able to recite and play being regarded as higher ranking than those who only sang or accompanied others' singing.

It would appear that there were periodic revivals of bardic contests in Wales, with the nineteenth-century eisteddfodau movement merely the latest – albeit much more organised and widespread – in a series of competitive festivals going back many centuries before. At the same time as the growth of national and regional societies, societies were also being established by ex-patriots in London; thus, there arose the Society of the Men of Gwynedd in the late eighteenth century, roughly contemporary with the establishment of the Highland Society of London, both organisations committed to preserving the best of their own native culture despite their members having relocated to the metropolis.

Well-to-do patrons were another common factor in Celtic song-collecting circles. In Scotland and Wales alike, titled individuals were instrumental in encouraging musicians to gather repertoire together, collaborating in published collections or assisting by making funds available and sharing contacts with the people they wished to encourage. For example, Maria Williams was encouraged by Lady Greenly, who helped set up an Eisteddfod in Abergavenny in 1837, and put up the funds for the aforementioned contest which Maria eventually won. Meanwhile, in Scotland only a few years before, R. A. Smith did much of the spadework and editing, but his *Scotish Minstrel* collection largely came about through the efforts of Lady Carolina Nairne and her committee of like-minded ladies.

By the late Victorian era, society was changing, as did the collections created by later compilers. The piano in the parlour was a mark of respectability and social status, and featured prominently in home entertainment. Before the mid-nineteenth century, subscription lists show that the more lavish collections were generally bought by titled gentry and clergymen. Later collections had become as popular with schoolmasters, and female amateurs. They were more didactic, and clearly for domestic use. One particularly popular Welsh collection, the big six-volume *Cambrian Minstrelsie* (*Alawon Gwalia*), was edited by Joseph Parry, Professor of Music at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, and David Rowlands, Professor

Fig.3. John Martin's 'The Bard'

of Greek at the Memorial College, Brecon. Published in 1893, the collection contained Parry's composed songs as well as more traditional melodies, but it is still, for older people, the collection that they remember stacked up on the family piano.

Of course tastes change, as much in traditional music as in any other genre. Parry and Rowlands' collection is now no more seen as 'typical Welsh music' than are the Hebridean collections, compiled by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser a couple of decades later, seen as typically Highland. The music festivals and eisteddfodau that have been part of the traditional music calendar in all of the Celtic nations – and indeed, elsewhere – since the nineteenth century have similarly moved with the times. Indeed, it is because the Scottish Highland 'Mod' is seen as so old-fashioned that the 'Feis' movement has developed in recent years, and I've no doubt similar trends exist in Welsh and Irish folk circles too.

My efforts to crowdsource the Celtic bard enabled me to track the Welsh folk music that had been collected and published in the period for which I had already studied Scottish song-collecting and songbook compilation – the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To attempt to compare the repertoire right through to the present day would have been a far bigger project, and could barely be done justice in a single presentation.

If I might add a postscript, however, it is to reassure readers that the bardic figure is, indeed, still alive and well. The guitarist/singer Gwilym Morus might have re-animated mediaeval Welsh bardic verse, but there is, in fact, a living bard at Brunel University. Not a Celt at all, Benjamin Zephaniah has been appointed to an academic position at Brunel to teach performance poetry.[8] Brought up in Birmingham, he traces his talents to his Afro-Caribbean roots, informing his listeners that in Africa, a bard is called a 'griot', whose role was the passing on of the oral tradition. This is exactly the same function that the Celtic bard bore, whether historically, to boost the morale of an army before battle; or in the old, unsubstantiated story of King Edward calling for the massacre of all bards in order to annihilate the oral history of his conquered lands; or, indeed, in the context of an eighteenth-century ballad-singer entertaining a largely illiterate country community.

We are not, I am sure, accustomed to consider the extrovert and sometimes shocking Benjamin Zephaniah as a direct descendent of the Celtic bards and minstrels of ancient times. His subject-matter, repertoire and manner of delivery are diametrically opposed to anything we might expect. Nonetheless, it is in this context that I invite you to imagine the effect that an ancient bard might have had on his listeners – as a vibrant performer providing contemporary commentary on both current affairs and historic events.

[8] Benjamin Zephaniah performs 'Empire'
<http://youtu.be/JNoJfIWAsmI>, accessed 11.04.2012

In just the same way, those Georgian and Victorian Celtic songbooks provide a window on the cultural priorities of their own times, and in that respect, I can confidently reassert my claim that the national song collections of earlier times are of much greater significance than one would initially think.

Abstract

This paper falls loosely into two parts. Firstly, I describe the preparatory work that I did in order to examine the parallels between historic Welsh song collections and their Scottish counterparts; and secondly, I examine some of the interesting features that emerged.

The research was intended to be conducted collaboratively, using social media – a process that has become known as 'crowdsourcing'. A variety of websites are assessed in terms of usefulness in this context, and suitable contexts for the crowdsourcing technique are briefly evaluated.

In the second part of the paper, I consider some of the common themes and trends that emerge from this comparison of Welsh and Scottish songbooks, and explore the value of paratextual material (prefaces, introductions etc) in helping the modern musician to understand some of the prevailing cultural concerns during the late eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries.

I conclude by suggesting that, in addition to this more conventionally scholarly approach, audio-visual research outcomes and YouTube videos also have their place in enlivening the subject of bards and minstrels for present-day students and audiences in general.

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The Powerpoint for Karen's Cardiff presentation can be seen via Slideshare:-
<http://www.slideshare.net/DrKarenMcAulay/crowdsourcing-the-celtic-bard>

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Robert Balchin

The Music Trade in Georgian England, edited by Michael Kassler. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. xviii, 560 p. ISBN: 978-0-7546-6065-1. £60.

Literature relating to music printing and publishing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain is rather scant, other than the well-known directories and reference works giving publishers' addresses and plate numbers. It is good, therefore, to have a book that ties together many of the musical activities that went hand-in-hand with a publisher's business in the eighteenth century, covering not only the production and sale of sheet music, but also the quantity of musical instrument production and dissemination, tuning of instruments, sale of concert tickets, advertising and ancillary activities of the trade. This volume is a collection of extended essays by several authors examining various aspects of the music trade in Georgian England – the title may lead the reader to expect a comprehensive survey of the field, but this is in no way an introductory volume; rather, the editor offers a selection of topics investigated in depth.

In the opening chapter on Longman & Broderip, the first of four chapters on the firm and its successors, Jenny Nex reveals many names related to the business, including employees, apprentices and other instrument makers in the general musical environment. The author has clearly delved into many genealogical and legal archives to find information about hitherto obscure individuals. A good number of people are identified and portrayed in detail, but in the context of the entire business and trade at that time it really only scratches the surface of this large and complex society. However, it is good to realise that such a picture can be brought to light with thorough research, and it is startling to appreciate how much can be discovered. Nex also cushions her research with useful contextual information, explaining that the Napoleonic Wars affected trade in Britain to such an extent as to cause an economic recession in 1797, and describing how a debtors' prison operated at the end of the eighteenth century.

Further chapters on the firm and its successors are by Michael Kassler and David Rowland, writing about Clementi's music business and his publishing respectively. In this section generally there is inevitably some considerable emphasis on legal aspects of the business, to which many of the surviving records are related. This may distort the overall picture somewhat,

suggesting a continual run of legal disputes, but there is also a good deal of information on instrument manufacturing and a focus in Rowland's chapter on the publishing and printing side.

An extensive survey of the series catalogues of John Bland (and his heirs) by Yu Lee Ann is a useful reference source for dating those works listed – the author refers to nine states of Bland's *Periodical Duetts* series alone (although this might not be surprising in the context of a regular publication). It is evident that a vast quantity of material must have been viewed in order to find these series catalogues and compare the variant printings, issues, and republications. This demonstrates a level of industrious enquiry that harks back to the bibliographers of yesteryear and is to be highly commended. The article notes the vagaries of a later firm's work where they have not updated the imprint line, either fully or partially, and the data presented by the author will certainly help cataloguers to make an informed decision about dating imprints more precisely. Such information is often lacking in many library catalogues where relevant knowledge tends to be based on data received or acquired through practice and discussion rather than strict reference to primary sources.

The survey does not include the reprinting of music from twenty years earlier, and mention could have been made of the number of such printings that survive in which the new publisher or owner of the plates has simply reused them, even without changing the publisher's address. These reprints can be identified through extant copies with later watermarks, where the original publisher is still cited but was no longer in existence; such complications appear throughout this area of music printing history and have often been overlooked or ignored by cataloguers and dealers.

The use of the word 'thematic' in describing the catalogues of Bland is a little confusing; 'incipit catalogues' might have been a more useful description, especially as the chapter discusses various series publications which were all thematically based. One or two rather bland statements are made: "Publishers could store plates without taking up much room" (p. 208) is a surprising and unsubstantiated claim. Considering that the same plates were still being used twenty years or more after initial engraving, and envisaging the consequent build-up of printing materials over such a long time, the comment needs to be more closely defined. On the other hand, an earlier statement by Nex mentions that £500 of sheet music (rather than plates), representing thousands of pages of printed music, was not handed over to Longman & Broderip by Blundell during the sale of Welcker's stock, thus affirming that publishers kept large stocks of printed copies rather than simply reprinting from old plates. Another statement about engraving of titles implies that typesetting was more the norm; in addition, some of the description surrounding the reissues of catalogues becomes rather too technical unless more facsimiles are included for the reader to see.

John Small contributes an extensive section (over 150 pages) on the development of music copyright, placing it in the context of the English legal system and copyright in general from the late seventeenth century into the Georgian era. There are useful subsections on specific music trade matters, notably section 6.7 – about twenty pages on 'Protecting Music, 1710–1770: registration, music publishing, privileges and Parliament' – and section 6.10 on 'Musical copyright litigation to 1770'. A large part of Small's essay is devoted to the legal minutiae of some specific cases relating to copyright, including *Bach vs. Longman* which established that music was indeed covered by the Copyright Act, and which will be of interest to those exploring the detail of how such cases proceeded. For anyone seeking to understand the development of English law on copyright, it offers much background material and is refreshingly sparing with footnotes. This extensive survey would benefit from having chapter subheadings in the contents list to aid future reference to useful detail.

A whole chapter by Michael Kassler is devoted to Earl Stanhope and his involvement in the curious invention of 'letter-music', or a shorthand way to read music without the use of staves. This was first devised by Thomas Baldwin and adapted by Stanhope; the system fell by the wayside owing to its impracticalities and copyright issues, but this chapter appears to be the first published description of it. Several parts of the volume serve almost as a biographical dictionary, and are a useful place to find little-known figures in the recesses of musical history, although some of the information might have been better placed in an appendix. Earl Stanhope's house pianist and mistress, Mrs Walburga Lackner, receives some attention which is then extended to her sister in Bohemia with little real relevance to the chapter itself.

Very heavy footnoting in most chapters makes this a work of scholarly reference rather than a smooth read – I would have suggested fewer footnotes and the use of appendices giving sources for the family genealogies and other extensively quoted sources, rather than every detail having its own footnote. The authors appear to have attempted to include every nugget of information uncovered during their research, which makes the volume information-dense and primarily a tool of reference.

In general the typesetting and layout is poor, with lists spread unnecessarily across pages and 'tables' difficult to read as they are not presented in tabulated form; see for example page 497 onwards, with titles at the bottom right-hand corner of untabulated double-page spreads extending over several openings. This unsatisfactory presentation does not do justice to the useful information contained in the tables. There are also too many typographical errors in the main text, and it is disappointing that no bibliography is included. For such a densely factual work, the omission of even a select bibliography

is surprising; its inclusion might have helped to reduce some of the extensive footnotes. The indexing is wide-ranging but inconsistent – why are some names given a designation (music seller etc.) and not others? The book includes a selective list of abbreviations used, some of which are established terms, others a little more curious and perhaps unnecessary.

Overall this is a useful resource for anyone working in the field of Georgian music, providing a wealth of new information and detail, while demonstrating how much research is still to be done. It is not an introduction to the subject, however, and any subsequent edition would benefit from careful proof-reading, revised typesetting and the inclusion of a bibliography.

Colin Coleman

Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Early Music: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2011. 130 p. ISBN 978-0-19-973076-6. £7.99.

This deceptively slim volume 'does what it says on the tin'; it offers a very short introduction to early music. It is worth noting that it runs Nicholas Cook's *Music: a very short introduction* a close race, having 122 pages of text to Cook's 137. Kelly can therefore afford to get more closely engaged with the details of his topic and, even though the chronological range is similar to Cook's, his subject scope can be more focused than is possible for Cook tasked with writing about music as a whole.

One of the obvious selling points of this admirable series is the relatively small size of the volumes, which encourages prospective readers to embark on an unfamiliar topic in the reasonable expectation of being able to follow the author's argument through to the conclusion. Note that while the print size is small, which could be an issue, the typeface is actually clearer than in many comparably sized paperbacks – however, I should perhaps also declare a penchant for little books!

Like Cook's volume, Kelly's is a very readable exposition which succeeds in introducing the quite unfamiliar concepts and musical structures of medieval, renaissance and baroque music in clear and comprehensible terms, as well as calmly outlining the various important issues raised by modern performance of these repertories. I use the word 'calmly' here deliberately, since the whole question of 'authenticity' or 'historically informed performance' in early music has been the centre of anything but calm debate among scholars, performers and listeners. Kelly manages to cut through the rhetoric and summarise the salient points from different

sides of the argument. Anyone new to the topic would gain a grasp of the issues and be free to come to their own conclusions. The 'detached observer' approach has the drawback of placing the author in a slightly superior relation to his subject, but, that reservation aside, Kelly does tease out the essential and successfully guides his reader through what can be very unfamiliar territory scattered with a good dose of Latin and German words. I particularly enjoyed, for example, his succinct explanation of the use of *cantus firmus* in masses – one of those compositional techniques which one feels one knows, or at least ought to know, but might be pressed to describe clearly – and his summary of the essence of baroque opera as the 'alternation of real-time drama and freeze-frame commentary' in which 'the recitative is there to get us to the next aria, and the arias are the reason for the whole thing'. These clear explanations will greatly assist anyone new to this music to find a way through what can seem very contrived and unnatural dramatic structures – just what a Very Short Introduction should do.

The book is a good read. That said, I have a few small quibbles on the signposting, referencing and indexing aspects of the book. As with Cook's volume on Music, the chapter headings take a very broad-brush approach, such as 'What does "early music" mean?', 'Repertoires: medieval', or 'Performing issues', so that, if you are trying to revisit a particular section, chapter headings may not help you on your way. Subheadings within the chapters *are* indexed, but again, from the point of view of finding or revisiting a specific topic – modern approaches to performance issues, for example – the indexing is not very helpful, always a frustration for an enquiries librarian wanting to put a finger on information quickly.

Given the number of times Kelly refers to the trio of recorders, viols and harpsichord as being the first instruments of interest in the early music revival, it is surprising and frustrating to find that neither 'recorder' nor 'viol' merits an index entry, and the references under 'harpsichord' do not lead you back to references for the group. Other instruments are also unequally indexed – no entry for either 'trombone' or 'sackbut', but entries for 'cornetto' and 'shawm' which are mentioned on the same pages.

Name indexing is also unreliable: David Munrow, for example, is indexed only in relation to the role radio had in the dissemination of early music (page 120) and not as the 'charismatic and exuberant recorder player' and founding member of the Early Music Consort of London (page 100). Inevitably one can take issue with the names Kelly has omitted from his account, and it is worth noting that he is clearly writing with his local American as well as his English readers in mind, so each will find unfamiliar names in the text, but the many which are included surely all deserve their place in the index.

The list of further reading is also disappointing. Kelly's writing demonstrates an impressive knowledge of sources and literature on the subject,

and the inclusion of a further page of references would have been welcomed by this reader. For example, why not include pointers to sources and modern transcriptions of Conrad Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi*, mentioned several times in the course of the book, or Thomas Mace's *Musick's monument* – information which is, of course, available elsewhere, but why not include it here? However, these are perhaps librarian-ly quibbles. This is an eminently useful book, modestly priced, nicely presented with its integrated flyleaf providing a helpful place marker, and merits its place on the shelf or in the pocket (there is a Kindle version too).

Helen Mason

The John Ireland Companion, edited by Lewis Foreman. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011. xxxiv, 529 p.: plates, CD. ISBN 9781843836865. £40.00 (hbk.)

This impressive volume is a very welcome and valuable addition to the literature on John Ireland, who remains one of the most popular English composers, particularly among pianists and singers. It is published, in association with the John Ireland Charitable Trust, to mark the 50th anniversary of his death. In the absence of an authorised biography, this will surely become *the* essential guide and sourcebook on Ireland's life and music. In the editor's introduction, Lewis Foreman explains that he was commissioned by the Trust to write a full biography, but owing to gaps in the documentation, particularly of Ireland's early and middle life, this has not been possible. *The John Ireland Companion* therefore attempts to fill the gap, and a further volume of selected letters is promised which will complement the *Companion*.

This reference book presents the reader with a number of chapters, some newly commissioned from present-day writers, others reprinted from significant previously published material, offering 'a variety of accounts of Ireland and his music. They also present the fruits of the latest research in the light of performance and recordings of almost all the music' (editor's introduction). A few chapters also provide useful introductions to the music itself for the music lover.

Following a foreword by Julian Lloyd Webber, Part I examines the life and times of Ireland and his friends. Colin Scott-Sutherland presents a biographical introduction, and an examination of Arthur Machen's writings which influenced Ireland. Fiona Richards continues her investigation of Ireland's music as connected with his life and times. Another chapter is devoted to the results of her equally impressive research on the hitherto shadowy figure of Helen Perkin, who gave the première of Ireland's *Concerto*

in E flat major for piano and orchestra. Alan Rowlands, a champion of Ireland's piano works, provides a discussion of the music and the composer's personality, and information about Rock Mill, Ireland's last home. There is a reprint of Murray Schafer's interview with the composer, published in 1963. Other interviewees include Felix Aprahamian, Alan Bush (a pupil of Ireland's), the pianist Angus Morrison, and Ireland's close friend the Rev. Kenneth Thompson. Lewis Foreman's fascinating chapter about 'John Ireland and the BBC' surveys the subject's working relations (as composer, performer and speaker) with the Corporation, drawing on records now in the BBC Written Archives Centre. The detail is most impressive. Some of Ireland's songs were broadcast with band accompaniments in the very early days of radio; one wonders who provided these accompaniments. In the absence of any correspondence or internal memos, our only source now is *Radio Times*. Other chapters include Freda Swain's 'Remembering John Ireland and his World', George Dannatt's 'John Ireland and Charles Markes: a creative relationship' and Julie Deller on Ireland's connections with Deal in Kent. Bruce Phillips, director of the John Ireland Charitable Trust, provides details of his personal discovery of Ireland's music, his time at Rock Mill and his conversations with Norah Kirby, the composer's housekeeper and companion. A second essay describes the history of the Trust and the problems associated with Mrs Kirby's will.

Part II is devoted to the music. Alan Rowlands and Eric Parkin comment on the repertoire with stories and recollections of their discussions with the composer. Lewis Foreman lists the programme notes he has written about the orchestral pieces, and Bruce Phillips gives a similar list for the major chamber works. An important though small part of Ireland's creative output was his church music, which Jeremy Dibble explores, providing lists of those pieces written for Holy Trinity Church, Sloane Square, and those composed for St Luke's, Chelsea. Ireland's evening canticles in F and in C, the anthems *Greater Love Hath No Man* and *Ex ore innocentium*, and the hymn *Love Unknown* are not forgotten and are still sung in our cathedrals and churches today. I am glad to see that Ireland's *Vesper Hymn* has reappeared in print – a perfect end to any service of choral evensong! Most of Ireland's organ music belongs to the early years of his composing career and is fully described by Stephen Le Provost, Director of Music at the Town Church, St. Peter Port, Guernsey. Ireland's songs form a central part of his compositional output and are described in an important essay written by Charles Markes in 1973. Philip Lancaster also details the neglected corpus of part-songs which Ireland composed throughout his career. The promise of a new CD featuring some of these songs will hopefully start to redress the balance. Roderick Williams, the well-known baritone, contributes an essay on 'John Ireland and Poetry' viewed from 'a singer's experience', and Robert Matthew-Walker offers an

interesting historical perspective in 'John Ireland on Record: the composer and the growth of the gramophone'.

Part III consists of two important chapters featuring 'Ireland's Pupils on their Teacher'. The first is an essay by Geoffrey Bush which was originally published in 1983; the other is a collection of shorter accounts by Richard Arnell, Alan Bush, Benjamin Britten, E. J. Moeran and Humphrey Searle.

Part IV features notable articles on Ireland and his music, including two sets of reminiscences by Jocelyn Brooke, one reprinted from the *London Magazine* of April 1965, the other from *The Birth of a Legend*, published in 1964. Frederic Lamond's analysis of the *Sonata for piano* is presented together with Marion M. Scott's description of its first performance, given by Lamond. Another important essay is that by Edwin Evans which first appeared in 1919 in the August and September issues of *Musical Times*.

Part V contains a list of John Ireland's articles, programme notes and broadcasts. There is a full list of works arranged by genre and alphabetically by title, and a comprehensive discography by Stephen Lloyd which includes CDs, LPs, cassettes and 78rpm recordings, again arranged by genre and by title. Another useful feature is the inclusion of photographs, some appearing in print for the first time. A CD is provided at the end of the book with 17 tracks featuring the composer's spoken recordings, some works played by him and the *Sonatina for piano* performed by Helen Perkin. There are also six songs taken from 78rpm recordings and a fragment of *The Forgotten Rite* with the composer conducting the BBC Symphony Orchestra at Queen's Hall in January 1935.

The volume has been edited to Boydell's usual high standards of overall presentation. There are a few misprints, for example: on page 79, the first part of the postcode for the BBC Written Archives Centre is RG4; photograph 23, the plaque was unveiled in 1996; and on page 447 (catalogue of works), the holograph of *Weep You No More* was sold at Christie's on 22 November 2002.

This *Companion* is to be welcomed as an eminently useful compilation, essential for all John Ireland scholars and a good browse for anyone interested in the musical life of Britain in the twentieth century.

Stewart R. Craggs

Brio Volume 49, Number 1. pp 69-72

EXHIBITION REVIEWS

The Triumph of Pleasure: Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens 1729-1786.
Foundling Museum, Brunswick Square, London
11 May – 9 September 2012

This exhibition offers a unique panorama of this fascinating entertainment ground in eighteenth and nineteenth-century London. Not only are the sights and sounds of Vauxhall effectively described, for which it was most renowned, but it also celebrates the tastes and smells present, alongside the contemporary feelings born from experiencing all of these delights. It is a wonderful commemoration of the beginnings of British art and music made accessible to the masses and consequently paving the way for the public culture of art we enjoy today.

The visitor's journey into this theatrically designed exhibition begins with a dimly lit and richly green painted stairway adorned with images referencing the infamous river crossing to Vauxhall - part and parcel of the whole ritual of visiting the Gardens. We too are invited to make this passage by an enlarged image of a boatman offering boats to 'Vaux-Hall'. This is taken from one of the eccentrically decorated eighteenth-century playing cards featuring Vauxhall which were loaned to the exhibition, and which also feature a disconcertingly large corn-cutting tool for feet. This alone exemplifies the intriguing details of the Gardens which resulted in Londoners of the time thoroughly embracing its pleasures, which is what the exhibition so creatively explores.

The exhibition gallery allows us to experience Vauxhall's rich history with the guidance of its curator David Coke, author of the recently published definitive history of the Gardens, who offers an accessible narrative. This vast topic is broken down into various aspects synonymous with the Gardens; from the display of paintings and food served in the supper-boxes, to music played by the orchestras, and what impression all of this left on the eighteenth-century visitor in the form of diary entries and accounts. The Foundling Museum has borrowed objects from major collections and also a considerable number of items from private collections, and it is remarkable how many paintings, objects, and texts are displayed in this compact but cleverly organised space. This is made possible through the incorporation of a set of inner walls giving a maze-like effect, revealing different facets of the Gardens at each turn.

There is a refreshing interpretation of Vauxhall focusing on its rejuvenator, Jonathan Tyers, whose contribution to the Gardens gave rise to its conceptualisation as a popularised brand. Yet, despite its status, Tyers ensured it was a place for everyman, implemented by the one shilling admission fee which allowed the lower classes to be able to enjoy the pleasures of art and music. This brings an interesting dynamic to the show and leaves us praising this unsung entrepreneur who made culture available to the general public. The importance of music in the Gardens is reflected in the many sheet music songs printed with reference to Vauxhall, both in their song texts and in the titles 'sung at Vauxhall', and several of these are displayed. There are also little-known images of some of the singers and other musicians, as well as a fine portrait of J.C. Bach, a regular performer at Vauxhall, by Gainsborough, which is on loan from the National Portrait Gallery.

There is an intimacy about the exhibition room with its restricted height and accordingly lower hung paintings, which allows a close appreciation of the works. Instead of causing any uneasiness, we are left with a more intimate feel, producing a very charming space. Additionally, painted intricacies often bypassed are able to be viewed in detail, particularly within the Canaletto masterpiece in the show, on loan from Compton Verney. The incredibly detailed large-scale model of the Gardens enables the visitor to get a sense of the overall space at Vauxhall and is worth a good long look. The exhibition continues upstairs to display three wonderful terracotta busts, of Tyers, Hogarth and Handel, emphasising the links between the Gardens and the Foundling Hospital. This connection is further cemented by the curious eighteenth-century ceramic punchbowl displayed, which features views of both Vauxhall and The Foundling Hospital.

Overall, this exhibition exemplifies creativity and attention to detail while remaining insightful, harmonious, and accessible to all audiences. It will be a delight to existing Foundling visitors in its continuation of yet another narrative of the Hospital's history and connections, whilst also enticing new viewers to enjoy the rest of the permanent collection. A programme of concerts and talks in conjunction with the exhibition allow further opportunities to experience the musical life of the eighteenth-century pleasure gardens.

Nina Nethercott

Dickens and Music
Royal Academy of Music Museum, Marylebone Road, London, NW1 5HT 2 May to 1 September 2012

Dickens and Music, the new temporary exhibition at the Royal Academy of Music Museum, London, explores Charles Dickens' relationship with musical Victorian Britain. The exhibition is separated into six 'chapters', each examining the different ways in which Dickens was connected to the musical world. It displays a wide range of audio, visual and textual items, including musical scores, title pages, libretti, paintings, portraits and excerpts of writing, in a varied and interesting exploration of the novelist's involvement with music. Chapter one begins with a description of Dickens' musical world, outlining his involvement with various composers and musical institutions, and maps out his geographical location and close connection with the musical centres of London. Here we learn about the very musical nature of the streets of Victorian London, from formal performances to street criers, and the ways in which Dickens was influenced by his experience of this. The second chapter outlines Dickens' connection with the Royal Academy of Music, where his sister, Fanny, was a student soon after it opened in 1822. This chapter explores the ways in which his early exposure to the Academy and the musicians who taught and studied there could have shaped his writing.

The exhibition goes on to examine adaptations of Dickens' work into various musical forms through the ages, and works inspired by his writings, in particular Mackenzie's 'The cricket on the hearth', one of several musical settings of Dickens' novella. The exhibition space, though small, is well-lit and items are displayed at mid-wall level, enabling easy viewing access. Each section is labelled by chapter, indicating a suggested route by which to view it, although the numerical navigation of these sections does not follow around the space in a logical manner. Towards the rear of the exhibition space two music stands display various pieces of sheet music, bound in book form, relating to Dickens in some way, either by dedication or inspiration. A CD player, housing five CDs with a selection of music relating to Dickens, is somewhat complicated to use and only allows one person to listen to one piece of music at a time. Each item within the exhibition is accompanied by a detailed caption providing much interesting information, which clearly outlines the connection of the item (at times tenuous) to Dickens' musical life. Although these captions are, on the whole, informative, they often lack formality in tone, and, details of the origins of many of the items were not provided, leaving the visitor unclear as to which items are from the Academy's own collections and the source of the other items. A short guide to the exhibition, giving more information about the items on display, for

those who are interested, would have been useful. It is unfortunate too that the location of the exhibit is such that noise interference from rehearsals and the museum shop is unavoidable and, at busy times, very distracting to the visitor. All in all an interesting little exhibition to commemorate Dickens' anniversary, providing a sideways look at his life.

Elizabeth Lee

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Cheques should be made payable to IAML(UK & Irl)
Available from:

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National Library of Scotland
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Notes

Typeset and produced by The E-Type Press (incorporating BH Typesetters)
Lakeview Court, Wardington Manor, Wardington, Near Banbury, Oxfordshire OX17 1SW
Telephone: (01295) 75 88 89   www.e-typepress.co.uk