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Editor:

Martin Holmes

Brio Editor
Bodleian Music Section
Weston Library
Broad Street
Oxford
OX1 3BG
Tel: 01865 277064
e-mail: brio@iaml-uk-irl.org

For all enquiries about reviews, advertising or subscriptions, please contact:

e-mail: brio@iaml-uk-irl.org

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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*.

"One of the most grandiose artistic working processes ever documented in the history of music" Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen

Ludwig van Beethoven

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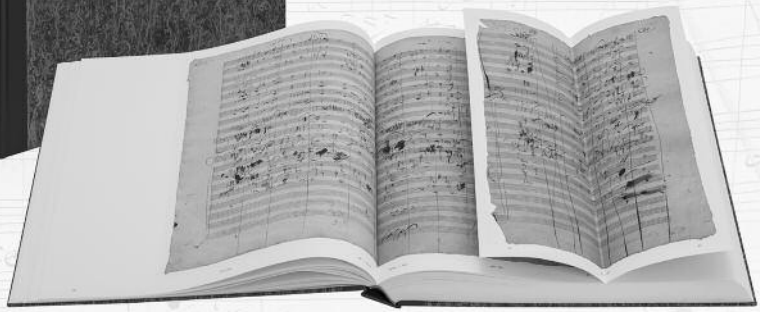

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EDITORIAL

Martin Holmes

Welcome to the Autumn/Winter edition of *Brio* which opens with a fascinating account by Simon Wright of the Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos's involvement in the aftermath of the 1930 revolution in that country. Drawing upon contemporary newspaper accounts, Simon describes how Villa-Lobos used music for patriotic and political purposes, strongly supported by the authorities in two high-profile musical projects which served as propaganda not only for the government's political reforms but also for Villa-Lobos himself.

For the next article, *Brio* pays a visit to the historic library of Eton College where Lucy Gwynn describes its rich heritage of musical sources, from the aural and visual delights of the Eton Choir Book to Butterworth, Parry and Warlock. Their most recent deposit is the archive of the prolific and versatile British composer, Malcolm Arnold, which has been lent by the Arnold family initially as part of a collaborative educational project, involving the College's library, music department and the Malcolm Arnold Trust.

Roy Stanley writes about the history of the Goodman Collection of Irish music at Trinity College, Dublin, six volumes of traditional tunes and song texts compiled by the 19th-century collector James Goodman. Recently digitised, this important resource for Irish music is now freely available to all. Finally, to complement the article on the Imogen and Gustav Holst archives at the Britten-Pears Library which appeared in the last issue, Alison Hall contributes a description of the Holst Birthplace Museum in Cheltenham – well worth a visit if you happen to be passing through.

Katharine Hogg goes to see the current exhibition at the Royal Academy of Music which is a tribute to the lutenist, scholar, teacher and collector, Robert Spencer (1932-1997) whose remarkable collection of instruments, printed and manuscript music, instrumental tutors, images and other documents now resides at RAM. Books reviewed comprise Matthias Range's survey of music at royal and state funerals, Christopher Redwood's biography of the British composer William Hurlestone and an edition of the correspondence between Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears.

At this point, I should like to thank and pay tribute to Loukia Drosopoulou whose period as Reviews Editor has now come to an end. Meanwhile, I should like to encourage any readers who might be interested in stepping into her shoes to contact the Editor without delay!

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EXCURSIONS AND EXHORTATIONS: HEITOR VILLA-LOBOS IN 1931

Simon Wright[1]

The inauguration on 12 October 1931 of Paul Landowski and Heitor da Silva Costa's vast art deco statue *Cristo Redentor* (Christ the Redeemer), atop Corcovado, high above Rio de Janeiro, seemed to usher in a new era of modernity and confidence within Brazil: arms outstretched, Christ benignly embraces not only Guanabara Bay and the city spread out below but also the Atlantic Ocean beyond, and perhaps even *o Velho Mundo* – the 'old world' of Europe and Africa, which had provided the basis of so much in what the sociologist Gilberto Freyre was shortly to term the 'new world in the tropics', Brazil itself. In a daring example of cooperation between those old and new worlds, the floodlighting for the opening ceremony was to have been operated remotely by (of all people) Guglielmo Marconi in Rome, but the technology failed, the switches having to be operated locally. The looming white figure of Christ appearing in the inky tropical sky allegedly convinced a drunk sailor, stepping out in Rio's Praça Mauá, that the Day of Judgment had arrived inconveniently early; but in short order *Cristo Redentor* became a potent and enduring icon of the modern Brazil, of *brasilidade* ('Brazilian-ness') itself, to be recognized and even imitated the world over.[2] The old world failed (at the last minute) to illuminate the new, but Brazil had projected back a light in its own image.

Heitor Villa-Lobos had spent much of the previous decade in Paris, projecting his own aural synthesis of Brazil (and his own image) on an often disbelieving European public, in vigorous and colourful piano, chamber, and orchestral music speaking the language of jungles, cityscapes, and the sentimental dances of his homeland, and cast in forms of his own invention and

[1] I would think to thank the staff of the Museu Villa-Lobos, Rio de Janeiro (BR-Rmvl), past and present, for their collaboration in the preparation of this article, in particular Arminda Villa-Lobos (1979) and Cláudia Maria de Andrade Leopoldino (2017). Press reports quoted in the present article were consulted in the Museum's collection and were translated by the author. All spellings in quoted sources (including their titles) are as they originally appeared.

[2] The sailor surrendered to his ship's chaplain, vowing to give up drink if his soul were saved. See Ruy Castro (tr. John Gledson), *Rio de Janeiro: Carnival under Fire*. London: Bloomsbury, 2004, p. 6.

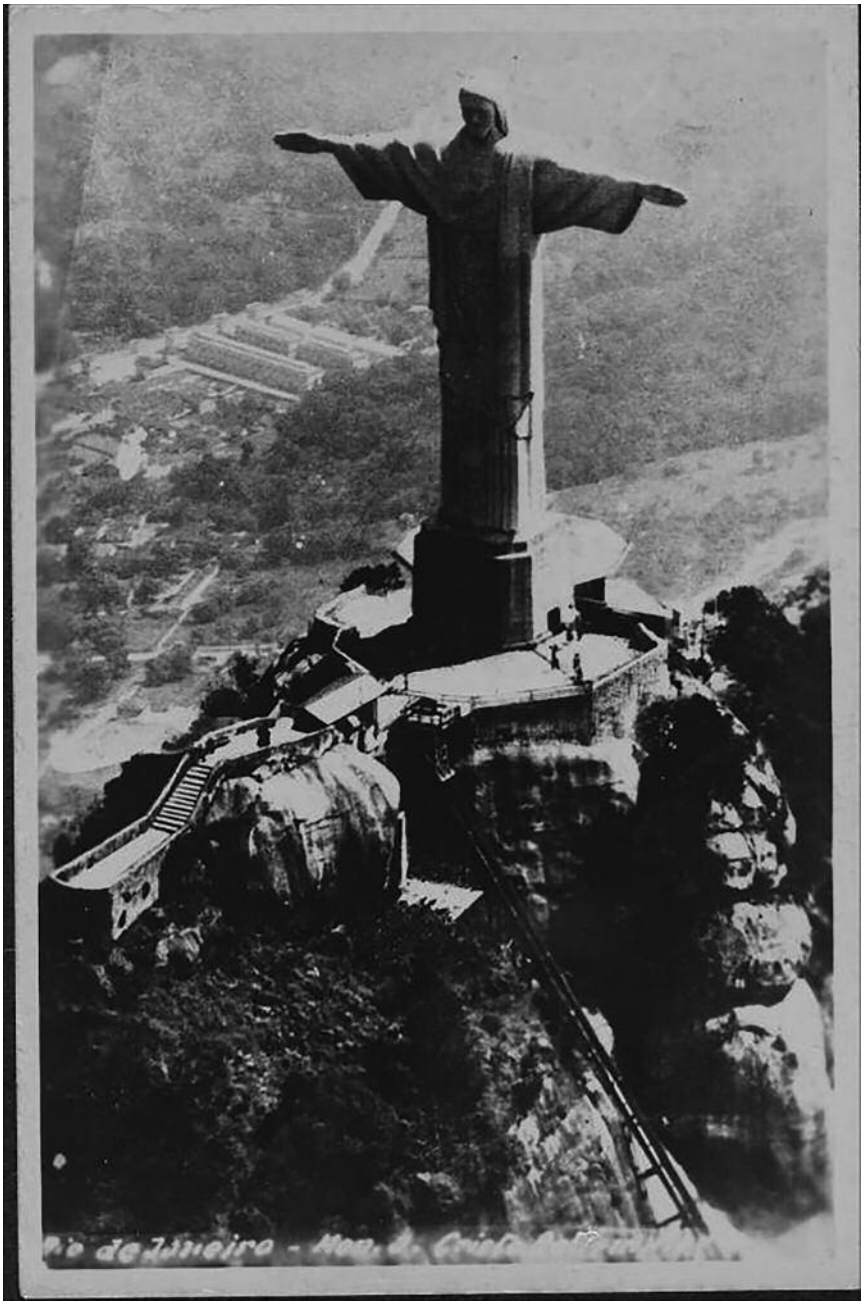

Fig. 1: Cristo Redentor, Rio de Janeiro (postcard c.1935). Public domain

naming: *Choros*, *Rudepoema*, *Cirandas*, *Cirandinhas.* Travelling home for what he had planned as a short stay, Villa-Lobos arrived in Recife, Brazil, on or around 1 June 1930, having sailed from Europe on the packet-boat CANTUÁRIA GUIMARÃES, immediately giving two chamber concerts (exclusively of his music) for the Sociedade de Cultura Musical, at the Teatro Santa Izabel.[3] Villa-Lobos (playing cello) shared the platform with his wife Lucília (piano),[4] João de Souza Lima (piano),[5] and Maurice Raskin (violin).[6] Then, with Lucília and Raskin, sailing on the packet-boat ARAÇATUBA and calling briefly at Salvador, Villa-Lobos arrived in Rio de Janeiro on 15 June. It was reported that he was 'staying only a little while in this capital before going on to São Paulo, where he is to organize various concerts at the invitation of the *Sociedade de Concertos Symphonicos* and *Cultura Artística*' of that city.[7] What, at this point, Villa-Lobos did not know was that he was never again to return to Paris as resident and that, within months, his career would switch tracks, moving rapidly from that of controversial composer to patriot, educator, conductor, and mouthpiece of government – a course he would then follow determinedly for the following fifteen years. The year of 1931 was to be decisive in shaping that transition.

Villa-Lobos arrived in São Paulo at the end of June 1930, and the planned series of orchestral concerts at the Teatro Municipal went ahead (a diverse season which included Raskin playing Beethoven's Violin Concerto, the Brazilian premieres of Milhaud's *Saudades do Brasil* and Villa-Lobos's 1917 ballet score *Amazonas*, and a Florent Schmitt 'festival'). The series was abruptly halted by news of revolution which broke out (simultaneously) on 3 October in the geographically separate states of Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, and Paraíba, following which the country's public entertainments were suspended for one month. On 24 October a military junta seized power from what was seen as the moribund 'Old Republic', toppling President Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa, and on 3 November handed executive power to Getúlio Vargas.[8] As chief of provisional government (1930-4), constitutional president (1934-7), dictator (1937-45), and again as president (1951-4) Vargas was to rule, control, and modernize every aspect of Brazilian life for a generation. His progressivist policies included industrialization, urbanization, educational and social reform, agricultural diversification, investment in domestic air travel and road building, and a widening of suffrage. This was all

[3] 'Sociedade de Cultura Musical – Os proximos concertos de Villa-Lobos no Recife', *A Província* (Recife), 22 May 1930.

[4] Lucília Guimarães (Villa-Lobos) (1886-1966); Brazilian pianist. She and Villa-Lobos separated in 1936.

[5] (1898-1982); Brazilian pianist. Studied with Marguerite Long in Paris, and close friend of Villa-Lobos.

[6] (1906-1984); Belgian violinist. Met Villa-Lobos in Paris, and dedicatee of the second of *Dois Choros Bis* (1928).

[7] *Diário Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro), 17 June 1930.

[8] Getúlio Dórtico Vargas (1882-1954); Brazilian lawyer and politician.

shored up by propaganda instilling a nationwide ethos of civic and patriotic duty and pride. Vargas centralized his huge territory's government – hitherto quasi-autonomous State Governors were replaced by 'Interventors', answerable to the President himself. Vargas's federalization policies culminated in the promulgation of a new constitution in 1937 (*O Estado Novo*), marked with a ceremony in Rio de Janeiro at which 'flags of the republic's 20 states were burned on an altar behind which was impressively raised the national green and yellow banner of Brazil … [ending] the virtual autonomy previously enjoyed by Brazilian states'.[9] The national flag became central to Vargas's ideology, with strict rules around its proper appearance and use.

Getúlio Vargas appointed fellow revolutionary, Lieutenant João Alberto Lins de Barros ('João Alberto'),[10] as Interventor of São Paulo state. As a pianist and musician of taste himself, and realizing that Villa-Lobos (with his own already pro-nationalistic views, his growing fame as a Brazilian musical ambassador, and with an immediate presence in his own state capital) could be of use to the new regime in the urgent educational reforms dictated by Vargas, João Alberto summoned the composer and asked him to formulate a plan for the rapid improvement of musical education in schools across the state. He had no structures in mind, and built upon ideas that Villa-Lobos formulated, the composer having already articulated deficiencies in the delivery and appreciation of serious music in São Paulo over previous months. A generalized 'plan' was announced on 1 January 1931, in which Villa-Lobos unveiled to the press his thoughts on 'national music'.

> My plan consists of the officialization of National Music. The Government should prohibit the importation of bad music,[11] and pretentious popular music, reducing it by at least fifty percent. Thus the study of our own good music becomes obligatory, and then with time our people will have the capacity to understand European music.
>
> According to my plan, study for the formation of a Brazilian music should be total, starting with a quest in our popular music, a quest for original melodies, rhythms, and counterpoints, until we arrive at the ethnic reasons and philosophical basis from which this music arises. . . . When one understands Brazilian music, which, indisputably, is supported by European bases, then one will understand the music of the Old World.[12]

[9] 'Brazil Burns Flags of States to Mark New Vargas Regime', *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 28 November 1937.
[10] (1897-1955); Brazilian army officer and politician, Interventor of São Paulo state 24 November 1930 until 25 July 1931.
[11] Some printings of this statement have 'the importation of foreign music' at this point.
[12] 'A Diffusão Do Ensino da Música No Brasil: O Pensamento de Villa-Lobos', *Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), 1 January 1931.

Specifically, João Alberto and Villa-Lobos developed the idea of two major projects for 1931: a cross-state 'educational' concert tour, and a spectacular choral concert uniting the voices of São Paulo city's children. The projects' foundations (including funding provision) were set out at the end of 1930, with purpose, philosophy, and detail articulated in articles strategically placed in the Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo press. While in Paris during the previous decade Villa-Lobos's reputation was in the hands of professional critics (hostile and adulatory alike), but throughout the 1930s, with the collusion of state and federal propaganda machinery, he wrote his own reception history. The newspaper became Villa-Lobos's primary means of public communication – more so even than radio broadcast, a medium also embraced by him with enthusiasm. Villa-Lobos's name was to appear throughout the decade as author of large numbers of press articles on choral singing, and about music's role in education, patriotism, and civic obedience; press releases and interview transcriptions were commonplace; and Villa-Lobos also ensured that his concert-giving and other activities were all reported and reviewed. Whether or not Villa-Lobos was the author of all articles carrying his by-line is questionable (many of his 'own' programme notes, after all, were ghost-written), but in their totality these pieces open a unique window on his work during the 1930s, illuminating and complementing the various books and treatises that he was to write during those years. Negative press criticism rarely appeared: where it did, it is worth taking note.[13]

The language of the 1930 preparatory articles itself set the tone by which Villa-Lobos's public writing would be characterized: pithy, breathless, imperative, but with a carefully applied intellectual veneer, and culminating always in peroration.

> Living in a human society it is not possible to escape from the influence of the surroundings. At this moment it is impossible to think of anything but our contact with the Revolution. And in the case of artistic life this contact is essential and direct. It is not that I, as an artist, propose to give, in this hour of national reconstruction, more importance to art than to politics and to the economy, so well looked after by the men which the Revolution has placed in positions of charge and responsibility for Brazilian life. But, intellectually speaking, I do think that art is the most efficient means of propaganda, because it is more accessible, as well as more convincing to the mentality of a nation than political doctrine. And in this case art is more, much more important than diplomacy. . . .

[13] Villa-Lobos's most hostile critic was Oscar Guanabarino (*Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro) who wrote damningly on the composer's use of Amerindian and African music in his compositions.

> And thus I think that this period, now opened in Brazilian history, has immense possibilities for the artistic development of the country, and for the renovation of the whole educational apparatus, whose lamentable stubbornness is the cause of the backwardness that is still to be found here and there.
>
> The work of revolution will be completed with the artistic renovation which I am feeling, alongside the other reforms needed to put Brazil in her rightful place in the world. It was a Revolution that disclosed to us the art of Russia, and in many other countries the genius of artists helped, showing us that Art is a Revolutionary Factor.[14]

The *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos*

Villa-Lobos's initial focus in 1931 was on the *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos* (Villa-Lobos Artistic Excursion), a tour by the composer and a group of musical companions to towns in São Paulo state during which upwards of eighty chamber music concerts, some with lectures, were given. 'The principal aim of this excursion', ran the wording of a press release, 'is to demonstrate the real value of musical art, in its highest state . . . Without fearing the opposition of the conservatives, of the anti-nationalists, the eternal imitators, and of the Brazilians who have not followed the counsels of our Flag, VILLA-LOBOS is persisting, calm and resigned in his mission as preacher, sacrificed to one of the most noble of Brazilian causes.'[15] Three years earlier, in Paris, Villa-Lobos's soul had been judged 'savage, bitter, tumultuous, sometimes incoherent . . . liberated more often in screams and noise than in the conception of music to which we are accustomed'.[16] Now, he was a preacher.

The *Excursão*'s every detail was covered with previews, reviews, and retrospectives by the newspapers of towns visited by the artistic caravan, and by the São Paulo city press: the dates, venues, and in many cases programmes of many of the concerts can be reconstructed reasonably accurately from these sources, and audience reaction gauged. One São Paulo paper published a 'complete' itinerary which, although eventually differing considerably in detail from the tour as it unfolded, gives much detail not available elsewhere.[17] The most valuable primary source is a memoir left by the excursion's piano tuner and technician, Antônio Chechim Filho (1905-?), an employee of Fábrica de Pianos Brasil SA in São Paulo, supplier of the tour's instruments. Originally privately published in Brazil in 1987 to mark the centenary of

[14] Heitor Villa-Lobos, 'A Arte, Poderoso Factor Revolucionário', *O Jornal* (Rio de Janeiro), 8 November 1930; an earlier version appeared in *Diário da Noite* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 November 1930.

[15] Printed in, for example, 'Excursão Artística de Villa-Lobos e Souza Lima á Amparo', *O Commércio* (Amparo), 5 March 1931.

[16] L. Chevalier in *Le Monde Musicale* (Paris), No. 12, 31 December 1927.

[17] Untitled and undated press cutting, BR-Rmvl (77.19.10, p. 85A).

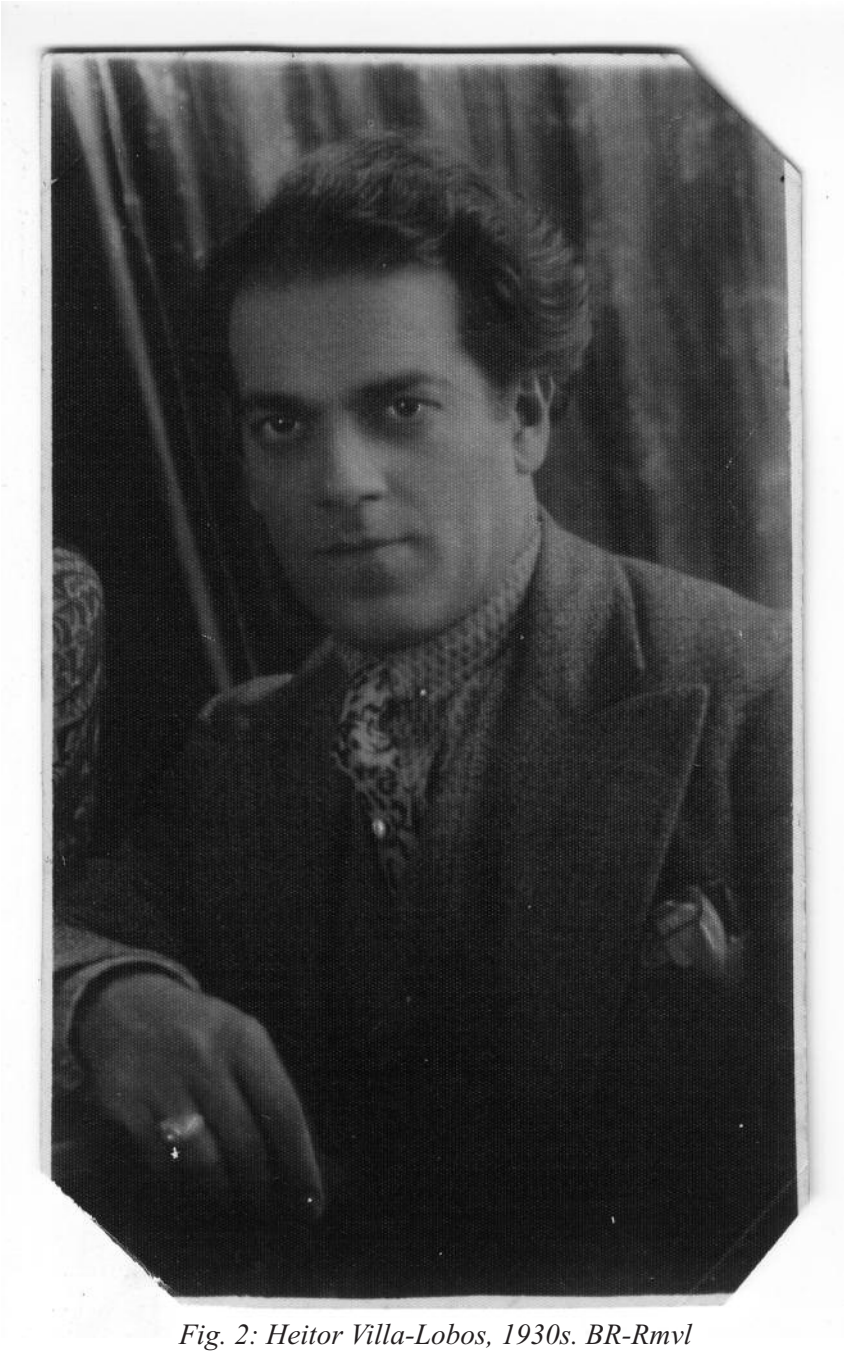

Fig. 2: Heitor Villa-Lobos, 1930s. BR-Rmvl

Villa-Lobos's birth that year, the memoir has been translated into English by the pianophile Fred S. Sturm.[18] 'I give thanks to God', said Chechim Filho, 'for having had the opportunity to participate in that beautiful journey.'[19] By 1987 Chechim Filho was the last surviving member of the excursion and, fifty-six years after the events he was recalling, was writing entirely from memory: 'all the documents in my possession . . . programs, tickets, a large number of photographs, after being safely kept for more than 40 years, were lost'.[20] Wisely, therefore, his account omits specific dates, although Chechim Filho recalls accurately enough the names (though not the order) of most of the towns visited, and events occurring at individual venues. Nataniel Marcos Bádue Filho's Master's dissertation on the excursion correlates surviving documentation with Chechim Filho's account and presents concert dates and venues in tabular form – Bádue Filho concludes that the excursion gave concerts in fifty-two São Paulo state venues, and strayed into the neighbouring states of Minas Gerais and Paraná for three further concerts.[21] Bádue Filho also notes that further excursion-style concerts were given, sporadically, into early 1932, after the official end of the tour, and tabulates these.

Villa-Lobos's Recife concerts in 1930 provided prototypes for the *Excursão*'s programmes, which were all of chamber and vocal music, heavily (though not exclusively) weighted to Villa-Lobos's own works. Villa-Lobos had also organized the performance of similar chamber music as part of the programme of the Paratodos Cinema in São Paulo on 6 January 1931: 'The Greatest Event in São Paulo – Music and Films at Cinema Prices'.[22] Villa-Lobos took the position of the excursion's leader, choosing programmes, giving introductory remarks, and playing the cello. Lucília Villa-Lobos, João de Souza Lima, and Antonieta Rudge[23] were the pianists, and Nair Duarte Nunes and Anita Gonçalves the singers. Chechim Filho tuned and prepared the pianos, and undertook a multitude of administrative tasks. The tour was technically confined to São Paulo state, and many newspaper reports noted that the tour fell under the official patronage of the Federal Interventor.

São Paulo is a state in the south-east of Brazil, with the Tropic of Capricorn slicing neatly through its capital city. Market towns seemed, in 1931, remote and linked only by the railway lines originally built to serve the state's extensive coffee, sugar, cattle, and other agricultural enterprises. Of Brazil's

[18] Available only on-line: Antônio Chechim Filho (tr. Fred S. Sturm), *Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos* (no date), at http://my.ptg.org/HigherLogic/System/DownloadDocumentFile.ashx?DocumentFileKey=94f72162-ade6-44e0-8f79-1f763d76fed8 [accessed 19/8/17].

[19] Chechim Filho, p. 69.

[20] Chechim Filho, p. 3.

[21] Nataniel Marcos Bádue Filho, *A Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos pelo interior do Estado de São Paulo em 1931*. São Paulo: Universidade Estadual Paulista, 2013, p. 71.

[22] Untitled and undated press cutting, BR-Rmvl (77.19.10, p. 62A).

[23] (1885-1974); Brazilian pianist.

Caravana de Arte Brasileira

THEATRO MUNICIPAL

DIA 13 DE MARÇO DE 1931 -- A'S 8,30 HORAS

S. João da Boa Vista tem a honra de hospedar, no dia 13 do cor., os grandes artistas brasileiros

H. VILLA-LOBOS

SOUZA LIMA

LUCILIA VILLA-LOBOS

ANNITA GONÇALVES

Hoje, mais do que nunca, em todos os paizes, o sentimento de nacionalismo cada vez mais se accentua, differenciando os povos, quer na politica, quer nas letras, quer nas artes. O Brasil não devia nem podia ficar indifferente a esse movimento da epoca. Artista da envergadura de VILLA-LOBOS, que tão alto conseguiu elevar o nome de nossa Patria, no extrangeiro, impondo á admiração de platéas exigentes, o rythmo da nossa musica, deve ser recebido em todos os recantos do paiz, por todos aquelles que sentem vibrar, no coração o grito poderoso de brasilidade, com merecida e festiva homenagem. A esses embaixadores da arte, a esses pioneiros daquillo que é nosso, um agradecimento sincero daquelles que **"amam com fé e orgulho a terra em que nasceram"**.

A COMMISSÃO

NOTA:

Aos senhores extrangeiros, que irmanados comnosco muito tem contribuido para a grandeza desta terra, dirigimos tambem o presente appello, certos de que, a musica brasileira, tão cheia de melodia e graça pagã, espiritualização de nossa vida e orchestração de nossa natureza, ha de agradar como agradam tambem á alma brasileira as manifestações artisticas de suas PATRIAS DISTANTES.

Fig. 3: Publicity for the Excursão Artística*'s performance at the Teatro Municipal, São João de Boa Vista, 13 March 1931 (the photograph shows, left to right: João de Souza Lima, Lucília Villa-Lobos, Anita Gonçalves, Heitor Villa-Lobos). BR-Rmvl*

35,000 kilometres of railway in 1931, 7,000 kilometres served São Paulo state.[24] The road system was, recalled Chechim Filho, 'precarious', and thus it was that the *Excursão* (including its grand piano) travelled exclusively by rail. 'The excursion became so well known on the trains in which we traveled, so that in some dining cars they knew the routine . . . the dish for Souza Lima was chicken baked in the Parisian manner, with various seasonings . . . the coffee for Villa-Lobos was that extremely strong coffee Villa-Lobos demanded, strong to the point of dyeing the spoon. He wouldn't drink it if it wasn't to his taste. . . . The journeys were, in general, always happy, revealing beautiful and interesting landscapes … but sometimes they became painful and tiring, when the car, in spite of being first class, was over-full, very hot, with dust and wood cinders from the locomotive coming in the window.'[25] Smoke and cinders found their place in Villa-Lobos's delightful homage to the rural railway, *O Trenzinho do Caipira* (The Little Train of the Caipira) for cello and piano, written on such a journey and routinely played in excursion concerts – the piece was later orchestrated and included in *Bachianas Brasileiras* No. 2.[26]

The *Excursão*'s opening recitals were given on 20 and 21 January 1931 at the elegant, neo-classical Teatro Municipal, Campinas (the building had been inaugurated only four months earlier, and was demolished in 1965), and the group then set out for the interior, giving two, three, or four concerts per week until the end of March, and again from late June until November. Residual concerts, not part of the official tour, were given in December and January. A pattern was rapidly established and then repeated many times: arrival at the railway station with a formal greeting from brass bands and civic dignitaries (usually including the mayor); an opening lecture or remarks by Villa-Lobos; a concert in town hall or municipal theatre (occasionally in a cinema), followed by a reception or dinner, including toasts and speeches.

The British writer Peter Fleming was in São Paulo in 1932, and described one of the towns in which Villa-Lobos and companions had given concerts on 11 and 12 February in the previous year; it was characteristic of many on the *Excursão*'s itinerary. 'Ribeirão Preto was a pleasant little town. Its streets tailed off with an air of relief into grass-grown tracks which led through the coffee to the distant fazendas. Its suburbs were the merest of huts, full of a casual squalor. Its chief civic ornament was a large trim garden which filled the centre of its only square: a cheerful, green place, laced symmetrically with little paths and shaded by impressive trees . . . [a] raffish and derelict bandstand

[24] *Brasil 1940-41*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 1941, pp. 462-6.

[25] Chechim Filho, pp. 13-14.

[26] Chechim Filho, p. 60. Bádue Filho (pp. 64-7) matches the various concert sequences with records and maps of the railway system at the time, endeavouring to trace the routes taken: the first group of concerts (January/February 1931), for example, used the line of the Cia. Paulista de Estradas de Ferro.

and its bestiary of shrubs clipped to the shapes of animals and birds. . . . Several cinemas looked on to the square, their posters crying the wares of Hollywood. . . . In the blue sky vultures hung meditatively; as they always do in Brazil.'[27] It was the *Excursão*'s aim to bring art music to such small towns and isolated communities. Ribeirão Preto is today a municipality of more than half a million persons and supports both its own Escola de Música Heitor Villa-Lobos and one of Brazil's finest symphony orchestras, the Orquestra Sinfônica de Ribeirão Preto, founded seven years after Villa-Lobos's visit.

Posters for the tour invited audiences to 'come and hear great Brazilian artists in classical, romantic, sentimental, and Brazilian music'.[28] However, the programmes were limited to various standard types, repeated according to audience size, facilities, and venues at the various towns visited. Villa-Lobos's music predominated (his early piano pieces, solo songs, and various cello and piano works), and the only 'romantic' music regularly played was nocturnes and polonaises by Chopin, character pieces by Grieg, and Busoni's transcription of Liszt's *La Campanella*. Souza Lima, as he did at Pirajuhy on 24 August 1931, occasionally played Debussy's *Cake Walk* [*sic*] followed by Villa-Lobos's miniature evocation of a broken musical box, *Caixinha de Música Quebrada*, written, like the antiquated train depiction, while travelling.[29] The press picked up early on some of the programmes' deficiencies: 'We sincerely regret', wrote a Campinas critic following the very first recital, 'that in a concert announced as propaganda for Brazilian music we heard only music by Villa-Lobos and by other composers who are not Brazilian. . . . There are many other Brazilian composers worthy of inclusion in the programmes of these artists. If Villa-Lobos wishes to be a propagandist of our music then, intelligent as he is, he must include these composers in his programmes.'[30] Subsequently, a few works by Francisco Mignone,[31] Antônio Francisco Braga,[32] and other Brazilians appeared. The caravan gave, in usual format, a chamber recital at the Teatro Esperia in Botucatú on 15 August 1931, but the following day joined at the same theatre with a large, locally convened chorus as part of a 'festival lítero-cívico e musical', the only choral event recorded on the tour: a photograph shows the flag-waving participants smiling for the camera on the theatre's steps.[33]

[27] Peter Fleming, *Brazilian Adventure*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1933, p. 83.

[28] The tour's poster is reproduced in Luiz Guimarães *et al*., *Villa-Lobos: Visto da Platéia e na Intimidade (1912/1935)*. Rio de Janeiro: Grafica Editôra Arte Moderna Ltda. (1972), p. 366. Guimarães was Villa-Lobos's brother-in-law and this book is a compilation of documents in the family's possession.

[29] Programme, BR-Rmvl.

[30] 'Concerto Villa-Lobos Antonietta Rudge', *Diário do Povo* (São Paulo), 21 January 1931.

[31] (1897-1986); Brazilian composer.

[32] (1868-1945); Brazilian composer.

[33] Reproduced in Guimarães, p. 374. Both concerts were reported in *O Apostolo* (Botucatú), 30 August 1931, which noted that proceeds from the choral event were to be donated to the Amando de Barros orphanage.

The tour's political subtext was perhaps concealed beneath the brass bands, hyperbole, and gala banquets. Newspapers reported in great detail, but amidst all the acclaim and show the actual quality and content of the concerts was often overlooked. Perceptive critical comment on the tour is noticeably lacking – the very novelty was sufficient to hold the attention of audience and critics alike. Villa-Lobos's was 'a name greatly revered in the artistic circles of Europe',[34] his credentials were 'not ours' but had been bestowed by 'the city of light – Paris',[35] and 'all who hear [his] compositions bend before their incontestable *majesty*'.[36] Audiences were urged to attend as a matter of civic obligation: 'People of Cachoeira, in order to fulfil your duty, come and pay homage to the great musicians who are visiting us, and appear at the theatre to hear the skills of their art'.[37] The patriotic muscle of the mission was constantly emphasized: 'the source of this prodigious cascade of music is our BELOVED COUNTRY!'.[38] The caravan's 'art' was consistently posited as 'higher' than 'repetitive American 'fox-trots' and 'charlestons' . . . and our waddling 'maxixe'', it being 'a superior thing, artistically brilliant', although a cautionary note was sounded: 'The music of Villa-Lobos triumphs; however it is necessary for those who intend to judge it to study it first.'[39]

The most perceptive critical commentary was offered by the Brazilian Modernist poet Menotti Del Picchia,[40] who had collaborated with other writers, artists, and composers (including Villa-Lobos) in the pioneering but infamous São Paulo *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Week of Modern Art) in 1922, a festival which had placed that city instantly at the vanguard of artistic modernism in Brazil. 'M.D.P.' had issued a 'chronicle' which was used in whole or in part, often without credit, by many newspapers covering the *Excursão*. Certain passages cut to the heart of Villa-Lobos's technical expertise in manifesting Brazilian landscape and character as aural experience within a classical heritage, an avenue explored by few other of the tour's critics.

> One cannot say that Villa-Lobos is modern, futuristic, or revolutionary. Villa-Lobos is Villa-Lobos, the fruit of his period and of his surroundings, and if his music is new this is not because it is the result of a process or of artifice. It is because he reveals, to the universe, to the Brazilian musical world, the immense reserves of untapped acoustical

[34] 'Excursão Artística de Villa-Lobos e Souza Lima á Amparo', *O Commércio* (Amparo), 5 March 1931.
[35] 'Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos', *Gazeta do Rio Pardo* (Rio Pardo), 22 March 1931.
[36] 'Excursão artística Villa-Lobos', *O Progresso* (Lins), 1 October 1931.
[37] Programme, Teatro Muncipal, Cachoeira, 4 July 1931 (BR-Rmvl).
[38] 'Excursão artística Villa-Lobos', *O Progresso* (Lins), 1 October 1931.
[39] 'Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos', *Gazeta do Rio Pardo* (Rio Pardo), 22 March 1931.
[40] (1892-1988).

> material typical of Brazil, collected in its maximum purity, and expressed with true interior motivation, free from preconceptions, and in the richest of forms – results not only of a vast classical culture, but also of a knowledge of how to adapt technically to the expressive necessities of the day, and of the place.[41]

The tour ended in November 1931. 'The artistic excursion was notable, for the artists made their great art known to the people of the backlands, thus meeting the needs of the artistic education of these Brazilians, who cannot reach the large towns to have the pleasure of hearing good music', recorded São Paulo's *Diário da Noite*. The *Excursão* had been a unique, innovatory event in Brazilian cultural life, demonstrating 'that the illustrious Maestro deserves all his applause, and must now receive support from the Government'.[42]

The *Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos*

Following a concert at Araraquara on 25 March, the *Excursão* went into abeyance for around three months (the tour re-commenced in June), allowing some breathing space for the excursionists, but primarily to enable Villa-Lobos to address the considerable organizational challenges of the *Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos* (Villa-Lobos Civic Exhortation), to be held in the afternoon of Sunday 24 May, at the Estádio Floresta, used as a sports ground by the Associação Atlético São Bento in São Paulo. 'Come and hear the largest chorus ever formed in the whole of the Americas', proclaimed the *Exhortação*'s publicity: 'ten thousand voices, Brazilian and foreign – four hundred players in bands and orchestras – trams and omnibuses in extraordinary number'.[43]

An 'exhortation' is a term meaning a set speech or formal address which urges laudable conduct or behaviour; Villa-Lobos employed the concept in its broadest sense, to headline an event that would, by nature and musical content, instil a sense of patriotic pride and civic duty in both participants and audience. Plans were first announced on the last day of 1930.

> Villa-Lobos proposes to conduct a tremendous vocal concert, with the participation of one, two, five, eight thousand, eight thousand persons, eight thousand boys and girls, all Brazilian, with the idea that Youth will lend all its support and enthusiasm to this enterprise.
>
> He has composed two patriotic hymns: one, which the police prohibited

[41] As printed in 'Excursão Artística Official Villa-Lobos – Souza Lima', *O Liberal* (São Manoel), 2 August 1931.
[42] 'Regressou ao Rio o maestro Villa-Lobos', *Diário da Noite* (São Paulo), 12 November 1931.
[43] Poster, BR-Rmvl.

> some years ago; and the other inspired by the revolutionary movement of last October. . . .
>
> After the essential preparation of the *Hymno Nacional* and of Villa-Lobos's two hymns *Brasil Novo* and *Meu Paíz* the great concert will take place, in a park or sports ground, on a date shortly to be announced.
>
> The revolutionary hymns by Villa-Lobos reveal, in their outworking, the tendency and genuine Brazilian inspiration of their composer. Rich, vibrant, full of patriotic exaltation, they also contain a strain of sentimentality and sweetness, which is one of the features of the outpouring of the national soul.[44]

The two hymns were made official in São Paulo city and state schools during the *Exhortação*'s 'launch' at the elegant Palácio Campos Elísios on *c*. 24 February 1931. Members of the *Excursão* (which was already well under way) played the music in the presence of 'the Interventor and General Miguel Costa,[45] secretaries and official aides of these two distinguished military figures', and school music teachers.[46] A third hymn, *P'ra frente ó Brasil*, was also introduced. It was this newly composed 'Martial Song with accompaniment of military drum' by Villa-Lobos (with words written by him using the pseudonym 'Zé Povo') which assumed prime importance at the *Exhortação* and in the many similar events taking place in years to come: it became the composer's 'orpheonic calling card'. The song's text proclaimed the joyful necessity to march 'over hills, over land, under blazing sun', giving all to the nation including 'sons, gold, arms, soul, honour and glory', a nation 'beautiful with the Southern Cross, with its sky the colour of indigo, with its seas so blue'.[47] In short, the populace was to give its all to a Brazil 'where it is good to live, to nurture love, and never more to die'.[48]

The February launch marked the start of a three-month training period in schools, at which all the material for the May event was taught by rote to the children – they would turn up on the day not only fully drilled in their music, but also carrying lunchboxes, wearing standard uniform and *Exhortação* badges, and travelling on time-specific trams and buses, exactly as prescribed in the edicts and memoranda issued during those preparatory months. The

[44] 'Serão executados dois hymnos revolucionários do illustre compositor', *Diário de Notícias* (São Paulo), 31 December 1930.

[45] Miguel Alberto Crispim Rodrigo da Costa (1885-1959); a participant in the 1930 revolution.

[46] 'Os dois hymnos do grande compositor serão officialados no Estado do São Paulo', unidentified and undated press review, BR-Rmvl (*c*. 25 February 1931).

[47] The Southern Cross is a southern hemisphere constellation, prominent on the Brazilian flag.

[48] The 55-line text is given in full in 'Villa-Lobos dá aos professors paulistas a interpretação de seus hymnos patrióticos…', unidentified and undated press review, *c*. 26 February 1931, BR-Rmvl (77.19.10, p. 18).

badges (bearing the design of a Brazilian songbird, the *sabiá*) were to be purchased, as were programmes and copies of music and words, with profits (including the surplus from ticket sales) eventually donated to organizations supporting under-privileged children in São Paulo, including the *Cruzada Pró-Infância*, formally established in 1931 and still active at the time of writing, and which elected Villa-Lobos as *Socio Bemfeitor* as a result.[49] The official documentation made it clear that, at the *Exhortação*, 'it is expressly prohibited for men to venture into the areas specifically reserved for school girls, except for the music teachers and the school directors'.[50]

Various rehearsals took place in the week before the *Exhortação*, and through the night of 23 to 24 May 'a great number of people worked all night . . . building the stands, fixing ropes – in short, providing everything needed to make today run smoothly'. Once the crowds of dignitaries, participants, and spectators had assembled and all was ready, three rapid mortar blasts ('for which the police and the Municipality have given their authority') preceded a 'shout of rejoicing and good will, in salute to Maestro Villa-Lobos', before the eight pieces of music in the programme were performed to huge effect and applause, Villa-Lobos, in a white linen suit, conducting from a central tower. Villa-Lobos's three hymns, supplemented by two folksong arrangements (*Cantiga da Roda* and *Na Bahia Tem*), were given alongside two pieces arranged from the music of Antônio Carlos Gomes.[51] The spectacle ended inevitably (and gloriously) with the *Hino Nacional* (National Anthem). The complex travel arrangements were then run in reverse, to get the thousands of children safely home.[52]

Conclusion

Villa-Lobos's uniquely productive year in São Paulo concluded with a grand farewell concert at the city's Teatro Municipal on 21 October. Billed as 'the most original concert ever to take place in this capital', 500 performers under Villa-Lobos's baton gave a programme of music for chorus and band, Brazilian and *estrangeiro*, the centrepiece of which was the first performance of Villa-Lobos's *Momoprecoce* (1929) in its 1931 scoring for solo piano and band (now lost), with the faithful Souza Lima as soloist. The event was clearly devised in the spirit of both *Excursão* and *Exhortação*. 'Thus closes a period of extraordinary artistic activity in the state of São Paulo, a work of

[49] Letter, Cruzada Pró-Infancia (São Paulo) to Villa-Lobos, 15 August 1931, BR-Rmvl.

[50] Noted in a report of one of the rehearsals in *Diário de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 2 May 1931.

[51] (1835-1896); Brazilian opera composer.

[52] All quotations in this paragraph are from 'Exhortação Cívica Villa-Lobos', *Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 24 May 1931. Three photographs appeared in 'A grande manifestação do civismo de hontem no campo da Floresta', *A Gazeta* (São Paulo), 25 May 1931, two showing the children's chorus and the other an image of Villa-Lobos conducting from a high podium (the photographs with their caption are reproduced in Guimarães, p. 375).

musical dissemination that will long be remembered in the annals of our art.'[53] Together, the two 1931 Villa-Lobos 'projects' provided the testing ground for much activity to be undertaken by Villa-Lobos, principally in Rio de Janeiro, during the 1930s and early 1940s. Additionally, the positive effect of the considerable press coverage generated, and Villa-Lobos's dependence on it to shape his own image, was to find reflection in the extensive reportage surrounding his work throughout the 1930s.

While the 1931 excursion was never repeated in its original intensive, multi-concert form, its *raison d'être* (to bring national and high art to the Brazilian populace) underpinned enterprises such as the formation, in May 1932, of the 100-voice *Orfeão de Professores do Distrito Federal* (a choir drawn from teaching staff in Rio de Janeiro's schools),[54] and of the *Orchestra Villa-Lobos* in 1933. Although the orchestra's first prospectus[55] billed its inaugural concert (to include the Brazilian premiere performance of Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, Souza Lima once more) for 3 April 1933, this actually took

Fig 4. Singers at the Concentração Orfeônica *in Rio de Janeiro, 1943. BR-Rmvl*

[53] *Estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo), 22 October 1931.

[54] The *Orfeão*'s aims, and details of the choir's organization, were set out in the *Estatutos do Orfeão de Professores do Distrito Federal.* Rio de Janeiro, 1933.

[55] Rio de Janeiro, 1933. The orchestra was founded using the spelling 'Orchestra' in its title: in modern Brazilian orthography the word is 'Orquestra'.

place at Rio de Janeiro's Teatro Municipal on 17 April; but less than a week earlier, on 12 April, the orchestra had joined with the *Orfeão de Professores* to give, at the same theatre, the first performance in Brazil of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*.[56] The choir and orchestra, separately and in collaboration, were to give substantial numbers of concerts in Rio in the coming years, with content biased towards Brazilian works (very often Villa-Lobos's own), but also including music by living European composers including Richard Strauss, Florent Schmitt, Ravel, and Stravinsky.

The *Exhortação Cívica* established a template for many similar manifestations throughout the 1930s: large-scale choral showcases emphasising *brasilidade* and civic obedience, involving vast choirs of school children and multiple military bands. These were held, most typically, in Rio de Janeiro's football stadia on days of national importance, often in the presence of President Vargas, who was known to dislike both public appearances and music, but was pleased to note parallels with his own personality and the tropical sun (which blazed upon ranks of small children as they stood to attention for many hours), pointing up Simón Bolívar's famous dictum that a president is 'the sun which, fixed in its orbit, imparts life to the universe' (in celebration, Villa-Lobos wrote his *Hino ao Sol* (Hymn to the Sun), frequently sung). The music was almost all composed or specially arranged by Villa-Lobos, focussing exclusively on national and patriotic hymns, folksong arrangements, and choral effect 'showpieces'.[57] Brazilian flags were raised in abundance at the venues, and Francisco Braga's *Hino à Bandeira Nacional* was routinely included in programmes. In this, Villa-Lobos was translating Vargas ideology directly into musical terms: the hymn spoke of the flag as a 'pendant of hope' and 'beloved symbol of the precious land of Brazil'. The events increased in ambition and scope, with labelling soon changing from *Exhortações* (Exhortations) to the slightly more sinister *Concentrações* (Concentrations).[58] The Rio de Janeiro *Concentração Orfeônica* of 7 July 1935, for example, held at the Campo de Clube de Regatas Vasco da Gama, involved 20,000 children's voices and 1,800 military musicians, singing and playing under Villa-Lobos's flamboyant system of 'manosolfa', before an audience of 80,000 people, while 100 aeroplanes circled overhead.[59] Newspaper reports spoke excitedly of 'daring spectacle', 'delirious applause', and 'overwhelming effect'.[60]

[56] 'A complete triumph', proclaimed *Vanguarda* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 April 1933.

[57] Called 'efeitos orfeônicos', these items (always given patriotic titles) would typically display the skill of Villa-Lobos in drawing the sound of multiple layers of voices from silence to impressive climax, and returning them again to silence.

[58] The first choral gathering to take place in Rio de Janeiro (24 October 1932) was thus billed: held at the Fluminense football stadium, it marked the second anniversary of the 1930 Revolution, and involved 15,000 children. See 'Commemoração de 24 outubro', *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 October 1932.

[59] 'A Música é por excelência um factor de educação', *Bellas Artes* (Rio de Janeiro), July 1935, p. 6.

[60] Phrases all used in a review of the 7 July event: 'Uma festa de Imponente Beleza', *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 July 1935.

Dia de Independência (Independence Day, 7 September) became the annual date for the most spectacular *concentrações*: poor weather forced the abandonment of the 1938 event, but that of 1939 saw the biggest and most overblown gathering yet, at the Vasco da Gama football stadium,[61] with 11 bands (including those of the Polícia Militar and the Fuzileiros Navais) and 30,000 school children, performing 23 musical numbers, including three renditions of the *Hino Nacional*.

Fig. 5: Villa-Lobos conducting 35,000 scholars, Rio de Janeiro, 1940s. BR-Rmvl

[61] The Estádio Vasco da Gama (also called Estádio São Januário) was inaugurated in 1927 and, being at the time Rio de Janeiro's largest public space, was frequently used by Vargas during the 1930s for speeches and rallies.

The intense activity of 1931 left Villa-Lobos with little time for composition (David Appleby's catalogue[62] lists just nine works, all but two of which are small-scale), but that music, like his other projects that year, marks a new departure: Villa-Lobos, chameleon-like, turns his back on the ambience and language of the astringent and controversial works which so shocked Paris in the previous decade, and writes warm, tonal music, fit for the purpose of winning the hearts of Brazilian people, and for tutoring their children. *P'ra frente ó Brasil*, *O Trenzinho do Caipira*, and *Caixinha de Música Quebrada* were written in 1931; two arrangements of Bach Preludes for cello and piano pre-empt the mood of the *Bachianas Brasileiras* series (1930-45); and the almost constant use of Brazilian children's songs in the String Quartet No. 5 raises the curtain on the stage of *Guia Prático* (Practical Guide), the encyclopaedic collection of choral and piano arrangements of such material to which Villa-Lobos was to devote much of 1932 in assembling and publishing. The quartet was dedicated to the man who had made both *Excursão* and *Exhortação* possible, João Alberto Lins de Barros.

The fervid patriotism with which the 1931 *Excursão* was both undertaken and described transformed the whole enterprise into nothing less than an evangelical mission. The participants were called 'patriots', 'soldiers', and 'disciples' by an adoring press, subjecting themselves to 'loss of friendship, suffering, failure, and discouragement for the sake of a difficult cause'.[63] Villa-Lobos, recalled Antônio Chechim Filho, referred to himself throughout the tour as 'a Christ without a beard'.[64] Atop his specially constructed conducting tower at the first *Exhortação Cívica* this looming, Christ-like figure, arms outstretched, coaxing and conjuring pure, angelic sound from his enormous choir, seemed to embrace not just those thousands of schoolchildren spread below him but, additionally and beyond, a vital, modern Brazil. Villa-Lobos had, in short order, been cast as Brazilian music's *Cristo Redentor*. He was to spend the remainder of his life projecting back that image to old and new worlds alike.

[62] David P. Appleby, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: A Bio-Bibliography*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 65-6.

[63] 'Excursão Artística Villa-Lobos', *Gazeta do Rio Pardo* (Rio Pardo), 22 March 1931.

[64] Chechim Filho, p. 12. A signed and dated studio photograph of Villa-Lobos in 1908, aged 21, shows him with full dark beard (reproduced in Lisa Peppercorn, *Villa-Lobos*. London: Omnibus Press, 1989, p. 8), but by 1931 he had long been clean-shaven.

Abstract
Heitor Villa-Lobos returned to Brazil in 1930, having spent much of the previous decade in Paris, establishing a reputation there as a controversial composer of music shockingly redolent of his homeland. Walking directly into the October 1930 revolution which brought Getúlio Vargas to power, ushering in an age of social reform and modernization in Brazil, Villa-Lobos seized the opportunity to use music as a patriotic and political tool, in which he was enthusiastically supported by the authorities. This also furthered his own career as composer and conductor. Two extraordinary projects undertaken in 1931 (a large-scale concert tour in São Paulo state, and a choral concert in the city involving thousands of schoolchildren) set the pattern for Villa-Lobos's work over the coming fifteen years, casting him suddenly in the role of patriot, establishment figure, and educator, contrasting sharply with the rebellious image cultivated in the previous decade. For the 1931 activities Villa-Lobos enlisted the support of major and provincial newspapers, initiating a propaganda campaign for his work upon which he became increasingly dependent in following years. The legacy is that much of Villa-Lobos's work and activity during the 1930s can be reconstructed from newspaper records. This article translates a selection from the 1931 press reports into English for the first time.

Simon Wright read Music at University College, Cardiff. He was awarded a PhD there for his work on Villa-Lobos, and published Villa-Lobos *in the 'Oxford Studies of Composers' series (OUP, 1992). Simon contributed the chapters on music publishing to* The History of Oxford University Press *(OUP, 2013, 2017).*

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CHOIR-BOYS AND TRUMPETERS: ETON COLLEGE, ITS MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS, AND THE MALCOLM ARNOLD ARCHIVE

Lucy Gwynn

Eton College's chief endeavour is education and the College Library of rare books and manuscripts plays a role in supporting it, either in the preservation of the records of its educational activities, or as a repository for materials that may be used in teaching and research. This article is a survey of the music manuscripts that have found their way into the College Library's holdings, either because they were part of the musical life of the school or because they can contribute to teaching and research within the college and beyond it. Of the second group, the most significant is the Malcolm Arnold archive, which is treated at length in the latter part of this article. The following survey is not a comprehensive list, but many of the manuscripts mentioned can be found on the Eton Collections online catalogue, and the remainder are described on hand-lists available at Eton.[1]

Eton's composers

The writing and performance of music at Eton College has had a long and not always flourishing history. The founder of the college, Henry VI, provided for sixteen boy choristers, ten clerks and ten chaplains as well as a college of priests to perform fourteen services in the chapel – including seven masses – each day. Church music was thus integral to the college's central function, which was to pray for the souls of the founder's parents, Henry V and Katherine of France. The early statutes were not, however, proof against the effects of time, religious change, and periods of institutional indifference. The choral foundation at Eton was almost completely inactive for many decades before a Royal Commission in the 1860s recommended that the founder's will be honoured by the re-establishment of the choir. Music was not included in the school's curriculum until after the Public Schools Act of 1868. In the first flourishing of Eton's years as a pre-Reformation chantry chapel, and following the rejuvenation of the late nineteenth-century, music-

[1] The online catalogue is at http://collections.etoncollege.com/home. Enquiries should be sent to collections@etoncollege.org.uk

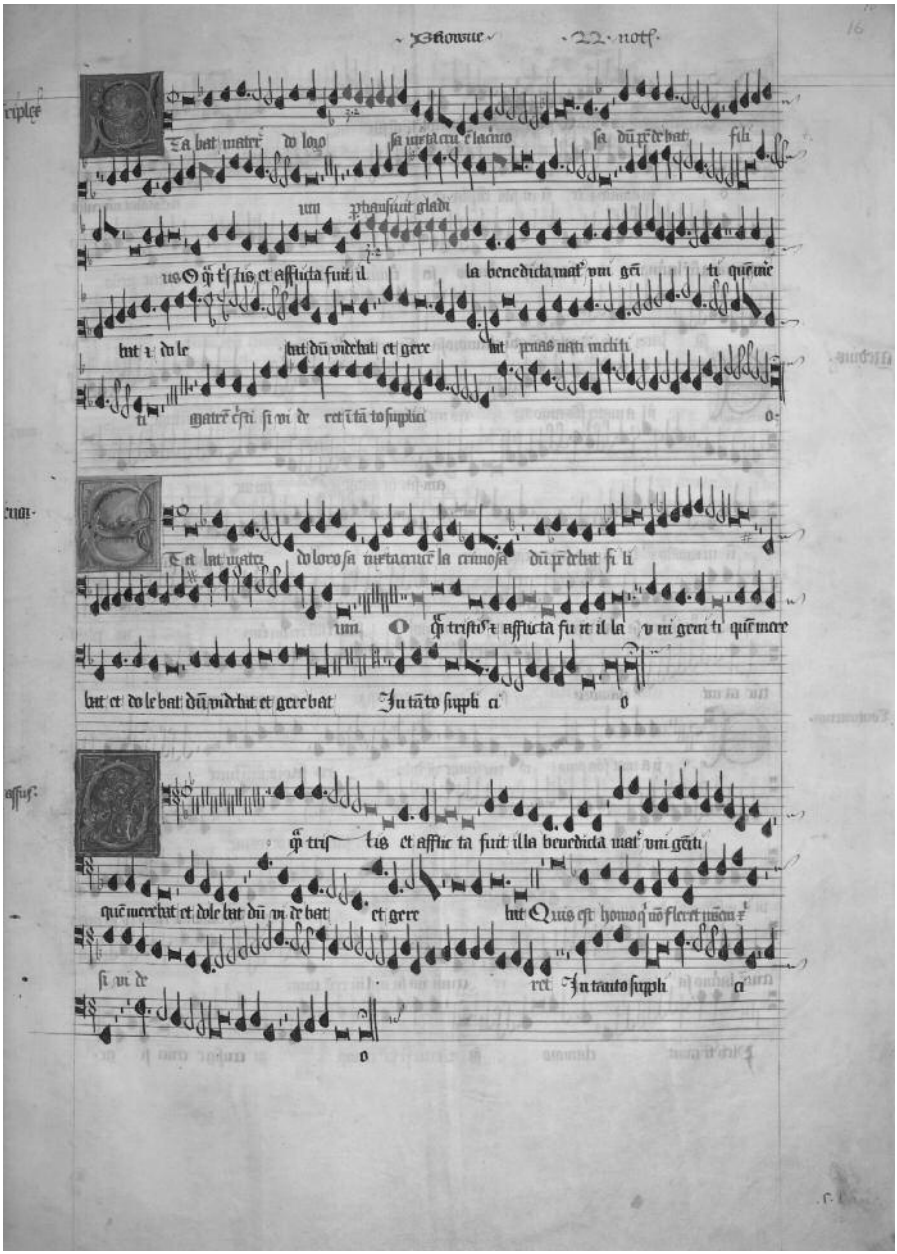

Fig. 1: The Eton Choirbook (ECL MS 178), fol. 16r. John Browne, 'Stabat mater dolorosa', showing the parts for triplex, tenor and bassus. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

making at the school reached a pitch of national significance. The music composed for Eton, and the composers that grew up in its creative milieu, have formed the archive of music manuscripts that are now kept in College Library.[2] The emblem of the rich choral tradition at Eton before the Reformation is College Library's most well-known holding, the Eton Choirbook.[3]

The Choirbook is a compilation of sixty-four (originally ninety-three) works gathered into a magnificent folio volume between 1500 and 1505. Each page measures sixty centimetres by forty-three centimetres, the music is handsomely written out in black and red inks and the bulk of the pieces have illuminated initials at the beginning of each stave. Most of the music comprises polyphonic settings of the Magnificat or of motets devoted to the Blessed Virgin, responding to the Marian cult as practised at Eton as a site of pilgrimage. The 1443 statutes of the college prescribed a ceremony after Vespers during which the choristers were to sing the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina* before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the nave of the chapel.[4] The Choirbook contains a repertory which is almost unique, being – with the Lambeth and Caius Choirbooks – one of three early Tudor anthem books to have survived to the present day. The development of Renaissance polyphony in England can be traced through its composers, from William Horwood and Gilbert Bannister through John Browne, Richard Davy and Walter Lambe to the sophisticated elaborations of William Cornysh and Robert Fayrfax. The Choirbook has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention and its music has been recorded repeatedly over the last seventy years. In 2010 it was published in facsimile by the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM), and a digital facsimile is freely available online as part of DIAMM's database.[5]

Music in Eton's chapel undoubtedly declined from these heights over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but never fell away entirely. The college managed to retain a choir and employ an organist (including the composer Benjamin Rogers, 1613/14-1698) throughout the period of the Interregnum.[6] The survival of nine organ books from the early eighteenth century are a record of this period of continuous, if routine, church music. The college audit books record regular payments made for copying music into the organ

[2] For the general history of music at Eton, see Albert Mellor, *A record of the music and musicians of Eton College* (Windsor: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1929), and Richard Osborne, *Music & musicians of Eton* (London: Cygnet Press, 2012). Music as part of the college's history is also recounted in Tim Card's two volume history of the college, *Eton established: a history from 1440 to 1860* (London: John Murray, 2001) and *Eton renewed: a history from 1860 to the present day* (London: John Murray, 1994).

[3] ECL MS 178.

[4] Magnus Williamson, *The Eton Choirbook: facsimile and introductory study* (Oxford: DIAMM publications, 2010) p. 5. Williamson's introduction to this facsimile is the most comprehensive published account of the Choirbook and is accompanied by an extensive bibliography and discography (pp. 77-85.)

[5] DIAMM's database is available at www.diamm.ac.uk [accessed 10 October 2017].

[6] Osborne, *Music & musicians,* p. 17.

and choir books between 1686 and 1732, as well as the purchase of music paper and the binding of the volumes.[7] The part-books for the choir have been lost, but the nine volumes of music for the organ contain about 150 anthems and twenty-five service settings. These are a medley of works by Restoration and early eighteenth-century composers including William Croft, Henry Purcell, John Blow, Henry Aldrich and Humfrey Pelham.[8] Local composers were also included: William Child (1606/7-1697) and John Goldwin (1667-1719) had both been organists at St George's Chapel, Windsor; Benjamin Rogers, John Walter (c1660-1708) and Benjamin Lamb (1674-1733) all held the corresponding post over the river at Eton College. These men had sung as choristers or lay clerks at both Eton and St George's, or been taught by the organists there, such was the interconnectedness of the two neighbouring choral foundations throughout the early modern period.[9]

By the mid-eighteenth century, Eton was depending on St George's to supply choristers for those occasions when a choir was needed. Music from this period has left no trace in the College Library collections and very little in the College Archives. The next tranche of music manuscripts bear witness to the sudden and brilliant resurgence of music at Eton following the Public Schools Act, not just in the chapel, but across the school's life. From the late nineteenth century onwards, Eton's music, as represented in the library, led to three kinds of music composition: works for embellishing the rejuvenated schedule of services in the chapel; compositions for ceremonial occasions such as royal visits and jubilees; and private secular performances of song cycles and chamber music which sometimes acted as a spring-board for future careers in composition. The music holdings at Eton also reflect the contribution made by pupils, masters, and chapel choir precentors to the national music scene.

The most substantial body of ecclesiastical music from this period comes from a recent acquisition of works written by C.H.H. Parry whilst he was a boy at Eton, between 1864 and 1867.[10] Parry was at the school at the crucial moment when music was beginning to flourish again and was, together with his friend (and future precentor) C.H. Lloyd, partly responsible for the foundation of the Eton College Music Society (ECMS).[11] This collection of manuscripts includes four SATB anthem settings and one SSATB anthem in autograph and in fair copy, together with some sketches for a Magnificat and a psalm chant. The fate of these pieces demonstrates Parry's early success as

[7] Roderick Williams, 'Manuscript organ books in Eton College Library', *Music & Letters,* 41:4 (1960), pp. 358-359.

[8] Williams, 'Manuscript organ books', p. 358.

[9] See their entries in the ODNB and Grove Music Online.

[10] ECL MS 923, acquired in 2015.

[11] The records of the ECMS are preserved, in part, in the College Archives, including programmes for concerts and recitals from across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. EC/SCH/SOC/ECMS.

a composer. His setting of 'Blessed is he' was sung several times by the choir at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and published by Novello in 1865.[12] The collection also contains a copyist's manuscript of a portion of Parry's cantata 'O Lord, thou hast cast us out' with which he became the youngest person to have successfully entered the University of Oxford's BMus examination.[13] Other Eton musicians represented in the archives left their mark on Anglican church music (including Sir Joseph Barnby, precentor from 1875-1892 and Henry Ley, precentor from 1926-1945),[14] but their manuscripts at Eton come from their secular rather than their chapel activities.

Ceremonies that strengthened the corporate identity of the school, by celebrating its unique history, its close ties to the monarchy, and the participation of Etonians in the Empire's military strength, became increasingly elaborate at the turn of the twentieth century. Such occasions would often include a royal visit, a chapel service, a procession, and a concert. The first music from one of these occasions to survive in manuscript at Eton is Barnby's 'Victoria – our Queen!', written for the Diamond Jubilee in 1897.[15] Parry contributed two pieces to this niche genre. The first, the *Eton Ode*, was a setting of words by A.C. Swinburne (at Eton between 1849 and 1854) for chorus and orchestra, composed for the college's 450th anniversary in 1891 – the first time such an anniversary had been so celebrated.[16] The second was a 'Memorial Ode' written for the spectacular opening in 1908 of the new school hall which commemorated those boys who had fallen in the Boer War.[17] This second ode had been written by Parry's Etonian friend Robert Bridges, was conducted by Parry and sung by the 250 members of the Eton College Music Society, but reactions were mixed. The *Eton Chronicle,* written by the boys, remarked diplomatically that 'in spite of its many beauties, [it] is a work which is not to be fully understood or appreciated at a single hearing'.[18] The 'Memorial March', written for the same occasion by the precentor, C.H. Lloyd, provided the entire school with 'a good melody, popular and yet refined' to roar out.[19] To ensure some sort of ensemble during this massed performance – whose

[12] ECL MS 923/5. Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert Parry: his life and music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 25, 33-34.

[13] ECL MS 923/19.

[14] Barnby composed a host of hymn tunes as well as anthems and cathedral services. He also edited four hymnals, and was one of the musical editors of the *Cathedral Psalter* (1878). Ley was editor with H. Walford Davies of the *Church Anthem Book* (1933) and the *Oxford Chant Book no. 2* (1934).

[15] ECL MS 395. Barnby's other contributions to Eton's musical ceremonial were the school song with its rousing chorus of 'Floreat Etona!' (*Carmen Etonense,* 1877) and the *Vale,* traditionally sung at the end of the summer 'half' as boys leave Eton.

[16] ECL MS 357B.

[17] ECL MS 357A.

[18] *Eton Chronicle,* 26 November 1908, p. 382.

[19] Ibid., p. 383. Lloyd is represented in the library by a setting for a poem 'The Man o' Dreams', written for three high voices.

audience included Edward VII and Queen Alexandra – music master Colin Taylor was employed as a second time-beater for those boys unable to see the precentor.[20] Amongst the boy singers was Philip Heseltine, to whom Colin Taylor gave early encouragement on his way to becoming the composer Peter Warlock.[21]

The sequel to this patriotic bombast was the Great War, in which two Etonian composers were lost. The autograph manuscript of George Butterworth's song cycle *A Shropshire Lad* (1911) is at Eton.[22] Butterworth was at Eton between 1899 and 1904 and was killed at the Somme in August 1916. His settings of A.E. Housman's poetry create a plangent and rhapsodic pastoral that drew on his participation in the folk music revival. F.S. Kelly left Eton just before Butterworth arrived in 1899, and was also killed in action in 1916. Two manuscripts associated with him are in the College's collections: an arrangement of 'Rule Britannia' for two pianos, for performance in the Memorial Hall in 1910, and two song settings.[23] The first is emblematic of that public school atmosphere of celebratory nationalism before the crisis of 1914; the second has its roots in the chamber performances of the regular concerts of the ECMS.

The tone of more informal music making at Eton is suggested by the Library's collection of manuscripts by Victor Hely-Hutchinson.[24] One is a quartet for bass voices composed as a 'poena' or punishment handed out for a misdemeanour. Two more are drinking songs for voice and piano, one of which has a text taken from the *Anacreontea*. There is also an Allegro for piano dedicated to his tutor at Eton, J.F. Crace.[25] Music could be a part of the more raucous elements of the boys' social lives, but for talented pupils like Hely-Hutchinson it also acted as a form of interaction with the masters (for better or for worse). The lightness of tone in these pieces is consistent with the Hely-Hutchinson who later set the comic poems of Harry Graham to music and became 'Uncle Bunny' on *Children's Hour*.[26] The informal milieu of the ECMS is also evident in the compositions of Henry Ley ('The Chatterbox' for piano and children's voices)[27] and Henry Chadwick ('Rann

[20] Autograph manuscripts of two pieces for piano by Colin Taylor ('The Crescent Moon' and 'Baby's world') are held at Eton: ECL MSS 360 and 620.

[21] Barry Smith, 'Warlock, Peter.' Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed October 10, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29912. See also Barry Smith, *Peter Warlock: a Study of the Composer through the Letters to Colin Taylor between 1911 and 1929* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Rhodes University, 1991).

[22] ECL MS 359.

[23] ECL MS 414B and 414A. Kelly had been born in Australia and his papers, including music manuscripts, are kept at the National Library of Australia.

[24] At Eton 1914-1919.

[25] ECL MS 408A, B, C and D.

[26] The settings of *More ruthless rhymes* are held at Eton in manuscript score, ECL MS 597.

[27] ECL MS 613, written whilst he was at Eton as precentor.

of Wandering' and 'The Horn').[28] Parry's partsongs from his time at Eton were also composed for the ECMS concerts, but he tended towards settings of more canonical texts which often went on to be performed at more public and illustrious venues.[29]

The final contributor to Eton's modern manuscript collection is Peter Warlock, whose song setting of Shelley's 'Music when soft voices die' was written in 1911 either whilst he was at the college or shortly after he left.[30] Recently transferred from the Eton Music Schools is a set of performance scores, transcribed in Warlock's hand, of Delius's 'On hearing the first cuckoo in Spring' and 'The violet', presumably for performance by the boys.[31] It acts as a record of Warlock's obsession with Delius whilst at school. A collection of early editions of sheet music of Warlock's works, and his editions of early music, forms one of the very few collections of printed music at Eton.[32] Whilst the focus of this article is Eton's manuscript material, it is worth briefly noting a few of the other printed music collections in the library. Some of these, like the music manuscripts outlined above, were borne from the college's activities as a school and religious foundation. These include the early copies of Eton music, including chapel service books and early copies of *Vale, Carmen Etonensis,* and the *Boating Song*; and the scores left to the college by the influential nineteenth-century pianist Edward Dannreuther.[33] Yet more printed music has arrived at Eton as part of other collections of books and papers. Amongst these is an assortment of Armenian music in the Manoug Parikian collection; music in the Macnaghten Library of World War One material, including 'soldiers' songs' and ceremonial music; and early scores of Benjamin Britten's operas in the archive of material relating to John and Myfanwy Piper. As the library and its collections of rare books and manuscripts has become more integrated into the educational work of the school, these broader music holdings are offering stimulating opportunities for learning.

[28] ECL MS 392, composed in 1938, Chadwick's final year at Eton.

[29] These can be found at ECL MS 923/13 ('Take, O take those lips away' for male voice choir) to ECL MS 923/18 ('In every grove the feathered minstrels singing' for solo voice). 'Fair Daffodils' (MS ECL 923/14) was performed by the ECMS and at the Royal Glee and Madrigal Union in 1866.

[30] ECL MS 412A.

[31] ECL MS 388.

[32] These are listed on the Eton College Collections online catalogue: http://collections.etoncollege.com/home.

[33] Dannreuther was fundamental in introducing contemporary continental music to British audiences, premiering concertos by Grieg, Liszt and Tchaikovsky. He was a firm supporter of Parry's music, and championed the work of Wagner. He sent his four sons, Tristan, Sigmund, Wolfram, and Hubert, to Eton.

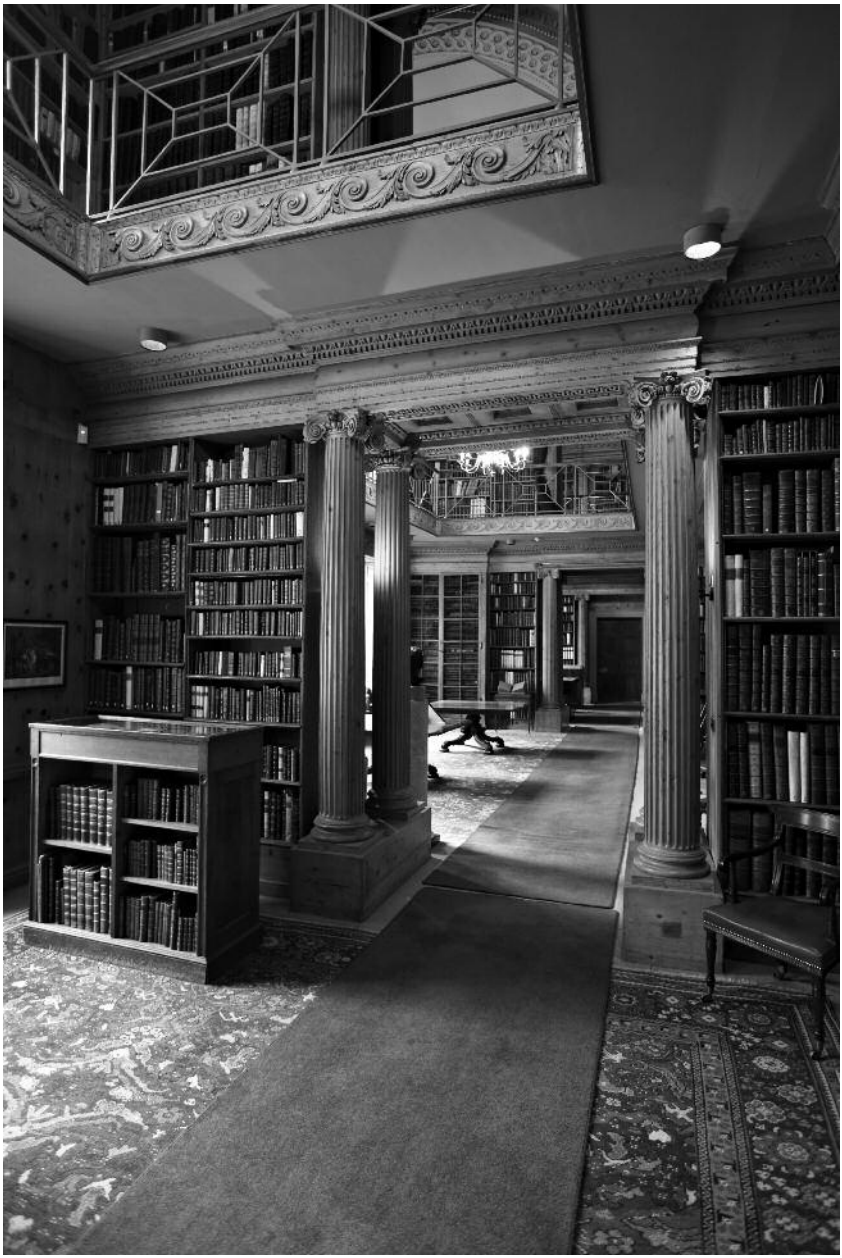

Fig. 2: Eton College Library, designed by Thomas Rowland and completed in 1729. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

The Malcolm Arnold archives at Eton

The developing role of College Library and Eton's collections as an educational asset has been key to the arrival of the Malcolm Arnold archives at Eton.[34] The first tranche of Arnold's papers and manuscripts came via Malcolm's daughter Katherine, who had expressed enthusiasm for the ways in which the library contributed to education at the school. She has lent the papers that she had inherited from her father to College Library, in the first instance for the duration of the Malcolm Arnold Project, a three-year collaboration between the library, Eton's Music Schools, and the Malcolm Arnold Trust.[35] This initial loan consists of around fifty autograph scores of Arnold's music, together with a small but important collection of personal correspondence, scrapbooks, and photographs.[36] The largest category of manuscripts in this collection are scores Arnold wrote for feature films and documentaries. Arnold was a prolific writer of film scores and some of the works in the archive are extremely well known, such as the *Inn of the Sixth Happiness* (1958) and the music Arnold provided for series of the St Trinian's films.[37] But Arnold's music for documentary films, here represented by four scores for *This Modern Age*, is much less familiar.[38] The scores are marked up for the recording studio with reel numbers, seconds, and actions from the films with which the music was to coincide. The manuscripts of ballet music at Eton bear similar marks of their physical use as aids to performance – *Elektra* (1963), for instance, having been annotated in rehearsal with the choreographer's directions.

Solo, chamber and orchestral music are also represented in this loan. The solo piano and chamber music at Eton is mainly from the early years of Arnold's career and includes piano pieces he composed for his mother's birthday (such as 'Three pieces for piano solo').[39] There are pieces written for Katherine, including a piece for two violins ('Katherine walking and running') which was intended for a young Katherine and her violin teacher, and the *Trevelyan Suite* (1968), written for her college at the University of

[34] For more on Arnold and his manuscripts see Paul Jackson, *The life and music of Sir Malcolm Arnold: the brilliant and the dark* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Arnold: rogue genius* (Norwich: Thames/Elkin, 2004), Alan Poulton, *The music of Malcolm Arnold: a catalogue* (London: Faber Music, 1986).

[35] The aims of the project are to encourage the performance of Arnold's music and study of his manuscripts, starting within Eton and extending to other schools and educational institutions.

[36] ECL MS 921. This collection had previously been on loan to the Royal College of Music, and we are indebted to the Librarian, Peter Linnett, for his assistance.

[37] The manuscript of Arnold's Academy Award-winning score is not at Eton, but the archive does include a couple of letters by David Lean regarding the score and its contribution to the success of the film, dated February 1958. ECL MS 921/2.

[38] ECL MS 921/1/14. *This Modern Age* was produced in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

[39] ECL MS 921/1/1/3.

Durham.[40] Amongst the concertos are the 2nd Flute Concerto (1972), written for Arnold's old RCM friend Richard Adeney, and the 2nd Clarinet Concerto of the same year for Benny Goodman, the cadenza of which is annotated with the endearing instruction to be 'as jazzy and way out as you like'.[41] A fine selection of Arnold's orchestral overtures – among them *The Fair Field, The Smoke,* and *To Youth* (originally written for the inaugural concert of the National Youth Orchestra) – sits alongside the most significant of Katherine's more recent acquisitions, the Seventh Symphony.[42] The full score of the Seventh, which was dedicated by Arnold to Katherine and her two brothers, appeared for sale on eBay in 2016. Also worth noting is the full score of Arnold's uncompleted opera *Henri Christophe.*[43] With a libretto by Joe Mendoza, the opera dramatizes the story of the first African-descended ruler of Haiti, his downfall and suicide. Mendoza and Arnold hoped that *Henri Christophe* would be performed as part of the Festival of Britain but it was rejected by the Festival committee as too avant-garde and abandoned.

Arnold's scores in this collection are almost universally clean, clear and with little sign of corrections or preliminary sketching. Arnold was clearly attentive to the appearance of his manuscripts, providing epigrams and embellishing the title-pages in different coloured inks, in addition to having the scores bound in gold-tooled leather with marbled endpapers. Where corrections were made, the earlier music is meticulously hidden – either because Arnold has scratched away at the manuscript paper to remove the notes, or pasted fresh paper over the passage in order to rewrite it. Arnold's creative processes were effectively masked by the immaculate production of the finished work.

The second portion of Arnold material at Eton casts a new light on his working methods. Eton College was itself able to purchase eleven manuscripts at an auction in April 2017, in which the manuscripts owned by Arnold's dedicated carer, Anthony Day, were sold. This included the full orchestral scores for the First, Fourth and Eighth Symphonies and the First and Second Sinfoniettas. But there is also sketch material. We are still in the process of identifying and cataloguing the manuscripts, but a sketch for the serial ciphers in the Seventh Symphony, based on the letters of the names of Arnold's children and wives, has already been identified.[44] Such sketches allow Arnold's work to be examined more profoundly, beneath the surface of his neatly finished final scores. Also purchased at the sale was a collection of around 140 miniature scores signed and dated by Arnold which offer an

[40] ECL MSS 921/1/2/6 and 921/1/2/8.
[41] ECL MSS 921/1/3/8 and 921/1/3/9.
[42] ECL MS 921/1/4.
[43] ECL MS 921/1/11.
[44] This particular sketch is already familiar to Arnold scholars, including Paul Jackson.

opportunity to contemplate his musical influences. Eton also has been able to buy a couple of manuscript scores which had previously been thought lost. The first is the score of Arnold's popular brass-band piece, *The Padstow Lifeboat* (1967), which came to light at a sale in Cornwall, not far from the site of its composition and first performance. The second is a score for the incidental music of a 1954 Old Vic production of *The Tempest*, starring Richard Burton, Claire Bloom, Michael Hordern and Robert Hardy. The music covered the entrances and exits of the actors and accompanied dialogue as well as forming interludes between scenes – thus, we can see that Arnold was present at rehearsals, and the piano score shows him making modifications in response to the players' needs.[45]

The variety of the Arnold scores at Eton – from films to ballets, and from symphonies to quintets – encourages their inclusion both in the academic curriculum and for the support and encouragement of the performance of his works. They have already been included in university preparation and 'featured score displays' created to coincide with school recitals. A national essay prize supported by the Malcolm Arnold Trust and the Malcolm Arnold Society was launched this summer to encourage original research on the papers. The Arnold archives play their part in Eton's rich tradition of music-making and music-writing, and will be accessible to scholars, music-lovers and students for years to come.

Abstract

Eton College Library's collections of music manuscripts consist largely of music written for the school and its chapel, or compositions by men who had either studied or taught at Eton (including George Butterworth and Peter Warlock). These are described in the article, with attention being given to church music, ceremonial music, and informal compositions. The article also describes the manuscript archive of Malcolm Arnold (1923-2006), currently on loan to Eton College. The archive can be visited Monday-Friday, 9.30am-1pm, 2pm-5pm, by making an appointment via collections@etoncollege.org.uk.

Lucy Gwynn is Deputy Librarian at Eton College Library, with responsibilities for mediaeval and early modern manuscripts, early printed books, and music material. She recently completed a doctorate in seventeenth-century English literature at Queen Mary University London.

[45] Another collection of Arnold's manuscripts purchased at the 2017 auction has been generously lent to Eton. These are to be catalogued in the coming year.

Brio Volume 54, Number 2. pp 33-44

'TO PRESERVE THE MUSIC OF MY NATIVE PROVINCE': CURATING THE JAMES GOODMAN COLLECTION OF IRISH MUSIC

Roy Stanley

On 20th October 2016 the Irish Traditional Music Archive (ITMA) hosted an event called 'Celebrating Goodman', which comprised a seminar and concert focusing on the James Goodman Collection of Irish Music. This collection of tunes and song texts, compiled in the mid-nineteenth century by James Goodman, is preserved in a set of six manuscript volumes held by the Library of Trinity College Dublin.[1] The event marked the launch of ITMA's Goodman Digital Project, an online resource developed in collaboration with the Library of Trinity College Dublin which offers free access to digitised images of the full set of manuscripts through a dedicated website at http://goodman.itma.ie/.

This development may be regarded as the ultimate fulfilment of aspirations, stretching back over a century, to make this seminal collection of Irish music available to the widest possible audience. The following article outlines the story of the Goodman manuscripts: their compilation, curatorial history, and gradual rediscovery by an ever-expanding audience of scholars, musicians and enthusiasts.

Transmission of traditional music

One defining characteristic of traditional music in any culture is the fact that it is transmitted orally, passed on from one musician to another and down through the generations. This naturally entails constant development and reinterpretation, so traditional melodies are seldom communicated in a fixed, 'pure' form. In the era before sound and video recording, it also made the music vulnerable to eventual loss, whether due to social, economic, or cultural change, gradual alterations in fashion and taste, or cataclysmic events such as the Great Famine in Ireland in the late 1840s, which led to massive and sudden depopulation through death and emigration.

[1] TCD MSS 3194-3197 and 11320-11321. All images accompanying this article are reproduced with permission of the Board of Trinity College, the University of Dublin.

Fig. 1. Canon James Goodman, 1828-1896 (TCD MS 4896)

Some early transcriptions of Irish music

There were some pioneering efforts to preserve traditional Irish tunes through music notation. The earliest is found in the so-called 'Ballet lute book', a late sixteenth-century collection which contains the Irish song air *Callino casturame* (Cailín ó chois tSiúire mé).[2] The first printed collection of Irish music was published in 1724 by the Dublin music sellers John and William Neal: *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes*, containing 50 Irish harp tunes and song airs. The sole surviving copy is in the collection of Edward Bunting, now in Queen's University, Belfast.[3] Bunting is remembered chiefly for his transcription of tunes played by the ten Irish harpers who performed at the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792. He later published three volumes of tunes (some collected in 1792 and others later). Some of these were later used by Thomas Moore for his popular *Irish melodies*, published in London and Dublin between 1808 and 1834, so Bunting's attempt to preserve and disseminate music from the waning Irish harp tradition achieved some success, though perhaps not always in its purest form. Bunting's example was soon followed by other collectors, notably George Petrie, a founding member of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland. The Society's sole publication was *The Petrie collection of the ancient music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1855).

James Goodman

Amongst the members of the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland in the early 1850s was James Goodman, who supplied melodies to the manuscript collections of Petrie (its President), and of John Edward Pigot (its Joint Secretary). Goodman was particularly well equipped to follow in the footsteps of the earlier collectors. Born near Dingle in Co. Kerry in 1828, the son of the local Anglican curate, he grew up speaking both Irish and English, so – crucially – he was able to communicate with local musicians in their own language. He developed a passionate interest in Irish traditional music, learned to play the uilleann pipes (the bellows-blown Irish bagpipe) and perhaps also the flute, and began to transcribe traditional tunes from the local musicians he encountered.[4]

In July 1846, at the age of seventeen, Goodman enrolled as a Divinity student at Trinity College Dublin, graduated in 1851, and was ordained a Church of Ireland clergyman. Much of his early ministry was served in West Cork as

[2] Trinity College Dublin MS 408

[3] An annotated facsimile edition by Nicholas Carolan was published by the Irish Traditional Music Archive in 2010.

[4] For a detailed account of the life and career of James Goodman, see *Tunes of the Munster Pipers: Irish traditional music from the James Goodman manuscripts*, ed. Hugh and Lisa Shields, 2 vols (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 1998-2013)

a member of the Irish Church Missionary Society. In February 1867 he became rector of Abbeystrewery parish in Skibbereen, Co. Cork, and was appointed a Canon of the Diocese of Ross in 1875. In 1879 Goodman returned to Trinity College Dublin as Professor of Irish but retained his position in Skibbereen, combining both roles until his death in 1896.[5]

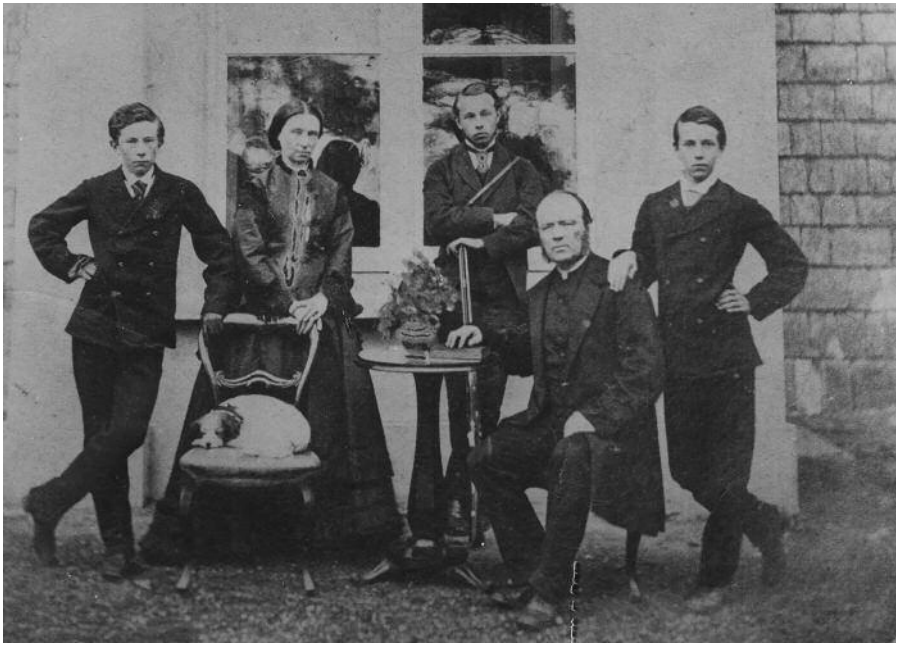

Fig. 2. The Goodman family at Abbeystrewery (TCD MS 4717/71)

All the while Goodman maintained his enthusiasm for Irish music. In the early 1860s he made fair copies of the tunes he had collected – over 2,300 melodies in all. The earliest of the four manuscript volumes is slightly larger than the rest, and appears to have been used originally by Goodman's wife Charlotte to transcribe drawing-room music – presumably for her own use. James seems to have taken it over for his transcriptions of traditional tunes, and added three further volumes. Most of his tunes were taken from manuscript and printed sources, but over 500 were transcribed directly from local players. Many of these are marked with the letter K, which indicates that they were given to Goodman by Tom Kennedy, a local piper living at the Protestant mission station at Ventry, Co. Kerry.

[5] The College calendars state that he taught in the College two days a week during term.

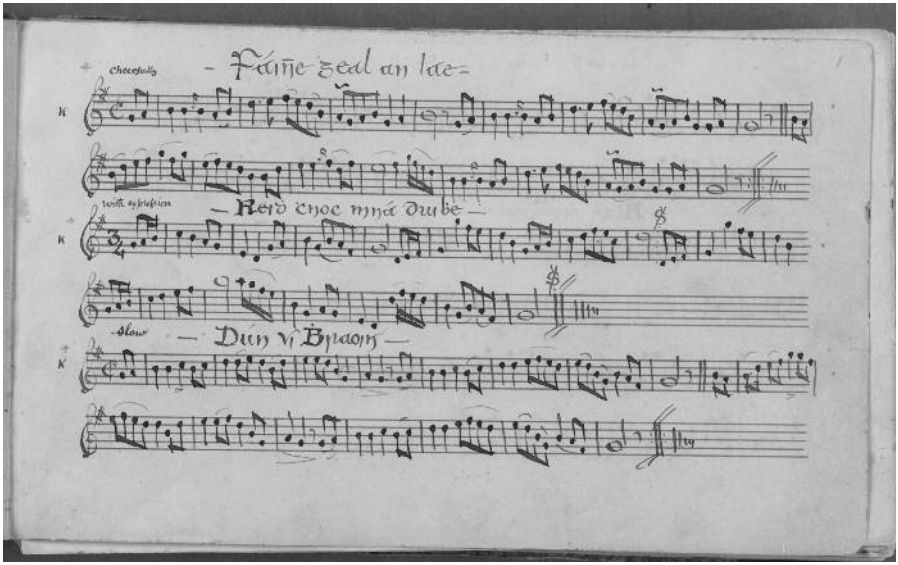

Fig. 3. Three tunes obtained from Tom Kennedy (TCD MS 3194)

At Trinity College, alongside his academic work Goodman continued to play the pipes. The music scholar Donal O'Sullivan remarks that 'Up in Dublin, Goodman brought with him the atmosphere of West Cork' – meaning that he offered generous hospitality to those who came to hear him play in his rooms, among them some of his academic colleagues.[6] It is not clear whether Goodman had much interaction with the successive Professors of Music (Sir Robert Prescott Stewart up to 1894, and then Ebenezer Prout), though Francis O'Neill states that Goodman's last public performance was connected to a lecture given by Stewart on Irish and Scottish bagpipes.[7]

Deposit of manuscripts

Soon after Goodman's death in 1896 the four manuscript volumes of tunes he had compiled in the early 1860s were delivered to the Manuscripts Room at the Library of Trinity College Dublin. For many years there was a general lack of clarity about the circumstances and terms of this deposit. It was known that the manuscripts were in the Library and that access to them was severely restricted, but a number of misconceptions developed around the issue of access. The story is perhaps most colourfully told by Donal O'Sullivan in a

[6] Donal O'Sullivan, *Irish folk music, song and dance* (Dublin: Colm Ó Lochlainn, 1952), p. 24
[7] Francis O'Neill, *Irish minstrels and musicians* (Chicago: Regan Print House, 1913), p. 174

radio talk first broadcast in June 1958. O'Sullivan recounts that when he first attempted to view the manuscripts in the 1930s, the Librarian explained that there was a difficulty: 'Goodman had bequeathed the books to the Library on condition that Dr Mahaffy should always be present when they were being consulted. . . . Unfortunately for me, Mahaffy had been gathered to his fathers some years before I arrived on the scene.'[8]

Fig. 4. John Pentland Mahaffy (TCD MS 2387)

[8] 'The great collectors of Irish music: a series of talks by Donal O'Sullivan. No. 6 James Goodman 1828-1896'. First broadcast on Radio Éireann on 1st June 1958.

This encounter with the Library gave O'Sullivan the makings of a good story which he clearly enjoyed retelling, but the position as explained to him was not entirely accurate. For a start, James Goodman died intestate: he left no will, and thus no legally-binding instructions regarding custody of, and access to, the manuscripts. The Calendar of Wills & Administrations (Ireland) 1896 only records a grant of administration – not probate – to Goodman's eldest son Frank, a medical doctor practising at Brigg in Lincolnshire.

Though the deposit of the manuscripts is documented in Library records, the circumstances under which it took place remain rather mysterious. The primary document is a note dated 24th February 1897 (13 months after Goodman's death) signed by Frank Goodman, which is copied verbatim into the Library Minute Book.[9] It reads: 'Four MSS. volumes of music, chiefly Irish, collected by the late professor Goodman were deposited in the MS Room (Press I) on loan by Dr Goodman's representatives. They may be consulted only by 1) Goodman's representatives, 2) Mr Power and 3) Dr Mahaffy'.

Thirty-three years later, in May 1930, Frank Goodman stated in a letter to the then Librarian: 'After my father's death Mr Power & Dr Abbott asked me to loan his music manuscripts to the College library.'[10] T.K. Abbott was the College Librarian from 1887 to 1913, but almost nothing is currently known of the identity and role of Mr. Power. Papers relating to the Dublin Pipers Club circa 1900 reveal that Mr Power's first name was Richard,[11] and he is referred to in a later letter from Goodman's grandson Godfrey Goodman, written in September 1944, where he merely states: 'As regards Mr Power I have not heard anything of him for over thirty years and should be very surprised to hear that he is still living.'

There is no mystery surrounding the other named individual in the original instruction. The classicist John Pentland Mahaffy (probably best known outside Ireland as an early tutor and mentor of Oscar Wilde) was one of Goodman's academic colleagues and a fellow cleric, who later became Provost of TCD (1914-1919). Mahaffy had a strong interest in music: he was Precentor in the College chapel and wrote some church music, and he proposed Ebenezer Prout to succeed Sir Robert Prescott Stewart as Professor of Music in 1894; he was later instrumental in acquiring Prout's music library for the College on Prout's death in 1909. Donal O'Sullivan states that Mahaffy was a regular guest when Goodman played his pipes at gatherings in his college rooms, and indeed that 'he seems to have been Goodman's greatest

[9] TCD MS MUN/LIB/2/7

[10] The letters quoted here are held in a business file in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin.

[11] National Library of Ireland MS 5452. I am grateful to Nicholas Carolan for this information and reference.

friend in College.'[12] If this is true it may explain why Mahaffy was given express permission to consult the manuscripts.

Clearly with the passage of time the Library's interpretation of the original conditions for access became distorted, resulting in the response O'Sullivan received many years later.

Restrictions on access

In O'Sullivan's account, he himself found a solution to the impasse by contacting Goodman's son Frank and obtaining permission to view the manuscripts. This may be a 'shorthand' version of what actually occurred. We know that O'Sullivan wrote formally to the Library in November 1939 to request permission to inspect the manuscripts, acknowledging that he had previously been refused permission to copy from them. The Assistant Librarian wrote to Frank Goodman to seek permission, but we have no record of a response: at this point Frank was 86 years old and he died less than two years later, so perhaps he did not reply.

Just over four years later, on Friday 28th April 1944, a short piece appeared – rather bizarrely – on the front page of the *Irish Press* newspaper, surrounded by a selection of reports on US involvement in the war (this was just a few weeks before the D-Day Normandy landings). The piece was headed 'No one may see this book'. It reads: 'Because of a clause in his will, a manuscript collection of traditional songs and music of the Kerry Gaeltacht, compiled by the late Prof. Goodman of Trinity College, Dublin (and which he bequeathed to the College), cannot be shown to any person. This was mentioned by 'An Seabhac' in a talk to the Dublin Diocesan Branch of the Irish-speaking Priests' Society, yesterday. 'An Seabhac' said that, under a clause in the will, permission to show the book was confined to the then Provost of Trinity College, and since his death the manuscript has not been shown.'[13]

A further piece appeared in the same newspaper the following day, Saturday 29th April, though this time on page three (amongst reports on soap coupons and advice on feeding calves). Headed 'Mr. Power's privilege', it begins: 'There is only one man who may – whenever he wishes – see the four volumes of the manuscript collection of traditional songs and music of the Kerry Gaeltacht, which are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin – a Mr. Power, whose address is not known, and who has never exercised his privilege. He is the only person who has not to get permission from the representatives of the late Prof. Goodman.'

[12] 'The great collectors of Irish music: a series of talks by Donal O'Sullivan. No. 6 James Goodman 1828-1896'. First broadcast on Radio Éireann on 1st June 1958.

[13] An Seabhac (which means 'The Hawk') was the *nom de plume* of Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha, a writer and Irish language activist from Goodman's native place in Co. Kerry.

There are major inaccuracies in both of these reports, but clearly the writer had some knowledge of the documents in the Library's possession signed by Frank Goodman. In any case the appearance of these reports in the press appears to have stung the College into action. The College Registrar, Kenneth Bailey, wrote to Frank Goodman in September 1944, and received a reply from Frank's son Godfrey a week later. Frank had died and Godfrey had no knowledge of the manuscripts, but speaking as his father's Executor he wrote: 'I am sure the family would wish the albums to be made available for the College authorities to deal with as they wish.' Bailey sent this letter to the Librarian, writing on the reverse: 'I think this should be accepted as full authority, & the albums be made generally available in the Library.' He then added: 'Don't you think it would be a good thing for either you or me to write to 'The Irish Press' to say that the song albums are no longer sealed to the world?'[14] So perhaps we have 'An Seabhac' and the *Irish Press* to thank for finally resolving the issue of access, almost fifty years after James Goodman's death.

Song texts

This reference to 'song albums' is interesting, as the four manuscript volumes (TCD MSS 3194-3197) contain only the tunes transcribed by James Goodman, without words. Yet in the preface to volume three (TCD MS 3196) he wrote: 'When noting down an air I always made it my business to take down the original words as well.' The piper and Irish music collector Breandán Breathnach expressed the view that if the texts were ever found, 'the Goodman collection would undoubtedly be one of the most important ever made of Irish folk music.'[15] On a number of occasions between the 1970s and the early 1990s, whenever Library staff or independent scholars made contact with members of the Goodman family they enquired about the song texts. But nothing emerged, so it seemed very doubtful that these texts had survived.

It was therefore a great surprise when, in June 2006, Gavin Goodman (a great-grandson of James) brought a small notebook with him to an event in Skibbereen – the unveiling of a statue of James Goodman outside Abbeystrewery church. He showed it to one of the pipers present – Dave Hegarty of Na Píobairí Uilleann – who recognised the contents as the missing song texts and described them as 'a national treasure of Ireland'. The family subsequently agreed that this, together with a second manuscript volume, should be deposited alongside the original four in TCD, and they were given the manuscript numbers TCD MSS 11320-11321. In a documentary shown on Irish television in 2008, Gavin explained just how fortuitous it was that

[14] This letter is now pasted to the endpapers of TCD MS 3197

[15] Breandán Breathnach, 'The pipers of Kerry' in *Irish Folk Music Studies* 4 (1985), p. 15.

these manuscripts survived. They had been in the possession of James Goodman's younger son Godfrey, and eventually passed to his son (also Godfrey). After the younger Godfrey's death in 1958 they were stored away in his widow Lilian's attic. Years later she began to clear the house before moving away, and her son Gavin one day discovered the manuscripts in a box about to be put out with the rubbish, and – fortunately for us – he rescued them.[16]

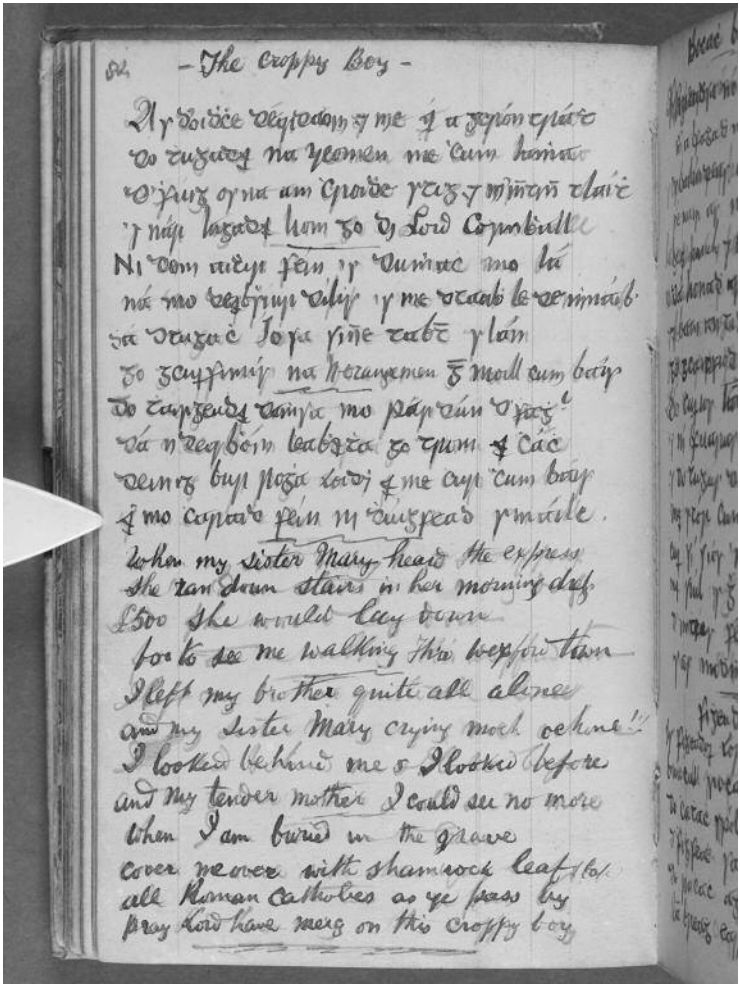

Fig. 5. Words of 'The Croppy boy' in Irish and English (TCD MS 11320)

[16] 'James Goodman: caomhnóir ceoil', produced by Niamh Ní Bhaoill, Sibéal Teo. for TG4, 2008.

Publication

Providing access to the manuscripts has facilitated their study by a relatively small circle of scholars, but it was always obvious that wider dissemination of the tunes would require publication in printed (or latterly in electronic) form. There was a certain expectation that Trinity College Dublin would accept responsibility for publishing as well as preserving the collection. As early as 1903 James Coleman wrote: 'Canon Goodman's collection of Irish music is now in the custody of the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin; but though their publication by that wealthy corporation has been urged on them by various parties, it does not seem likely, so far, that it will meet with the attention so commendable a suggestion undeniably deserves.'[17]

In 1930 Dr Frank Goodman recalled that when he agreed to deposit the manuscripts in 1897 he had asked the Librarian, T.K. Abbott, 'to endeavour to get the College to publish the manuscripts as the collection of pipe music of the late Professor Goodman.' He continues: 'Some time after, Dr Abbott wrote me that he could not see his way to publishing as he did not know of anyone suitable to undertake the work. The matter ended there.' Frank went on to say [in 1930] that for some time he had been urged to publish the music by 'an old friend of my father's, Mr John O'Roarke . . . If the College is not inclined to publish the music I shall consider the matter of doing so myself.'

Nothing came of this aspiration, although the writer of the second article published in the *Irish Press* in April 1944 seems to have been aware of it. He states: 'The works, compiled by the late Prof. Goodman, of Trinity College, were deposited in the College library, with the idea of ultimately having the music published. It was hoped that the College would be in the position to do so. The manuscript was not bequeathed to Trinity College, and a clause in Prof. Goodman's will required that the volumes could be shown only with the permission of his representatives. The present representative is Dr. F. Goodman, who lives in Scotland, and who, it is understood, is anxious to have the works published.'[18]

No further progress was made until the piper and collector Breandán Breathnach took up the torch in the late 1960s. In September 1977 he received formal approval for an edition to be published by Na Píobairí Uilleann. By 1985 it looked as though publication was within sight, but Breathnach's sudden and untimely death led to further delay. Hugh Shields and the Irish Traditional Music Archive eventually took over the project, leading to the publication of *Tunes of the Munster Pipers* vol. 1 in 1998, and a second volume edited by Hugh and Lisa Shields in 2013. These publications, the related interactive scores made available on the ITMA website at

[17] James Coleman, 'Seven Cork clerical writers' in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. 9, 1903, p. 155

[18] 'Mr. Power's privilege' in *Irish Press*, 29 April 1944, p. 3.

http://port.itma.ie, and the digitised copies of the original manuscript volumes at http://goodman.itma.ie/ have finally made Goodman's collection widely accessible to scholars and performers, bringing to completion his desire 'to preserve the music of my native province'[19] by allowing it once more to become part of the living repertoire of traditional musicians.

Reception

The Goodman manuscripts are particularly important because they preserve traditional tunes from the Munster area in pre-Famine times. It is regrettable that wider knowledge of this repertoire was impeded for several decades because of confusion over the terms of access (a salutary reminder of the importance of negotiating clear and durable terms at the point of deposit). The Irish Traditional Music Archive deserves great credit for its determined efforts to publish and promote the collection in various ways over the past twenty years. Traditional musicians have responded with curiosity and interest, finding within the collection variant (purer?) versions of some tunes already familiar to them, as well as new discoveries. Performances, recordings and broadcasts have supplemented the printed and online resources in helping to disseminate the tunes ever more widely. While the uilleann pipes are most commonly used, the tunes have been played on a variety of solo instruments – including fiddle, flute, harp, and concertina – and ensembles. In the words of Nicholas Carolan (founding Director of ITMA), the Goodman melodies 'have been restored to the body of the tradition and their future use will only be restricted by the imagination of musicians.'[20]

Abstract

The James Goodman Collection of Irish Music – tunes and song texts compiled in the mid-nineteenth century by James Goodman – is preserved in a set of six manuscript volumes held by the Library of Trinity College Dublin. In October 2016 the Irish Traditional Music Archive launched the Goodman Digital Project, an online resource developed in collaboration with the Library of Trinity College Dublin which offers free access to digitised images of the full set of manuscripts through a dedicated website at http://goodman.itma.ie/. This article outlines the story of the Goodman manuscripts: their compilation, curatorial history, and gradual rediscovery by an ever-expanding audience of scholars, musicians and enthusiasts.

Roy Stanley is Music Librarian at Trinity College Dublin, and is currently General Secretary of IAML (UK & Irl)

[19] TCD MS 3194

[20] Nicholas Carolan, 'The Goodman phenomenon', in *An Píobaire,* vol. 13 no. 1, February 2017, p. 28.

Brio Volume 54, Number 2. pp 45-54

HOLST BIRTHPLACE MUSEUM

Alison Hall

In 1974 the Cheltenham Borough Council purchased no. 4 Clarence Road, the house where the composer Gustav Holst was born. The terraced house was built in 1832 and was originally owned by Holst's mother's family, the Lediards, from Cirencester. The Holst family, Adolph, Clara, Gustav, and his younger brother Emil lived there until 1882, when Holst's mother died. The family left the house, and moved elsewhere in Cheltenham. Holst was then seven years old. When the house came on the market, the Borough Council bought it and opened it as the Holst Birthplace Museum and period house. Holst's daughter, Imogen, was involved in this operation, and she provided several items that had belonged to her father; his Collard & Collard piano which he had kept in his cottage in Thaxted was acquired by the Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum in 1969. Indeed, it was in Thaxted that he started to compose *The Planets*. In 1999, the CBC planned to close the Museum, and the Costume Museum in the Pittville Pump Room, as a cost cutting measure. Luckily for Holst, sufficient support from local individuals and organisations and a commitment from the CBC to make facilitating grants was found, and an independent charitable Trust was formed which acquired the property. The Museum was then opened in 2000 under new management and is now run by a Curator and the Museum Trustees; it is otherwise staffed entirely by volunteers.

The independent trust was incorporated as a company limited by guarantee in 1999, and as a registered Charity from 2000. The current memorandum of agreement dates from the outset, but the articles of association were amended in 2009, and the bye-laws are reviewed from time to time. The articles provide for a maximum of nine Trustees with prescribed terms of appointment and reappointment. Each trustee takes the lead on a specific aspect of governance.

The Museum has achieved full accreditation status, having attained the standard of performance against a series of nationally applied criteria established by the Museums section of Arts Council England. To qualify, museums must meet standards regarding management, services offered, and care of the collections. This status is renewable every two years, requiring the Trustees

Fig. 1: Holst Birthplace Museum: Portrait of Holst, hanging in the Music Room. Painted in 1927 by Bernard Munns (1869-1942). Photo: Alison Hall.

to attain and maintain increasingly demanding standards across the range of activities, but allows potential access to funds not otherwise available.

The Trust has continued to build an archive of material relevant to the life and music of Gustav Holst and the Museum now houses a growing collection of items, including the aforementioned piano and a collection of furniture and other artefacts relevant to a dwelling of the mid-nineteenth century. Much of this is owned by the Cheltenham Borough Council and is on long-term loan, for which the Museum acts as custodian on terms formalised under a service level agreement between them and the CBC and under which the CBC makes an annual grant to the Museum contingent upon certain performance criteria being achieved. Any material purchased from Museum funds is, of course, the property of the Museum.

The day to day operations of the Museum, including all aspects of conservation and display of the collection, are under the supervision of a professionally qualified Curator, employed for four days a week, who is assisted by approximately thirty volunteers. The opening hours are 10.00 to 4.00 Tuesday to Saturday, January to June and September to December, and 10.00 to 5.00 (1.00-5.00 on Sundays) during July and August. The annual visitor count is around 4,500-5,000. Sources of income are admissions, fees, membership subscriptions to the Friends of the Holst Birthplace Museum, the shop, donations and grants (currently the Museum receives £7,500 p.a. from the CBC), events income and bank interest. The total income for the financial year 2016-17 was approximately £133,928, including grants and donations, against an expenditure of £129,877. The Museum offers guided tours to individuals and to groups, which brings in a good income, and has a small army of tour guides for this purpose. School sessions are offered when the children learn about Holst and also about life in a Victorian house. During holiday periods and some bank holidays there are children's activities and there are always various trails around the house for young children to follow, such as finding items from Mrs Holst's shopping list, finding mice or other animals, to find letters to spell out a word, usually one of the planets! The Museum is on four floors: a basement, with a Victorian kitchen and scullery, the ground floor, with the Music Room, where most of the Holst items are located, along with small exhibitions, the first floor, with a regency drawing room and Victorian bedroom, and, on the top floor, a nursery and maid's bedroom.

The Museum collects material relating to Gustav Holst, his family, influences on his work, and research material of interest to Holst scholars. This includes books, manuscripts (including *Hymns from the Rig Veda*, *I love my love* and a sketch from *Beni Mora*), photographs, music scores (some inscribed by Holst), letters, programmes, press cuttings etc. associated with Holst, and a picture of Mozart that Holst kept by him as he worked. It also includes material relevant to the age and social standing of the house and its

Fig. 2: Holst Birthplace Museum: The Music Room. Photo: Alison Hall.

former occupants. When considering a purchase, the Museum will consult with other organisations collecting in the same or related areas where conflict of interest may arise, e.g. The Wilson (formerly the Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum), the Britten-Pears Foundation, and Tate Britain. Any item considered for acquisition must have valid title and legal ownership, and nothing illicitly traded or illegally imported will be considered. The management of the collection is guided by the *Code of Practice on Archives for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom*, 3rd edition (2002). There is a modest collections fund but, for any substantial purchases, additional funding or sponsorship must be sought. Fortunately, these have mostly been forthcoming

when the need has arisen. Recent acquisitions include: Holst's gramophone, purchased for £50 from the son of the matron of the home where Holst's wife Isobel spent her final years; a portrait of Isobel, painted by Millicent Woodforde (funded by the Art Fund and private donations); a postcard from Holst to the wife of Bishop Bell of Chichester (supported by the Friends of the National Libraries). A previous acquisition is the manuscript of a sketch of *Beni Mora*, which was auctioned at Sotheby's in December 2012 and purchased with the support of the Trafford Fund, Friends of the National Libraries.

Items in the Museum must be stored under appropriate conditions and, towards this end, in 2012 a grant of just under £30,000 was obtained from the Heritage Lottery Fund to create the Holst Discovery Space. Matching funds were donated by a corporate benefactor Comparo, the Gloucestershire Environmental Trust, the Summerfield Charitable Trust, the Promoting Cheltenham Fund from the Borough Council, the Holst Foundation and other local benefactors. The space contains locked cabinets and pull out drawers with glazed sections for storage and display; over 2,000 items from the collection, formerly located at the main museum, have now been transferred there. This creates much more flexibility in terms of access. It also houses the small library in a locked case and the press cuttings. There is an interactive kiosk with 'turning the pages' software for which scans of 11 manuscripts have been made; touching each icon on the screen will reveal the manuscript and also play the music, some of Holst's early horrors from his teenage years in Cheltenham. Recordings have been made under the direction of John Wright, a local organist who is very much associated with the Museum. A large screen on the back wall allows visitors to watch clips from Tony Palmer's film about Holst, *In the bleak midwinter*. Also covered by the HLF grant were a guide book, leaflets, and AdLib, a collections management system. A small group of volunteers are gradually entering items into the database. Subsequent grants and a legacy have enabled the painting of the interior of the Museum in the colour that it probably was when the Holst family lived there, a new carpet, and the refurbishment of the Volunteers Room.

Appropriate environmental conditions within the Museum are also vital: for example, humidity should not be above 65%, and lux readings are taken regularly to ensure that light levels are not too high. The Museum's present environmental monitoring is done by Tinytags. These conditions, along with those of display cases for exhibitions, are of crucial importance. The Museum mounts about two exhibitions a year, some smaller ones using items from its own collection and, from time to time, larger ones, which entail borrowing items from other institutions. For example, a big show was mounted in 2014 to commemorate 1914, the year in which Holst began to write The Planets, and materials were borrowed from the Bodleian Library, the British Library,

Fig. 3: Holst Birthplace Museum: The Regency Room. Photo: Alison Hall.

the Royal College of Music and the Britten-Pears Foundation. These included manuscripts of *Mars* and *Neptune* from the Bodleian (donated to the library by Imogen Holst in gratitude for keeping them safe during the Second World War), the piano duet score of *The Planets* from the RCM, and a selection of Holst's notebooks and diaries from the Britten-Pears Foundation, which show an intimate side to Holst's life, including a statement of his income for tax purposes. The current exhibition was inspired by the purchase of Holst's gramophone, and includes several early gramophones and records, and film clips showing the manufacture of early sound recordings.

The Government Indemnity Scheme, operated by the Arts Council, provides borrowers with an alternative to the considerable cost of commercial insurance, and enables a museum, archive or gallery to arrange to borrow objects from other institutions, so that, in the event of loss or damage, compensation will be paid to the owner by the government. It is subject to a thorough security assessment of the transport, venue and exhibition space involved, and can cover loans while in transit, during setting up, display and dismantling. Application should be made probably at least a year before the

exhibition, and involves the completion of a lengthy and detailed form and, amongst other things, the provision of a year's worth of light and environmental readings. In 2010, the museum mounted an exhibition of paintings by the pre-pre-Raphaelite painter Theodore von Holst, Gustav's great uncle, for which Government Indemnity was obtained, so we know that their conditions were met at that time. Display cases must have high security locks, must not be lined with material made with man-made fibres, to avoid any infestations, and the light and humidity must be at acceptable levels.

The Museum houses several paintings and sketches by Holst's great uncle Theodor von Holst (1810-1844) who was much admired by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Other pictures of interest include: a wonderful photograph of Holst and Ralph Vaughan Williams, on a stile somewhere in the Cotswolds; Holst and his wife Isobel on their honeymoon in Berlin where Holst is actually smiling – in most photographs he tends to look rather glum; and a silhouette of Holst conducting the St Paul's Girls' School orchestra, which includes the actress Celia Johnson, as well as a couple of Asquiths.

The Museum's Events Committee organises events during the year. A constant is the Holst Birthday Concert, usually held on the Saturday nearest to Holst's birthday, September 23, in All Saints' Church, where Holst's father Adolph was organist. Concerts have included choirs, such as the Holst Singers and the Oriel Singers, musicians from St Paul's Girls' School, and chamber music. Anything large scale is normally beyond our resources, though one year we obtained the use of the Town Hall (as one of the Mayor's charities) and the services of our President Martyn Brabbins plus his orchestra, free of charge; the concert included *The Planets*. Other events include talks, such as Holst's use of folk music, the texts used for his vocal and choral works, the family lives of Holst and his friend Vaughan Williams, and the history of the Pittville Estate, the area where the house is situated.

Visitors to the Museum often express pleasant surprise at the variety of its contents and the friendly atmosphere. The Victorian kitchen, in particular, revives memories of their childhood, when such utensils and appliances were still in use. Children who come with their schools have such a good time that they will often persuade their parents to make a visit. Finding sufficient volunteers for front-of-house remains a challenge, as does enticing more visitors through the door, but the Museum remains confident that it will continue to preserve the memory of the composer Gustav Holst for many years to come.

Abstract
The Holst Birthplace Museum was founded in 1975, and today is run by an independent Trust and a professional Curator. It collects items that relate to the life and work of Gustav Holst. It is also presented as a Victorian house, and is furnished accordingly. The collection includes manuscripts, scores, programmes, letters, as well as photographs and pictures. Activities include activities for children, school visits, and events of various kinds to raise money for the Museum. For more information, see http://holstmuseum.org.uk/.

Alison Hall is a volunteer at the Holst Birthplace Museum and Hon. Secretary of the Trust. A former Head of Cataloguing at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, she has been a member of IAML since 1975, serving as its Secretary General from 1985 to 2003 and chairing both the Cataloguing Commission and a Working Group on Music Uniform Titles. For IAML (UK & Irl), she was editor of the Newsletter and served on the Conference Committee, both nationally and for the International Conference in Dublin in 2011.

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EXHIBITION REVIEW

The Spencer Collection: a musical banquet
Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Music Museum

3 January 2017-29 March 2018

This exhibition celebrates the life and the collections of Robert ('Bob') Spencer (1932-1997), the lutenist, teacher, scholar and collector, whose breadth of interests and enthusiasm for his work is well represented in the exhibits chosen. Bob started life as a librarian, before a Dartington summer school changed his career direction and he became a champion of the lute and early guitar in his performance, teaching and collecting. The compact exhibition brings together these various aspects of his life in an engaging manner, with historical books, manuscripts and instruments alongside documents relating to his teaching and a short film including extracts of his own performances.

Bob's early days as a lutenist were at a time when the 'early music' movement was in the ascendancy in the 1960s, and he pioneered research into performance methods, using his growing collection of original documents as a learning resource. Thus we can see in the exhibition such treasures from the collection as Margaret Board's lute book, a manuscript tutor from around 1620 which is one of only two surviving manuscripts to include music in the hand of her teacher, John Dowland. Bob collected all but one of Dowland's works published in his lifetime, and the exhibition also displays Dowland's beautiful *Lachrimae* edition of 1604. Manuscripts from the sixteenth century include Richard Mynshall's lute book (1597), with some Elizabethan doodling on the opening pages, and there is also a letter from the 'first famous lutenist', Pietrobono of Ferrara, from 1455. Characteristically the letter is mounted in a book in which Spencer later added various related documents, bringing together his knowledge from a range of sources, which he was always generous to share with his pupils and fellow musicians. He was known to bring his classes alive by producing original documents from his bags to share with his students, and his discerning knowledge of sources and detailed research is evident in correspondence regarding potential auction purchases, also on display, and quoting RISM numbers like a true librarian. As well as the early sources, Spencer acquired over 3,500 editions of eighteenth and nineteenth-

century guitar music, and his 'completist' tendencies, shared by many collectors, led him to seek to acquire all variants of early editions; the display shows several editions of Playford's *Introduction to the skill of musicke* to illustrate this.

The instruments displayed are drawn from twenty in Spencer's collection, from a Baroque lute of 1585 to a twentieth-century Arabic oud. Bob purchased his first lute – a 1742 model – for £30 after his enthusiasm had been kindled at the summer school in 1955. His wife Jilly recalls their first meeting; 'an attractive young man in a brown motor-biking jacket with a lute attached to him rather like a tortoise shell'. His collection displayed includes a range of guitars and lutes, the most unusual of which is the lyre guitar (also called a 'harp lyre') of c.1790, which is shown alongside printed music for the instrument and an illustration of a performer to show how it was played. A collection of prints complements the music and instruments, showing performers in various periods with their instruments, and the film includes excerpts of Bob and Jilly, a singer and actress, performing their 'travelling shows' on Shakespeare and Pepys which they took to schools and venues around the country, combining presentation of music and literature of the English Renaissance. A novelty item displayed is the collection of playing cards from around 1760, with 52 different songs engraved on the reverse of the cards.

Bob Spencer was a musician of great distinction, working with leading performers of his time, and this is evident in the five recordings which can be selected for the visitor to listen to on headphones (only one set provided), where his fellow performers include Janet Baker, James Bowman and Alfred Deller. He often accompanied himself singing the lute songs, and his lunchtime concerts at the Royal Academy of Music, where he would perform alongside his students, always attracted capacity audiences. He was a founder member of the Julian Bream Consort, travelling the globe for performances, and worked with composers including Benjamin Britten.

He was also an unassuming and pragmatic teacher; his teaching and performing radiated enthusiasm and joy which can be seen in the film extracts, and a short article on careers advice which he wrote for students at the Royal Academy of Music in 1999 demonstrates his concern for his pupils and his ability to communicate. While learned and well-informed, he was never dogmatic in his attitude to performance practice, simply offering the source materials for interpretation by performers and students alike. Always generous with his time and expertise, Bob would surely be delighted to see this selection of his treasured collection, which now belongs to the Royal Academy of Music, available for visitors to share and discover for themselves.

The exhibition includes a children's trail of activities and two small ukuleles (cleverly displayed alongside a mini 6-string Spanish guitar from 1890

of a very similar size) for visitors to try, with some basic instructions for performance, which may be an attraction or distraction depending on the visitors present. The museum is only a five-minute walk from Baker Street tube station; visitors can also see the permanent displays which includes the strings gallery, luthier's workshop, piano gallery and Academy history, and best of all it is all free. Opening times and further details can be found at www.ram.ac.uk/spencer.

Katharine Hogg

Brio Volume 54, Number 2. pp 56-63

BOOK REVIEWS

Matthias Range, *British royal and state funerals: music and ceremonial since Elizabeth I*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016. 408 p. ISBN: 9781783270927. Hardback. £50.

Matthias Range is no stranger to the subject of British state ceremonial. His Oxford University doctoral thesis, *Music at British coronations from James I to Queen Victoria, 1603-1838* (2008), was published in 2012 by Cambridge University Press as *Music at British coronations from James I to Queen Elizabeth II*. Thus, the present volume can be seen as complementing Range's previously published research.

What Range is dealing with here are the funeral practices of Britain's ruling class as managed and run by various offices (and officers) of the British state, and the ecclesiastical, spiritual and political needs that these funerals addressed. In defining these events, 'royal funerals' are those of members of the royal family, typically organised by royal officials, the Lord Chamberlain and/or the Garter King of Arms. These funerals are often termed 'private' regardless of their level of visibility. On the other hand, state funerals are those of significant national figures, such as the naval hero Horatio Nelson, and typically are organised by Government officials at public expense, often with military and national honours (p. 5). These funerals are often termed 'public', regardless of the level of their visibility. In both cases interment usually but not always – as in the case of Oliver Cromwell (pp. 62-4) – has been part of a single funeral service within the same building. Only in more recent times has the interment more usually tended to be a separate service held elsewhere, as in the case of Princess Diana.

The book follows a chronological approach through a defined period, as its title suggests, but does not cover the royal/state funeral given to every deceased member of the British royal family, or statesman and woman. Particularly in the early period this is because, despite the high profile of the events, the archival record is annoyingly thin, or even absent, especially so in relation to state and royal funerals in Scotland where little or nothing is known for sure of the liturgical music and ceremonies related to the seventy or so state/royal funerals that took place there.

In England in the pre-Commonwealth period it seems the details are far from complete with almost no certainty either about the liturgical music that

was used for state/royal funerals, or about which musicians performed. So here some informed guesswork is necessary, with works by John Merbecke, Robert Parsons and Thomas Tomkins, and music ascribed to Thomas Morley seeming to provide the core in the Tudor period. This was added to soon after the Restoration and overtaken by the works of John Blow, William Child, Henry Cooke, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Purcell. What is certain is that in England throughout the period covered here the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* provided the framework for the ceremonies in its 'Order for the Burial of the Dead', and Range's 'Appendix A' has a very useful comparative table showing the different versions of the Burial Service from 1549 to 1662 (pp. 340–5) after which the prayer book of 1662 held sway.

In reality there is very little scope within the relatively brief service itself for music, specifically: the Funeral Sentences (for which the settings by William Croft and Henry Purcell seem to have been most regularly used), two psalms – 39 and 90 – and the scriptural text 'I head a great voice from heaven saying …', which seems never to have been used in a musical setting, and was several times supplemented by an anthem selected for the occasion; Appendix C, 'Synoptic Table of Music …' (pp. 355–63). For the ceremonial music before the funeral service, which often related to the removal of the deceased from a lying-in-state in the Palace of Westminster, we learn that bands of music and singers were often used to accompany the corpse into Westminster Abbey, but there is little detail of repertoire. At the end of the service it was not uncommon for heralds to declaim the titles and honours of the deceased to be followed by brass fanfares.

While the originality and ambition of this topic is bold and brave, not least for the breadth of its time scale, I have to admit to being somewhat disappointed with this book's investigation of the music for, despite what has clearly been a long process of research, there is no great reveal concerning hitherto unknown repertoire, or performance practice. I feel that in terms of the relative paucity of the musical detail referred to overall it might have been preferable to digest the music-related data (repertoire and practice) into a searchable here-is-everything-I-found dataset hosted on the author's university (University of Oxford) open-access research website, thus making a very useful public research tool, and used this to support a substantial journal article in a leading academic journal.

For me the most useful discussion came towards the end of the book where Range reflects on recent elite funerary events – such as the funerals of the Queen Mother and of Margaret Thatcher – which will have been experienced first-hand by many (albeit via the television) and for others these are readily available online. By placing more recent ceremonial in a deep historical context, Range is able to point up a trend towards the fragmentation of the traditional Church of England burial service into a highly visible, elaborate,

musically-flexible and religiously inclusive state-sponsored memorialisation that is followed increasingly by an unseen friends-and-family interment. Indeed, this book is perhaps most successful in the way it allows the reader to observe the nation's sacred and secular-political condition across the centuries as reflected in royal and state funerals; a novel prism.

I was fully engaged by the contextual information to be had here, such as the division of responsibilities between royal household and government, the use of night-time funeral ceremonies, the post-mortem treatment of the cadaver, the use of funeral effigies (not least where the corpse is already buried), the place/role of women at funerals, the organisation of the timbral spaces, the creation/selection of an audience (congregation) and the management of it, and the development of these elite funerals as national public spectacles. Even so, I suspect that all these aspects could also have been distilled successfully into a hefty journal article, supported by online datasets.

The book is a sturdy and well-produced volume and is certainly one that should be on the reference shelves of every good academic library because of its detailed factual content, although whether in 'History of Music' or 'History and Practice of Liturgy' remains an open question for me.

Andrew Pink

Christopher Redwood, *William Hurlstone: Croydon's forgotten musical genius*. Highbridge: Sequoia Publishing, 2015. 333 p. ISBN: 9781910616222. Hardback £40; softback £20.

'The idiot who praises, with enthusiastic tone, all centuries but this and every country but his own'. W.S. Gilbert's quip might well stand as a critique of Britain's capacity for undervaluing its own cultural heritage, or at best constantly needing to evaluate it in relation to an imagined 'Golden age' nuanced by selective nostalgia. In terms of music, one could with some justification see this as a dominant trope within Gilbert's own generation; one which, moreover, still tends to colour our critical approach to British music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Anyone familiar with Meirion Hughes's *The English musical renaissance* will recall that his tongue was far from being in his cheek in positing the Royal College of Music during this period as the 'goodly house' in which the new musical Golden age would be forged.[1]

[1] Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English musical renaissance, 1840-1940: constructing a national music*. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001. The 'goodly house' is a reference to Arthur O'Shaughnessy's *Ode*, set by Elgar as *The music makers*: 'They had no vision amazing of the goodly house they are raising'.

The formative role played by the Royal College in the brief career of William Hurlstone emerges as an important theme in Christopher Redwood's pioneering scholarly study of the composer. His monograph also toys with another critical trope, that of the 'lost generation' of creative artists whose full potential was thwarted by an early death. It has become a commonplace of First World War historiography, for example, to view this generation as somehow especially blessed with talent cut short in its prime. Yet Hurlstone was no Butterworth or Owen, mown down in the trenches; he died in 1906 of natural causes at the age of thirty. It is one of the strengths of Redwood's biography that he makes a plausible case for viewing his subject's compositional output from a 'what if he had lived?' standpoint prompted by genuine musical quality rather than mere glib sentiment.

Hurlstone was born in Croydon in 1876 and, as Redwood points out in his largely chronological survey of his career, thus belongs to a generation of British composers born in the 1870s, among them Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bridge and Ireland. His background was respectable middle class. His father had trained as a doctor; although visual impairment prevented the development of his career, he nurtured his son's precocious musical talents and engineered a number of favourable connections with persons of influence, not least Hubert Parry. Obliged to contribute to the family's income through music teaching, Hurlstone was already a prolific composer by the time he entered the Royal College in 1894. Redwood provides an instructive comparison between those pieces which Hurlstone composed in his four years as a student there with those by some of his better-known contemporaries, presenting a convincing argument that Hurlstone's student output could more than compete with works by Vaughan Williams or Holst which we might now categorise as juvenilia, and revealing why Stanford regarded him as his most talented student.

Redwood's copious musical examples leave one in no doubt as to the quality of Hurlstone's youthful compositions – works which might also have been overlooked as juvenilia had he lived beyond his thirtieth year. Individual works are discussed in great detail – sometimes, perhaps, too much when one is faced with analytical charts which hint at the monograph's origins as a doctoral thesis. If some less technically-minded readers choose to gloss over these it is unlikely to detract from Redwood's central argument that in the case of Hurlstone's music we can with veracity apply that over-used term 'unjustly neglected' without an element of special pleading. It is indeed to the credit of Redwood's study that it engenders a desire to discover this music through hearing it oneself in what recordings are available. Here Redwood has provided a useful discography in addition to a comprehensive worklist with details of first performances.

There are a number of factual errors which any subsequent edition might

address. Strictly speaking, the Hallé Orchestra dates from 1858, not 1857 (p. 4).[1] The Mozart divertimenti published for two clarinets and bassoon are actually for three basset horns (p. 30). Parry wrote five symphonies, not four (p. 44). The 'cello is omitted from the scoring of the Coleridge-Taylor Nonet (p. 90). Page 114 refers to the standard wind quintet 'as exemplified by Mozart and his contemporary Franz Danzi'; Danzi was a pioneer in the medium but Mozart wrote no wind quintets. The claim on p. 159 that Hallé was 'no enthusiast for modern music' is questionable for one who was a major champion of Berlioz, and Frederic Cowen was initially offered the conductorship of the Gentlemen's Concerts as well as the Hallé Orchestra.[2] These are perhaps minor niggles which don't deter from the argument. One which does is the more serious claim that Schumann's op. 94 *Romances* for oboe and piano are for clarinet. Redwood is obviously thinking here of the op. 73 *Fantasiestücke*; the confusion somewhat diminishes the comparison with Hurlstone's *Four characteristic pieces* for clarinet and piano.

Such matters apart, this is a valuable book which prompts us to reflect on the extent to which we still undervalue our own musical heritage if we continue to confine it to a canon of famous – and usually foreign – names and their output. The tendency is perhaps most marked when we look at the challenges faced by British music at the end of the long nineteenth century, not least by a Royal College of Music which could be seen as judging its own achievements according to models cultivated in every country but its own. Redwood reminds us too that in their search for the next great British symphonist or opera composer our forebears might easily overlook those whose interests lay in chamber music and that in revisiting this repertoire we could do far worse that starting with Hurlstone's.

Geoff Thomason

My beloved man: the letters of Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears. Edited by Vicky P. Stroeher, Nicholas Clark and Jude Brimmer. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016. 488 p. ISBN: 9781783271085. Hardback. £25.00.

365 letters – one to read for each day of the year. An engaging and in some ways uncomfortable experience, perhaps even voyeuristic at times. Having said that, the editors are careful to point out that both Britten and Pears wanted their story to be told, and that Pears was himself hoping to publish these letters

[1] Hallé was asked to assemble an orchestra for the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition in 1857. It became the Hallé Orchestra proper the following year.

[2] Landon Ronald referred to Cowen's being ousted by the "German cabal" in Manchester.

but was unable to finish the project before he died. We must be thankful that they were living in a pre-social media era as otherwise we might well have nothing because what today would surely have been emails or text messages would long ago have been consigned to the ether.

To have this elegant volume following on from the six of Britten's letters already published[3] is the icing on the cake indeed. Here we are allowed into the private world of two of the greatest musicians of their generation: one a composer who produced some of the most sublime works not simply of the twentieth century, but of the entire classical repertoire, the other a tenor whose voice was the embodiment not only of Britten's music, but was one of the greatest of the post-war generation. To hear the two together as performers of Britten's and others' works was – and indeed still is – one of music's greatest privileges. They were a musician's musicians – supreme communicators of their art, recreators bringing understanding and new insight to whatever happened to be on the music stand, whether Schubert, Purcell, Bach or Britten himself.

The editors have adopted a commendable policy of allowing the letters to speak for themselves, and their restraint in the use of footnotes is greatly refreshing. Instead, information on people and on Britten's works discussed in the correspondence is gathered together in two appendices. The first, helpfully preceded by a list giving last names to the many characters referred to by their first names in the letters. Thus, we are absolved from wondering who on earth Eric and Ralph are and can simply turn to the list to see that it is Eric Crozier and Ralph Hawkes who are being written about. Other informative indexes of works other than Britten's, and of books, poems, plays and films mentioned, are also provided along with an excellent bibliography and general index.

The letters themselves are grouped into eight sections, breaks occurring at relevant musical junctures or where there was simply a gap in their exchanges. Each section is given a helpful short context-setting introduction thus avoiding the need to clutter the flow of the correspondence with explanations. We are able to experience the two men 'just talking' to each other without interruption. And what a privilege that proves to be.

In addition to the background information provided for each tranche of letters, there is a perceptive and reflective general introduction, which considers both the nature of the correspondence and the characters of the two men involved. We learn how the letters reflect the day-to-day concerns, frustrations, delights and successes of two men who, by their very nature as working musicians, must be apart for much of the time and for whom letters (and indeed telephone calls) were their survival system. Anyone looking for an

[3] Donald Mitchell, Philip Reed and Mervyn Cooke (eds.). *Letters from a life.* Faber/Boydell and Brewer, 1998-2012. 6 vols.

overview, for the essence of the volume, for a taster of what is to follow will not be disappointed with this informed and sensitive consideration.

As if this were not enough, Fiona Shaw's deeply tender and insightful Foreword gives valuable context for the letters as well as creating a sense of anticipation: 'These letters show how two huge artists who were so often parted, survived…' and 'To read these letters is to climb up a wall and peer into the secret garden of two giants.'

Thus armed with enough (but not too much) background we are ready to embark on the journey. It begins in 1939 and ends in 1976 by which time the reader has experienced at first hand the trials and tribulations, the hopes, fears and successes of these 'two giants' of twentieth century music as well as the whole gamut of both their and the reader's own emotions.

It is not the role of the reviewer to recount the details – that is for the reader discover – but, for me, what screams throughout is the terrible ache of being apart both men feel. Running through the prosaic and the mundane and the necessary admin, the news and gossip about friends and fellow musicians, of reports of what each has been doing since the previous letter, their encouragement of each other in their various composing and performing endeavours, there is the constant thread of the misery of having to be apart – felt particularly keenly it seems, by Britten who looked constantly to Pears for reassurance and support. 'I suppose I must have some excuse to write to you other than to say just that I miss you terribly and love you so very very much . . .' (Pears to Britten, Nov 1942. Letter 24); 'Lots of real love to you old thing, I miss you very much indeed – it's horrid when you go away, so come back soon!' (Britten to Pears, Dec 1959. Letter 242).

For me (and I am sure for many readers), the most affecting exchange between them comes near the end of Britten's life when, on 17th November 1974 [letter 349], he writes to Pears: 'My darling heart . . . I do love you so terribly, & not only glorious <u>you</u>, but your singing. I've just listened to a re-broadcast of Winter Words (something like Sept. '72) and honestly you are the greatest artist that ever was … What <u>have</u> I done to deserve such an artist and <u>man</u> to write for?' To which Pears replies on 21 November [letter 351] 'My dearest darling. No one has ever had a lovelier letter than the one which came through from you today – you say things which turn my heart over with love and pride, and I love you for every single word you write. But you know, Love is blind – and what your dear eyes do not see is that it is <u>you</u> who have given <u>me</u> everything … I am here and I live in your music – And I can never be thankful enough to you and to Fate for all the heavenly joy we have had together for 35 years.'

I defy anyone not to have a lump in their throat at this point as Britten and Pears pay each other the deepest compliment possible, from lover to lover and from musician to musician.

As a footnote (and particularly in view of the journal for which this review is being written), tribute must be paid to the staff at the Britten-Pears Foundation for their patient, dedicated and painstaking work in conserving, sorting and documenting the materials which make up this and many other volumes on Britten – without it, our understanding would be misted and horribly incomplete.

Susi Woodhouse

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